

GENERAL
HISTORY
OF THE

Pudukkottai
State

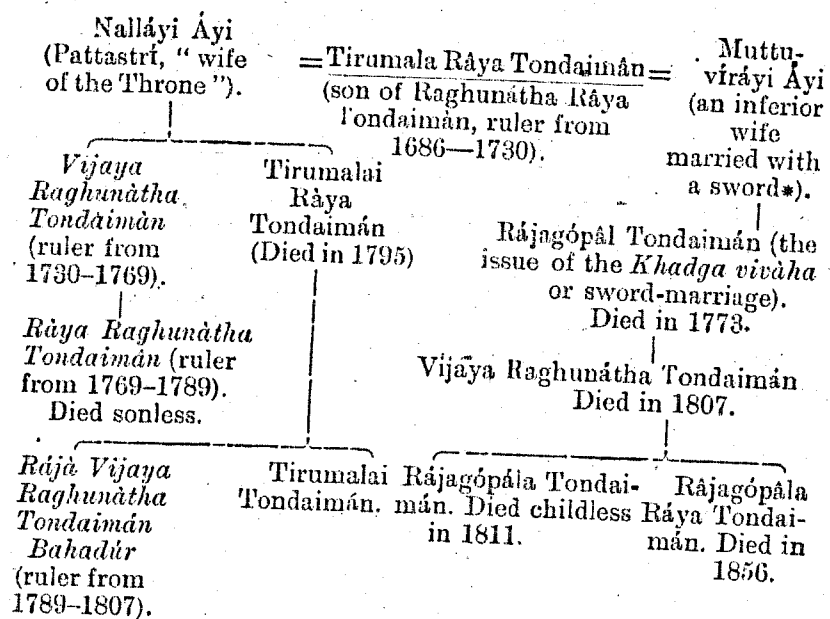
VOL II

Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman
(1789—1807).

Rāya Raghunātha Tondaimān had no male issue, who could succeed him as ruler of the State. He left behind him only a daughter—Perumdēvi Ammāl, popularly known as 'Ammāl Āyi'—who, according to the rules in force, could not be installed as the ruler. The uncle of Rāya Raghunātha Tondaimān, Tirumalai Rāya Tondaimān, of whom the reader has heard already (see p. 279), was then alive. But he was very ill in 1789 and so waived his claim to succeed in favour of his eldest son, Vijaya Raghunātha Tondaimān, who was installed as the ruler of the State in 1789. He was born in 1759 and was therefore thirty years of age when he became the ruler of the State.

The Nazar paid by the Tondaiman for recognition of his succession. His succession was not at once accepted by the Nawab, who called himself his feudal lord. We find Captain Blackburne writing to the Madras Government on the 10th of May, 1803, that "until the late treaty of the Carnatic (31st July, 1801) the Nabobs contrived, under various *pretextes*, to extort considerable sums from Tondiman, although he was nominally exempted from the payment of tribute. At his succession to the Government, he was obliged to pay fifty thousand pagodas to the Nabob Mahomed Ally Khan, who not only refused to confirm his succession until the money was sent, but threatened to find a competitor with a better title. Since that period Tondiman has paid at different times fifty thousand Rupees to the two late Nabobs. This information I received from Tondiman himself".

The following extract from a letter written by Captain Blackburne on the 20th March, 1813, contains more details. The genealogical table that is given below will show that the Nawab could not find a competitor with a better title, that Rājā Vijaya Raghunātha Tondaimān had a better claim to succeed than Vijaya Raghunātha Tondaimān (son of Rājagópāl Tondaimān) who was then alive, who died like the Rājā in 1807 and who was represented in a petition in 1813 as having contested Rājā Vijaya Raghunātha Tondaimān's succession and given up his contention on the promise of a Jāgīr.



"The ancestor of Rajah Gopaula Rie Tondiman, was a son of an inferior marriage, while his half-brother (Tirumalai Rāya Tondaimān) the ancestor of the Rajah Bahadur was the son of a Patstree, the wife of the Throne, all of whose sons are entitled to the succession in preference to the children by an inferior marriage, although the latter be senior in birth to the sons of the Patstree.

"This principle being generally recognised by writers on Hindoo Law and the rule of succession in all Hindoo States being conformable to it, I shall state a few circumstances and considerations which lead to a conviction in my mind that the father of the petitioner, Rajah Gopaula Rāya Tondiman, did not sell his birthright for the promise of an estate, but on the contrary, he and Rajah Vijaya Ragonath Rie Tondiman were

* The Jāgirdār must have thought it beneath his dignity to go in person to marry the woman and sent a sword as his substitute. Mr. Thurston says (see p. 41 of his *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*) that "the custom of sending a sword to represent an unavoidably absent bridegroom at a wedding is not uncommon among the Telugu Rāyas and Velamas". We find it mentioned in the *Madras Census Report for 1891* (see p. 217) that "a special custom obtaining among the Marava Zemindars of Tinnevely..... is the celebration of a marriage by means of a proxy for the bridegroom in the shape of a stick, which is sent by the bridegroom and is set up in the marriage booth in his place. The *tāli* is tied by some one representative of the bridegroom and the marriage ceremony then becomes complete".

utterly unconscious of the existence of any latent or asserted rights which could disturb their cordial and constant friendship.

"They were first cousins. At the death in 1789 without sons of Rie Ragonad Tondiman, the throne was open for competition, and no one can doubt the willingness of the Nabob's Government to give full scope to competition, if it had presented itself. The reverse was the case. Trimul Rie Tondiman was living, but in a most deplorable state of health, wishing daily for death and lingering on for five years longer. He refused to ascend the throne and relinquished his rights to his eldest son with a view to save the double Nazzar (or succession fee) which otherwise must have been paid to the Nabob within a short period. Rajah Vijaya Ragonath Rie Tondiman assumed the Government as a matter of course. His cousin and friend Vijaya Ragonath Tondiman, the father of the petitioner, was the most zealous of his adherents. The negotiation for a Nazzar to the Durbar was conducted in the usual manner at Trichinopoly. The Tondaiman offered the same sum which had been paid by his predecessor, a Lakh of Rupees. The Nabob demanded a lakh of Pagodas. The Nazzar was fixed at seventy-five thousand Porto Novo Pagodas and was paid by instalments in the course of two years.

"The petitioner states that the late Rajah Bahadur, from fear that Vijaya Ragonath Tondiman should oppose his ambitious views, promised a Jaghire to him The fact is that the land alluded to was assigned for military service to Vijaya Ragonad Tondiman 15 years after the succession of Rajah Bahadur and only 3 years before the Rajah Bahadur's death. The Rajah Bahadur to the end of his life honoured and confided in the father of the petitioner. He was affectionately attended by Vijaya Ragonad Tondiman in his last illness and when he was at the point of death, Vijaya Ragonath Tondiman took the seal-ring from the Rajah Bahadur's finger and put it on the finger of his eldest son".

Arrangements for the payment of the Nazar having been made, the Nawab wrote to the Tondaimān on the 17th March, 1790, appointing him as the ruler of the State and sent through

his son Husain-ul-Mulk an elephant, a horse and a khillat as marks of his esteem. His chief officer at Trichinopoly was "ordered to buckle with his own hand a sword to the Tondaiman's waist and to put on the khillat".

The Nawab's affairs and the rights claimed by him as a feudal lord. The Nawab had, to use the words of the Rājā of Tanjore, "a great friendship for the Tondaiman",* and we find that, in the voluminous correspondence that the Nawab held with the Madras Government, the Nawab, while he condemned all other rulers and pālayakārs and wrote frequently and strongly against them to the Governor, never uttered a single word against the Tondaimāns, whom he always called "true and steadfast allies". How then is his conduct in requiring payment of huge succession fees in 1769 and in 1789 to be explained? The reply that occurs to us is "not that the Nawab loved the Tondaimāns less" but "that he loved himself more". The affairs of the Nawab had not been for many years in a satisfactory state, and the Nawab about the time when he wanted 50,000 or 75,000 pagodas from the Tondaimān was over head and ears in debt. His position was nothing but deplorable. "His debts, which were in 1785 the subject of Parliamentary inquiry, then amounted to £4,440,000† of sterling money of Great Britain, i.e., more than four crores of Rupees,—producing annuities at their several rates of interest of £623,000, of which £383,000 stood chargeable to the revenue of the Carnatic". The poor Nawab, who was loaded with debts for which he had to pay more than sixty-two lakhs of Rupees as interest year after year and who had assigned a good portion of his dominion for the liquidation of a part of the interest he had to pay, very pathetically described his condition to the Governor in a long letter that he addressed to him on the 5th of March, 1791, from which we transcribe the following extract.

"I was respected by the different former powers. I am now a sovereign indeed, but without dominion or power, plunged in poverty and distress, and in the eye of political consideration an insignificant unnoticed cypher".

* Letter of the Rājā of Tanjore to the Governor, dated 9th of May, 1783.

† See pp. 40-49 of "John Clunes' Historical Sketch of the Princes of India". Several able speeches were delivered on the subject—"the Prince of Arcot's Debts"—of which the best known is that of Burke.

As the Nawab was thus in terrible pecuniary difficulties, he must have thought of all pretences by which he could raise any money. In 1761 we find him informing the Governor of Madras that it was customary "sometimes to levy an extraordinary tax upon dependent chiefs, according to their ability and the strength of the Nawab".* But he seems to have afterwards given up this position, as we find him merely stating in December, 1785, that "whenever they acted contrary to the interests of the Circar, they were always obliged to pay a fine as an atonement for their misconduct". He now demanded, as the Tondaimān's feudal superior, what was known in feudal times in England as *relief*. The Nawab's exposition of this right of his is contained in his letter to the Government of Madras dated 1st December, 1785, and is as follows:—

"If any one of the polligars dies, his successor is fixed and appointed by the authority of the Circar, who receives a Nazar† upon the occasion, exclusive of the peishcush".

It was such a Nazar, a Nazar of 50,000 or 75,000 pagodas—the Tondaimān had no *peishcush* to pay—that the Tondaimān was required to pay for his being recognised as the ruler of the State by the Nawab. With reference to the sum of Rs 50,000 stated to have been paid at different times, we may mention that a large sum must have been demanded when Muhammad Ali, the Nawab, conferred the title of *Rājā Bahadūr* on the Tondaimān, and that a sum of 25,000 pagodas or 87,500 rupees was paid as Nazar to Umdat-ul-Umara, Muhammad Ali's successor, for the issue of a sanad granting the title of *Rājā Bahadūr* and other honours.

The Tondaiman's family. "Vijaya Raghunātha Tondaimān had three wives of the names of Muttammāyi, Subbammāyi and Āyi Annmā Āyi. By the second wife, he had two sons both of whom died in childhood; by the third, he had four children, three sons and a daughter. The daughter and one of the sons

* See letter from the Nawab to the Madras Presidency, dated August 16, 1761.

† *Nazar* is Hindustani for "a present, an offering, especially one from an inferior to a superior, to a holy man or a prince; a fine or fee paid to the state or its representative on succeeding to office or property". Wilson's *Glossary of British India*.

died in childhood".* The survivors were Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán and Raghunátha Tondaimán, who afterwards became rulers of the State in 1807 and in 1825 respectively, as will be shown hereafter.

The rule of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán was eventful on account of the many charities that he instituted, and the wars in which his forces were engaged owing to the devoted attachment to the English and the Nawab which he had inherited from his predecessors. A description of his charities will be given later on. We shall first give an account of the wars and minor operations in which he was engaged.

War with Tipu. In May, 1790, began another war with Mysore. Tipu, having attacked certain tracts belonging to the Rájá of Travancore, the Rájá appealed to the English with whom he was in alliance, and the English declared war against Tipu.

In July, 1790, the Tondaimán was informed by the Resident at Tanjore that General Medows with a large army had in his march against Seringapatam encamped in these parts, that provisions had been directed to be sent to his camp from all quarters, that ten thousand kalams of paddy which had been collected at Sivaganga could not be transported for want of draught bullocks, and that he should furnish the Hircarrah who carried the letter with one thousand bullocks.

The Tondaiman sends a force against Tipu. In November, 1790, Tipu descended into the Carnatic and made for Trichinopoly. He reached the northern bank of the Kaveri opposite to Srirangam towards the close of the month. The Nawab wrote to the Governor to inform him (December 25, 1790) that "the Chief of Mysore suddenly came with a large army who carried off as much of the grain in the country as they could and burnt the rest, set fire to the houses of the ryots, carried off their cattle, and laid waste the province in such a manner that it was difficult to get grass or firewood". According to instructions received from Mr. Andrews, Collector at Trichinopoly of the Nawab's province of which the management was then in the hands of the English, the Tondaimán "sent to the Trichinopoly fort an army

* From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual of Pudukkóttai*.

of 1,500 men under Sardar Mahalinga Mudaliyár". Tipu left these parts soon afterwards, and the war was carried on mostly in the parts near Mysore.

Disputes with Tanjore and Sivaganga, etc. We have nothing of importance to record in connection with the years 1791-4. In August, 1791, the Tondaimán's people are found to have caused depredations in the Tanjore District. The Tondaimán represented to the Government that the Tanjore people first committed plunder in his country and that he would return the cattle taken from the Tanjore people as soon as the Tanjore people returned what they had taken from his people. The Tondaimán was required to return the cattle at once and the Kallars of Tanjore were informed that they might expect severe punishment if they did not return the Tondaimán's cattle. The whole question, including the question of the prevention of similar depredations in future, was referred to Mr. Swartz, the S. P. C. K. Missionary* at Tanjore, who reported to the Government in September, 1791, that he had adjusted the differences and taken proper steps for the prevention of future outrages.

"In the beginning of 1792 there was a boundary dispute between the Tondaiman of Puthu-kóttei and Chinna Murdu of Sivagangei. Both parties referred their dispute to the Collector (of Ramnad and Madura, Mr. Macleod); and as serious disturbances were apprehended, the Collector despatched a company of Sepoys to preserve order. The circumstance is noteworthy as showing how completely the power of these countries had been frittered away by constant internal disturbances and civil wars: and how completely their rulers were overawed by the British power. Fifty years earlier a boundary dispute between the Puthu-kóttei Chief and the Poligar of Sivagangei would have led to a war in which 10 to 20,000 men would have been engaged".†

* Some may think it strange that the settlement of the dispute was entrusted to a Missionary. But Swartz, "whom the unanimous voice of the Protestant world has proclaimed the greatest of modern missionaries" enjoyed the highest confidence of everybody that knew him—of the Rájá of Tanjore, of the Madras Government and even of Haidar Ali, who called him "a holy man that meant no harm to his Government". According to Dean Pearson, his biographer, "simplicity, moderation, self denial, activity, regularity, patience, kindness, courtesy, cheerfulness pervaded his every thought, word and action".

† Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part IV, p. 113.

In March, 1793, the Tondaimán was informed that a murder had been committed in the Tanjore District by his men, and that they should be apprehended and handed over for punishment. The Tondaimán explained to the Governor, Sir Charles Oakley (April 10th, 1793) that the Kallars that committed the murder lived in the woods of Ramnad and Sivaganga, that they were constantly committing outrages in his own country, that many of them had often been seized and that their noses and ears had been cut off for their offences, that the report that his men committed the murder was wrong, and that he would use his utmost endeavours to punish the offenders of the Ramnad and Sivaganga woods.

There is an entry in the Inam office records to the effect that "according to a requisition (from Trichinopoly) of Hisam-ul-mulk, son of the Nawab, an army of 1,200 men was sent from Pudukkóttai, under the command of Muttuvairan Ambalakáran". It is not clear for what purpose the army was sent. The only military operation in which the English were engaged about the time the army was sent (July, 1793) was the attack by Captain Dighton of Séttúr in the Tinnevely Province, and it is not likely that the Tondaimán's forces would have been required to march so far for such a minor purpose. Probably the men were required to be sent to Udayárpálayam and Ariyalúr, where the Nawab's men were at variance with those of the pálayakárs.

In November, 1793, the Nawab wrote to the Governor that "the Raja of Tanjore, having sent two hundred peons into Tondiman's country, was exciting some unusual contentions relating to the boundaries and was molesting the ryots". The matter referred to by the Nawab was a boundary dispute between "a polygar in the Putticotah Talook of the name of Singapillay" (Singappuli of Kallákóttai) and the Tondaimán. The Nawab was informed by the Governor that the matter had been settled according to justice and to the satisfaction of the Tondaimán's agent, who was present when the adjustment took place.

Conferment of Military Rank and the Title of "Raja Bahadur" on the Tondaiman. In October, 1795, Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, died. Before his death, he was pleased

to confer upon the Tondaimán the title of *Rájá Bahadúr*,* so that henceforth the Tondaimáns were known as the Rájás of Pudukkóttai. That the Tondaimán very eminently deserved this distinction for his unswerving devotion to the Nawab and the English goes without saying. The regular sanad of the grant of the title was prepared, however, after the death of Muhammad Ali by his son Umdat-ul-umara, Nawab of the Carnatic. It is dated 17th October, 1796, and runs as follows:—

"As a reward for the faithful services rendered by you and your ancestors, the title of "Raja Bahadur" is bestowed upon you and a *mansab*;† you can keep a force of 1,500 cavalry;‡ a flag, a naggara (kettle-drum), a turband, a Jaga (a jewel inlaid with precious stones worn by Amirs on their heads?), an elephant and a khillat (are sent) and you are elevated thereby. Regarding these as marks of good will, you should be solicitous of obtaining more. You should follow the footsteps of your ancestors in rendering service and carrying out instructions without any objection. This should be regarded as a mark of good fortune".

A Nazar of 25,000 pagodas was sent by the Rájá in consideration of the honours conferred on him by the Nawab. On the day on which the receipt of this amount was acknowledged (19th October, 1796), the Nawab wrote to the Rájá as follows:—

"I am aware of your services and your readiness in carrying out instructions. Communication has been carried on with Huzur (i. e., directly with the Nawab) from the time of your ancestors in all affairs. Accordingly you should preserve the same relation with the Nawab. You have nothing to do with the Fouzdars and other officers in Trichinopoly, but with the Huzur. Be constant in regarding this as a firm agreement".

* The title of "Rájá Bahadúr" is higher than that of "Rájá". The ordinary sequence of rank is Mahārājā Bahadúr, Mahārājā, Rájā Bahadúr, Rájā. See Sir Roper Lethbridge's *Golden Book of India*, p. XIV. *Bahadúr* means "brave" or "the hero".

† *Mansab* was "a military title and rank conferred by the Moghul Government of Delhi, regulated by the supposed number of horse the holder of the title could, if required, bring into the field". Wilson.

‡ "In the *Ain-i-Akbari* sixty-six grades (of *mansabs*) are stated.....; these writers record, I find, no more than twenty-seven grades, beginning with that of 7000 (horse) and ending with that of twenty". Mr. Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghals*.

The Government of Madras approved of the grant of the title after their assumption of the Carnatic, and Major Blackburne wrote to the Tondaimán on the 13th January, 1813, that, in the letter which he had then received from the Government of Madras, the Tondaimán was styled by the Government of Madras in an *English* letter *Rájá Bahadúr*.

We shall now turn to the wars which were waged during the rule of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán and the help that he gave to the Nawab and the English. It will be found that all these wars were, with the exception of the war against Tipu in 1798 and 1799, military operations against the turbulent pálayakárs to the north and south of the Rájá's country. "The management of the pálayakár districts had always been a matter of great difficulty, partly owing to the turbulence of the chiefs and the strength of their country, but principally in consequence of the extortion and rapacity of the agents employed to collect the tribute, already too high in proportion to the revenue. The result was that whenever the Company's troops were withdrawn, as in times of war, no payments were made, and the several chiefs being at constant variance with each other, the districts became the scene of violence and disorder".

For a long time things had not been going on smoothly in the Udaiyárpálayam, Ariyalúr and Turaiyúr pálayams attached to Trichinopoly.

The Nawab's wars with Udaiyarpalayam and Ariyalur. The Tondaiman's services to the Nawab. As early as the 15th October, 1790, the Nawab wrote to the Governor to say that the pálayakárs of Udaiyárpálayam and Ariyalúr, who had been reinstated and made "renters of their pálayams", committed depredations upon those districts, killed and imprisoned many of the inhabitants and did not pay even "the trifle" which they had to pay as rent according to their agreement, and had formed designs to revolt. The pálayakárs were afterwards imprisoned "for the non-payment of rent and meditating an insurrection" first at Trichinopoly and afterwards in their own towns, but were released by their men. "Ten thousand of the Udaiyár's Kallars scaled the walls, entered the fort, released the Udaiyár and confined the Nawab's servants". Finding their places, however,

too hot for them, the Udaiyárpálayam pálayakár went to Madras to establish his claim to the pálayam, and the Ariyalúr pálayakár fled to the Tanjore country. Their attempts to get back their pálayams by peaceful methods proved fruitless, and in 1796 they returned to their pálayams, assembled their men and revolted against the Nawab, and "commenced those troubles in 1796 which waged with varying success and fury until 1798". An army was sent towards the close of 1796 to Udaiyárpálayam under Major Cuppage, and the Tondaimán was applied to for help. The Rájá of Pudukkóttai sent in December, 1796, "as instructed by the Nawab, 69 horse and 2203 footsoldiers under Sardar Avadhúta Row to join Mira Saídar Khan" in quelling the insurrections in the two pálayams. Further forces were applied for with an intimation that "relying on the Tondaiman's army, the Nawab would not send any other force", and "in April and July, 1797, about 200 horse-soldiers and 5000 foot were sent to these pálayams under the Sardars Mappillai Pallavaráyar, Kannayyar, Dabír Gópál Row, Udaiyappa Vélár and Chinnaranmanai Véngan Sérvai". Tranquillity was at length restored, and, after the Carnatic came into the hands of the English in 1801, the pálayakárs were recognised as ordinary Istimrar Zamin-dars (see p. 209) in 1816.

The Nawab's war with Turaiyur. The Tondaiman's services. The affairs of the pálayam of Turaiyúr attached to Trichinopoly had been in confusion since 1773. The father and the son had been quarrelling, each attempting to become the ruler, and, finding that they could not pay the increased peshcush which they had themselves agreed to pay, fled "to the Tanjore country where death put an end to the miseries of the old Reddi (pálayakár). The young Reddy, taking advantage of the trouble which in 1796 broke out in Woodiarpollam and profiting by the distracted and enfeebled state of the Nawab's authority, determined to excite disturbance in Terriore. He accordingly collected a considerable number of peons, and, being aided by the adherents of the family, he spread terror and devastation to all parts of the Pollam (pálayam); deprived of all hopes of being restored to the management of it, he seemed determined to render this fertile district a barren waste in the hands of the oppressor of his

family, and he succeeded so well in his design that the country in a short time was nearly depopulated, the tanks and lakes on which the cultivation depended were broken down and destroyed, the towns and villages were burnt, and the inhabitants were obliged to seek protection in the surrounding countries".*

In these circumstances, the Tondaimán received a call for a strong force. "756 footsoldiers under Sardar Pattābhirāma Aiyar and 1000 men under Sardar Mahālinga Mudaliyār", were sent to Turaiyūr in 1796 and 1797. Another army of 700 footsoldiers was sent under Sardar Pattābhirāma Aiyar to join "Sayyid Meera Rasaldar", as also an army of 2,000 men under Ilandān Muttuvijaya Ambalakārar, to join Hisam-ul-Mulk Bahadur at Turaiyūr. The Nawab ultimately came to terms with the pālayakār, who in 1816 became an Istimrar Zamindar. Acknowledging the services rendered at Udaiyārpālayam, Hisam-ul-Mulk wrote to the Rājā of Pudukkóttai that he had added much to his reputation, glory and honour by the services of his men at Udaiyārpālayam. According to "the War Notes" in the Inam office Records, the Tondaimán received in recognition of his services from "Hazrat Nawab" the present of an elephant.†

The Visengināttu Kallars of Tanjore had always been a great source of trouble to the peaceful inhabitants of the Trichinopoly country. Frequent complaints were brought against them by the Nawab, and the Rājā of Tanjore was again and again required to take the necessary steps for their subjugation. In 1797 a force of about 700 men was sent by the Tondaimán under

* Report of the Collector of Trichinopoly to the Board of Revenue, dated 30th May, 1802, on the pālayams of Udaiyārpālayam, Ariyakūr and Turaiyūr.

† The elephant was a most valuable present, showing the very high regard that the Nawab had for the Tondaimán. Mr. Irvine writes in his *Army of the Indian Mughals* (p. 29) that "gifts other than money were naturally of considerable variety..... jewelled ornaments, weapons, principally swords and daggers with jewelled hilts, pālkis with fringes of gold lace and pearls, horses with gold-mounted and jewelled trappings, and elephants. The order in which the above are given indicated roughly both the frequency with which these presents were granted and the relative value set upon them, beginning with those most frequently given and the least esteemed". From this extract it will be clear that the gift of an elephant was more esteemed than that of any other article.

Rāya Pallavarāyar to chastise them, and we believe that the Kallars were restrained from their excursions of depredation for the time being.*

Ramnad becomes a-Zamindari. The Sétupati of Ramnad was reported about this time to be oppressive and tyrannical. According to a memorial submitted by his sister in 1794, "he injured and oppressed the inhabitants, weakened and impoverished the country and brought indelible shame to his family by his dissipation. Daughters were torn from the bosoms of their parents and wives dragged from the arms of their husbands and conveyed to the Sétupati's house, where they were detained during his pleasure and put to death if they resisted his pleasure. He was also further engaged in a ruinous war with Sivaganga": Major Stevenson, who was sent against the Sétupati, surrounded his fort and captured the Rājā without resistance on the 8th of February, 1795. The Sétupati was deposed, and his sister was, after the direct management of Ramnad by the British for about eight years, made the Istimrar Zamindari in 1803.

The last war with Mysore. We shall next speak of the services that the Tondaimán rendered to the English in their war with Tipu in 1799. Tipu had been intriguing with the French, and, when the Governor-General protested against his intercourse with them, no satisfactory reply was received. Hence orders were issued for the advance of an English army into Mysore in February, 1799.

* This incident is referred to as follows in *Venkanna Serraiyār Valandān*.

"செங்களுர் இராக்கதன்பட்டி சேராத கள்ளரை
சங்கிலியும் நாயும் விட்டு சாடுகிற தொண்டைமான்;
நல்லூர் புலியூர் கடுகாட்டுக் கள்ளருள்
புலியூர்க்கள்ளரை வெட்டி பொதிபிடித்த தொண்டைமான்;
விசெங்குராட்டார் செய்த வீம்பையடக்கியே
மாதவனைப்போல் வாழும் மகராஜன் தொண்டைமான்.

or "The Tondaimán, who harassed with chained dogs the Kallars that did not join (and behave properly like) the Kallars of Sengalur and Rakkathanpatti, who, in the mid-Kallar land containing Nallur and Puliyūr, had the heads of the Kallars of Puliyūr cut off and sent to him in loads, and who subdued the recalcitrant Kallars of Visenginādu and lived prosperously without foes like Vishnu".

This extract will show that some of the Tondaimán's own men—the men of Puliyūr—were among the depredators and were punished by him.

In March, Lieut. Colonel Brown, stationed at Trichinopoly, wrote to the Tondaimán to despatch to him 1,500 men without loss of time. He received 1,400 men and wrote to the Governor informing him of his acceptance of the offer made by the Tondaimán of a body of troops for service in the Mysore War. "The footsoldiers were sent under Sardars Ayyáswamiayya, Anantayya and Sérvai Muttambalakár". Colonel Brown reported their arrival at Trichinopoly to the Madras Government early in April and proposed to grant the Sardars and peons certain special rates of batta, which were approved. The Tondaimán was also required to supply sheep and provisions (9th March) and bullocks (10th April). Brown reached Seringapatam on the 11th of May after capturing Karúr, Erode, and other small forts in April. He learnt that he was just a week too late and that Seringapatam had been captured on the 4th of May and Tipu killed. Colonel Brown's detachment returned to the south on the 22nd of May and took possession of the district of Coimbatore. The officer sent back the Tondaimán's men on the 16th of July, 1799, with the following letter to the Rájá.*

"After usual compliments.

"The desire which I feel of seeing you

"The Sultan being unable to cope with the brave English was slain, and peace has taken the place of fighting. I communicate to you with great pleasure that your men did their best in matters relating to the Company and worked day and night as ordered by me, and this information has been communicated to the Government and has pleased His Excellency. The friendship existing between you and the English for the last four generations will now increase. As your men have nothing to do here, I have directed them to proceed to Poodocottah from the same place on Tuesday the 16th July next.

"We have granted to your men who had been garrisoned at Karoor at four padis (measures of rice) each for three days until they may arrive at Poodocottah from the said place from the 16th to the 19th July.

* We give the letter in full so that the reader may know the rates of batta, etc., that were granted to the Tondaimán's men.

"We have granted rice to your men at Erode at six padis each from the 16th to 21st July.

"We have granted rice to your men with Ayahswamy at Coimbatore at 8 padis each from 16th to 23rd July.

"As Ayahswamy, the bearer of this letter, is a very worthy man, I recommend him to your favour. At the time your men reached the Cootalum Talook (Kulittalai?), I wrote to Government for their pay, which has been settled as under:—

The first Sardar, 10 pagodas.

Two Sardars under him, 14 pagodas.

Each peshcar, 7 pagodas.

Twenty-two servaikars, two pagodas six fanams* each.

Twenty-four daffadars, one pagoda and three fanams each.

Two Karnams, one pagoda and 8 fanams each.

All of them have received their pay at this rate up to the 23rd of the English month, the date of their arrival at Poodocottah. The pay of the officers and men stationed at Karoor and Erode up to their arrival at Poodocottah on the 19th and the 21st respectively has been made over to Ayahswamy, who will pay it to them

The Tondaiman's men receive prize-money for their services. On the 6th of January, Col. Brown wrote to the Rájá to say that "while orders had been received from the Honorable Company to give presents to all the other armies which were with the victorious English Behaudar (at Seringapatam), it would certainly mortify him to learn that his men who were with the English camp should be made an exception" that "he felt satisfied, as upon his recommendation a payment had been settled upon his Sardars, Duffadars and Servagars, etc." that "he had also written that some particular presents should be granted to his men who accompanied the corps of Col. Lang when he went to the capture of Karoor and Darapootam (see p. 273) and who accompanied the corps of Colonel Fullarton, when he marched towards Palghat (see p. 274)", that "he would be happy if he received orders to make the presents accordingly" and that "delays in receiving the orders would be highly mortifying to him".

* 10 fanams—one pagoda—Rs. 3 as. 8.

With reference to the prize-money that was granted to the Tondaimán's officers and men, we must mention that orders were not readily passed on the subject and that Col. Brown had to exert himself a good deal in the affair. "The Prize-Committee at Seringapatam determined to exclude the detachment of Colonel Brown from any share in the captured property, as Col. Brown reached Seringapatam only after the fort had been captured. Col. Brown requested General Harris either to reconsider his decision or to submit the matter for the orders of the Governor-General; but he declined to interfere, and referred the Colonel back to the Committee upon which legal proceedings were instituted on behalf of the detachment; Col. Brown at the same time addressed the officers of the army of Mysore, protesting against the resolution of the Prize-Committee and supporting the claims of his detachment by the publication of certain *secret* orders which he had received from the Governor-General..... The ruling of the Governor-General was published at Madras in a General Order on the 30th of December; the Prize-Committee was censured and further distribution of the captured property stopped, pending the consideration of the claims of every corps and detachment which had been employed in the field during the campaign. Ultimately the detachments of Colonels Brown (and Read)..... were admitted to share in the general distribution in the same manner as if they had been present at the assault of Seringapatam",*

It took some time for the prize money to reach Pudukkóttai and it was only in 1807 that all those that had marched under Colonel Brown were required by tom-tom to appear "in the Town Cutchery" to receive the prize money.

The distribution took place after the death of the Rájá and the Managers of the state, during the minority of the new Rájá, withheld more than one-third of the prize money (4,452 pagodas) under the name of a Nazar to the Rájá. It was only after a strong letter on the subject was addressed to the Managers by the Resident of Pudukkóttai that the money taken as Nazar was returned and every one received his full share of the prize-money.

* See Lieut. Col. Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. II., pp. 336-339.

Transfer of the Carnatic (and Tanjore) to the English. We may mention that after the fall of Seringapatam, papers were found in the fallen city showing that Muhammad Ali and his son Umdut-ul-Umara who was then the Nawab of Arcot had been engaged in treasonable correspondence with Tipu. An inquiry was ordered, but while it was going on, the Nawab died. His heir would not accept the terms offered by the English, and the Nawabship was therefore conferred upon a junior member of the family, with whom a treaty was entered into, in accordance with which the Nawab was to receive one-fifth of the revenues of the province—~~never less than 12,000~~ pagodas—every month, and a proclamation was issued on the 31st of July, 1801, announcing the transfer of the Carnatic to the East India Company. The kingdom of Tanjore had been made over to the Company on the 25th of April, 1799, on condition of the retention of the Tanjore Fort by the Rájá and of an annual payment to him of one lakh of pagodas and one-fifth of the net revenue of the country. So from August, 1801, the Company represented both the Nawab and the King of Tanjore and exercised full control over the provinces which had belonged to them.

The beneficial results to the Tondaiman of the transfer. That the Tondaimán benefited greatly by the transfer of the Carnatic to the English goes without saying. So long as the Nawab was the ruler, his underlings at Trichinopoly were constantly troubling the Tondaimán for draught bullocks with sacks, sheep, fowls and other articles as also for loans of money*, were making a number of recommendations on behalf of *Fakirs* and *Pallivasals*, and were requiring him to pay large sums of money for

* For example, the Tondaimán was applied to on the 17th November, 1795 for "a loan of 2,000 pagodas for discharging some debts". On another occasion we find one of the Nawab's officers at Trichinopoly writing to the Tondaimán that "the Tondaimán was aware of the help of the Nawab's men at Trichinopoly to him" and that "with a view to help them, he should assign to them a village yielding a revenue of 2,000 pagodas a year, so that the revenue arising therefrom might be spent in performing the annual ceremonies of those that had assisted him". A copper plate was accordingly required to be granted "with a happy mind". To show that the Tondaimán was worried even for trifles, we may quote the following letter. "I troubled you before for twenty-six planks. I am sure you will kindly send them for the house—for your house when you come here".

the celebration of the Ramzán festival;* during the Muharam festival and as dues of *Pallivasal* Charity. As the Tondaimán seems to have continued as the *Arasu Kāvālkār* of Trichinopoly until a proper Police was organised by the British Government, he was also required to detect all cases of theft, and to send bodies of men for superintendence during the sowing † and the harvest season. The style that the Nawab's officers adopted in writing to the Tondaimán shows of what stuff these Trichinopoly officers were made. In most of their letters we find sentences like the following "Please God, I shall go to the Darbar to-morrow and make proper representation and write ~~to you~~ ^{for you}. I regard your business as more important than mine". "Therefore make known your wishes, if any, regarding me as one that would assist you in anything. I will represent the same to the Nawab in a favourable light". The Tondaimán must have felt very thankful at having been relieved from all the above-mentioned worry on the assumption of the Government of the Carnatic by the English Company.

We have now to describe the two "Poligar Wars" in which the Tondaimán rendered very essential service to the British. In the opinion of many writers, the services of the Tondaimán in connection with these two wars are considered as only next in importance to the help that was given by the Tondaimáns to the English at the time of the siege of Trichinopoly in 1751-4.

The first "Poligar War". We have frequently mentioned that the Pálayakárs of Tinnevely were extremely turbulent.

* There is an acknowledgment dated 26th of April, 1796 of a Nazar of 1,200 Frank pagodas for this festival. A special tax was collected from the Hindus and the Mussalmans on this account called *Ramzánpandiyai-vari* (Ramzán Festival tax). This was one of the recognised sources of income under the Mughals. The payment of this tax, though called "*abns at the eed of fitr*" was "incumbent on" every well-to-do Mahammadan. The Jāgirdars in the State collected the tax in their villages and sent the collections to the Rājā to be remitted to Trichinopoly along with his own collections. In June, 1789, we find 1,100 pagodas demanded as Nazar for Ramzán. On the 20th of February 1777, during the Muharam month, we find an acknowledgment of one thousand pagodas sent to Trichinopoly "for *Holi* (sic) funds for *Khutbas*" [i.e., sermons to Mussalmans which "should consist of the praise of God, prayers, injunctions to piety"].

† We find the Nawab writing to the Tondaimán in October, 1774, that the "presence of 500 men was quite essential as that was the time for cultivation".

"At this time Panjalamcouchy, situated about 16 miles due south of Ettayapuram, existed as a fortified town and was ruled by Vira Pandia Cataboma Nayakar *alias* Caruthiah, a Poligar chief, then about 30 years of age. He had two brothers named Cumarasamy Nayakar and Subba Nayakar. The elder, aged 26, was born both deaf and dumb. Subba Nayakar was 17. All three brothers were brave and intelligent. Oomayan, in particular, was distinguished above his peers, by his fortitude, intelligence and bravery, but alas! all those talents were, by evil companionship and the baneful influence of one Sivasubramania Pillay, seldom ~~never~~ exercised but to oppress and perpetrate ~~any~~ wickedness, reckless of consequences.

"Sallying out with a number of armed desperadoes, he would plunder the surrounding villages, whether Aiyan or Zemin, doing a little cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing by the way; make bonfires of straw stacks, and not hesitate or stickle at a murder or two, when convenient or necessary. He, at length, went a step further, and, braving the collector, ventured to collect revenue on his own account in Sircar villages. As a safe-guard against like incursions, and glad, doubtless to share in the golden harvest, the Poligars of Nagalapuram, Elairampannai, Golavarpatti, Kulattoor and Kadalgudi, cast in their lot with Cataboma Nayakar. Proud and exultant at so many Poligars having joined him, Cataboma Nayakar, over-confident of his power to resist, was deluded into believing he was in a position to fight all comers, the Company's troops included. He ignored Col. Maxwell's summons to meet him for determining the boundaries of some Zemin villages which were then in dispute" *.

The commencement of the final struggle with Kattaboma Nayakar was through an order issued to him by Mr. Jackson, Collector of Southern Peshcush and Ramnad, commanding him to appear before him at Ramnad and explain his conduct. He made his appearance at Ramnad on the 9th of September, 1798, and, while the correspondence that had passed between him and the Collector was being read out to him, he pretended to be alarmed, rushed out with his armed followers and is believed to have stabbed with his own hand Lieutenant Clarke, who was on guard outside. He and the other Pálayakár paid no attention to

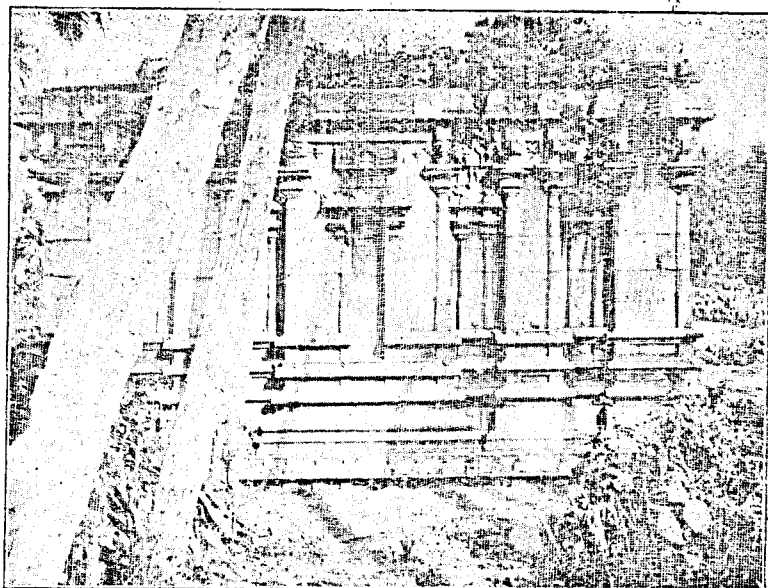
* *Ettayapuram, Past and Present*, pp. 39-41.

the orders that they received from Mr. Jackson and from Mr. Lushington, who succeeded to the office of "Collector of Polygar Peshcush", but continued to commit depredations. Their mutinous conduct* was left unnoticed until the fall of Seringapatam in May, 1799, set free sufficient forces for an army to be sent against them. An expedition was placed under the command of Major Bannerman in August, 1799.† The fort of Pánjálamkuricchi was attacked and Kattaboma Náyak evacuated it with his party and fled northwards. He was pursued by the Ettyapuram pálayakár, but Kattaboma Náyak escaped first to Siyaganga and then to the woods in the Tondaimán's country.

Capture of Kattaboma Nayak, and six others by the Tondaiman. On the 8th of September, the Collector, Mr. Lushington, wrote to the Tondaimán to exert himself to secure the person of Kattaboma Náyak and of the Pálayakár of Nagalápuram, who were represented as having fled to his country. On the 14th of September, 1799, the Tondaimán wrote in reply to Mr. Lushington that "the moment he received his letter he despatched different parties to the boundaries of his country", that "they were as vigilant as possible", and that "if the Poligars approached his limits, his attachment and fidelity to the Company would be made known to them". The Tondaimán was shortly afterwards informed (26th of September, 1799) that Kattaboma Náyak and the Pálayakár had fled in another direction (to Anioor?) and that it was unnecessary to keep guards on the southern limits of the State, but that the Western and Northern boundaries should be watched. In the meanwhile, the Pálayakárs had been captured by the Tondaimán's men, and the Tondaimán wrote to Mr. Lushington on the 24th September, 1799, that "on every side in the mountains and on the hills he had placed people to find out the hiding place of the enemy", that "by the blessing of God, the prosperity of the Company and his own good fortune, Kuttabomma Nayak with his dumb brother, two brothers in-law and

* As an example of the refractory conduct of the pálayakárs, we may mention the receipt by the Collector in October, 1798 "of a bag of stones from the Polygar of Coomby in answer to the Collector's demand for the payment of his peshcush".

† See Rev. J. Kearns' *Account of the Panjálamcouchy Polegars*, pp. 50-53, from which it will be found that Major Bannerman was vested with full powers over those found in open rebellion.



A view of the temple at Tirukkalambur.

three other people—altogether seven persons—were discovered in the jungle of the village of Kaliapoor, in the Sivaganga Taluk, to the westward of Tirucculumpoor in his country”, that “he sent his troops thither and that they with much caution and exertion captured the party”, that “at the time Cataboma Naig was captured, he wished to kill himself”, that “it was extremely difficult to keep them in safety even one day” and that “he was waiting for an answer”. The Sardar who had the credit of capturing the party was Muttuvairava Ambalakaran of Tirukkalambur, whose exploits are commemorated in a *Kummi* or dance song, composed probably at the time. The Tondaiman was informed by Mr. Lushington that “the perusal of his letter filled him with a joy beyond expression either through letter or by mouth”, and that “he would at the sight of his letter deliver the the said Kattabomma Naick *etc.*, seven prisoners in close custody, with their hands and feet ironed, over to the charge of Mr. Smith, commanding at Madura”. The request was complied with and Captain Smith, commanding at Madura, wrote to the Rájá on the 6th of October, 1799, that “Kuttabomma Naick, his younger brother, three of his relatives and two of his servants, in all seven persons, had arrived there with four daggers, five swords, one nutcracker and one knife, sent through Annavayya”. Kataboma Náyak was soon afterwards removed to Kaittar, in the Tinnevely District, where on the finding of a Court-Martial, he was hanged on the 17th October, 1799, in the presence of the Pálayakárs of Tinnevely assembled for the purpose. The others that had been captured were kept in confinement at Palamcotta. The rebel Pálayakárs were dispossessed of their States and dismantled their own forts and gave up a considerable quantity of arms, “reserving, however, as will be seen further on, a sufficient supply for future use”, and the first “Poligar War” came to an end.

The Tondaiman receives hearty congratulations from the English officers. Congratulations were showered on the Rájá of Pudukkóttai for his capture of Kataboma Náyak and his party. Mr. Lushington informed the Tondaiman that by this act “the Company were highly gratified, he was much applauded and that he was fully established in their favour”, and that “he would be able to judge by the favour which he would experience from

the Company in what warm terms his laborious services had been submitted to the favourable notice of the Company". Mr. Lushington referred here to his letter to the Board of Revenue, in which he had stated that "the moment he heard of Cataboma Naig's evacuation of his Fort, he despatched a letter (on the 8th of September) for his capture to Tondiman, and, having, on every former instance wherein he had thought it for the good of the public service to address him, received every token of his attachment to the Company's Government, he looked with confidence to the Tondiman's exertions on the occasion", that "the result proved the confidence to have been well placed", that "the seizure of the party entitled Tondiman to the highest commendation", that "the beneficial consequences of the event would not be confined to the Panjalamcoorchy district, where all his arrangements were proceeding undisturbed", that "the other Poligars seeing that there was no safety for them even in flight would be the more inclined to a due obedience", that "indeed in whatever point of view it was considered, the service which the Tondaimán had performed was of the highest importance" and that "therefore he took the liberty to suggest that he might be permitted to present him in the Company's name with such marks of the Government's approbation as he might be considered to deserve". The Governor, Lord Olive, wrote to the Tondaimán on the 4th of November that "his letter relating to the capture of the Poligar of Panjalamkurchi with some others had arrived and afforded him great pleasure", that "his ancestors with reference to the Government of the English Company were firm in the former wars and rendered excellent services at different times", that "the fresh proof of his exertions and the interest taken by him in Government affairs had already spread the fame of his family", that "it was impressed on his mind and would be communicated to the Directors in England" and that "by way of gratitude, he was sending therewith one *Khilat** with a horse". The Rájá received also a present of two

* *Khilat* is Hindustani for "a dress of honour, any article of costume presented by the ruling or superior authority to an inferior as a mark of distinction". Mr. Irvine in his *Army of the Indian Mughals* (p. 28) mentions that among the rewards and distinctions bestowed by the Mughal sovereigns were (1) Titles, (2) Robes of honour, (3) Gifts of money and other articles, (4) Kettle-drums, (5) Standards and Ensigns.

thousand Kali Chakrams. The following is an extract from a letter from the Madras Government addressed to the Supreme Government (5th October, 1799).

"We have also particular satisfaction in remarking that Cataboma Naig, his brother, two brothers-in-law and three principal Shereogars (the whole party who escaped the pursuit of the Ettiapur Poligar) are secured by Tondiman, on whose zeal and exertion Mr. Lushington has bestowed the highest commendation. We recommend to your Lordship's favourable attention his suggestion that he may be permitted to present him in the Company's name with such marks of your Lordship's approbation, as the important service he has performed may be considered to deserve".

Col. Brown (see p. 298), under whose command the Tondaimán's men marched to Seringapatam also wrote on the 15th of October to the Tondaimán as follows:—"Considering the long-proved friendship which subsists between you and myself, I have addressed a letter to the Government.....The gentlemen of the Government of Madras on reading the letter said as follows, "Rajah Vijaya Ragoonath Rie Tondiman is our confidential ally; he is a well-wisher of the English nation; and he can be safely depended upon in all respects to afford his sincere and cordial assistance to the English".

The account given above of the capture of Kataboma Náyak and his party will show that Kataboma Náyak and his party, finding no other place of refuge, fled of their own accord to the woods of Sivaganga near the border of Pudukkóttai to obtain a place of concealment and that the Tondaimán was in no way guilty of "any betrayal" of the pálayakár. The tradition that the pálayakár and Úmayan were for a time imprisoned at Tirumayyam must also be dismissed as baseless, unless it be that after the capture of the pálayakár and his party by the Tondaimán, they were brought to Tirumayyam and kept there in confinement until the Rájá sent them on to Madura.

The Second "Poligar War". The pálayakár of Panjalamkuricchi who was hanged at Kaitár in September, 1799, had left two brothers who were confined at Palamcotta. Of these the

younger, Ūmayan or "the dumb boy", as he was called, was "a person of great energy and full of resources and was regarded by the natives almost as a divinity"*. He is thus described by Col. James Welsh.† "He is one of the most extraordinary mortals I ever knew, a near relation of Catabona Naig—designated by the English officers as the *Cat*—who was both deaf and dumb and was well-known by the English under the name of Dumbly or the Dumb Brother, by the Mussalmans as Múkah, and by the Hindus as Oomeen; all having the like signification. He was a tall, slender lad, of a very sickly appearance, yet possessing that energy of mind, which, in troublous times, always gains pre-eminence; whilst, in his case, the very defect which would have impeded another, proved a great auxiliary in the minds of ignorant and superstitious idolators. The Oomee was adored, his slightest sign was an oracle and every man flew to execute what he had commanded. No council assembled at which he did not preside; no daring adventure was undertaken, which he did not lead". The two brothers in confinement had a sympathiser, Sivattayya, a near relation, at large, who was the leader of a large party of sympathisers. And through his efforts the two brothers and a number of other pālayakār prisoners confined at Palamecotta made their escape on the night of the 2nd of February, 1801, by overpowering their guard. They reached Pánjálamkuricchi before next morning and the men with them increased in number till it rose to 5,000. "The walls of Panjalamkurichi Fort had been levelled to the ground.....but all the labourers of the surrounding country had been summoned and compelled to perform the work of rebuilding the fort and before the end of a month, they placed the fort of Panjalamkurichi in a better state than it had been before its demolition". Major Macaulay, commanding in the province of Tinnevely, found that he could effect very little against the pālayakārs, and Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew was appointed to command the troops in the field. Pánjálamkuricchi was captured on the 22nd of May, 1801, and on the capture of the fort, the rebels fled into Sivaganga, then ruled by the Marudus (see p. 282) who had an army of 20,000 men armed with muskets, matchlocks or spears. Palankeens were

* Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 195.

† See his *Military Reminiscences*, 1830, Vol. I, p. 132.

sent to the party, who were taken in procession with the sound of music and wavings of light (Ārati) to Siruvayal, where they were lodged in the house of the mother of the Marudus. The Marudus were called upon by Col. Agnew to give up the chief of Pánjálamkuricchi and other principal leaders, on pain of being themselves treated as rebels, and as they showed no signs of compliance, operations were commenced against them. In the meanwhile Lieutenant Colonel Innes, commanding in Dindigal, had been directed to co-operate with the troops in Sivaganga. He arrived at Nattam early in June, and after much opposition from the enemy, joined Colonel Agnew's regiment on the 28th of September.

The Tondaiman's services to the English. The Tondaimán was applied to for help and the services that he rendered have been admirably summarised by Captain William Blackburne, in a letter which he wrote to the Madras Government in May, 1803, in reply to the letter from the Governor in which Captain Blackburne was asked to ascertain and communicate to the Governor the nature of the services rendered to the English by the Tondaimán in general and in particular of the help that was rendered by Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán during "the Poligar wars". Captain Blackburne had at this time been stationed with the Tondaimán by the Governor to explain to him the situation and require the Tondaimán to make the necessary arrangements promptly, as the Governor "thought that there would be delay in receiving messages from Lieutenant Colonel Agnew". His concise statement of the Tondaimán's actual situation and conduct on that occasion is transcribed below:—

"Tondiman had everything to dread from the hatred and revenge of the surviving Chief of Panjalamcouchy, whom he had formerly arrested and delivered in fetters into the hands of his enemies, and whose brother he had conducted to the scaffold. This Chief, who stood high in the confidence and favour of the rebellious Servagars of Sevagungah, sent frequent messages to Tondiman, threatening him with speedy and exemplary punishment, unless he joined the cause of the Servagars with all his heart and strength. The Servagars, on their part, exhausted all the insidious arts and plausible arguments, which they had employed so successfully with many other chiefs of less note, to

seduce Tondiman from his allegiance. Despairing at length of inducing him to become a party in their rebellion, they sent him word that he must be sensible that his country was entirely at their mercy, that if he would not join them, they required from him at the least a strict neutrality, and they insisted that he should neither send succours nor provisions to the Company's troops nor allow them a passage through his country. If the Tondiman failed in any one of these points, the Servagars declared that they had bound themselves by a solemn oath to send the Panjalamcouchy Chief and his followers, and five thousand of their own troops to overrun his country and to plunder and burn every house in it.

"On the 16th June, 1801, I had an interview with Tondiman and demanded the immediate and active co-operation of all his force against the rebels. I found him under the influence of the Murdoo's threats, and under a conviction of the facility with which they might be executed; for Lieutenant Colonel Agnew had just made an ineffectual attempt to penetrate into the Sevagunghah country and had retired to Ramnad, where his distance from Tondiman and the rebellious province between them precluded the possibility of relief if the threatened invasion should be made.

"Tondiman's preparations for his marriage with the only daughter of his predecessor* commenced before my arrival and were to be completed in ten days. Tondiman earnestly requested a delay for this period. I objected and he submitted. He ordered an immediate stop to be put to the preparations for his marriage and directed his troops to be assembled. The day following, at my request, the marriage ceremonies recommenced; but the assembling of the troops continued, and in four days three thousand marched to join Lieutenant Colonel Innes at Nattam (on his way to Sivaganga). . [According to the Inam Office Records, 3,667 men were sent under Sardar Muttukkumāra Pillai to join Lieutenant Colonel at Nattam. Another force of more than 2,000 men is also said to have been sent under Sardars

*We do not know what Captain Blackburne meant by this. His predecessor had only a daughter, Āmmal Ayi, who was given in marriage to one Māppillai Pallavarāyar.

Kanna* Aiyar and Raghunātha Row to join the army at Sivaganga].

"At the first suggestion, Tondiman gave up Trimmiem, the only stronghold in his dominions, for a depôt for the use of Lieutenant Colonel Agnew's army.

"Tondiman received with distinction the Zemindar of Sivaganga—Gauri Vallabha Periya Udaya I évar of the Padamatúr line, whose installation by the English with much state in the camp, had been of service in detaching many from the rebel "Marudus"—and afforded him protection, although he was well aware that this step would excite the most rancorous hatred in the rebels. [The Governor wrote to the Tondaimān in July, 1801, desiring him to afford his support to the ruler of Sivaganga, recognised by the English, congratulating him on "the care and attention that he had shown in keeping the rebels in awe and on assisting the Company in putting out the fire set up by the disaffected and dismissed Shairvagurs of Shevagunga"].

"Tondiman was requested to send five hundred men to escort the Zemindar to Lieutenant Colonel Agnew's Camp. He sent nine hundred, who escorted the Zemindar and remained with him as a body guard and behaved so well as to deserve the approbation of Lieutenant Colonel Agnew.

"A great number of the families of Murdoo's principal adherents had concealed themselves in the jungles upon or near the frontiers of Tondiman. A list of these families was sent to Tondiman and he apprehended the whole in one night and secured them, some in the Fort of Trimmiem and others in the villages in the interior. They were treated with the utmost respect and within ten days every male attached to them deserted from the service of the rebels. The men remained with their families under an easy restraint until the end of the war, when they were all permitted to go where they pleased.

*Sardar Kanna Aiyar was "a learned, respectable and intelligent Brahmin", who afterwards became the Fouzdar or the Principal officer in command of the Rājā's forces. The English officer commanding in Tanjore wrote in December, 1804 that "as often as Kannier visited Tanjore, military honours were paid to him notwithstanding his entrance happened between (outside) the hours settled by the British Regulations, from a wish on the officer's part to prove that he was highly deserving of the same".

"In order to enable me to execute a plan of operations proposed by Lieutenant Colonel Agnew, I requested Tondiman to send a body of troops through a part of Sevagunga by a route which I described, with orders to join me at a particular time and place; my request was immediately complied with and the movements executed with the most pointed exactness and precision. [From the Inam Office Records we find that 13 horse and about 1070 foot soldiers were sent under Sardars Kanna Aiyar and Raghunátha Row and Murgappa Servaikar to join Captain Blackburne at Arantangi. They were employed in quelling some disturbances at Tiruppattūr and Kunnakkudi. Captain Blackburne was attacked on the 21st of July, 1801, but the rebels were driven back without difficulty. On the 29th of October, 1801, Captain Blackburne wrote to the Tondaimán to inform him that "he was pleased with the spirit and alacrity with which the Tondaimán's men performed the service on which he detached them" and that "as the rebellion was then entirely extinguished he offered the Tondaimán his thanks for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which he had complied with all his wishes"].

"During the whole of the campaign, the Tondiman's troops alone escorted all the supplies of grain, *etc.*, which were sent by the Collector of Tanjore to the depôt at Trimiem and the stores and ammunitions which were sent from Trichinopoly were met by the Tondiman's guard at the frontier and conducted with speed and safety to the depôt.

"Frequent and important intelligence was sent to me by Tondiman, with many sensible opinions on the peculiar nature of the war, which received the approbation of Lieutenant Colonel Agnew".

The conduct of the Tondaimán was considered highly meritorious by the Governor, Lord Clive, who wrote to him (September, 1801) that "he had much pleasure in acknowledging the seasonable arrival of his troops and provision at the English camp and expressing his thankfulness for the deep interest the Tondaiman had taken in the Company's welfare". The Tondaimán was also informed by Lieutenant Colonel Agnew that "the order of the Government that Padamattoor Odeateivan should

remain under the protection of the Tondaiman furnished a proof of his having, by long and faithful conduct, deserved and obtained their confidence and favour".

Operations in the Sivaganga country. We shall now return to the war. Siruvayal was occupied by Lieutenant Colonels Agnew and Innes on the 30th of July, and from the 31st of July until the 1st of September, the force was employed in endeavouring to penetrate the dense forest between the camp at Siruvayal and the fort at Kalaiyáirkóvil, the principal stronghold of the rebels, situated about five miles direct south of Siruvayal. A large number of woodcutters from Dindigal and Poodocottah* were put upon this work. The *Tondaimán Vijayamu*, the Telugu poem on the victories of the *Tondaimáns*, mentions that the united chiefs were proud of their thick forests; that under the thorny shrubs in these forests, they drove short pegs and in the interspaces placed vessels filled with powder, and that spies were placed on the tops of trees to watch the movements of the English".

The following extracts are from General Welsh's Journal † of the War.

"On the 31st of July, our pioneers and the wood-cutters from the Tondaiman's country, amounting to about two thousand men, under the cover of two hundred Europeans....., cut a broad road of one mile and a half in the direction of Calliacole".

"On the first of August, the pioneers and the wood-cutters resumed their labours and cut three quarters of a mile.

"August 2nd. The same working party went out covered by one-hundred and fifty Europeans.....Then a fire commenced.....

"August 23rd. Colonel Innes's detachment, with all the cavalry, marched towards Trimiem to bring stores, *etc.*, to the camp, which were much wanted; a large tappal was despatched with them, the first we had been able to send....., our communication being entirely cut off for the last twenty-five days. [Col. Agnew wrote to the Tondaimán on the 22nd of August that

* Colonel Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. III, p. 48.

† See General Welsh's *Military Reminiscences*, Vol. I.

"he had sent his men with the regiment of Lieutenant Colonel Innes so that he might take a review of them and they might see their families", that "the men had shown themselves faithful and steady during the campaign" and that "they should be ready to follow the officer to see the provisions conveyed safely to the camp".]

"August 29th. It was today resolved to quit this place without further prosecuting our attempt to reach Caliacole from the Sherwele side; and the rejoicing was unanimous at the prospect of leaving a place which had been the grave of so many of our brave comrades.

"September, 1st. A working party was sent out with the usual escort to destroy all our thirty-two days' handiwork in the jungle

"September, 17th. Colonel Agnew determined on paying a visit to Perahmallee (Pirānmalai). Having accomplished a night march of fourteen miles and a half, we encamped, sending forward the cavalry and Tondiman's peons to take the Pagoda, in which we were informed that the enemy had left only twenty men. Captain Munro, Brigade Major, and Mr. George Hughes, our intelligent interpreter, put themselves at the head of the peons when they came near the place and encouraged them to advance; but unluckily they were not to be thus persuaded,* and the enemy, animated undoubtedly by their hesitation, poured a fire of musquetry.....Thus came to our hands the far-famed temple of Perahmallee (15th September) which to our surprise was a stone-fort of considerable extent and elevation.

The end of the War. October; 1st. The dawn saw us advance by three distinct routes to the redoubted Caliacole. The united chiefs defended themselves with great valour and resisted the whole force that could be brought against them. The superiority

* It is needless for us to mention that it was not timidity but religious awe that kept back the Tondiman's peons. Pirānmalai temple had been held in reverence for centuries, as the God at the place is the subject of one of the hymns of Sambandhar, the celebrated Saiva saint of the seventh century. The peons must have considered it a dreadful sacrilege to attack the pagoda. In this connection we may mention that the Rājā of Tanjore, after the famous temple in his capital town was evacuated of its garrison and stores and restored to him, "purified it at a very great expense and placed sentinels to prevent any one from entering it". See Lord Ventia's *Travels* (1804), Vol. I., Chap. VII.

of discipline at length prevailed and Kālaiyarkóvil was soon afterwards taken (1st of October), and the rebels dispersed in every direction immediately afterwards. By the end of the month, the two Marudus, their sons and principal followers as well as the Chiefs of Pānjālamkuricchi had all been taken and executed with the exception of the younger son of Chinna Marudu and seventy-one others who were transported for life. A proclamation was issued on the 31st of December, 1801, for the disarming of the people in the provinces of Dindigal, Tinnevely, Ramnad, Sivaganga and Madura; and the destruction of the forts and the general disarming of the people were completed in March, 1802. Sivaganga became an Istimrar Zamindāri in 1803.

The Tondiman praised by the Governor for his help in the War. The Rājā's men were returned to him soon after the war was over with a letter from Lord Clive (1st December, 1801) in which the Governor stated that "he was highly rejoiced on the congratulations he had received from the Tondiman on the victory gained over the rebellious people of Sivaganga," that "he was likewise glad to learn from Captain Blackburne that the people sent by him to aid the Honorable Company stood firm and vigorously opposed the enemy during the war", that "he had permitted his men to return to him, their services being no longer wanted," that "he was happy to observe that the disturbances were over through his kind aid and advice," that "when he brought to his mind the innumerable instances of his solicitude and anxiety to further the interests and prosperity of the Honorable Company, he (the Governor as the good friend of the Tondiman) could not but express his sense of the worth and excellence so vividly shining in his good conduct towards them," and that "he hoped that God would render the long existing friendship between the Tondiman and the Honorable Company to last for years to come".

Capture of Boma Nayak. About this time, according to the Palace accounts, a force was sent against Boma Náyak of Vārāppūr palayam to bring him to subjection.

In an interesting account of the expedition found in a Tamil Song on Venkannan Sérvaikar, it is stated that the Sérvaikar, who was sent against Boma Náyak, crossed Ponnamarāvati, encamped

at Pálayakkuricchi, captured Váráppúr, Boma Náyak's fort, and on finding that Boma Náyak had escaped from the fort, searched for him in the forests of Pirámmalai, Puramalai, *etc.*, and finally captured him and handed him over to Col. Agnew at Tiruppattúr.

The close of the Era of War. In 1801 the era of war came to an end, so far as South India is concerned. "A mixed Government, partly carried on on English principles and partly controlled by the Nawab's prejudices, had come to an end and been succeeded by a Government purely English, at unity with itself and as just as it is powerful. The results of this change have been most important and valuable. War seemed to have been the normal condition of the old Pándya country.....till 1801.... Things were worse under the Náyakars than under the Pándyas; worse still under the Nawab, and worst of all—as the night is at its darkest just before the dawn—during that deplorable period immediately before the interference of the English—when the Nawab's power had become merely nominal and the only real power that survived was that of fierce Poligars and avaricious "Renters" The Poligars had become Zamindars and had changed their nature as well as their name. One can scarcely believe that the Náyaka and Marava Zamindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untamable chiefs, of whose deeds of violence and daring the eighteenth century was so full" *.

Hence there was no necessity for the Tondaimán to engage in any wars after 1801, and the history of the country in the nineteenth century will thus be found to be a history of the reforms that were effected in the State. In 1809, indeed the Tondaimán was required to assemble his forces so that they might be ready to join, when required, Col. Wilkinson, Officer commanding the Southern Army. For what purpose the army was required we have not been able to ascertain. It was ultimately decided that the forces of the Tondaimán were not necessary and the Governor-General, Lord Minto, wrote to the Tondaimán on the 1st of December, 1809, that he was much gratified to learn from the Tondaimán's letter that "acting to what Captain Butler, the acting Resident at Tanjore had written to him in conformity

* Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, pp. 228—229.

with instructions from the Government he had caused his troops to be held in readiness" and that "whilst expecting further orders he had another letter from that gentleman expressing that there was no necessity for the troops" and that "although his troops were actually not employed, yet as he had assembled them for the assistance of the Company at their requisition through Captain Butler, he was glad to consider the Raja as a well-wisher of the Company". This is the only instance of the Tondaimán's forces having been applied for by the English in the nineteenth century. The Sepoys of the Tondaimán "found their occupation gone" and "the Amergars and Ooliagars to whom lands had been given on service tenure instead of wages" were required "to perform military * (*sic*) services and other duties, *viz.*, to watch at the gates of Palace, oversee paddy, *etc.*, at the time of (Amáni) harvest and collect Sirkar money, *etc.*,"—rather tame work for men that had opposed Haidar and "the Marudus".

Grant of the Kilanilai tract to the Tondaiman. The Tanjore country was now in the enjoyment of the Company (with the exception of the Fort which was occupied by the Tanjore Rájá), and it was to the Company that the Tondaimán had to apply for the Kilanilai tract, which had been claimed by the Tondaimáns for about fifty years. On the 13th of April, 1803, the Resident of Tanjore wrote to the Rájá of Pudukkóttai that "the Right Honorable the Governor had received the Tondimán's letter, representing his uniform fidelity to the Honorable Company and referring 'for particulars of his situation' to the officer commanding the Southern Division of the Army, that "in consequence he had received the commands of his Lordship in Council to ascertain the nature of his claim (to Kilanilai) and report 'it with his opinion of the degree of consideration which it might deserve in consequence of his general attachment to the interests of the Company and of his particular exertion during the late rebellion in the Southern Provinces', that, "in order to enable him to execute the orders of the Governor-in-Council, the Tondiman might state to him without reserve the nature of any claims, expectations or wishes which he might have formed" and that "the Tondiman would furnish him with

* Pudukkóttai Sirkele's letter to the Political Agent, dated 10th May, 1854.

authentic copies of all the authorities or documents which the Tondiman might possess in support of his claims and every other information he might think necessary to illustrate or explain his particular exertions during the late rebellion or his general attachment to the interests of the Company".

In reply to this the Tondaimán sent his Persian Munshi to the Resident of Tanjore with a request that he would kindly meet him at a village on the frontier of Tanjore, where he would explain, he said, his sentiments fully. The Resident of Tanjore, Captain Blackburne, met the Tondaimán on the 21st April, 1803, when the Tondaimán expressed some anxiety in regard to the impression under which the Governor had directed the inquiries to be made. He said that he had received a letter on the same subject from the Officer commanding the Division and he was a little apprehensive that His Lordship might be displeased with him for presuming to call His Lordship's attention to his fidelity and attachment to the Company. The Resident assured the Tondaimán that the inquiries which were separately made by the Commanding Officer of the Division and himself were obviously calculated to obtain for His Lordship the most complete and authentic information, and that, if he should derive no advantage from an unreserved communication of his sentiments, he should certainly receive no injury from it.

The Tondaimán then freely opened his mind to the Resident. He began by making a very solemn declaration of his attachment to the Company and of his fidelity and zeal in their service, entered into a long detail of the services of his ancestors to the Company, pointed out the particular importance of those services on the various occasions and expatiated on the unimpeached zeal, fidelity and attachment which had distinguished them. He then mentioned that the affections and the policy of his ancestors had descended unchanged and unweakened to him, that his affections were naturally engaged to the friends and protectors of his family and that, united with the principles of honour and fidelity which had always distinguished that family, they had inspired him early in life with a resolution to attach himself entirely to the interests of the Company and to distinguish himself, if possible, by his zeal and fidelity in their

service. He acknowledged that he had not been without hopes at the same time, that if his fortune favoured him, he might become in some degree identified with the prosperity of the Company and receive some advantages from their increasing wealth and power.

He then mentioned a claim which he possessed to the fort and district of Kílánilai and explained that the claim originated in a grant from Pratápa Simha,* Rájá of Tanjore, and in engagements which were afterwards entered into with his predecessor by Colonel Braithwaite, General Coote, Lord Macartney, on the faith of which he attacked the Fort and retook it from Haidar Ali. The Resident then requested the Tondaimán to give him a memorandum of his claim and to permit him to inspect and copy the original instruments on which it was founded. The Tondaimán in reply told the Resident that he had nearly two hundred letters from the principal Sardar of the Company, which contained the most unequivocal proofs of the fidelity and attachment to the Company of his ancestors and of the satisfaction with which their services had been received, that in regard to his own principles and conduct he could refer with confidence to recent facts within the recollection of His Lordship, that he should leave it to the Resident to represent his conduct during the rebellion in Sivaganga, and that, in regard to the arrest of the Pánjálamkuricchi chief, he should only observe that it must have demonstrated that he permitted no personal feelings or consideration whatever to have the slightest effect upon him in opposition to his sense of duty to the Company.

There was another point which the Tondaimán proposed to state not as a claim in any respect, but merely as a suggestion for the favourable consideration of His Lordship. The Emperor or other great and powerful Princes were accustomed to bestow particular titles and ensigns of distinction on the most deserving of their dependents. The ensigns of distinction which he was authorised to use had been granted to his ancestors by the ancient kings of the Carnatic and in one instance by the Nawab Mahammad Ali Khan, who authorised him to add *Rájá Bahadúr* to his name. The Tondaimán mentioned that any additions to

* See p. 224, first footnote.

those titles or ensigns of distinction which His Lordship might do him the honour of conferring upon him, he should receive with the highest respect and gratitude. On being requested by the Resident what titles and ensigns he would desire to have, the Tondaimán particularly instanced the title of *Maharāja* and permission to have a White Umbrella* and Gold Chobdar sticks† carried before him.

Having thus ascertained the full extent of the Tondaimán's claims and wishes, the Resident of Tanjore returned to Tanjore. He then submitted a very full and explanatory report (May, 1803) to the Madras Government, giving the details of his interview with the Tondaimán, furnishing a statement of the conduct of the Tondaimán during the Sivaganga rebellion (see pp. 309-315), and submitting two packets of translations made by himself of papers received from the Tondaimán, of which one contained a statement of the Tondaimán's claim to the fort and district of Kílanilai and translations of letters on which it was founded, and the other contained letters received by the Tondaimán's ancestors from persons of distinction in the Company's service. After mentioning that he had not the smallest doubt of the authenticity of the letters, the Resident gave it as his opinion that the conduct of the Tondaimán during the Sivaganga rebellion was highly meritorious, that he was therefore deserving of marks of favour or distinction which His Lordship might think proper to confer upon him and declared that the Tondaimán's administration and his private character, so far as he knew directly from personal observation and learned from the information of others, were unstained with any crime or blemish that could make him an improper object of His Lordship's favour.

The Governor-in-Council having considered the Report, ceded the fort and district of Kílanilai to the Tondaimán by the following grant, dated 8th July, 1803.

* We may mention that among the ensigns of royalty which the Rájá of Tanjore enjoyed, were "a White umbrella, a Nagara (kettledrum) and colours mounted on elephants". See his letter to the Governor of Madras dated 25th of January, 1778.

† That is, sticks to be carried by Chobdars. *Chob* or *Chop* is Hindustani for "a stick, a staff, a staff of office", and *Chobdar* is "an attendant carrying such a staff".

*Grant of the Fort and District of Keelanelly
to Tondiman.*

"Captain Blackburne, the Resident at Tanjore, having communicated to me an explanation of the nature of the claims which you stated by my desire to that officer, I have, in consequence, caused particular inquiry to be made respecting the ground of your right to the district of Keelanelly, and the result of the information I have received, combined with the testimonies which have been brought to my attention of the fidelity and attachment to the interests of the Honourable Company's Government which have marked the conduct of yourself and your ancestors, have determined me to cede to you the possession of that territory, for the purpose of recompensing the services of your family and of affording a distinguished example of the disposition of the Company's Government to reward with liberality those persons who adhere with fidelity to its interest and confidence in its protection.

"I shall, in consequence, direct measures to be taken for defining the limits of the district of Keelanelly according to its extent when formerly in your possession, so that it may be separated from the territory of the province of Tanjore and transferred to you.

"It is my intention that you and your descendants shall hold the district in perpetual lease, subject to the tribute of an elephant to be presented annually to the British Government. But as the orders about to issue on this subject must be dependent on the order of confirmation of the Honorable Court of Directors, you will not consider the arrangement to be permanent until it shall have been ratified by the Court of Directors. In the meantime I shall direct that you shall be placed in possession of the Fort of Keelanelly and that you shall enjoy the revenues of the district until the final decision of the Court of Directors on your claim shall have been made known to this Government.

"With reference to the honorary marks of distinction which Captain Blackburne has informed me that you are desirous of possessing, I have determined that you and your descendants shall be permitted to assume the distinguishing marks of two

gold chobdar sticks, conformably to the wish which you have expressed on that subject; and in token of my approbation, I have directed that two gold sticks of that description shall be prepared and presented to you in my name.

Fort St. George.
8th July, 1803.

What more?
(Signed) Clive."

The Governor's letter was formally handed over to the Tondaimán by Captain Blackburne on the 7th of August, 1803. According to the Resident's Report to the Madras Government, "The Tondiman attended by all his Sirdars and a considerable part of his military force met the Tanjore Resident on the road at a distance of two miles from the place of his abode. He received the Governor's letter with demonstrations of the highest respect and placed it upon his head. He then held it up to the view of all the people, while troops saluted and cannon were fired."

The cession of Kilánelli was confirmed by the Court of Directors, and the Tondaimán was informed of the fact in the following letter dated 7th March, 1806.

"You were informed by a letter from Lord Clive dated the 8th of July, 1803, of the tenure on which His Lordship was pleased to place you in possession of the district of Keelanelly as a reward for your fidelity and that of your family to the British Government.

"The subject having been referred to the Honorable the Court of Directors agreeably to the intention stated in Lord Clive's letter, I have now to acquaint you that I have received the decision of the Honorable Court on that reference and that the grant of Keelanelly to you and your family has been confirmed by the Court of Directors, subject, however, to the express condition that the district shall not be alienated and that it shall revert to the Company upon satisfactory proof being given that the inhabitants labour under any oppressive system of management

Provided that the above condition shall be observed, you and your descendants will continue in uninterrupted possession of the district in question.

Fort St. George,
7th March, 1806. } *

What more?
(Signed) Bentinck."

The grant of Kilánilai† was made subject to the yearly tribute of an elephant. The tribute, however, was not insisted upon, and in 1836 it was formally excused.

The circumstances under which this exemption was secured are interesting and a brief account of the same mainly based on the letter of the Resident to the Madras Government dated 3rd June, 1836, may be given for the information of the reader.

The payment of the tribute was never acceded to by the Tondaimán and the Resident of Tanjore in his letter dated 10th August, 1803, reporting the substance of his conversation with the Tondaimán, mentioned that "in the course of his conversation he observed that there was one part of the arrangement which the Tondiman contemplated with some degree of uneasiness and that that part was the payment of the tribute, from which under any form his family had long enjoyed exemption.

"His family, the Tondiman said, had long enjoyed an exemption from payment of tribute under every form, a proud and conspicuous distinction which had elevated them above all the Pollygars of the country.....In my attempt to reconcile the Tondiman to this part of the arrangement, I stated to him..... that the present of an elephant annually was to be considered in the light of homage to the sovereign for lands granted...I explained to Tondiman the nature of the tenure, pointed out to him

* Aitchison's *Treaty*, Vol. V, pp. 331-333. See the article on Pudukkottai in Lewis Moore's *Manual of Trichinopoly*.

† The writer of the Madras Volumes of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* published in 1908 must have been thinking of the grant of this tract to the Tondaimán, when he made the following palpably erroneous statement relating to Pudukkottai.

"Travancore and Cochin were recognised principalities before the British were supreme in the South and.....Pudukkottai was given to an ancestor of the present Rājā in return for services to the British in the wars of the eighteenth century." See Vol. I, p. 84.

several instances of its actual existence in England and endeavoured to make him understand the superior dignity of homage when compared with tribute.....Tondiman observed that it was expressly stated in his Lordship's letter that the elephant was to be presented as a tribute, and although the term might be altered it would always be considered as a tribute by all his people."

"In none of the documents alluded to above (see Lord William Bentinck's letter quoted above) is the tribute mentioned, but neither does it appear that the condition annexed to the original grant was withdrawn." The tribute was at no time received or demanded, and "the claim upon Tondiman for the tribute of an elephant lay dormant for thirty years." When the claim was revived in 1836, a representation was made by Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán, in which he stated that in 1803 his father "had avowed he would prefer his former state of honour and consideration to the acquisition of a District with the loss of that dignity which had descended to him from his ancestors" and that "the Resident, Captain Blackburne, had told him in reply that the Government would never lessen the dignity which Tondiman had derived from his ancestors," that the letter of Lord William Bentinck contained no reference to the tribute" and that "when the subject of the tribute was mentioned to him his consternation and distress were extreme." The Tondaimán addressed in 1836 several letters to the Resident expressing the greatest anxiety but at the same time his confidence that the Government would not exact from him a tribute of dependence. Lieut. Col. Maclean, Resident, gave a short history of the whole question in his letter to Government dated 3rd June, 1836, and recommended that the claim need "not be insisted upon, as he was confident that so doing would be the cause of the greatest happiness to the Raja and entirely neutralise the feelings of joy and gladness" with which the grant had been received and is enjoyed. When the matter went to the Court of Directors, they took a favourable view of the case and ordered on the 27th September, 1837, that "the claim upon Tondiman for the tribute of an elephant having been dormant for thirty years, it is very proper not to revive it" but "that its abandonment

must not be construed as a renunciation of the power expressly reserved in the grant of resuming the District in case of mismanagement."

Grant of two Chobdar sticks:—The two gold sticks which Lord Clive had directed to be prepared were ready in December, 1803, and the Governor of Madras, Lord William Bentinck, wrote to the Tondaimán on the 13th of December, 1803, to inform him that he had directed them to be given to the Tondaimán's Vakil so that they might be sent to him. The title of *Maharaja* was not granted, evidently for the reason that the Tanjore ruler had himself been latterly (after about 1770) styled *Rájá* by the English;—and the *White Umbrella* must have been considered an "ensign of independent sovereignty" and withheld, as the English did not consider the Tondaimán "an independent king."*

Captain Blackburne wrote to the Tondaimán (29th February, 1804) to say that Mr. Harris, Collector of Tanjore, had written to him (the Resident) asking him to inform the Tondaimán that he had received full orders from the Government that Kílánilai should be delivered over to the Tondaimán for his enjoyment, and that he had also received a copy of a letter which Mr. Parish, the Collector of Ramnad, had received from the Government of Madras relating to the settlement of the Tondaimán's disputes with Púchi Náyak of Marungápuri. What these disputes were and how they were adjusted we shall now proceed to show.

Settlement of boundary disputes with Marungapuri:—We have mentioned before that Raghunátha Rája Tondaimán and his brother Namana Tondaimán marched against Púchi Náyak of Marungápuri, captured many villages in the portion of the State to the west of Virácchalai and Kudimiámalai and annexed them to their dominions (see pp. 153-5 and 139-40). We are not in possession of any papers or reports that can throw any light on these proceedings. The villages which were then captured

* The *Ayin Akbari* mentions the Throne, the Chhatra (or the Umbrella), the the Sáiyibán (or the sunshade) and Kaukabah (stars of gold and other metals, several of which were hung up in front of the palace) as the "insignia reserved exclusively for the sovereign." See *Ayin Akbari*, Calcutta edition, Part I, p. 43 or Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 31. We find that in June 1788, "a good and new Aftábgr" (or Sáibán or Sunshade) was forwarded to the Tondaimán to be used by him".

and had been in the possession of the Tondaimáns for about eighty years were now required by Púchi Náyak to be returned to him. The Tondaimán refused to comply with the request, whereupon the matter was laid before the Madras Government by Púchi Náyak through the Collector of Madura. The Tondaimán also sent to the Resident of Tanjore in 1803 "the instruments* on which he based his claim to the villages" and "complained that the pálayakár of Marungápuri was creating much trouble in the boundary affair of his". The Resident "was fully persuaded that the claims of the Tondiman were well-founded and just" and submitted the papers to the Government. The Government thereupon appointed Mr. Watts, Collector of Madura, to examine witnesses, collect evidence and submit a report. The Collector, according to the copy that we have got of an account of the transactions relating to the treatment of a witness and the way in which he was required by the Marungápuri people to give his evidence in favour of Púchi Náyak, arrived at Káraiúr and sent for respectable men who could speak to the question. This witness, an Ambalakár of Virácchalai, was asked if there was not a tamarind grove at Virácchalai, of the name of "Púchi Náyak's tope" and whether this fact did not indicate that the village belonged to Púchi Náyak. The reply that the witness gave was that the tope was so called as Púchi Náyak had once halted there during a hunting expedition, that there was a tamarind tope called "Tondaimán's tope" at Mallákóttai in the Ramnad District in which the Tondaimán's forces once halted (see p. 267) as also a well at Manappárai called "Tondaimán's spring" on account of the use of the well by the Tondaimán's forces during their stay at the place (see p. 202), and that if, in consideration of the existence of a grove called "Púchi Náyak's tope" at Virácchalai, the village should be stated to be Púchi Náyak's, the villages of Mallákóttai and Manappárai should for similar reasons be considered to belong to the Tondaimán. The witness does not seem to have been believed and the following order was sent to the Collector of Madura by the Madras Government on the 15th February, 1804.

* There were probably orders from the Náyak King for proceeding against Púchi Náyak, capturing his places, and retaining in his own possession the villages he had captured. It would not have been difficult for the Tondaimán about 1715 A. D. to get such orders from the Náyak King.

"You have stated in your letter that the forefathers of Tondiman have wrested some villages from the forefathers of Poochi Naicken, the Poligar of Maroongapoory Poliput and that these villages still remain with Tondiman.

"By the declarations of the witnesses, *etc.*, which Mr. Watts has furnished us with on the subject, we are given to understand that the villages in question do actually belong to Poochy Naick; and yet, as they have long been enjoyed by Tondiman, the Governor-in-Council has decided that they must now be considered the property of Tondiman, as it would be justified even by a lesser period of enjoyment consistently with the rules of the English law, although the said forefathers of Tondiman had but usurped them, and that no other power should interfere with the villages".

In accordance with this decision, boundary stones were planted to the west of Gúdálúr in the Kulattúr Taluk, which bear the inscription

"Planted on the 5th June, 1804, by the Assistant Surveyors of the Honorable Company, in accordance with the orders of the Company on the boundary dispute petition presented by Púchaya Náyak of Marungápuri against Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Bahadúr Tondaimán".

Settlement of boundary disputes with Manapparai. There were similar boundary disputes with Lakki Náyak of Manappárai, and, in accordance with the decision of the dispute by the Governor-in-Council, boundary stones were planted in Rásálipatti village in 1804, which bear the inscription

"Planted by the Surveyors and assistant Surveyors of the Honorable Company in accordance with the orders passed on the boundary dispute petition of Lakki Nayak of Kumáravadi against Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Bahadúr Tondaimán".

The Tondaiman's Charities. The ruler styled 'Bhoja Raja'. We shall now turn to the charities that were instituted by this ruler, and to his liberal patronage of learned men. He distinguished himself by his munificence so much that he was given

and is generally known by the name of "Bhoja Rájá", the well-known ruler of the State of Dhár, whose Court was adorned by a galaxy of learned men.

(A). *Chattrams*. A number of Chattrams or feeding houses were established during the rule of this Tondaimán by the Rájá and his relatives. Among the most important of these were the Chattram built in 1797 to the west of Tirugókarnam and east of Sellukudi "on the road to Ramésvaram in the name of Kúttappan, an Adaippakkáran" or "betel-holder", who stood high in the favour of the Rájá, the Chattram at Kulaváippatti, on the road to Arantangi, built in 1803, by Kattakkurichi Áyi, stepmother of the Rájá, the Mullúr Chattram to the north of the town built by the Chinnaranmanai Jágirdár, and the Chattram at Ónángudi built in 1799 in the name of Ammani Áyi, wife of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, the Western Palace Jágirdár. A Chattram was also founded at Benares about this time in the name of Kúttappan. The Rájá also granted large tracts of land at very easy rates of assessment for the endowment of the Chattram founded by an Arimalam Chetti at Gandharvakóttai, two miles to the north of the State on the Tanjore road, and of one Muttukumáraswámi Pillai's Chattram at Trichinopoly.

(B). *Endowments to many temples* both within the limits of the State and outside were made by the Rájá. It is said that it was during the time of this ruler that lands were assigned for "the Tondaiman's *Kattalais*" or offerings in the name of the Tondaimán to the Gods at the well-known shrines of Ramésvaram, Madura, Palani, Chidambaram, Tirupati and other places. The only records that we have been able to obtain with reference to gifts to temples are those relating to the endowments of lands to the temples at Tirugókarnam and Tirumayyam, to the temple of Hanumán under the name of Sanjiviráyar at Pidámpatti near Máttúr, to the temple of Víralakshmi, the Goddess of the Kurumbars, at Sellukudi* and to the temple of Táyumánavar at Trichinopoly.

* See the inscriptions at Mángudi Kurumbanvayal, 5 miles to the west of the town, and at Vennaimuttupatti in Kulattúr Taluk, the Inam Office Records and a copper plate in the possession of the authorities of the temple at Pidámpatti.

(C). *Agrahárams*. Many Brahmins are found to have been imported for the civilization of the State, who were encouraged to settle down here by presents of houses and lands. Streets of houses were built at Rangammál Samudram in Perungulúr Nádu (in 1793 A. D.), at Tirumalairáyapuram (in 1794 A. D.), at Tirumalaráyasamudram, a little to the east of the town (in 1796 A. D.), at Sellukudi or Brihadambálpuram (in 1799 A. D.), at Kíranúr or Mangalámbálpuram (in 1804 A. D.), etc, and were presented along with rent-free lands to Brahmins. Houses in many other villages—two, three and more—were also built and presented to Brahmins with lands.

In some cases, lands were measured out and assigned rent-free for Agrahárams being built, as at Subbammálpuram near Valnád.

(D). *Grants of Sarvamānyam-lands*. Tracts of land in various parts of the State were assigned to Brahmins as Sarvamānyams or as rent-free lands, as at Kóvilúr or Ammaniammál-samudram (in 1802 A. D.), Malaiyúr or Rámachandrapuram (1803 A. D.), Kílappalinji near Tirugókarnam (1803 A. D.), Mánjanviduthi or Brihadambálpuram in Valnád tract (1804, A. D.), Púngudi or Raghunáthasubrahmanyasamudram (1805 A. D.) at Návalkulam or Vijaya Ramachandrapuram in Ponnannviduthi tract. In most of the villages in which the Brahmins had settled, arrangements were made for Vedic instruction being given by the grant of *Vedavritti* lands to Vedic scholars employed as teachers, who by the Hindu Sastras are forbidden from receiving fees for imparting Vedic instruction.

(E). *Patronage of learned men*. Among the Brahmins that were thus patronised, there must have been many that were well-read in the Vedas and Sastras, but we also find mention made in the Inam office records of lands granted specifically to learned Brahmins. As examples we may mention the "Srótriem lands" granted to Vedic scholars at Tulaiyánilai in Tirumayyam Taluk (in 1804 A. D.), at Ménávayal near Senkarai (in 1805 A. D.), at Vaiyápurí Éndal in Kulattúr Taluk (in 1806 A. D.), to "a Jatavallabhar" at Kurundanvayal in Perumanádu tract and to "a Báalakavi" or "a young poet" at Vennávalkudi near Kulaváippatti.

(F). *Forest lands cleared* In assigning tracts of lands to others either rent-free or at easy rates of assessment, the Tondaimán made an attempt to get forest lands cleared and rendered fit for cultivation. There are records of more than 50 cases, in which forest lands were required to be measured out and granted to Brahmins rent-free. The language used in these grants is "காட்டில் அளந்து கொடுக்கும்படியாக" or "காடுவெட்டிப் பயிர் போட்டு சர்வமானியமாக அனுபவித்துக்கொள்ளவும்" or "காடுவெட்டி நஞ்சை உண்டிபண்ணிக் குளம் கால்வாய்கண்டு அனுபவித்துக்கொள்ளச் சொல்லியும்," all of which may be taken to mean that the portions of the forests that were assigned were to be cleared, that the necessary tanks and channels were to be dug and that the lands should be rendered fit for wet cultivation.

This arrangement shows that the Rájá had, even in performing charities, an eye to business.

Literary activity at the time. The Rájá must have also made many other Inams of which records were not prepared or have been lost. The stirring military operations of the Rájá's men, such as their capture of Karúr and Erode on their march to Seringapatam, and the active work that they did in "the Poligar wars" created a number of poets, who sang the praises of the Tondaimán and the various prominent Sardars at the time. Their poems are not of a very high order and none of them deserve to be ranked among classics. They were all written in a popular style and were intended to be read or listened to by the people attached to the Tondaimán and his Sardars. We do not know how many works were composed in all and how many of these have perished, or lie hidden in receptacles of palm leaves. So far as we know, the only poems that had been written before the time of this ruler were the *Seventhelntha Pullavan Ulá* the *Ráya Tondaimán Anurágamalai*, the *Ráya Tondaimán Rattaimanimalai* and *Virálimalaikkuravanji*, which have already been referred to, and *Virálinkáthal*, a work on the God at Virálimalai, *Tirumalaiaráyarkappal*, a poem on Tirumalai Ráya Tondaimán, the father of the ruler, who is said to have shattered the forces of the French and the Dutch, and the Telugu Court poet

Venkanna's compositions, such as the *Tondaimán Vamsávali*, *Bhāshānavam*, *Naishadham*, etc. The undermentioned works were written in our opinion about this time.

1. The Telugu poem, *Tondaimán Vijayamu*, composed by Sāmbayya, the son of the Court poet, Venkkanna, as a continuation of the *Tondaimán Vamsávali*. This contains an account of the march to Seringapatam, the wars in Udaiyarpálayam, Ariyalūr and Turaiyūr, the war against "the Marudus", etc.

2. அம்பு நாட்டு வளந்தான். Contains references to the wars in which the Tondaimáns were engaged.

3. வெங்கண்ணன் சேர்வை வளந்தான். This, like the preceding, contains references to the military operations of the Tondaimáns between 1720 and 1801, and a particularly good account of the capture of Vārappúr Bomá Náyak by Venkanna Sérvaikár (see p. 315.)

4. ஆண்டப்ப மன்னவேளார் பேரில் குறவஞ்சி. The Rájá's valour is referred to in this work on the Sardár Ándappa Manna Vélár of Andakkulam.

5. உடையப்ப மன்னவேளார் பேரில் குறவஞ்சி. A work on Sardár Udayappa Manna Vélár of Andakkulam.

6. திருமலைராயத்துரை. பேரில் கவித்துரை. A poem on Tirumalai Tondaimán, father of the Rájá. There is a reference in this poem to the capture of Seringapatam. The Kárbár of Tirumalai Tondaimán is called Muttuvirappan.

7. கல்லபெரியான் கலியுகன் பேரில் குழுவல் நாடகம். A work on Nallaperiyán Kaliyugan of Nelvéli, near Karambakkudi, described as one that delighted the Rájá by the support that he gave to him.

8. காவலங்க நல்லகுட்டிமேல் குழுவல் நாடகம். In this work the Rájá is said to have presented Nallakutti with jewels such as ear-rings and necklets and rent free and service tenure lands.

9. திருக்குளம்பூர் வைரவன் சேர்வை பேரில் கும்பி. A poem on Muttuvairavan Sérvai, who captured Kattaboma Náyak (see p. 305). The book contains praises of the Rájá and of the rewards that he and the Sérvaikár got for their assistance to the English.

Subsequent to this time, some other works were written—two of them in praise of the Rájá's successor, two works in praise of Ranga Pallavarayar, a son-in-law of Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán, one on a Zamindár of Kallakóttai by Késava Bháratī of Séndamangalam, a poem on the Tirugókarnam temple (திருக்கோர்நம்) by the same author, poems on the shrines at Tirumayyam by Subba Aiyar of Ráyapuram, a very popular book of one hundred moral stanzas addressed to the God at Kumaramalai (see the *Gazetteer*), an incomplete poem on Tiruvarankulam by the well-known Trichinopoly poet Minákshisundaram Pillai, poems on Alagia Náchi Amman of Ponnamarávatī and Vírámakáli Amman of Ambukkóvil, and stray stanzas by Ganapati Kaviráyar of Tirugókarnam and the Kaviráyars of Mithilaippatti and Káraicchúrānpatti.* But in our opinion it was in the reign of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr, deservedly called "Bhója Rájá", that learned men received the greatest patronage and encouragement.

We have come almost to the close of the rule of this Tondaimán. We may mention a few minor events before closing our account of this ruler.

Pallavan tank cleared of silt. In 1804, the Pallavan tank in front of the Pudukkóttai palace was cleared of its silt, as was done about eighty years later, and water made fit for bathing and drinking purposes.

Kandy prisoners sent over to Pudukkottai. In 1803 there was a war between the British and the Rájá of Kandy in Ceylon, and two of the relatives of this Rájá, captured in the war, were brought over to India and confined in the Trichinopoly Fort. At the time of their confinement, Captain Blackburne placed their property under the charge of the Tondaimán, from "an opinion that in his hands it would be less liable to injury than

* In this account no reference is made to works like திருப்புகழ் (see *Virilimalai* in the *Gazetteer*), which were written hundreds of years ago, to books like ஆஞ்சநேயர் குழுவல்லுந் தகம் and வலங்கொண்டான் (see p. 144), இரணவீஜயம் of which the names alone are known, and works composed very recently like இயன்மொழி வாழ்த்து, a poem which contains an account of the State and its rulers. There are Sanskrit Purānas relating to the shrines at Tirugókarnam, Kudimámalai, Pēraiýúr, &c., and these must have been composed by local scholars.

if left in those of an individual." An attempt was made to appropriate a portion of this property for religious uses, but on being informed by the Resident of Tanjore (April, 1806) that the whole property would have to be restored to the owners "uninjured and undiminished," if they were found innocent, the Tondaimán abandoned his proposal.

The ordeal of red-hot metal. In 1805 there occurred the decision of a case by ordeal. A dispute had risen between the people of Maravanéndal and Tirumá in Tirumayyam Taluk about a channel, which Vilvavanam Pillai, Karyakartar or Agent of the Tondaimán, was unable to decide. Maravanéndal Nágappan undertook to undergo the ordeal of red-hot metal* in the presence of a Goddess, and on "his coming out victorious" the channel was decided to be his.

We may give a brief description of this ordeal. "Nine circles are drawn, the inmost circle being sixteen fingers in diameter, the next seven circles being each thirty two fingers across, and the ninth or last circle being one foot across. The hands of the accused are rubbed with unhusked rice and all marks on them carefully noted. Seven *pipal* leaves are bound with seven threads on each hand, a paper of the charge is tied to his head, and he says these words 'Thou, O fire, pervadest all things. O cause of purity, who givest evidence of virtue and of sin, declare the truth in this very hand'. The priest has a red hot ball of fifty palams brought to him, gives it to the accused to carry, requiring him as he steps from circle to circle to keep his feet within each, until he crosses the eighth, and then to throw the ball on a heap of dry grass inside the ninth. If his hands, which are then examined, are not burned, he is pronounced innocent".†

* See the inscription on the Southern Kalingula stone of the Maravakkannai at Rāngiam. There is one other case of trial by ordeal mentioned in an inscription on a stone planted before the temple of Māriamman at Mélattānyam. The Pallars (Left hand caste) and the Paraiyars (Right hand caste), were quarrelling with each other (about 1700 A. D.) as to which of them had the right to use the figure of the white elephant, sugarcane stalks and plantain trees on marriage occasions. A Pallan dipped his hand into a pot full of boiling ghee and drew it out without its getting injured, and thus got the case decided in favour of the Pallars.

† See Mr. Macnaghten's *Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law*, pp. 311-319 (1829) for details, which will be found interesting. A short account of ordeals in general will be found in Mr. Crooke's *Things Indian*, pp. 355-8.

His Rani commits Sati. At the time of his death, he left two sons, Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán and Raghunátha Tondaimán, who were only ten and nine years of age respectively. Nevertheless, the mother of these children, Áyi Ammá Áyi, determined to commit *Sati*, and, in spite of all dissuasions * to the contrary, threw herself into a specially prepared pit of fire. After entrusting her sons, it is said, to the confiding care of Captain Blackburne, who, however, was not then at Pudukkóttai.

"It had long been usual for chaste Hindu queens to immolate themselves with their husbands so "as to enjoy with their husbands the felicity of Heaven, sanctify their maternal and paternal progenitors and the ancestors of the families of their husbands, etc." To illustrate the statement that *satis* of queens were common and to give an idea of the details of the ceremony, we may quote here some extracts from a "Description of Malabar (i. e. South India) in the beginning of the sixteenth century" by the well-known Portuguese Captain, Duarte Barbosa. †

"So also when the king dies, four or five hundred women burn themselves with him in the same manner and they throw themselves suddenly into the pit.....A great quantity can be burned in it with its great abundance of wood, sandal, basil (குளரி), eaglewood (அகில), aloes wood and much oil of sesame and butter to make the wood burn well. So great is the haste of

* We find from *Puranānūru*, a very ancient Tamil classic, that *Sati* was practised in the Tamil land in the early centuries of the Christian era. The following is Mr. K. G. Seshu Aiyar's translation of the 246th poem of this book, in which a Pāndyan Queen expresses her firm determination to commit *Sati*.

"Ye sages all! Ye great and wise!
Why would ye us from death restrain?
Your counsel, learned men, is vain.
Lo! dead our much loved consort lies.....
Fond friends! we stay not here alone!
To us, whose mighty spouse is dead,
The waters of the lake where spread
The lotus-blooms and fire are one".

For the whole poem, see the *Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 8. We in the foregoing passage is what is known as "the royal *re*".

† The extracts are from the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley's Translation of the book, (London, 1866).

those who wish to burn themselves first that it is something wonderful, and many men, confidential of the king, burn themselves with him. *

"The *Sati* first bathes using turmeric, decorates herself with flowers, dresses herself in her richest stuffs (of yellow hue, in a portion of which she carries a number of lime-fruits), and adorns herself with many precious jewels; she then mounts a horse with a great sound of music and a large following..... So they conduct her through the whole city as far as the place where the body of her husband was burned.....All round the pit they make a gallery with three or four steps, whither she ascends with all her jewels and robes; and when she is upon the top she takes three turns round it and raises her hands to heaven and worships towards the east three times. She calls her relatives and friends and to each she gives a jewel of those she wears; and all this with a very cheerful demeanour..... They then give her a pitcher full of oil, and she places it on her head, says her prayer and takes three more turns and worships to the east and casts the pitcher of oil into the pit where the fire is and she springs into it after the pitcher with so much good will as though she were jumping into a pool of water. And the relatives have ready for the occasion many pitchers and pots full of oil and butter and dry wood, which they immediately throw in, so that so great a flame is at once kindled that she is suddenly turned to ashes."

Amongst a people who are so great ancestor-worshippers as the Hindus are, it is no wonder that *satis* were deified and worshipped after their death. The *sati* of Áyi Ammá Áyi occurred at Káraittoppu, the funeral-ground of the Tondaimán family, and after this occurrence the ground came to be called *Málai Idu* or மலை இடம் (இடம்) i. e., the place where wreaths of flowers were offered to the departed chaste woman. A temple was erected at the place, which was endowed with large tracts of land for *púja* and offerings to be made to her image in the temple.

* See p. 125, where it is stated that forty-seven wives of Kilavan Sétupati burned themselves with him.

The Tondaiman's character. We have written so much of this Rájá that it seems almost needless to give an account of his character in bringing our account of this ruler to a close. In his own words "the affections and policy of his ancestors had descended unchanged and unweakened to him, and his affections were naturally engaged to the friends and protectors of his family; and united with the principles of honour and fidelity which had always distinguished that family, they had inspired him early in life with a resolution to attach himself entirely to the interests of the Company and to distinguish himself, if possible, by his zeal and fidelity to their service." On another occasion he wrote "What is there so good to me as the service of the Company? It is fit for me by zeal and diligence to obtain their favour." That he succeeded in this determination remarkably will be evident from the numerous letters of praise that he received from the Governors and the Sardars of the Company. It will be enough if we refer to two of them. According to Mr. S. R. Lushington (see p. 305), who afterwards became Governor of Madras, "he gave a proof of fidelity to the Company that had never been surpassed" and according to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, "he had not only rendered himself conspicuous among the allies of the Honorable Company, but had far extended the good name which his ancestors had secured for him."

The only blemish that one might think of finding in this ruler is that he left a debt of about 60,400 pagodas at the time of his death. But it must be remembered that the money that was left as debt was not even two-thirds * of the Nazars that he paid to the Nawabs. We must conclude that he managed his affairs economically and spent no money on his own pleasures, when we remember that he spent his money in paying allowances to his Vakils at Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura (as will be shown later on), and in improving and advancing his country which, before the encouragement he gave to learning, must have been far behind Tanjore, always noted for its Vedic scholars and

* It appears from Captain Blackburne's Report to the Madras Government dated 31st of December, 1808, that "the Dubashes and Sowcars of Trichinopoly, whose claims were almost exclusively founded on their having purchased or supplied articles for the use of Tondiman, had grossly deceived him in their amounts."

Sastris. He must have felt with sorrow that his countrymen were comparatively ignorant and unlettered and that the only course that was open to him was to import learned men and patronise learning. Money spent in such a good cause cannot be said to have been money wasted.

In June, 1890—some six months after the Tondaimán became ruler—Mr. G. H. Ram, the Resident of Tanjore, wrote to him to say that he could not "describe the pleasing emotions that were roused in him at being informed by persons of other countries that he (the Tondaimán) honourably filled the throne of his father, ruled and treated his subjects and servants with kindness and that he carried on the civil and military administration regularly." This combined with the testimony of Mr. Harris, Collector of Tanjore, "that the subjects of the Tondaiman did no violence to the inhabitants of the Tanjore country" may suffice to show that the Rájá was a capable ruler, who treated his people kindly and had them well in hand.

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL ORGANISATION.

PEACE, PROGRESS AND REFORM.

Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman.

Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán became the ruler of the State on the 1st of February, 1807. As he was then only a minor of ten years of age, his cousin Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, Western Palace Jágirdár, assumed the management of the affairs of the minor. The Jágirdár incessantly pressed Captain Blackburne, of whose connection with the State at this time we shall speak presently, to obtain the sanction of the British Government, to which the rights of the Nawab had been transferred, for the succession of the young Rájá Bahadúr. When that sanction was received, the Rájá Bahadúr was taken round the town in procession and installed to the most unfeigned satisfaction of the people of Pudukkóttai.

The Tanjore Resident becomes the Political officer for Pudukkottai. Soon after the death of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, Major Blackburne, Resident of Tanjore, was required by the Madras Government "to undertake the management of the province of Poodoocottah and the guardianship of the minors". The Sarkil of Pudukkóttai writing on the 3rd of June, 1854, mentions that "no document could be found which could clearly show the circumstances which led to Captain Blackburne's having been constituted Resident also at the Pudukkottai Court". But these are found fully described in a paper that Sir William Blackburne submitted to the Court of Directors on behalf of Pudukkóttai after his retirement from India. He says, "I held the offices of the administrator of the province of Poodoocottah and guardian to the minors for ten or twelve years, and when I



Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Raya
Tondaiman Bahadur
1807—1825.

delivered the charge of the province into the hands of the young chief at his majority, I continued, by the orders of the Government, to be the medium of communication between him and the public officers of the Provinces of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura, by which the Province of Poodoocottah is surrounded. This arrangement has been continued to the present day. One fact will prove its necessity. During the life of the father of my pupils, there was no exclusive channel of communication between the Rajah Bahadur and the Company's officers. The Rajah Bahadur was obliged in consequence to have Vakeels in every Cutcherry and find that his tranquillity, reputation and welfare would mainly depend on the favourable or unfavourable reports of his conduct which should be made by the native servants of the several Cutcheries. He became tributary to them to a very considerable extent and contracted a very heavy debt. I recalled the Vakeels, abolished all the illicit allowances and in the course of two years surmounted, with the cordial co-operation of the Collectors, all the difficulties which opposed me, and brought the affairs of the Rajah Bahadur into order".

A sketch of Sir William Blackburne's career. As Major * Blackburne more than any other laid the foundation of the fabric of the administration of the State, a short sketch of the main incidents in his life may not be unwelcome to the reader. He entered the Madras Army as a cadet of infantry in 1782, and served under Colonel Fullarton in the reduction of the Madura and Tinnevely palayakars (see p. 273), and afterwards in the campaign which ended in the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1792. His proficiency as a linguist obtained for him the post of Maratta interpreter under the British Resident at Tanjore, which place he held for some years. In 1801, having then attained to the military rank of a Captain, he was appointed Resident at the Tanjore Court and held that office until he left India in 1823. Very shortly after his appointment as Resident, Captain Blackburne was called upon to take the field against the Sivaganga rebels.

* "William Blackburne, Lieutenant, August 21, 1790; Captain, December 10, 1799; Major, February 25, 1807; Lieutenant-Colonel, June 28, 1817; Colonel, June 5, 1829". Dodwell and Miles' *List of Officers of the Indian Army* (1838).

He was joined by the Tondaimán's forces at Arantangi, with whom he marched against the rebels at Tirppattúr and Kunnakkudi. He thus repulsed an invasion of the Tanjore country by "the Marudus" and recovered the province of Raimnad. In 1804, "Blackburne, having brought to light extensive frauds and oppression on the part of the native officials in Tanjore, the civil administration of which was under officers independent of the Resident, was employed by the Madras Government to remodel the administration both in Tanjore and in the native State of Pudukota On his retirement from the Residency of Tanjore, Sir Thomas Munro recorded a minute testifying to the value of Blackburne's services and influence in Tanjore. Blackburne, being then a Major-General, received the honour of Knighthood in 1838, and died on the 16th of October in the following year" *. We may add that, according to Lord Valentia, the traveller, who was Captain Blackburne's guest in 1804, the Captain was "a most gentlemanly and well-informed † man", and that this opinion is amply borne out by the reports current in the State about the gentleman.

A proposal to abolish the Residency of Tanjore and the Tondaimán's success in opposing the proposal. There was thus a Resident, who had the charge of the political affairs of Pudukkottai from 1807. In 1829, the Government of India received orders from England for the abolition of the Residency of Tanjore and for the appointment of the Collector of the District as Political Agent of Tanjore and of Pudukkóttai. When the Tondaimán heard of the arrangement, he was "terrified and grieved", and lost no time in submitting an appeal against the arrangement to the Court of Directors and in writing to the Governor and the Governor-General expressing his deep concern. He said that "he should be ashamed before his own people and be thought of much less consequence than formerly not only by them but by all the world besides." The Honorable S. R. Lushington, at whose request the Raja's father captured in 1799 Kataboma Náyak and his party, was then the Governor of Madras, and Lord William Bentinck, to whom, at the time of his appointment

* See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1840, p. 92.

† See Lord Valentia's *Voyages to India, etc.*, Vol. I, Chapter VII.



Sir William Blackburne.

as Governor of Madras in 1803, Lord Clive, his predecessor, had given a particular account "of the Tondiman's unshaken fidelity and the promptitude with which he served the Honorable Company as well as of his ancestors' bravery" and in whose time the Tondaimán received the grant of the tract of Kilánilai and the distinction of "two Chobdar sticks", was then the Governor-General. The Governor wrote to the Tondaimán to say that "when any question came up before him which he was told involved either the comfort or the honour of the Tondiman family, he could never forget the unsurpassed proof of fidelity to the Company which his father gave during his administration of the "Southern countries," that he certainly had not anticipated and the Honorable the Court of Directors probably did not know that the arrangement would be so repugnant to the Tondiman's wishes and feelings", that "it would give him in particular great pain to carry into effect any measure obnoxious to Tondiman," and "anxious therefore at all times to gratify the Tondiman's inclination and promote perfect harmony between his family and the Government, he had resolved that the office of the Resident at Tanjore should not be discontinued until the powerful appeal that he had made to the Honorable Company's protection and liberality should have received the full consideration of the Honorable the Court of Directors." The Governor-General also wrote to the Rájá to inform him that "he had duly received the Raja's letter, stating his regret at the orders which had been issued for withdrawing the Resident from Tanjore and transferring his duties to the Collector of the District and soliciting that the measure might be reconsidered," that, "as an old friend, he had deeply at heart the welfare of the Tondiman and his family," that "the particular arrangement objected to by him had been enjoined by the Court of Directors as a measure of economy and not calculated to affect his interests in any way injuriously," and that "since however it appeared that the enforcement of the Court's orders would prove distressing to his feelings and be otherwise productive of inconvenience, he concurred with the Right Honorable the Governor of Fort St. George, as he doubtless would have been already apprised, in the propriety of suspending the above measure, pending a reference to the authorities in

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England." Colonel Blackburne, who had been for a long time Resident of Pudukkottai and was then enjoying well-earned rest in England, made the cause his own and in Mrs. Blackburne's words, "very strenuously resisted the plan of suppressing the Residency." He pointed out to the Court of Directors that "the most important of the extra duties of the Tanjore Resident was the guidance and protection of the faithful and most loyal chief of the Poodoocottah province, the Rajah Tondiman Bahadur", that "if the Resident at Tanjore should be withdrawn and the communications between the Rajah Bahadur and the officers of the surrounding provinces be thrown open, debt, embarrassment, undue and oppressive exactions, the assumption of the country and the consequent ruin of a family faithful and loyal in every emergency.....would follow as inevitable consequences." The Court of Directors, on a perusal of these papers, cancelled their original order, and in November, 1833, the Governor of Madras informed the Rájá "that he had great gratification in communicating to His Excellency (the Rájá of Pudukkóttai) that the Honorable the Court of Directors, ever anxious to meet the wishes and promote the happiness of their faithful friends and allies, had been pleased to recall their instructions directing the abolition of the office of Resident at his Court" and that "he felt assured that the intelligence would prove highly acceptable to His Excellency."

The Residency finally abolished in 1841. The order was reconsidered, however, some years afterwards when the State was under a Regency, and the Residency of Tanjore was abolished in 1841 and the charge of the Political Agency of Pudukkóttai was entrusted to "the Principal Collector of Madura", Mr. John Blackburne, "whose knowledge of the family and the deep interest which he was known to take in their welfare rendered him particularly fitted for the charge at that period, when the minority of the young Rajah and the state of affairs at Poodoocottah called for more than ordinary care." Another appeal for the re-establishment of the Residency at Tanjore was made in December, 1841, but without avail. Mr. John Blackburne could not continue for ever as "the Principal Collector of Madura", and in June, 1843, the Tondaimán requested the

"kind indulgence of the Governor so far as to commit the Political charge of the affairs of the State to an officer whose principal residence *was not far* from Poodoocottah and who would have both time and inclination often to see him, instruct him and give every necessary support and attention to his Durbar." The only order that was then passed was that Mr John Blackburne was directed in August, 1843, to resume the Political charge of Pudukkóttai. The representation of the Rájá does not seem to have been forgotten, as we find the Political Agency transferred in 1865 (September, 27) to the Collector of Tanjore, and on the 18th of September, 1874, entrusted to the Collector of Trichinopoly, who has continued since then to be the Political Agent of Pudukkóttai.

Administration during the minority of the Raja. Soon after Major Blackburne assumed the superintendence of the State, we find Mäppillai Pallavaráyar,—son-in-law of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, and husband of his "only daughter, the highly honoured, Ammal Áyi",—and Tirumalai Tondaimán, Chinna Aranmanai Jágirdár, as the Managers of the State. The Resident's instructions were issued to them, which they carried out through the Sarkil Venkappayyar.

The Resident wrote as follows to the Madras Government with reference to the administration of the country by the Managers.

The Resident "left the entire administration of the affairs of the Tondiman in the hands of the Managers, ostensibly at all times and really so also except when his interposition appeared to be indispensable to the particular interest of the minor, to the welfare of the country or to the security of individuals from injustice and oppression. He so regulated his interposition that, while it was effectual in regard to the attainment of its object, it was as little as possible felt or known in the country. He established a private correspondence with some respectable men in the Darbar, who, having been unsuccessful candidates for office, were not likely to shut their eyes to the misconduct of the Managers or their favourites". For about eight months he persevered in this plan. "The Managers were on exceedingly bad

terms and transmitted to the Resident almost daily their mutual complaints and recriminations; much neglect of and inconvenience to Public business were caused by this misunderstanding. The reforms which had been commenced were pursued without zeal or activity He had long been aware of the pernicious influence exercised by two persons, one of whom was the confidential friend and adviser of Trimul Tondiman and the other of Maupillay Pallavarier. He sent for them and succeeded in convincing them that they should be removed from Tondiman's country infallibly, if in ten days a perfect reconciliation was not effected between their Principals. He gave the same intimation to the Managers, adding that he would recommend to the Government the immediate dismissal of them both, if they would not or could not be reconciled to each other. He sent his office conicopole (Tána Pillai) to Poodocottah to attend the Cutcherries, not with any authority or appointment, but with orders to write to him daily an account of every thing that passed". These measures are reported to have been successful. But the Resident found in the course of a year that the Managers, who made no attempt to clear the debts of the State, who were reported to be oppressing the weak and who did not treat the relatives of the Rájá with the respect due to them, did not deserve his confidence. One Anantayya, a servant of the British Government, was therefore appointed by the Madras Government as '*Karyast*' or *Agent* "to exercise all the authority of the Rajah Bahadur under the superintendence of the Resident", and the Managers were to take their instructions from him. Anantayya was required to pay particular attention to the management of revenue affairs, so that the Rájá's debts might be promptly cleared, but he incurred the displeasure of the Resident mainly by collecting an unauthorised tax called *Kachchá vasúl*,* sending incorrect accounts and granting *Jivitams* or rent-free lands to 283 persons without the authority of the Resident. The management of the country was therefore entrusted about 1814 to a committee consisting of three members

* The meaning of the expression is not very clear. According to Wilson's *Glossary*, "*Kachchá* implies in Revenue Settlements a direct assessment, one made with the Ryot or Ryotwar, either where there is no recognised farmer or proprietor, or where his right of collection is suspended".

called *Managers*, of whom the principal Manager was Soiroba Náig, a trusted officer of Tanjore well known to the Resident, and the other two Managers were Anantayya and Tána Pillai. In 1815, the Resident gave the Rájá fuller powers, changing the '*Managers*' into '*Counsellors*'. In 1817, the Rájá became the independent ruler of the State, the Resident confining himself to a general superintendence of its affairs. The Sarkil's place which became vacant in 1814 on the death of Venkappayya was not filled up till 1822, as Major Blackburne wanted it to be given to Soiroba Náig, a very honest and capable officer, in the opinion of the Resident, whose services could not be spared wholly for the Pudukkóttai State till that time. Soiroba Náig continued as Sarkil from 1822 to 1853.

Training of the princes. As soon as Major Blackburne was entrusted with the political duties also of the Tondaimán's Court, "he repaired to Poodocottah where he found matters in great confusion. The late Raja had made no settlement of his affairs. The widow had sacrificed herself and the administration of the country, with the charge of the young princes, was disputed by several of the relatives. Arrangements were soon afterwards made under the authority of the Government, Managers (see p. 344) and Guardians (Appá Aiyar and Appu Row) were appointed, but the chief direction of affairs was confided, by the consent and wishes of all, to the Resident.

"The charge of the Princes seems to have been Captain Blackburne's peculiar care. Masters were immediately appointed to instruct them in Sanskrit, Mahratta, Telugu and Tamil languages. They were taught also the manly exercises of horsemanship, fencing, the use of the bow and the arrow, *etc.* After a time an instructor was also appointed to give the Princes lessons in the English Language. Their hours and employments were regulated as follows. They rose at 5 o'clock in the morning, rode on horseback till 6,—from 6 to 8 fencing and such other exercises—breakfasted at 9; from 10 till 1 o'clock they attended to their studies in the native languages; dined at 2; from 3–5 were at their English studies, then till 6 on horseback, *etc.* After their return to the Palace, they were with their relatives and talking over the lessons of the day; at 9 o'clock they supped and were in bed at 10

When the young Rájá attained the age of 15 years, Major Blackburne advised the Rájá "to attend occasionally in the highest Civil Court, to make himself acquainted with the legal proceedings", and shortly afterwards the young Rájá took upon himself the inspection of the Revenue accounts.

"When the Princes had attained the ages of 17 and 16, Captain Blackburne personally examined their progress in the several studies and exercises, remaining several days for that purpose at Poodocottah, when he found they had made attainments entirely to his satisfaction in book learning as well as in riding and the sports of the field.....He was a frequent visitor at Poodocottah, where he had the satisfaction of witnessing the fruit of all his care and anxieties in the just rule of the young Rajah, and in the attainments and high principles which were eminently shown in the Rajah, and no less so in his young brother".

These extracts are from a memorandum which was prepared in 1839 for the information of the Resident of Kolhapúr, who, hearing of the eminent success of the attempts of Sir William Blackburne to train the Pudukkóttai princes for their duties, had applied for information regarding the details of the course adopted. We give below some extracts from Major Blackburne's letters to the Rájá to show what trouble he took and how fruitful were his endeavours.

In September, 1811 and June, 1814, he wrote to the Rájá that "a knowledge of English would enable him to transact his business with Government and to associate with English gentlemen without the aid of an interpreter, that by the acquisition of the English language he would become an object of general respect and esteem, that his reputation would increase daily.....and that he was anxious that the Raja should acquire it speedily and completely."

On various occasions the Resident wrote to the Rájá as follows: "Be not satisfied with your superiority in rank, wealth and power, but endeavour to excel all your subjects in wisdom and virtue..... After your daily studies and exercises are over,

I wish you to inquire into and inform yourself what business has been transacted in the cutcherries; but you must not as yet give any orders and above all give no recommendation in favour of any one.....I wish that you would examine the accounts frequently and inquire daily what repairs have been made to the tanks, what advances have been made to the cultivators, and what plans of improvement have been projected or are in progress.....Protect all your subjects from oppression and extortion. This is the most sacred duty of a king. Any violence committed against any one in your country is an injury to you. It is particularly your duty to protect all classes of persons in your country, but most particularly so to be careful that the persons and properties of the lowest ranks suffer no injury, the higher classes, generally speaking, being out of the reach of injury and the lower classes most exposed to it.....Your country is now no longer under the authority of the Nabob.....See every thing, hear everything and suffer no injustice, oppression or idleness to enter into any part of your administration. No human consideration whatever should induce you and me to acquiesce in an injury to a poor man. This is your sacred duty in particular and as you fulfil it properly, the blessings of the great Judge of kings and cultivators be upon you.".....

"No excuse whatever can be admitted as a justification of your expense exceeding your income. You pay no tribute to the Company, no presents to individuals, and if you cannot confine your expenses within your income, everything which I have said and written concerning your prudence, humanity, love of justice and ability will be looked upon as false or exaggerated, excited solely by a blind attachment to you.....Let all the Managers wait upon you, submit to your perusal all the papersIf you do not persevere steadily, all your labour will be thrown away, and in the eyes of the British Sardars, you will be mixed and confounded with the mass of the native dependent chiefs and pollygars.....You should be the benevolent father of your people, consulting like a tender parent the welfare and comfort of the children rather than your own gratification".

The Resident was never tired of giving sound advice to the Rájá and the Managers, and to the latter he once wrote that "if they taught the Raja in the beginning of his reign to plunder the weak, they might be sure that before the end of it he would plunder them also". The Resident also wrote to the Rájá as follows:—"Some of your ministers seem to think that Rajahs are sent by Heaven to plunder and destroy the people committed to their charge. The next time that any of these gentlemen may advise you to any act manifestly unjust or oppressive, I beg my dear friend, you will send a party to his house and plunder it".

The relation between the Raja and Major Blackburne.
The relations between the Resident and the princes were very intimate. The Princes called the Resident their "father", and the Resident was attached to them as a parent to his sons. The Resident wrote of them as follows in 1825. "The Rajah Bahadur and his brother were particularly endeared to us from various circumstances. Their orphan state, the tender age at which they were placed under my guardianship, their amiable disposition, aptitude to learn and a most unbounded and implicit confidence in my friendship which distinguished their early years and increased with their growth...". On the death of the elder of these, he wrote to the younger in December, 1825, as follows:—"It would be fruitless to describe the effect which the loss of one of our *children*, so beloved, so respected, so highly praised, has had upon us. I say *children*, for such we always considered and loved you, and although the custom of our country prevented us from so addressing you, *we received willingly from you the endeared appellation of Parent*".

We shall give two more extracts to show how closely the two Princes were attached to each other and to show how well the Resident felt repaid for all the trouble that he took. He wrote to the younger Prince to say: "How gloriously has that union distinguished you above all the princes of the earth! After your arrival at mature age and you were married, it appeared to many that it was my duty to arrange for a permanent provision for you; but I had witnessed the rise and progress and perfection of the sacred union between you and your brother, I knew you well, my

confidence in both was unbounded, and I refused to throw between you a base alloy which might have stained the purity of your intercourse and substituted individuality and selfishness in the place of the most perfect identity of mind. I always have rejoiced and now I rejoice still more fervently that I abstained from an act, which in all other Courts that I have known, would have been an indispensable duty".

When the Rájá wrote to the mother of Major Blackburne on the extraordinary attention that was paid to his studies and general improvement by the Resident, the Resident replied to him as follows:—

"To expect that the most zealous and disinterested efforts for the benefit of a fellow creature will be crowned with a lively and affectionate gratitude would be to trust perhaps more to feeling than to experience; but that crown I have actually received from you..... The approbation which in mature age you have bestowed on my care of you and your brother's youth is very pleasing to me. But if I neglected nothing that was in my power for the improvement of your minds, I had the good fortune to find your disposition so amiable as to render my task a source of high and constant gratification to me and remove every difficulty in the execution of it. Much praise is also due to those old and faithful servants of your father, who.....discouraged or restrained the follies of youth and engaged the *people* mind to turn frivolous pursuits to serious studies and to receive the impression and adopt the principles of truth and justice".

Before chronicling the events of the time, we may mention that the Tondaimán has been known as "the Rájá Bahadúr" Tondaimán, as he was frequently called so by the Resident and others.

The reforms that were needed. An idea of the reforms that Major Blackburne desired to introduce may be formed from the following extracts from a Report to the Madras Government that he submitted on the 31st of December, 1808.

"The principal production is dry grain, the proportion of which to paddy is as four to one. The whole of the dry grain is consumed in the country. Nearly the whole of the paddy is exported to the surrounding districts and to Ceylon. The cultivation of both the paddy and dry grain is capable of being much extended.

"An equitable and liberal system of revenue and the consciousness of protection to their persons and property will, it is hoped, encourage the cultivators to double the produce of the country in a couple of years more..... The division of the produce was very irregular.....all idea of a fixed rate appeared to be lost. The share of the cultivators varied from 40 to 50 *per cent.* on the crops of dry grain and from 25 to 40 *per cent.* on paddy. The late Tondiman, a year before his death obtained from me a statement of the division of the crops in the surrounding districts and after an attentive consideration of all the circumstances connected with the subject, he fixed the Circar or Government share of paddy at 50 *per cent.* and of dry grain at 33½ *per cent.* and directed that the calculation should be made conformably to the practice in the Company's Districts after the deduction of sotunterrur amounting to ten *per cent.* This division continues and particular attention is paid to secure to the cultivators the full benefit of it.

"I attribute the general poverty of the country which is very great and striking chiefly to the Amani system (see the chapter on Land Revenue Administration).

"With the exception of informers, no checks existed in the Revenue Department. No double set of accounts as in Tanjore and the Carnatic; no Curnams; no regular Cutcherries in the District with officers appointed by Government; no regular duffer in the capital; no office anywhere in which the accounts of the country were recorded. Tondiman himself or a person temporarily and verbally authorised by him usually received the money which was transmitted from the districts by the Revenue officers; sometimes this person gave a receipt; sometimes the Sirkeel, and not unfrequently no receipt was given. The Revenue Divisions of the country seldom continued the same two years together. As caprice or interest dictated, portions of land separated from one division were added to another.

"Abstract of Income and Expenditure for Fásli 1217 (1807-8).

Total Revenue in Star pagodas	...	55,695-10-0.
Disbursements, charges of collection, Palace expenses, feasts, etc.	}	34,125-0-0.
Paid to creditors' servants (in waiting at Poodocottah).	}	324-10-0.
Paid to creditors as per their receipts	...	16,195-10-0.
Balance realizable	...	5,050-20-0.

"The administration of justice in Tondiman's country was not less defective than that of Revenue, in succession to which I notice it, because the only regular officers of justice were the Revenue officers..... They held no regular courts, were not aided by Pundits or Shastries, kept no record of their decisions and did not report them to the Government..... Injuries committed by men of influence or in power they never noticed; and they received no complaints against the great Jaghiredars who exercised without restraint a judicial authority over the lands in their possession.....

"No alteration has been made or attempted in the ancient police establishment of the country. It is a strict cavalgar system and under the direction and control of a strong Government appears to be fully adequate to its objects. The principal cavalgars are sherogars and possessed of landed property, and a rigid enforcement of their responsibility will make them continue to exert the means which they amply possess of protecting the country from robbers and thieves. The late Tondiman was proud of this branch of his Government. At the Dussera feast, when there is a strong concourse of strangers at Poodocottah, he was accustomed to issue a proclamation desiring the strangers and others to be on their guard against the wild beasts and the reptiles which infested his jungles, but to fear nothing else, as he would be responsible for the security of their persons and property against all other annoyance."

Arrangements for Revenue collection. "The following is an outline of the arrangement for the collection of revenue which was adopted after a full discussion and afterwards carried into execution.

1. The abolition of the Amauni system and the substitution of village annual grain rents, wherever it should be found practicable.
2. The division of the country into five districts (or Taluks, viz. *Alangudi, Kilánilai, Kulattūr, Kavinādu* and *Perumānādu*. See Revenue History).
3. The transaction of all public business in the public Cutcheries.
4. The appointment by the Government of all the officers of each Cutcherie and Talook.
5. The appointment of Curnams.
6. The transmission of weekly reports and accounts to an office of record at Podocottah under the charge of the Sirkeel.
7. The payment of all the Revenue to the Sirkeel, whose receipt should be deemed the only valid voucher for the Revenue officer".

The distribution of the Fourth Mysore War Prize-money.

A portion of the prize-money received from Seringapatam (see p. 300) —2,000 out of 4,452 star pagodas—was withheld by the Managers (*Máppillai Pallavaráyar* and *Tirumalai Tondaimán*) under the name of Nazar to the Rájá. The Resident wrote to the Managers that the whole of the Nazar money should have been returned, and that "if they taught the Raja in the beginning of his reign to plunder the weak, they might be sure that before the end of it he would plunder them also." The Resident's advice had its effect, and everybody received of course the full amount of his share of the prize-money.

A force collected but not required to be sent. An army was required in August, 1809 to be in readiness to be sent to Col. Wilkinson, Commander of the Southern Army (see p. 316). In November, the authorities were informed of the high gratification of the Governor-General at the diligence shown in collecting the forces, but of there being no necessity for the employment of the forces.

Excessive rain in 1809. "The excessive rains that fell in 1809 were not less injurious to Tondiman's country than to the neighbouring districts. The banks of the tanks and large lakes gave

way, and a considerable portion of the most promising rice-crop was entirely destroyed by the inundations. The fields were also greatly injured by the beds of sand which were left upon them, and it would require many years* to restore them to their former fertility".

Taxation and Finance. All taxes not collected till Akshaya, (1806-1807)—the year of the last Rájá's death,—were to be remitted, and this was to be proclaimed throughout the State. "Catcha Wasool" (see p. 346), a new tax which was estimated to yield only 500 chackrams, but the collection of which would "derange the whole business of the country and encourage false accusations, perjuries, private animosities and all sorts of injustice", was ordered to be abolished. The Rájá had left a debt of more than 60,000 pagodas at his death in 1807. "This would have accumulated by embezzlement and usury to the utter ruin of the orphans. To prevent this natural progression of a native estate, the children were placed under the Superintendence of Major William Blackburne, then Resident at Tanjore, associated with two of their most respectable relations as local Managers, and so different was the result of this system that in 1811 not one pagoda of the debt remained unpaid, while the cultivation of the soil, owing to the steady regularity of the management, had been greatly advanced †".

Treasury Rules, &c. The following rules were laid down by the Resident :—

1. All public work should be done in public offices.
2. All public money should be kept in public Treasuries, from which such sums as might be required should be taken out when necessary.
3. No extraordinary expenditure was to be incurred without the sanction of the Resident.
4. No articles were to be purchased on credit for the State.
5. No Jivitams were to be granted and no increase of expenditure on establishment was to be incurred until the Rájá became of age and assumed the independent rule of the State.

* Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan* (1820).

† See Hamilton's *Erstwhile Gazetteer*.

An accountant was stationed at Pudukkóttai by the Resident,—one Tána Pillai, who seems to have been a very trustworthy man—so as to send him once a fortnight accounts of the income and expenditure of the State as also of sums of money spent in payment of the State debt.

Establishment of Courts of Justice (1811–1814). In 1812 regular Courts of Justice were established. The Resident, in sending the details of his plan to the Managers and the Rájá, prefaced them with the remarks that “the country would be miserable where justice fluctuated according to the pleasure of the prince, where delay was great, where recommendations were admitted, and where steadiness in carrying out into execution the decisions was wanting”, and that “the description was not inapplicable to the administration of justice at the time in this State.”

The following were the heads of the arrangements proposed in the Resident's letter, dated 2nd December, 1811.

1. A Kotwal was to be fixed in Pudukkóttai with a suitable establishment of peons for the preservation of tranquillity and arrest of offenders.

2. Five members, *viz.* Náranappayyan, Ékanáyakam Mudali, Muttukkaruppa Mudali, Venkatakrishna Ayyan and Ayyátturai Ayyangár, attended by a learned Sástri, were to assemble every day in Poodocottah to receive petitions, to summon all evidences on both sides, to investigate the subjects fully, to form their opinions and write them down.

3. The Rájá Bahadúr Tondaimán, attended by the Managers Tirumalai Tondaimán and Máppillai Pallavaráyar, the Sarkíl Venkat Row, the Káryast Anantayyan, the Accountant Tánapillai and Appávayyan (the Guardian of the Princes), and the five members of the Court were to form a Supreme Court of Justice in the upper apartment of the Palace, every fifth day, to receive the reports of the five members and to hear their opinion in the presence of the plaintiff and defendant, to confirm the opinion if it should appear just, and, if it should appear to be doubtful, to send it back for further inquiry, directing the final opinion to be brought on the next sitting day. If the opinion was confirmed, the decisions were to be written immediately and

the Sarkíl was to affix his signature to three copies to be given to the plaintiff, to the defendant and to be kept in the records of the office of the Court.

4. The decision was to be carried immediately into execution by the authority of the Rájá Bahadúr.

It was laid down that the inhabitants of the Jágirdárs were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the regular courts. “If these officers exercise justice in the land which they possess, there will be ten Rajahs in the country instead of one.”

In 1814*, the Courts were reorganised, and “some general regulations for the Courts of Civil and Criminal justice which differed in some degree from those which had been already adopted” were drawn up and sent by the Resident. Two separate Courts were formed, named *Nyáya Sabhá* or Civil Court (of four Judges), and *Danda Sabhá* or Criminal Court (of three Judges). A third Court called the *Mudra Sabhá*, which was to decide Civil cases of a lower grade than the *Nyáya Sabhá* to which it was subordinate, was also established about this time.

A learned Sástri of the name of Chakravarti Ayyangár, who had distinguished himself in the Tanjore country by his great knowledge, firmness and integrity, was sent over as Chief Judge of the Civil and the Criminal Court of Pudukkóttai. The books of law according to which the causes were to be decided were *Vignánésvariya*† and *Smriti Chandriká*.

“After the decisions in the *Nyáya* or *Danda Sabha* on two or three causes are prepared and drawn out, the First Judge shall demand an audience of the Raja Bahadur and shall wait upon him attended by the other Judges and shall read to the Raja Bahadur each decision and shall give such explanation of

* In the Appendix to the *Administration Report* for 1882-3, there is a history of the Courts of Justice, the details of which will be found to differ somewhat from those that we have given. The date 1824 given for the formation of Civil and Criminal Courts is certainly wrong, as we have statistics relating to cases that were decided in 1822-1823 by the three Courts mentioned in the paragraph. We have followed the Palace Records in our treatment of the subject.

† The book referred to is Vignánésvara's *Mitákshara*, a running commentary on Yāgnavalkya's *Hindu Law*. “Among the later works which enlarged on the *Mitákshara* and supplied its deficiency, the digests, called *Smriti Chandriká* and *Vyarahára Mádhaviya* became the chief authorities in the South of India”.

the facts and the law to the Raja Bahadur as may be required by him or may be necessary to enable him to understand the case. If the Raja Bahadur should not approve of the decision, it must be reconsidered and communicated again to the Raja Bahadur at the following audience. On the Raja Bahadur's signifying his acquiescence, the First Judge will sign the decision in the usual manner,

Sammatih prādvivākasya Chakravartivipaschitah

=the assent of Chakravarti (Ayyangār); the learned first Judge,

and the Raja Bahadur will affix at the end of it his seal containing the *sloka* or verse,

*Srī Rājā Bahadūr Nyāya (Danda) Sabhā mudrām Jayapradām,
Brihadambā Sadā pātu Gokarnesa Kutumbini.*

(= May Brihadambā, consort of Gokarnésa—and the tutelary deity of the Tondaimāns—always protect the victory-giving seal (authority) of the Nyāya (or Danda) Sabhā of the Raja Bahadūr).

One of the Judges was required to attend to the carrying out of the decrees and had to submit a written report to the Chief Judge every Sunday of the execution of the decrees entrusted to him and of the obstructions and impediments retarding or preventing their execution.

It was the Kotwal's duty to try and dispose of petty Civil suits, but "especially to preserve the peace of the town. A Sherogar and twenty or thirty peons were to be added to his establishment, if it was found that the Cutwall had not sufficient people to guard the prisoners and watch the town at night. The Sherogar's people were to be under the orders of the Cutwall and applied to all the exigencies of the Police. The Cutwall had to report every day to the Managers the number of prisoners in his charge and of the small causes which he might have decided. If the Managers had reason to doubt the propriety of any decision, they ordered the cause to be referred to the first Court under Chakravarti Ayyangār".

The Resident was so convinced that no good would result if the Judges were corrupt that he issued the following order. "If a Judge is proved to have received a bribe or present from

any suitor, he shall be compelled to repay twice the amount to such suitor; and the rest of his property shall be confiscated for charitable purposes; he should then be mounted on a bullock and led through the streets of Poodoocottah with tomtom, his crime being proclaimed, and he shall finally be conducted to the nearest frontier and prohibited under pain of death from re-entering the province of Poodoocottah".

Till about this time it appears that the felons condemned to hard labour were sent to Tirumayyam to be confined there. According to the Resident's instructions, "they could be more usefully employed at Poodoocottah in improving the roads, digging wells for the use of the inhabitants, deepening and beautifying the tanks and in other works of public utility".

Visit of the Lord Chief Justice of Madras. In April, 1811, Sir Thomas Strange, the (first) Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Madras from December 1800 to 1817, and "the first English writer who published an original treatise on the subject of Hindu law," paid a visit to Pudukkottai. This distinguished guest wrote to the Rājā on the 8th of May, 1811, to say that "one of the best allies that the Company ever had could not but be an object of respect to all the King's subjects", that "to visit and to know the Rājā was a principal object with Lady Strange and himself in their tour through the Southern Provinces of the Peninsula", that "they would never forget the kind and flattering manner in which they were met and received by him," and that "he would accept their united thanks for his attention to them not merely while at Poodoocottah, but during the whole of their passage through his country."

Fire in Pudukkottai. Rebuilding of the Town, 1812. "Like other native towns, the town was originally composed, with few exceptions, of mud and thatch houses with irregular narrow streets and was consequently very liable to fires and contagious disorders; but in 1812 being consumed by fire, the young Raja was persuaded to rebuild it on an improved plan, by widening the streets and covering the houses with tiles. The more opulent inhabitants also engaged to rebuild and tile their houses at their own expense; to the poorer classes the Raja furnished some pecuniary assistance,

amounting altogether to 3,000 pagodas".* It was on this occasion that the town was laid down in the form of a square of sixteen streets of which eight run east to west intersecting at right angles the remaining eight that run north to south. The "New Palace" to the west of the Pallavan Tank was completed in 1818, and "a mile and a half to the south of his capital, Tondiman had an excellent house built and furnished after the English fashion, where every respectable European was sure of meeting with a hospitable reception".* The credit of rebuilding the town is due to the Resident, Major Blackburne, who wrote to the Raja. "For less than 3,000 pagodas you may embellish your capital, widen the streets, tile the houses For this you will be admired and praised as long as you live and your memory will be cherished by remote generations".†

The Rájá gets himself vaccinated In this year (1812), the Rájá and his brother boldly made up their minds to get themselves vaccinated. The Resident wrote to the Rájá as follows on 3rd March, 1812. "You are the first man who was vaccinated in the Poodoocottah country, and to your example and influence, your subjects will be indebted for a blessing which will preserve them and their children from a loathsome and fatal disease".

A boundary dispute between Pudukkottai and Sivaganga, 1812. "A considerable tract of land nearly ten miles in length and from three to six in breadth extending north-east from the hill of Pramally had from time immemorial been an object of serious contention between the neighbouring and opposite villages in Tondiman's country and in Shevagunga. Unsuccessful attempts had been made at different times to settle the dispute by British officers commanding at Trichinopoly, by the Nabob of Arcot's commandants at Madura and by the Residents at Tanjore, in consequence of which nearly four-fifths of the land remained

* Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan*, (1820).

† See Mr. Pennington's Report to the Madras Government dated 23rd April, 1875, in which he says that "Pudukkottai strikes the newcomer as an unusually clean, airy and well-built town".....and that "it is to be wished that some municipalities were endowed with as much enlightenment and as much energy as Raja Vijaya Raghunath Raja Bahadur".

in a state of nature, while the scanty crops of the remainder were sowed by armed cultivators and reaped with skirmishing and bloodshed".

In 1812, Major Blackburne settled the dispute by making an equal division of the land between the contending parties, a decision which pleased neither party, but "established peace where peace had long been a stranger".*

The marriages of the Raja and his brother. In 1812, the Rájá and his brother were married. "A daughter of Singapulí Aiyá (probably of Kallákottai) and a daughter of Tirumalai Panrikondrán of Kattakkuricchi were married to the Raja. A daughter of Súryamúrti Panrikondrán of Kattakkuricchi was married to the Raja's younger brother".† The Rájá and his brother took a trip to the seaside (Sétubávachattram in the Tanjore District) in the year.

The Western Palace affairs. In 1813, a petition was presented to the Madras Government regarding the Western Palace affairs by Mínakshi Ammál, mother of Rájagopal Tondaimán of the Western Palace. The Resident reported that the complaints were unfounded and the petition was therefore dismissed by the Government. She presented a petition again in 1815, and the Government forwarded it to the Resident with the remark that there was a strong conviction in their minds that she had sustained a real grievance. In 1823, the Rájá conciliated the Western Palace Jágírdár by his munificence to him, for which he was praised by the Resident, as "the act was not less becoming in him as the prince and ruler of the province and the head of the (Tondaimán) family than it was prudent and wise". The Western Palace Jágírdár was also required by the Resident to acknowledge the liberality and kindness of the ruler to him.

The Raja Bahadur congratulated by the Court of Directors. The Resident informed the Rájá in January of this year (1813) that the Honorable the Court of Directors had expressed great satisfaction at the general state of his affairs, praised him highly

* Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan*, (1820).

† From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual of Pudukkóttai*.

for his attention to the administration of justice and declared their entire approbation of the Rájá's humanity and liberality in resolving to rebuild the town of Pudukkóttai. It was in this letter from Government that the Rájá was for the first time styled Rájá Bahadúr in an English letter by the Government of Madras.

A proposal for suppressing the manufacture of earth-salt. In May, 1813, the Resident received suggestions from the Collector of Tanjore for preventing the manufacture in the State of earth-salt, or at least for the absolute restriction of the sale of it for the consumption of the inhabitants of the State. The Resident wrote to the Collector pointing out that the suppression of earth-salt manufacture was objectionable on account of the extreme indigence of the villagers in general arising from the poverty of the soil and the frequent failure of the scanty crops which were expected from it; the apparent cruelty of prohibiting them from picking up the salt which Providence had scattered over their fields; the impossibility of enforcing effectually such a prohibition; the certain consequences of the attempt in the exciting of evasion, fraud and perjury in the villagers and in causing them to consider as harsh and oppressive a Government, which had never yet been considered by the Rájah Bahadúr and his subjects in any other light than that of a beneficent and guardian angel; the limited scale of the manufacture, the earth-salt being confined to the consumption of the very lowest and most indigent class of people, for those only who could not afford to purchase marine salt would use the other; the vain expectation that by vigilance and care the illicit transportation of this salt into the neighbouring provinces might be effectively prevented; and the belief that the prohibition, if it were possible to enforce it even by the severest corporal punishments, would not cause the consumption of an additional garce of marine salt in the whole province. He further mentioned that the bulk of the article was so great that it was not easy to remove it from place to place without a discovery, that "without a *ravanah** it could not pass into the province of Tanjore, unless it deceived the vigilance and activity of the Collector's Chowky† Department.

* A pass-port; a certificate from a Collector of Customs authorising goods to pass without payment of further duty.

† Custom-house.

which could not, in regard to the bulk of the article as well as the indefatigable efforts of that department, be considered to be practicable," that "it was notorious that in the southern part of the province of Tanjore the people made the earth-salt for their own consumption", that "they could make it at the same expense which it cost the inhabitants of Poodoccottah", that "it was certainly much more easy for them to supply themselves in that manner without the knowledge of the revenue officers than to obtain so bulky an article from Poodoccottah through all the impediments which were presented to its passage by a double row of chowkies and police officers".

For these reasons the suppression of earth-salt manufacture was decided against. Its manufacture was restricted to four or five central places remote from the frontier, and it was ordered that the salt should be made by the Sirkar officers and that the quantity which might appear necessary for the consumption of the neighbouring indigent villagers should be issued to them at *cost* price, so that there might be little or no temptation for these people to make it.

The Collector in his letter dated 9th May, 1813, considered the arrangements "quite satisfactory".

A Survey of the State. In May, 1813, orders were received from the Government of Madras that a survey of the country under the Rájá's authority might be made, the result whereof may be taken to be the very interesting account of Pudukkóttai that was prepared in the year, giving details relating to the physical features, irrigation channels, tanks; temples, mantapams, roads, villages, imports, exports, manufactures, *etc.* of the State.

In this year a charity school was opened by the Rájá in the town, in which children were educated free and supplied with palmleaf books and writing materials.

Interference with the lands enjoyed by Amarakarars, 1814. The Amarakárs (see p. 317) were turned away by Anantayya about this time from the lands which had been cultivated and improved by themselves and their ancestors, and which had been enriched by them with wells, tanks and dwelling houses, having

been allotted equal spaces of land elsewhere. In many cases where the natural attachment of a cultivator to his ground was very strong, he was allowed to remain in possession of his land only on condition of his paying the same rent to the Sirkar as was paid by the owner of the adjoining Sirkar land.

When the Resident heard of this, he pointed out that the nature of the tenure was altogether changed, and that the Rájá as well as the Company would be deprived of the right to call for the military service of the Amarakárs whenever it might be required. Anantayya was blamed for not having consulted the Resident on the matter. The innovations were therefore cancelled.

It was about this time that the accounts of the State were required to be kept in Maratti, which required men knowing Maratti and Maratti systems of accounts to be appointed. The power was thus transferred into the hands of the Marattas, and most of the offices, high and low, were filled by the Marattas till about 1875.

Establishment of an indigo factory at Karambakkudi. In 1814 indigo works were started at Karambakkudi. Indigo was to be manufactured and sent for sale to England. It was a concern in which the Rájá and Mr. John Blackburne, a brother of the Resident of Tanjore, were both interested as partners. On account of Mr. John Blackburne, a sum of ten thousand Rupees was to be advanced by the Resident, and of this amount we find a sum of Rs. 8,200 remitted to the Tondaimán on behalf of the Resident's brother. "The money was to be paid to him in England from the sale of the indigo and would enable them to carry on the cultivation, working, etc., without having recourse to other funds". The Rájá helped the concern with 3,825 Star pagodas, entered in the accounts for 1821-22 as "advance to the Indigo works at Karambakkudi".

In 1813 the works were in a fair way to be started, Mr. John Blackburne writing to the Rájá in August of that year that the arrangements were almost complete. An attempt was made to manufacture soap also and specimens of it were prepared. But so far as we know no soap manufactory was started.

In May, 1823, Mr. John Blackburne having left India for England, the indigo farm and the factory at Karambakkudi were handed over to the Rájá. The following details are from the memorandum relating to this transfer.

"The farm is rented for Madura Chakrams 1700 per year for a period of twenty years, of which ten years are unexpired. The produce of the last year was Madura Chakrams 6076—9½ panams, leaving a net profit of Madura Chakrams 2649—5¼. [23¼ panams=2 Chakrams and 3½ panams=one star pagoda=Rs 3-8.] Extensive plantations have been made and gardens formed. The cultivation of the bamboo has been introduced upon a very large scale A weekly market has been established and is frequented by from 5 to 10,000 persons There are 78 bazars open. The number of houses has risen in ten years from 103 to 615. The Raja Bahadur is to provide sufficient funds for paying all the expenses attending the manufacture of indigo The indigo made at the works is to be shipped to London and sold there, and the net amount of sales after deducting the shipping agent's expenses in Madras and those in London is to be divided between the Raja and Mr. John Blackburne in two equal shares".

It may be mentioned here that the prosperity of the indigo works at Karambakkudi induced the Rájá to open in 1830, another indigo factory at Káraitthóppu, a little to the south of the town, and that this factory was also for a time in a fairly flourishing condition. Both these factories were found to work at a loss in 1841, and indigo manufacture was given up soon afterwards.

The Rájá wrote in 1823 to Mr. John Blackburne to say that "he would always cherish in his heart the grateful sense.....of the great trouble that he undertook in rendering Karambakkudi by various improvements quite new and very advantageous to him."

Some men from Kandy sent as State prisoners to Pudukkottai, 1816. In 1815, there was a war against the King of Kandy on account of his having seized and mutilated some native British subjects, who had gone to Kandy to trade. The city was taken "in the short space of forty days". The King was deposed

and his dominions were vested in the British Crown. A number of Kandians were sent as State prisoners to the State. It is said that the last King of Kandy, Vikrama Rájá Singha, was a native of the State, having been born in Karukappúlámpatti in Tirumayyam Taluk.* The following account of his selection † as king seems to support the tradition, as it is well-known that the Kings of Kandy married the princesses of the once powerful Madura Náyak dynasty settled down at Vellakkuricchi and other places in the tract between Sivaganga and Pudukkóttai. "The king, Rajadhi Raja Singha died in 1798 leaving no issue, and the Adigar or Prime minister, Pilá Mé Taláivé, *in virtue of a Kandy-an usage*, proceeded to nominate as his successor *a nephew of the queen*, a boy eighteen years old, who ascended the throne, as Wikrema Raja Singha; the last in the long list of kings who reigned over Ceylon".

It is very likely that many of those that were sent over to the State had relatives in these parts. The Resident in sending 13 of these Kandians on the 31st of January, 1816, wrote to the Rájá that "they were not to be under any other restraint than their parole not to quit without the permission of the Raja the villages in which they might reside" and that "it was the desire of the Government that they should be treated with respect and kindness".

Clearing of forests It may be mentioned that the Resident made arrangements for clearing the forests and increasing the cultivable area of the State. In 1826, in reply to a question of the Governor to the Rájá whether the country was covered as much with woods as before, the Rájá informed him that "agreeably to his father the Colonel's order, the woods had been almost cut down and that cultivation was going on, some thin wood remaining still in some places".

* From a long genealogical statement of the descendants of the Náyak rulers of Madura submitted to the Madras Government by the Náyaks at Karukkáikkuricchi in the State, we find that Vikrama Singha Mahárájá, the last Mahárájá of Kandy, was a close relative of the Náyaks at Karuppámpatti (Karukappúlámpatti ?) in the State.

† Sir James E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 76.

The Raja invested with full powers, 1817. In 1817, Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán was invested with the full powers of a ruler. Towards the close of the year, the Resident wrote to him congratulating him on the success of his rule. The Resident informed the Rájá that "he had the highest pleasure in assuring the Rájá that his conduct, since he had had the independent management of his affairs, deserved his cordial approbation", "that he had entire confidence in his abilities for government, in his hatred of oppression, in his love of justice and in his humanity and benevolence", that "he was extremely pleased with his conduct in the restoration of the Chetram land" and that "he was certain that it would elevate him in the favourable opinion of the Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council".

A daughter was born to Raghunátha Tondaimán, Rájá Bahadúr's brother in 1817. In this year died Chakravarti Ayyangár, Chief Judge (see p. 357).

Pudukkottai free from cholera which raged in the Tanjore District, 1818. We now hear of an outbreak of cholera in the Tanjore District. "Cholera reappeared a fourth time in 1817". The Rájá was informed that "his capital, the town of Poodoocottah, an eternal monument of the Raja's good sense and liberality, was entitled to expect to escape from the calamity (cholera) in consequence of its spacious streets, well-built houses, large backyards and cleanliness" "that laudanum was the principal remedy", and that "brandy, with which the laudanum should be mixed, could be procured at Trichinopoly".

1820. 30th June 1820. Birth of a son to Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadur. The son and heir of the Rájá died on the 23rd of December, 1823.

12th September 1820. Birth of a daughter to Raghunátha Tondaimán, Rájá's brother.

The Resident's advice to the Raja against running into debts, 1821. The Rájá had incurred some debts, on hearing which the Resident wrote to him as follows "For several years, I have interfered, as you know, very little in your internal affairs. I wished to see what you could do and would do when left to

yourself, and I now regret the experiment Let every expense which is not indispensable be struck off altogether and let all the necessary expenses be reduced to the smallest possible limits. Strike off the Dussera and all similar expenses until you are out of debt".

The Raja's powers and privileges clearly set forth by the Resident, 1822. In this year a letter was written by the Resident to the Rájá of Tanjore in which the rank, the position and the dignity of the Rájá of Pudukkóttai were very clearly explained. The whole of the spirited letter is well worth quoting.

"To H. H. Maharaja Serfoji, Raja of Tanjore.

"Captain Hardy has informed me that your Highness has refused compliance with the request which I had the honour to make to you yesterday that the compliments heretofore paid to the Sirkeel of Rájá Tondiman Behauder be directed by your Highness to be paid to the present Sirkeel on his visit to me to-morrow and that your Highness considers that the Rájá Behauder being merely a Zemindar has no right to the distinction of a Sirkeel.

"A Zemindar is a landholder, paying rent to the Government, but possessing neither Military nor Civil authority over the land of which he is the proprietor, he and all his dependents being amenable to the British Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal. Rajah Tondiman Behauder is a native hereditary chief, the Prince and Ruler of an extensive Province. He is a dependant Chief, in regard to all matters of a political nature on the British Government, to whom as his liege lord he owes allegiance and military service. In the internal arrangement of his Province, he is absolute. He has the power of life and death. He enacts laws, appoints Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal, maintains a considerable military force, collects his revenues and disposes of them at pleasure, paying no tribute either directly or indirectly through the well-deserved kindness and favour of the British Government. All his subjects are expressly exempted from the jurisdiction of the British Courts. The Rajah Behauder's Sirkeels and Fouzders have been received with the compliments requested from your Highness whenever they have visited British

Stations, and it is indeed a matter of much surprise as concern to me to receive this refusal from your Highness. I shall be very happy if the explanation I have shortly offered, for a great deal more might be said of this distinguished Chief, shall incline Your Highness to grant a request of the Resident at your Court, who is responsible to the Honorable the Governor for the propriety of what he asks and considers a reciprocity of attentions and civilities as being not less graceful and becoming in your Highness than consistent with the alliance which unites your Highness so closely with the British Government.

I have the honour to be, *etc., etc.*,

Tanjore,

(Sd.) W. BLACKBURNE.

31st December, 1822.

It is worthy of remark that the Rájá of Pudukkóttai did not resent the insult of the Rájá of Tanjore. He wrote to his Sirkil that "he did not feel sorry at the objection raised to show the Sirkele due respect, since he did not think that honours were only obtained if the Raja of Tanjore honoured them", that "the Government were showing due respect in consideration of his high family, *etc.*" and that "he was thereby entirely satisfied".

Bungalows built at Viralimalai and Athanakkottai. In July, 1822, arrangements were made for building a Bungalow at Viralimalai, a camping station* of Officers and Regiments on the road from Trichinopoly to Madura. On the 1st of July "the papers issued by the Madras Government in connection with the providing of accommodation for European travellers at every station between Trichinopoly and Palamcottah were caused by the Resident to be placed before the Raja Bahadur with a recommendation that he might cause a Bungalow exactly according to the plan be erected at Verallimally, the first stage from Trichinopoly to the south". According to these instructions a Bungalow was built at Viralimalai. Another Bungalow was built in 1833 to the west of Athanakkóttai, for the Resident of Tanjore to halt in while journeying from Tanjore to Pudukkóttai.

* We find for example that the Rájá was required to be ready with provisions for the 51st Regiment that had to pass from Palamcottah to Trichinopoly in January 1830.

Soiroba Naig was appointed Sirkil. In this year, Soiróba Naig was appointed as the Sirkil or First Minister of Pudukkóttai. In communicating the appointment, the Resident wrote to the Rájá as follows:—

“So much of your comfort and so entirely your independence will depend on the manner in which your unavoidable intercourse with the public officers of the British Government is carried on, that it is necessary that your principal officers should be intimately acquainted with the character, views and feelings of our public officers in general, their modes of transacting business and other particulars, which can only be attained by long and close observation and communication with them. Your principal Manager, Soiroba Naig, possesses in an eminent degree all the qualifications for the discharge of the important duties of your First Minister; and I should have resigned him entirely to your service long ago, if his situation in my office had not enabled him to be as useful to you as if he had resided constantly at Poodocottah. His abilities are considerable; his experience and knowledge of business are great. His integrity, as you know, is unimpeachable. During your minority, I did not fill up the place of the late Sirkel with a view to recommend to you Soiroba Naig for it”.

Resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne as Resident and his departure for England, 1823. Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne resigned his place as Resident of Tanjore and embarked for England on the 4th of March, 1823. In the last months of his stay in India, he was ever thinking of Pudukkóttai and its Rájá. He spoke of the Rájá Bahadúr fully to the Governor and to the Chief Secretary to the Government, and he wrote to the Rájá to say that all were quite prepared to protect and befriend him, and that he did not think that the Rájá would suffer any other inconvenience from his departure than the loss of an affectionate friend. He had made up his mind to be attentive to the interests of the Rájá in England, wished to have from the Rájá a memorandum of his wishes, and doubted not that he would be able to contribute in many ways to his comfort and prosperity. In the letter that he wrote to the Rájá on the day previous to that of his embarkation, he gave the Rájá the following advice.

“I have found no difficulty in making friends for you, in consequence of your character for justice and kindness to your people being very high. Be careful to maintain that character. Cherish the excellent and well-tried servants you possess, Soiroba Naig (Sirkil or First Minister), Tana Pillai (Minister in charge of finances) and Tyagaraze (English Tutor after Appu Row and probably then the Rájá's Private Secretary), and you will never fail to go on well”.

The Governor, Sir Thomas Munro, wrote to the Rájá on the 7th of March, 1823, that the reports that he had received from Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne were exceedingly satisfactory, that it had afforded him further pleasure to learn that Lieutenant Colonel Blackburne's endeavours to qualify the Rájá for the high station had been correctly estimated and were thankfully acknowledged by the Rájá, that “Colonel Robert Scot, C. B., had been appointed to succeed that officer as Resident in Tanjore”, and that “as the Governor's agent with the Rájá's Samastanam, it would be his aim to follow in all respects the steps of his predecessor”.

The Raja's trips to the Tanjore country. The Rájá with his brother was occasionally taken to the sea-coast for a change by Major Blackburne. We find his brother Raghunátha Tondaimán informing the Governor in August 1826 that he was taken thrice to Sétubáva Chattram in the Tanjore District, “by his father”, and to the question of the Governor whether he could go “to other countries”, gracefully replying that as the country belonged to the Company and he was under the protection of the Company, he considered the Company's country as his own.

Receipts and Disbursements in 1824-5. To give an idea of the income and expenditure of the State about this time, we give the following figures relating to the receipts and disbursements of 1824-25.

RECEIPTS.

	Star Pagodas.	Panams.	Cashes.
By cash received from the Taluks ...	40,654	39	65.
From Pannai villages cultivated at } Sarkar cost.	4,618	39	52.

RECEIPTS—(cont).

	Star Pagodas.	Panams.	Cashes.
From Customs offices	3,635	1	40.
From Jāgīr villages	375	27	...
From Arrack rent, etc.	2,730	16	20.
Total	52,014	34	17.
Profit in exchange of money	4,829	21	50.
Borrowed from Merchants	2,074	32	50
Received in advance from Renters	2,044	...	...
Grand Total	60,962	43	37.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Taluk Establishment (Tahsildars, Peshkars, etc.)	4,827	30	40.
For Dussera feast expenses	2,691	37	5.
Pay of Sarkar Servants (including evidently)	15,855	20	...
For Sarkar expenses (Palace expenditure).	8,277	19	...
For Horse Stable and Elephant expenses	6,334	41	55.
For Inams or Presents	3,097	5	8.
For extra expenses, including Marahmut and Buildings, etc. }	11,888	21	9.
For Debt	3,200	3	...
Total	56,172	42	37.
By cash in store as per values of different articles such as grains and stuffs. }	2,750	...	...
By cash due from cultivators on account of advances made to them. }	2,041	1	...
Total	4,790	1	...
Grand Total	60,962	43	37.

One star pagoda=Rs. 3-8-0.

45 panams=One pagoda.

80 cashes=One panam.

In connection with the account that has been transcribed above, we have to offer a few remarks. One of the tenures then in force was the *Amani* tenure, under which the Sarkar was entitled to a share of the produce [See Revenue History]. It was with great difficulty that the grain was sold, and the cash received from the Taluks must be taken to include the sale proceeds of the Sarkar grain. Customs duties were collected in a number of stations and such persons as could not pay them left certain articles with the customs officers in lieu of the duties they had to pay. We find that in the year 1824-5, grains and stuffs of the estimated value of 2,750 star pagodas remained with the customs officers to be disposed of in the ensuing year. Among the lands cultivated under Sarkar management were those at Kāraiūr, from which village specially good rice for the use of the Palace was obtained. The amount that was got from the Jāgīr villages was mainly due as "grass tax" (பசுவரி) paid by the Jāgīrdārs as "a commutation for the service of supplying grass to the Palace Stables in former times". Under the head 'Profit in exchange of money' were mentioned mainly the profits arising from the investment of Sarkar money in indigo manufacture.

A drought in the State. In 1825 the rains held off and there was a great drought in the State. To shew the great interest that Lieut. Col. Blackburne continued to take in the State even after his retirement, we may quote here the paternal advice that he sent to the ruler of the State on this occasion from Paris. "I am truly concerned", he wrote "to observe that the last two seasons have been so unfavourable in Pooducottah, and I earnestly hope that you will have met the reduction of revenue by an equal reduction of expenses, and that you will continue to avoid debt as you would avoid dependence, vexation, distress, discredit and ruin. For all these miseries debt would bring upon you sooner or later. You will excuse my earnestness, which springs entirely and solely from my love for you".

The Raja's death and character. We have now the painful duty of recording the death of this much loved and respected ruler. The Rājā breathed his last on the 4th of June, 1825, leaving the seal and his earrings with his brother and legal heir in token of authority; and the letter quoted above was written to him on

the 28th of October, 1825, in ignorance of this fact. The reader, who has gone through the account of his rule, will be able to judge for himself of the character of this ruler. "The Rájá Bahadúr" was a very amiable, talented and successful administrator, and the premature death at the age of twenty-eight of the Rájá "who was so exemplary in his public character and so benevolent and amiable in all the relations of private life" must have spread the greatest grief throughout the State. "His acquirements; his disposition, the regularity with which he applied himself to the business of his State "had reached the notice of the Honorable the Court of Directors, who, after referring to the papers relating to this ruler and his brother, were pleased to observe that "the details concerning the young chief of Poodoocottah and his brother were extremely interesting and reflected much credit on those personages as well as upon the Resident at Tanjore, who acted as guardian to them after the death of their father and under whose inspection they were educated".

The widow of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr was determined upon committing *Sati* with her husband, and it was with the greatest difficulty that she was dissuaded from actually throwing herself into a pit of fire. The conduct of Raghunátha Rája Tondaimán in preventing the widow from following "the barbarous custom of concremation" won the warm approbation of the Governor of Madras and the Honorable the Court of Directors. The Chief Secretary to the Madras Government wrote to the Resident at Tanjore to say "that it was a matter of the highest satisfaction that the widow of the deceased was successfully dissuaded from following the example of his mother by sacrificing herself on her husband's funeral pile" and that "the Resident should take a proper opportunity of expressing to Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr the particular approbation with which the Government regarded his conduct on that interesting occasion". On receipt of a communication on this subject from the Madras Government, the Court of Directors were pleased to observe as follows:—

"We deeply regret the death of this Chief, of whom we had formed a highly favourable opinion. It is gratifying however that his successor resembles him in his many excellent qualities

"We have derived particular pleasure from the information here communicated to us concerning the meritorious endeavours of the late and present Chief to discontinue by all prudent means the practice of Suttee".

Raja Raghuhatha Tondaiman Bahadur.

As Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán died without issue, his brother and legal heir Raghunátha Tondaimán ascended the musnud after him. The Resident wrote to him on the 14th of June, 1825, that he should keep up his spirits as well as he could, as overwhelming grief would injure his health, and that he should begin attending to public affairs to divert his mind from dwelling upon the same melancholy subject. But "his grief for the loss of his brother to whom he was devotedly attached was so overwhelming that he was seized with a most severe illness and his recovery was for a long time despaired of". On the 11th of July, the Resident wrote to the Prince that "he was anxious that the ceremony of this public investiture should take place as soon as possible" and "that he should resume his usual habits and avocations which would in some degree occupy and amuse his mind". On the 16th of July, on receipt of a letter from the Governor of Madras, the Tondaimán was once more requested to fix a lucky day for the investiture ceremony. The public installation came off on the 20th of July, but the Rájá was far from happy.

Character of Raja Raghunatha Tondaiman. "The public and private character of Raja Raghunatha Tondaiman Bahadur stood in the highest rank. He was the just and enlightened ruler of his people, their kind and benevolent master, and the faithful and devoted ally of the British Government. He was high-principled, candid and sincere, and to deceit of any kind he was a total stranger".*

The Raja's charities. One of the first public acts of the Rájá was to perpetuate the name of his brother and to secure salvation for his soul by building about four miles to the east of the town an Agraháram of twenty houses which were all on the



His Excellency
Raja Raghunatha Tondaiman Bahadur
1825—1839.

* From a memorandum prepared for the information of the Resident of Kólhapúr (see p. 348) and forwarded by Captain Maclean, Resident of Tanjore, in June, 1839.

same plan and of the same size, calling it Vijaya Raghunáthapuram after the name of his brother and presenting it with lands in 1826 to deserving Brahmins. Under the superintendence of the Residents of Tanjore, who were bent upon keeping down the expenditure of the State, there were no grants of Inám lands in the reign of "Rájá Bahadúr". In April, 1826, sanction was applied for to the Resident to accomplish the charity of giving lands, houses, *etc.*, to Brahmins. The Rájá's only motive for deciding upon the gift of Vijaya Raghunáthapuram seems to have been his sincere solicitude for the welfare of the soul of his brother, whom he so dearly loved. And after this step had been decided upon, his officers, evidently out of selfish motives, are said to have prevailed upon the Rájá to do something for the salvation of his father also. An Agraháram was accordingly built at Kadaiyakkudi and given the name of Prasanna Raghunáthapuram, and the houses with lands were distributed among the officers of the State. The gift of Vijaya Raghunáthapuram differed from other inams of Agrahárams not only in all the houses having been built on the same plan, so that it was often a source of perplexity for the owner of a house in the middle of the street to find out his own house, but in every house having been furnished with all the household utensils and supplies for one year of every household requisite, so that it might be unnecessary for anybody to have to purchase or borrow any article in the first year, even the necessary vegetables and leaves having been supplied by the Sarkar once a week. The houses at Prasanna Raghunáthapuram were also built on the same plan as at Vijaya Raghunáthapuram.

The Rájá's pilgrimage to Rameswaram. Soon after making these grants, we find the Tondaimán starting (in February 1827) on a pilgrimage to Rameswaram to perform, we may suppose, the needful rites for his brother's soul. The necessary arrangements for "the respect and attention due to his rank and dignity" being shewn to him during the journey were made by the Madras Government, and the Tondaimán returned to his capital on the 26th of April, 1827.

The Rájá advised to practise economy. The drought of 1825 continued till June 1826, and we find Colonel Blackburne again offering his advice for retrenchment of expenditure. The Resident

of Tanjore wrote to the Rájá on the 23rd of May, 1826, as follows:—"You see that he (Colonel Blackburne) still acts the part of a true friend to you and gives you the best advice. It has come very opportunely to remind you that in the performance of the annual ceremony (of your brother on the 4th of June) which will shortly take place, and upon every other occasion, you should, while your finances are still suffering from the effect of a succession of unfavourable seasons, confine your expenses within what is indispensably necessary".

A hurricane in the State. The drought was followed in May, 1827, by "a terrific hurricane attended with rain, which caused great injury to the cattle, trees and houses in the State".

In October 1827, the question of the suppression of the manufacture of earth-salt was raised again, and Soiróba Naig explained the many difficulties that would befall the subjects of the State if the suppression of earth-salt manufacture should be decided upon.

Interview with the Governor at Viralimalai. In August, 1826, the Tondaimán had the honour of having an interview with His Excellency the Governor of Madras, who was then touring in the Southern Districts of the Presidency. The Resident at Tanjore wrote to the Tondaimán that the Governor would be at Virálimalai on the 18th of August, that he would introduce the Tondaimán to the Governor, and that the Tondaimán should send his Sirkil and Foujdár to meet the Governor at the boundary of the country on the Trichinopoly side, six or seven miles from Virálimalai. From a memorandum of the interview which was prepared and despatched for the information of Colonel Blackburne in England, we find the Governor complimenting the Rájá on his "speaking English very well", asking the Rájá why he called General Blackburne his father, and informing him that he knew well the history of his ancestors. Two or three questions of the Governor with the answers may be transcribed here.

The Governor. Have you been to the sea coast?

The Rájá. Yes. I have been three times to Setubáva Chattram when my father was here.

The Governor. May you go to other countries? (with a smile)

The Rājā ... As Tanjore is under the Company's authority and as I am protected by the Company, I consider the country which belongs to the Company as mine.....

The Governor. Have rains fallen in your country?

The Rājā ... For the last two years the people have suffered much by the failure of rain; but in the last few days some heavy rains having fallen in every part of the country, it is now cool everywhere.

The Governor. About forty years ago* when I passed by this way from Melur, I saw thick wood in this country. Is it now cut down and are the lands cultivated?

The Rājā ... Agreeably to my father the Colonel's (Colonel Blackburne's) order, the woods having almost been cut down, cultivation is now going on. There still remains thin wood in some places.†

Condition of the State in 1827. A statement in Tamil prepared for the year 1826-7 (*Vijaya*) will give the reader a fair idea of the condition of the Pudukkóttai State at the time.

1. What is the total population of the State? According to a census that was taken in 1826-7, there were 1,07,909 males and 1,03,833 females. The total population was thus 2,11,742.

2. What is the net income of the State? The annual income of the State is Rs. 1,68,920 and the expenditure is Rs. 1,68,920, (leaving no balance)

* He was then a Lieutenant in the army and was, after the conclusion of the treaty with Tipu in March, 1784, stationed for a time at Madura.

† There is a tradition to the effect that the Governor asked the Sirkil and the Foujdár Appá Aiyar whether the State had a separate flag and that Appá Aiyar hoisted then the Hanumán flag, specially and hurriedly prepared at the time. (See pp. 120 and 137).

3. What are the taxable articles? At what rates are taxes collected? For every fruit-bearing tree, one panam a year. For wet lands from 5 pons to 25 pons a year and for dry lands from 1 pon to 6 pons a year. For every loom, stable and shop from one-quarter of a panam to one panam a year. [23½ panams=1 star pagoda=Rs. 3-8-0; one pon or Chakram=10 panams].

4. What are the productions and manufactures of the State? *Productions.* Rice, *cumbu*, *sāmai*, *varagu*, and *chólam* (different kinds of millet—ragi, maize, etc.) horse gram, gingelly seeds, black gram, green gram, red gram, castor-oil plant, turmeric, tobacco, chillies, betel-leaf, sugar-cane, cocoanut and ochre.

Manufactures. Iron, earth-salt, salt-petre, indigo; dyes, white cotton cloths, silk cloths and embroidery.

5. What is the extent of lands under cultivation and of lands not cultivated? Exclusive of forests, of purambókku lands and of land unfit for cultivation, the extent of wet lands is 12,500 velis and of dry lands, 14,200. Total 26,700 velis. Lands not cultivated, 3,300 velis.

6. How is the administration of justice carried on? There are for the decision of cases a Nyáya Sabhá, a Mudra Sabhá, a Danda Sabhá, a Kotwal and Town Police and Taluk Police (Sub-Magistrates).

7. How are customs levied? An article weighing 10 tuláms is taken to weigh 8 tuláms, and duty is levied according to the nature of the article at from one-quarter of a panam to one panam per tulám. [One tulám=120 palams].

8. Who are the chief officers of the State with whom His Excellency* conducts the administration? Sirkil Ry. Soiróba Naig. Fovj-dár Ry. Appá Aiyar. Secretary Ry. Tyágarájaswámi. Kárbár Ry. Lakshmana Naig. Bangu Madhyastam (Superintendent of the Manóvarthi affairs) Ry. Sakháram Naig. Chief Judge, Judges, Magistrates *etc.*
9. What is the strength of the army? What is the number of troopers, sepoys and gunners, and men bearing arms and what are their equipment and pay? Troopers 26; sepoys, 120; gunners, 30; in addition to 6,702 "Carnatic men", of whom 702 are native officers known as Rájás, Náýaks, Bárgírs, Jamádárs and Súbahdárs, and 6,000 are *Amarakárs* and *Uíyyakárs*.†
10. Are the articles cheaper or dearer than in the Company's Territory? Does the pay correspond to the difference? Articles are cheaper than in the Company's territory. Of those in service, three-fifths enjoy lands, one fifth receive some pay in addition to lands they enjoy, and one-fifth receive payments in cash.
11. What are the imports of the State? All articles required for use that are not mentioned in reply to Question No. 4 are imported.
12. Is education widely spread, though it is of a low standard? Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit and Maratti are learnt widely and English and Persian by a few.
13. Are the roads as far as possible in a fair condition? Are they many? There is a road passing through Virálimalai from Trichinopoly to Madura, and also another road

* The use of this title shows that this paper must have been prepared after 1830. But the date given in the record is 1826-7.

† See *Revenue History*. The *Rájás* are supposed to be of Rajput descent. The *Náýaks* were heads of small bodies of fighting men. *Bárgírs* were men mounted on horses supplied by the State. *Jamádár* was a military subaltern officer and *Súbahdár* held a rank equal to that of *Captain*. See *Wilson's Glossary of British India*.

- Is the ground unfit for the making of roads? from Tanjore to Rámesvaram. There are also minor roads in good condition. In some places the ground is level and in other places uneven.
14. Are severe punishments awarded often or occasionally? Guilty people are punished. Some of them are mounted on asses and adorned so as to cause them shame—with the flowers of *calotropis gigantea*, *etc.* Imprisonment is from one month to twelve years. Whipping (from one dozen to twelve dozen stripes) is another punishment. No other severe punishment is in force.
15. What are the ordinary cases that come before the Magistrates? Highway robbery, burglary, arson, and murder are cases that come before the Danda Sabhá. Cases relating to loans of money, rights of landed property and other civil cases are tried by the Nyáya Sabhá and other Civil Courts.
16. Has the State suffered much on account of the recent famine (செழைமடு)? Yes. But as those in employment were not merely given their pay, but were granted advances, and as His Excellency built a Chattram where the poor were freely supplied with meals and congee, the people were fairly satisfied.
17. In the last five years, has there been any difference in the income of the State? How much? In the last year, owing to the famine there was a decrease in the income of Rs. 40,000.

In July, 1827, died Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, and the Rájá was filled with grief when he heard the news, as he "remembered with the liveliest sense of gratitude the many obligations and kindnesses which he had received from him".

For a statue that was proposed to be raised to commemorate the memory of the Governor "who was admired for his talents and beloved for his virtues by all that knew him", the Rájá, who had been treated by the Governor with so much consideration and kindness, subscribed a sum of Rs 1,000. Mr. S. R. Lushington, who had been the Collector of Ramnad during the Pálayakár wars and who very well knew the nature of the services rendered by the father of the Rájá, became Governor of Madras in October of the year.

Marriages of the Rájá's daughters. On the 15th of May, 1828, the Rájá's eldest daughter was married to one Rangan Pallavaráyar a Jágirdar of distinction, who "was honoured as the heir and generally called the son of Annal Ayi, daughter of Raya Ragonatha Tondiman, ruler of the State from 1769-89, as, after the death of her husband, Mappilay Pallava Row, without issue, she brought up her brother-in-law's son (Rangan Pallava Row) as her own child". The Resident who had been invited for the marriage, "to show that the descendants of the faithful Tondiman had claims upon the gratitude and good offices of the Hon'ble Company", presented the Rájá with a khilát of congratulation. The Rájá's second daughter was married to R. Raghunáthaswámi Panricóndrár on the 26th of June, 1831.

Boundary disputes. There were a large number of boundary disputes between the State and the Tanjore District as also disputes relating to the boundary of the State on the Trichinopoly side. Most of these were settled by arbitration. In 1828, arrangements were made for settling the disputes relating to the boundaries of 69 villages in the Tanjore District bordering on 99 villages in the State. The Resident was requested by the Collector of Tanjore in November, 1828, to "arrange for the attendance of the Karnams and Mirasidars of the State with their accounts of the Pymashdars at the requisition of the Tahsildar of Pattoocottah in order distinctly to ascertain the boundaries of the Company's and the Territory's villages".

The Rájá's interest in literary matters. In November, 1828, the Governor presented to the Tondaimán some books "affording evidence of the exertions made by learned men in England to facilitate the acquisition of the literature of this country" and

showing the perfection to which the art of printing in Oriental languages had been carried on. In August, 1830, the Rájá became a patron of the Madras Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and undertook "to promote by every means in his power any inquiries or researches which might tend to facilitate the very laudable and desirable objects which the society had in view".

Birth of an heir to the Raja. In October, 1829, a son and heir was born to Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán, who was given the name of Rámachandra Tondaimán. The Resident wrote to the Rájá that a child of his to inherit his honours was alone wanting to complete his happiness and that God that was pleased to bestow this great blessing on the Rájá should also be pleased to make the child a worthy descendant of the Tondaimán family.

In 1831, another son was born, who was named Tirumalai Tondaimán.

A question of jurisdiction in criminal trials. In 1829, a question of Jurisdiction in criminal trials was raised and decided in favour of the Tondaimán. In March, 1829, the Resident wrote to the Collector and Magistrate of Trichinopoly that "the Raja Tondiman Bahadur had till then taken sole cognisance of all offences committed within his own Territory" and desired that "the prisoners whom he requested the Magistrate of Trichinopoly to apprehend should, in conformity with the long established practice in similar cases, be sent for trial to his Court of Justice at Poodocottah and not to the Company's Court at Combaconam"* as proposed by the Magistrate. He added for his information that "as a reward for the faithful services of the Tondiman family, the Honorable Company had left them in a state of complete independence and did not in any way interfere with the Government of the little territory" and that "it was clear therefore that, according to an acknowledged principle of international law, any inhabitant of the Trichinopoly District who committed offences in Tondiman's country, might be apprehended at once and tried and punished there without any communication to the

* In those days the Zillah Court of Tanjore was located at Kumbhakonam, and the parts about Gandharvakóttai belonged to "the Combaconam Zillah". The Fort of Tanjore was in the hands of the Rájá of Tanjore. (See p. 301).

British officers, the converse holding good of course when inhabitants of Tondiman's country committed offences in the British Territory". The Magistrate of Trichinopoly held a different opinion of the question, and the matter was submitted to the Madras Government. The Government decided the question in favour of the Tondaimán and wrote to the Collector-Magistrate of Trichinopoly that "the services rendered by Tondiman's family to the Company in times of great difficulty entitled him to the support and protection of Government in the exercise of all the rights and privileges which had been allowed to him and of which it was believed no native prince ever made a more discreet and beneficial use" and that "the Governor was therefore anxious, instead of abridging any of the authority which Tondiman had till then exercised, to increase the consideration which he enjoyed in his country and to satisfy his wishes by every conciliatory act and indulgent concession which might not be inconsistent with former policy or usage at the time".

The question of Jurisdiction once again rose in 1834. It was decided then by the Governor-General in Council that the subjects of Pudukkóttai and other Native States should be always amenable to the British Courts for crimes and heinous offences committed within the British territory, but "that this practice should not be reciprocal, such a distinction being a proper prerogative of the paramount power". It was at the same time ruled, however, that the delivery of the subjects of a Native State who were charged with heinous crimes committed in the State and who had fled into the British territory, was entirely unobjectionable, and that a native subject of the British Government charged with a crime committed in a Native State, and apprehended before he had effected his escape into the British territory, could be tried in that State.

These rules made a very distressing impression on the mind of the Tondaimán. The Rájá felt that his people would no longer look up to him as an independent prince supported in all the authority of a sovereign, and that he would no longer be considered as an old and faithful ally of the British Government. The practical objections that the Rájá urged to the new rules were:—

1. That his country was surrounded by the habitations of notorious robbers who could plunder his villages and retire into the British territory in a few hours, that many robberies in the State had been committed even when the plunderers knew that the British authorities would give every assistance to apprehend and deliver them over to his Courts for trial, that, according to the new rules; his people had to go and make their complaints to the Magistrate of the Zillah to which the robbers belonged or had retired, that, when the plunderers were apprehended and committed for trial, the Prosecutor and witnesses had to appear before the Judges of Circuit probably at a distant period and far from their houses, and that his people being poor, with nothing to support themselves with but the produce of the small portions of land that they cultivated, their absence would be their ruin.

2. That his country had no fortified places in which property could be secured and that he could not afford to support an establishment of peons to protect his villages, and that in fact his people must submit to be plundered rather than undergo the distresses that a prosecution of the offenders before the Company's Courts must entail.

The Tondaimán also added that his ancestors and himself had always been considered the friends and allies of the British Government, but never subject to any of their laws.

The Resident, Captain Maclean, who was unwilling to send up to the Government an address to the Governor in which the Rájá had set forth his grievances in detail and also his claims for exemption from the new regulations, wrote to the Governor in January, 1835, mentioning the above objections. He also referred to the order passed in 1829 and quoted above, expressed his concern that the Regulations caused the greatest unhappiness to a Prince, highly esteemed for his many amiable and excellent qualities and for his faithful and sincere attachment to the British power, and concluded with his opinion that the concession might be granted to the Tondaimán that the depredators who made plundering expeditions into his territory might be delivered to him for trial by the Courts in his State, where his people would have the benefit of speedy redress and not be subjected to

the delays and heavy expenses that the Regulations entailed upon them. The Resident, also, when he had an occasion to go to Madras, "had several opportunities of speaking to the Governor on the subject" and informed the Tondaimán that, as the Regulations in question were made by the Government of India applicable to all the princes in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, the Governor told him that "it was impossible to have them altered"; that "the Governor assured him that he was most anxious to provide a remedy for the evils complained of", that "the Governor, who would not pledge himself to any particular measure, promised to give any representations that the Resident might make every due consideration", and that "he could place the question in so strong a point of view that he had no doubt of the Government seeing the necessity of going back to the former system and giving to His Excellency those powers which he formerly possessed".

After obtaining from the Rájá detailed information relating to the Courts, the laws and criminal procedure in the State, the Resident made a strong representation on the subject to the Governor. The representation had the desired effect and the Tondaimán was informed by the Resident (18th of April, 1836) that "the Government was prepared to deliver over offenders being British subjects, to be tried in His Excellency the Rájá's Courts, at the requisition of the Resident". The Principal Collector of Tanjore, Mr. Kindersley, wrote to the Rájá "rejoicing not only for His Excellency's sake, but for the honour of the British Government in India, who paid such ready attention to His Excellency's claims upon its justice".

We may in this connection refer to another order that was passed by the Madras Government in 1836 upholding the power and dignity of the Rájá. It was usual for the subjects of the Rájá to send up petitions against the Rájá's officers to the Madras Government, without seeking redress locally from the Rájá, and in December, 1835, certain people who called themselves "Mahánáttars of Poodoocottah" forwarded a petition to the Governor, containing 37 allegations on what they called the mismanagement of the Province. The Resident, Lieutenant Colonel Maclean, wrote to the Government "on the necessity of putting

down the infamous system of sending false petitions, which had grown in His Excellency's Territory" and "the Governor-in-Council considered it expedient as a general principle to abstain from interfering in appeals against the administration of native princes". In forwarding to the Rájá a copy of an endorsement made by order of the Madras Government on petitions addressed to them by some of the Rájá's subjects, the Resident informed the Rájá that "His Excellency would observe that those people were desired to abstain from submitting similar complaints in future", that "the Government would not allow His Excellency's just authority as Rajah to be disputed or insulted", and that "his people would look to him and consider him as their just and paternal Prince and Ruler".

The following letter of the Resident to the Rájá dated 21st of December, 1836, containing references to the two subjects dealt with above is worthy of quotation.

"Your Excellency perhaps does not know that the jurisdiction which has been conferred on you by the Government of India and also by the Madras Government is not possessed by the Raja of Travancore. Both Governments are well acquainted with Your Excellency's personal character. In my last letter to our excellent Governor, I stated my confidence that the authority conferred on Your Excellency would never be misused. Government has shown by the late endorsements on the petitions how highly they consider Your Excellency's character for justice and love for your people. I need not tell you how highly I deem myself, in being the means through which your authority and dignity have been confirmed and supported". On the 3rd of July, 1837, he wrote again to the Rájá on the subject of jurisdiction in criminal trials, mentioning that "the system of reciprocity then in use was to be continued" and that "His Excellency the Raja thus possessed privileges which were not allowed to other Native States".

It may be mentioned in this connection that, by Act I of 1849, the concession granted to the Rájá in the matter of jurisdiction was cancelled and it was rendered imperative that British subjects charged with offences in Pudukkóttai and apprehended

within British limits should be tried by British tribunals, in as much as the Pudukkóttai territory contained no court established by the authority of the Governor-in-Council. The present law on the subject is that such persons should be tried in the Pudukkóttai State, unless the Political Agent certifies that in his opinion the charges ought to be inquired into in British India.

Conferment of the title of "His Excellency" on the Raja. In the letters quoted above, we find the Rájá addressed by the title of "His Excellency". We may mention when and how this distinction was conferred on the Rájá. In March, 1830, the Tondaimán received the honorary title of "His Excellency" from the Governor and the title was from that time recognised by the Governor-General of India in written communications to the Tondaimán. The Court of Directors approved in their letter dated 27th of February, 1835, "the mark of consideration that had been shown to the deserving Chief on the ground of his own merits and of the attachment to the British Government so uniformly and zealously manifested by his ancestors". The circumstances in which the mark of distinction was granted may be briefly described.

Both the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General in 1829 were officers who were thoroughly acquainted with the unshaken fidelity of the Tondaimán family. The former of these was the Honorable S. R. Lushington, at whose request the Pánjálamkuricchi pálayukárs were captured in 1799, and who, even so late as 1834, wrote to the Tondaimán that "few things gave him more pleasure or pride than the remembrance of the Raja's fidelity to the Company when they needed his attachment during the rebellion of the Southern Chiefs in 1800, and of his having been one of the main inducements by which they stayed the effusion of blood and restored peace and order in the place of anarchy and confusion". The Governor-General from July, 1828, was Lord William Bentinck, who had been Governor of Madras from August, 1803 to September, 1807, and who presented Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán in 1803 with two gold sticks (see p. 325) in recognition of "his unshaken fidelity and the promptitude with which he served the Honorable Company as well as of his ancestors' bravery." Sir William Blackburne, who was ever

mindful of the prosperity and distinction of his ward, the Rájá of Pudukkóttai, thought that there could be no better opportunity for obtaining some honorary mark of distinction for the Rájá, "conversed with Lord William Bentinck before he embarked for India, referred his Lordship boldly to the Raja's uniform good conduct, solicited earnestly some special mark of approbation of that conduct and of the eminently faithful and meritorious and important services of the Raja's ancestors, prepared his Lordship to receive a letter from the Raja on his arrival in India and disposed him without difficulty to support and assist the Raja by all proper means". He also wrote to his Lordship in May, 1828, recommending the grant of the title of His Highness to the Rájá. We quote the following extract from the letter, which was communicated to the Rájá by Sir William Blackburne, with his recommendation to the Rájá to send up an application to the Governor-General.

"It is difficult for me to address your Lordship in India without recurring to my amiable and affectionate ward, the Raja Tondiman Bahadur, and entreating most earnestly your Lordship's kind consideration for him. He and his brother and their father before them have always been most faithful and eminently serviceable, when some of their neighbours have been in actual rebellion, and the rest without exception wavering between their desire of gratifying their disloyalty and undisguised hatred, and their salutary fear of punishment. The young Raja Tondiman is entirely indebted to your Lordship* for the education it was possible to give him, for the honourable discharge of the debts of his father, for the greatly increased prosperity of his country and for the principles of truth and honour which will continue to regulate his conduct through life. He well merits from the Company the title of 'His Highness'. The compliment would be a just reward for his own admirable conduct and the fidelity and services of his immediate and remote ancestors, and it would tend to prove that the abasement of the native princes is not so much the policy of the British Government as the unavoidable consequence of their own misconduct".

* It was Sir William Bentinck that required Sir William (then Major) Blackburne "to undertake the management of the province of Poodocottah and the guardianship of the minors". (See p. 340).

"My grateful remembrance of your Father's services to the Company, thirty one years ago, is as fresh and strong as on the day they were performed; and as your good education enables you to read and understand English, I enclose copies of the correspondence which passed on that occasion, that they may be deposited among the archives of a family distinguished in the history of British India for its fidelity and loyalty to the Honorable Company.

"As a proof of my own sense of such excellent conduct, and of the virtuous disposition of Your Excellency, which have been fully related to me by Captain Fyfe, I have great gratification in thus addressing you, and shall be at all times rejoiced to hear of your health, happiness and honor".

From a letter that was written to Colonel Blackburne on the 2nd of April, 1830, we find that the letter was received by the Rájá in Public Darbar with due honour and that a salute of 21 guns was fired on the occasion.

The Rájá found it inconvenient to undertake a journey at the time to Trichinopoly as desired by the Governor, and wrote to the Governor requesting him to accept his sincerest thanks for the particular kindness and favour which he had been pleased to manifest towards him in conferring on him the title of *His Excellency* and for his making the honour the greater by sending his own son to announce to him the happy event. He concluded his letter by stating that the correspondence of which the Rájá had received copies and the title of honour would be "a sure proof to all the world that the Company would never forget those who had always been their faithful friends".

Later on in this year, in August, 1830, the Rájá paid a visit to Trichinopoly. The Governor had gone to Travancore to see the State for himself, the visit that he paid being the first gubernatorial visit to Travancore, and "urgent business at Madras obliged him to return from Travancore by the shortest route and prevented him from visiting the Rájá at Pudukkóttai". It must have been to meet His Excellency the Governor that the Rájá went to Trichinopoly. The Rájá was gratified by the attentions that were shown to him at Trichinopoly, and the Private Secretary to

the Governor informed the Rájá that "with such distinctions (as were shown to him) it was the pleasure as well as the duty of all British officers to receive the sincere allies of the Government".

December, 1830. The Rájá visited Trichinopoly once again in this year—in December—to be present at a Review of the 4th Regiment Light Cavalry; he was received with all due honors and compliments by the guards on duty, and a salute of 19 guns was fired on His Excellency the Rájá's approach opposite the Golden Rock.

It was only in February, 1835, that the grant of the title was approved by the Honorable Court of Directors in England. According to Colonel Blackburne's letter dated 29th of March, 1830, "the Raja's name and merit and the merit and services of his family were well-known and acknowledged by all the Directors, who were well disposed towards the Raja". The Directors must have had only a general impression that the Tondaimán rulers were noted for their unshaken fidelity to the Company. To give them an idea of the exact nature and value of the services that the Tondaimáns had rendered to the British, Colonel Blackburne desired the Rájá to prepare a memoir setting forth with all possible precision the services rendered by the Tondaimáns to the Náyak rulers, to the Nawabs and the English. No historic sketch of the Tondaimán family was attempted, and the memoir took the form of a short tabular statement of the names of the places to which the forces of this country were sent, of those of the British Military officers who were helped by these forces, and the names of the Pudukkóttai Sardárs under whom the forces were sent. The correspondence that had passed between the Tondaimáns and the Governors and Military officers in the service of the Company was also printed, and copies of the same must have been distributed among the Directors in England.

Death of the Rájá's uncle. In November, 1835, Tirumalai Tondaimán, paternal uncle of the Rájá and one of the Managers of the State after the death of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr, died childless, and the Governor wrote to the Rájá expressing his satisfaction at the conduct of the Rájá in interfering

to prevent the widow from burning herself with the body of her deceased husband. The Jágir he was enjoying lapsed to the State and it was granted after the death of the Rájá to his younger son Tirumalai Tondaimán, who became the Chinnaranmanai Jágirdár.

Another drought in the State. In 1837 there was a drought of some severity in certain parts of the State, and the Rájá very kindly made arrangements for purchasing and storing paddy to help his people. The Governor, Sir Frederick Adam, wrote to the Rájá in March, 1837, that "Colonel Maclean had very recently mentioned to him a fresh proof of the just and beneficial principles which regulated His Excellency's conduct in the paternal care he was evincing by providing for the wants of his people, who were suffering from the effects of the drought". A sum of about Rs. 30,000 had to be borrowed for the purchase of grain, and the principal with the interest thereon could not be repaid for some years.

Abolition of 'Sayer' or Land-customs. In 1837 "Sayer duties" were restricted to 36 articles, the names of many of which will be given below. We may mention what these duties were, how they were collected and how they affected the trade of the country. Land customs, otherwise called Sayer, from an Arabic word meaning *current*, * had been levied in India from very early times. It was known in the time of the Cholas as வழி ஆயம் or tolls on articles passing from one territory into another, and the impost, which must have been vexatious, was abolished by Kulóttunga Chóla I (1070-1118 A. D.), who, by this act of statesmanship, earned for himself the name of சங்கந்தவிர்த்த சோழன் or the Chola who abolished the tolls.† From an incomplete inscription at Mínavalli near Virálimalai, of which the date

* "The term 'Sayer' in the 18th century was applied to a variety of inland imposts, but especially to local and arbitrary charges levied by Zamindars and other individuals with a show of authority on all goods passing through their estates by land or water, or sold at markets (*bazar, haur, gunge*) established by them, charges which formed in the aggregate an enormous burden upon the trade of the country We conceive that the true sense of the Indian term was 'current or customary charges', an idea that lies at the root of sundry terms of the same kind in various languages, including our own *customs* as well as the *dustoor* which is so familiar in India". Mr. Crooke's edition of Col. Yule and Dr. Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*.

† See pp. 106 and 108 of the *Journal of the South Indian Association* for July, 1910.

cannot be ascertained, we find that Sayer duties were levied there on bullocks, cows, sandalwood, salt, paddy, rice, gram and other articles, that for each head of cattle a duty of $\frac{1}{40}$ of a panam was to be paid, that for a cart load of tamarind, rice or gram the duty was one-eighth of a panam, and so on. The Sayer duties were collected by the Nawab and the Tondaimán, when articles had to pass from the territory of each of these into that of the other. In special cases, exemption from the levy of duties was applied for, and we find Colonel Baird writing to the Tondaimán in 1792 that "as he was favourably disposed towards the Company, he would direct his men to suffer to pass the merchants and Chetties duty free, who might have been furnished with passes attested by his signature and the seal of the camp cutwal and thereby assist the conduct of the Company's affairs". The amount that was realised by the collection of such duties was at this time more than Rs. 15,000 in this State. In 1841, "the fixed rent payable to the Circar was Rs. 15,790 for the Sayer. The surplus, after paying the rent, was carried to the Rájamahall or the Palace Private Accounts. There were more than 220 articles on which Sayer duty was charged, most of them at the rate of one Gold Fanam or 2 annas per Tolam (தலாம்) weight of 120 Pullunis (பலம்) or 9½ lbs; but the rate varied according to the articles. The duty was payable only once. Goods brought from the Company's Territories or in Transit thereto paid an 'ad valorem duty' of 2½ per cent".* Almost every article of utility or luxury that passed from one territory to another was examined at the Chowki Stations, where the customs were collected. The Chowkidars, who were in charge of the work, were generally dishonest, † and various were the vexations of those that had to pass through the Chowki stations.

The British Government realised the gravity of the situation, and in August, 1837, confined the duties to thirty-six articles, of which we may mention the following:—

All kinds of cloth, opium, arecanuts, iron, indigo, gunny bags, *cumbles*, tobacco, betel, *ganja*, *bhang*, all kinds of ghee,

* From Mr. Bayley's *Report on Pudukkottai to the Madras Government*, dated 7th July, 1841.

† A well-known Tamil stanza states that "the Maiden Falsehood was born in a Chowki house and ultimately chose to live with the goldsmiths".

tamarind with or without seeds, gingelly seed, cocoanuts, salt-petre, silk thread, hides, timber.

The proclamation, dated 21st of July, 1837, which related to the reduction of the number of the dutiable goods, contained the following paragraph:—

“The Governor-in-Council being further of opinion that the promulgation of the proclamation in all the Native States adjoining the Provinces under the Government would be attended with very great advantages, especially in suppressing extortion, resolves that a copy of it be furnished to the Political Department, from whence the necessary communications will be made on the subject to the Residents or other officers at the Courts of the Native Princes”.

The Resident, in communicating the Proclamation to the Rájá, informed him that “the collection of duty was confined to 36 articles, whereas till then it had been on every article of consumption, that the Proclamation was forwarded to the Rájá for his information, that the Government was always anxious for the welfare of its subjects and did as much as possible to alleviate the burthen imposed upon them in the shape of taxes, that to that end the late alteration in the levy of customs was somewhat conducive and that if His Excellency the Raja could, without prejudice to the necessary expenses of his Government, take off a part at least of the taxation upon articles of the greatest consumption among the lower orders and place an additional tax on those which might be considered luxuries or on others not till then taxed at all, he would surely do so”.

In accordance with the advice contained in the Resident's letter, some alterations were made in the rules relating to the collection of Sayer, which drew forth from the Collectors of the surrounding districts loud protests. The Collector of Tanjore, for example, objected to the collection of duties on articles “in transit from one of the Company's villages to another, where the road lay intersected by a strip of His Excellency's country”. The Resident wrote to the Rájá that “all the Collectors of the neighbouring districts had complained” and advised him to “cancel all the orders the Rájá had given regarding the new taxes and keep up to the old custom”.

By Act VI of 1844, Sayer duties were altogether abolished in the British Territory, except on certain goods passing from or into what was described as “foreign territory”. Pudukkóttai, as a Native State, was declared “foreign territory” under the Act, but when the Rájá explained that Pudukkóttai was a poor State and that it was dishonourable that his State should be treated as a foreign country, it was arranged that Sayer duties should be levied neither by the Tondaimán nor by the British on any article passing from the territory of the one into the other. The Rájá appreciated the kindness of the Government very much and wrote in February, 1845, to say that “he could never forget his personal obligation to His Lordship the Governor (the Marquis of Tweeddale) in securing his people from the indignity that would have followed the classing of the country as a foreign one” and that “the exemption of his poor Principality from the duties imposed on foreign countries was doubly acceptable to him as tending to the prosperity of his country and as a mark of personal favour to himself”.

Protestant Mission work in the State. It was about this time that the Protestants thought of the State as a suitable field of work. “In the thirties some English and Anglo-Indian Christians in Madras formed a society, called the Indian Missionary Society, for work amongst the Tamils and chose, for reasons not known, Pudukotah as their field of work. They sent as their agent a catechist, who seems to have been an energetic man and who, notwithstanding strong opposition, succeeded in getting a footing in the town and in opening schools in some villages. The Rájá became interested in the schools, and on the advice of the Political Agent, Mr. Blackburne, granted a piece of land to each school as a contribution for its support. In 1845, the said Mission Society made over its work in Pudukotah to the American Board Mission in Madura. Some catechists and school teachers were sent by this Society to different places, and it seems that their work was followed by some success. In 1848 there were in Pudukotah 190 Protestant Christians and 13 schools belonging to the Mission. But the Americans, being in want of agents for their principal field of work, the district of Madura, offered in the said year their Pudukotah Mission to the Leipzig Mission Society,

which accepted the offer. In 1901 Scandinavia separated from the Leipzig Lutheran Mission enterprise, and the Mission station of Pudukotah was ceded to the Church of the Swedish Mission in that year".*

The following letter from the Political Agent, Mr. Parker, to the Rájá, dated September 4, 1849, which contains a very brief historic sketch of Protestant Missions in the State, accounts for the existence of a separate Anglican Church at Pudukkóttai.

"I am informed that the Missionary Congregations in Poodootottah were first established by Rev. Mr. Kohlkoff—evidently Rev. John Caspar Kohlkoff, 'between whose father and himself, 110 years of Missionary labour were divided'—belonging to the Church of England; and that owing to the impediments to his care of them, they were made over first to another Society and afterwards to the American Missionaries, who, you are aware, have lately been obliged to surrender them. They have subsequently been under charge of some German Missionaries; but, as I am informed by a letter from the Rev. Mr. Guest, have petitioned to be again taken in charge of the Church of England Mission owing to some dissatisfaction with the customs of the German gentlemen. I do not suppose that the German gentlemen will make any opposition to the Christians placing themselves under Mr. Guest's instructions, if they wish to do so; and it is only with their best consent that Mr. Guest will act as their Missionary".

A visit of the Lord Bishop of Madras. In February, 1839, the Lord Bishop of Madras—Right Rev. George Trevor Spencer, D. D. a great grandson of the third Duke of Marlborough and Bishop of Madras from 1837 to 1849—who was a particular friend of Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Madras, paid a visit to this State on his way to the Nilgiris. He wrote to the Rájá on the 26th of March, 1839, that "he was truly proud and thankful to reckon His Excellency among his friends", that "he could assure His Excellency that he looked back with great pleasure to his visit to His Excellency's country" and that "he considered himself

* From a note furnished by Dr. E. Heuman, for a long time Missionary at Pudukkóttai.

peculiarly honored in having been permitted the opportunity of making the personal acquaintance and obtaining the good wishes of one for whose character he felt the highest respect".

The visit of another Lord Bishop. In February, 1856, the State had the honour of being visited by another Bishop of Madras—the Right Rev. Thomas Dealtry, D. D., the successor of Bishop Spencer. The Lord Bishop was on a visitation to the Madura District and passed through the town of Pudukkóttai, where "the usual respects were shown to him". The Political Agent wrote to the Rájá communicating his sense of the respect paid to His Lordship. [For more information on Protestant Mission work, see Appendix D].

Catholic dissensions at Avur. Having noticed briefly the origin and progress of the Protestant Missions, we may give here a short history of the work of the Catholic Missions in the State from 1740, when we found the Jesuits working actively at Ávúr and other places. The Jesuit Fathers "had made themselves Indian to save the Indians", admitted to their service none but Brahmins, wore a long robe of salmon-coloured linen a turban and wooden sandals and lived on rice, milk, herbs and water. With the adoption of the Brahminical mode of life, it was inevitable that they should separate themselves from the lower castes.* Separate portions in churches were allotted to caste and non-caste Christians, and in the communion service caste people were administered first and non-caste people after them. Likewise caste people alone were admitted as servants of the Church. These social observances were objected † to by many

* See p. 12 of Rev. J. S. Chandler's *History of the Jesuit Mission in Madura*.

† The following passages will give an idea of the charges that were brought forward against the Jesuits of the Madura Mission.

"In order to sustain the fictitious character, they found it necessary to assume the dress of Cavy (சாடி) they were never to appear in public without affixing to their foreheads the wafer made of sandal-wood powder which is worn by Brahmins and other Hindoos and thus carried the stamp of idolatry on their front Instead therefore of condescending 'to men of low estate', R. de Nobili and his brethren exacted from them the same reverence which they were accustomed to pay the Brahmins and kept them at a distance with true Brahminical arrogance". From Rev. James' *History of Christianity*. "They did their best to render conversion as easy as possible by heathenising Christianity to the utmost possible extent. Except that the image of Virgin Mary was worshipped in the temples and paraded upon the cars, there was little change in the old ceremonies and processions of Hindooism. There

people and condemned by the Pope in 1744*. The result of "the abolition of caste among Christians" was that separate churches had to be built for the Panchamas. Missionaries, willing to devote themselves to the exclusive ministration of Paraias, were found, disproving the accusation against the Jesuits that the concessions to caste prejudice were due solely to the pride of the Missionaries. But the Jesuits were generally in bad odour at the time in Europe, and their methods and principles were so violently attacked by their opponents that the Pope found it necessary to suppress the order of the Jesuits in 1773. In 1778, the Pope entrusted the work till then done by the Jesuits to a new set of Missionaries called the Paris Foreign Missions, of which a branch had been established at Pondicherry. Ex-Jesuits continued to work at Ávur till 1794, in which year the Pondicherry Foreign Mission Bishop attempted to take possession of Ávur.

Now the Madura Mission was attached to the Portuguese Mission Province and depended ecclesiastically on the Padroado † Archbishop of Cranganore on the West Coast. This was considered a sufficient title by the representatives of the Padroado in these

was the same noise of trumpets and taum-taums and kettledrums, there was the same blaze of rockets and Roman candles and blue lights, there were the same dancers with the same marks of sandal-wood and vermilion on their naked bodies". From J. W. Kaye's *Christianity in India*. "They were charged by their opponents with having themselves rather become converts to the idolatrous worship of the Hindoos by conforming to many of their practices and superstitions than making Indian converts to the Christian religion". The *Letters of Abbe Dubois*.

* The Jesuit Missions, "that formerly made such a noise in the world, were suspended and abandoned in consequence of a papal mandate issued out in the year 1744 by Benedict XIV, who declared his disapprobation of the mean methods of converting the Indians that were practised by the Jesuits and pronounced it unlawful to make use of insidious artifices in extending the limits of the Christian Church". Dr. Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. V.

† Syrian priests and people seem to have settled in South West India in the fifth century. "When the Portuguese reached India in 1498, they brought in their train a number of Missionaries of various religious orders, who found large bodies of Christians in the South of the Peninsula and Ceylon. The Syrians were heretics in the opinion of these Missionaries, and all the devices that an iron-willed, fearless, fervent sixteenth-century Jesuit could employ were adopted against them and they were brought into union with the see of Rome. Goa became an archbishopric, with suffragan sees at Cochin, Cranganore and San Thome (Mylapore) under the royal patronage (padroado) of the King of Portugal. The Portuguese power declined from about 1650, and the Syrians sent urgent remonstrances to Rome against the Portuguese priests. Not gaining their desired object, they seceded from Rome". See pp. 137-165 of the *Year Book of Missions for India for 1912*.

parts, even against the explicit intention of the Pope, to prevent the Pondicherry Foreign Mission Bishop from taking possession of Ávur. There were four Syro-Malabar priests in these parts that meant real fight. They professed, in the face of two ex-Jesuits who had attached themselves to the Pondicherry Bishop, to be the real successors of the former Jesuit Missionaries and continuers of their work, and opposed violently the Pondicherry Bishop. The matter was referred to the Madras Government and Major General Floyd, doing duty at Trichinopoly received orders that the French priests should return at once to Pondicherry, as their continuance at Ávur was likely to lead to irregularities and dissensions. On their departure the work that had been done by the Madura Mission fell into the hands of 'Catenars', as the Syro-Malabar priests of the Portuguese Mission were called. One Periya Yagupar (Jacob), who reserved for himself Ávur, Trichinopoly and Malaiyadippatti and was the superior* over the other (three) Catenars "seems to have built several Chatrams round the Church at Avur and to have also constructed a *theiru* (சேரி, car) for the processions". Rájá Rahunátha Ráya Tondaimán seems to have taken some interest in the work of the Mission and paid Ávur a visit once in 1829 and again with Appá Aiyar, the Foujdár, in 1834. In 1838 there was published in Ávur the decree of the Pope, Gregory XVI, declaring the jurisdiction except that of the Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry to be null and irregular.

In the meanwhile, the order of the Jesuits had been re-established (1814) and "at the instant demands of the Bishop of Pondicherry, they had been recalled to continue and revise the work of their predecessors". The first band of Jesuits reached Pondicherry in 1837, and in June, 1838, Fr. Granier was installed as the Missionary of Trichinopoly. "Immediately after his arrival, he went directly to the Rájá of Pudukottah to set forth his rights and obtained a decree acknowledging him as the only true possessor of the church of Ávur. But his opponents had in

* From official records we find that the superior was styled *Metran*. "The local head of the church is the Bishop or *metran* (i.e., metropolitan) with priests (*Cattanars*) and deacons under him. See p. 13 of Mr. G. M. Rae's *Syrian church in India*. According to the *Madras Catholic Directory*, (for 1910), "*Catenar* or *Cattanar* is an abbreviated form of the Malayalam words *Carthan* (Governor) and *Nathan* (Lord), i.e., the Governing lord of the parish". We believe that the word is only an honorific form of *Curthan* or *Kartan* meaning lord or ruler.

some other way forestalled him and when it came to the execution of the decree, resistance was offered and the police were found to have received orders not to interfere. As most of the Christians, however, indeed nearly all, preferred the Pope's envoy to the schismatic rebel, Fr. Granier built another small church by the side of the one he was unable to recover and every Sunday went from Trichinopoly to visit it. The French party seems at first to have tried force, as in 1846 we find the Rájá reporting to the Political Agent that the Goa priest had presented a petition to the effect that the doors of his chapel were shut, that the key was in the possession of the French party and that it should be taken from them and given to him. The Political Agent advised the Rájá (March 3, 1846) to institute careful inquiries, and told him that "if the people liked to build new churches and give them to the French, the French should be maintained in them, provided they were at a sufficient distance from the Goa churches to prevent collision and dispute". In 1857, owing to the repeated requests of Portugal to the Pope, Goanese jurisdiction in the districts of the original Madura Mission was recognised with the result that "there was friction between the priests and Christians of the two jurisdictions as also spiritual evils of all sorts". The decree was modified a little later on, and the parties continued to work with occasional quarrels and attempts to settle them through the State authorities. It may be said that at present both the Catholic Missions are working smoothly.

Musical activity at Pudukkottai. We may give here a short account of the musicians and composers of music, who by their performances won distinction for themselves and the State. Ever since the foundation of the State, music seems to have flourished here and musicians to have been patronised by the rulers of the land. It will be remembered (see p. 120) that Rája Tondaimán received from Sríraṅga Rája a couple of bards to compose songs in his honour and sing his praises, and that Namana Tondaimán of Kulattúr received from the Náyak king at the time a set of musical instruments and an establishment of dancing girls (see p. 136). The descendants of the bards have with them many songs which were composed in those days.

When Sadásiva Brahman became the spiritual guru of Vijaya Raghunátha Rája Tondaimán, an impetus was given to the development of music. His *kirtanas* or devotional songs, which are even now very popular in the State, must have found many admirers, who should have learned music to sing them properly. The Tondaimán himself is said to have been a good composer of music and the set of five songs that he is said to have composed imploring the grace of the Goddess Brihadambá at Tirugókarnam deserves, in our opinion, the name of "Pancharatnam" or "the Five Gems" that has been given to them. They are the supplications of a very humble devotee, which cannot fail to melt the heart of anybody that hears them. They begin with the words

"ஏழை பங்காளி" or "Thou, that art on the side of the poor".

"கருணைக்கடைக்கண்" or "Glance of pity".

"பிறவி இல்லாத அருள்" or "Vouchsafe that I may not be born again".

"மனத் துயர்தீர்த்தருள்" or "Deign to remove the cares and uneasiness of my mind".

"தருணமிதம்மா" or "This, O Mother, is the moment (for extending to me Thy grace)".

The songs were so highly appreciated by His Excellency Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán that he had them sung regularly during the time he spent every day in making his (fifty-six) prostrations to the Goddess Brihadamba at Tirugókarnam. *Párvati Kalyānam*, a musical play, songs taken from which are sung occasionally even now, was composed in the time of this ruler (or his successor) by Venkanna, the author of the *Tondaimán Vamsāvali*. Some of the literary works mentioned on pp. 331 and 332, such as *Virāli-malaikkuravanji* and *Kapila Nātakam*, contain a number of songs which were intended to be sung to proper time and tune. Of the other musical compositions of which we have manuscript copies, we may mention (1) a large number of *kirtanas* or songs in praise of Srí Dakshināmūrti (see p. 178) said to have been composed by Vijaya Raghunátha Rája Tondaimán, the ruler referred to above, (2) the different kinds of songs in praise of the Gods at Virālimalai and other places which are sung by the dancing girls attached to the temples, (3) dance songs for men and women like *Vārāppūr Valandān*, the *Kummi* on Brihadambá, the Goddess of Tirugókarnam, by Chidambara Bhārāti of Malavarāyanēndal,

and the *Navarātri Kummi* (see pp. 331 and 332), and (4) the spirited poems and war-songs composed by Sarkarai Kaviyāyar of Pérāmbūr on the folly of the Turaiyūr Zamindar in resisting the Tondaimān without retreating from the battlefield (see p. 296), the thoughtlessness of the Tanjore Rājā in opposing at Arantāngi the combined forces of the Tondaimān under Sinna Annan Sérvai-kār* and the Sétupati (see p. 152)), on the capture of Marudu Pāndyas by Rāmaswāmi Sérvai-kār of Nānguppattī, (see pp. 215 and 315), etc.

During the time of Rājā Vijaya Raghunātha, the predecessor of this ruler, the well-known *Husaini varnam* beginning with the words *Pāhimām* (Protect me) and containing the name "Rājā Vijaya Raghunātha of Vāsavakulam" was composed. We are not sure whether Ādiappa Aiyar, the author of the celebrated *Bhairavi Varnam Viribōni* was a Court musician of Pudukkóttai, as is stated by Singarachāryalu.† But we have no doubt that his son Krishna Aiyar, a fine player on the *Vina* and author of three compositions of the kind *Saptatālēsvaram*, which were adapted to all the seven Hindu *tālam*s (modes of keeping time), was a Court musician at this place. His son was Vīnai Subbukuttī Aiyar, who is reported also to have played exquisitely on the *Vina*. These two Canarese Brahmins with the Telugu Brahmins Sēshā-chala Aiyar and his younger brother Rāmadās, a music-composer, and Mātrbhūta Aiyar, the latter's son and a fine musician, as also Rāmu Sāstri of Sandaippéttai and Subbarāya Aiyar of Pudukkóttai, two other good musicians, Subbarāma Aiyar, a fine *Vina*-player of Tirugókarnam and Vaidyakavīśvarar, a composer of a large number of devotional songs, adorned the Court of Rājā Raghunātha Tondaimān Bahadūr and several of these, the Court of his successor, Rājā Rāmachandra Tondaimān. Many of the

* Either this leader or one of his descendants bearing the same name (see p. 226) adopted, according to a well-known tradition, the Hannibalian stratagem of bewildering the enemy near Trichinopoly in the desperate struggle with the French and the Mysoreans in 1751-4 with a show of a superior force which he did not possess, by leading at night with torches tied to their horns a number of oxen carrying provisions to the English garrison. See Plutarch's "Life of Fabius Maximus, Saviour of Rome", in which it is said that the oxen with lighted torches attached to their horns "appeared to the Romans like a great number of men running up and down with torches..... In their fears, of course they concluded that they should be attacked and surrounded by the enemy".

† See p. 16 of his Introduction to his Fifth Book of Music.

songs of Vaidyakavīśvarar, such as the benedictory song *Kurumayi-karunām* (Make me the recipient of thy grace), contain the name of "Rājā Rāmachandra", who had a very fine taste for music and gave a very liberal patronage to musicians. Some others that flourished in the time of this ruler and made Pudukkóttai famous for its music were Swāmi Sāstri, son of Rāmu Sāstri mentioned above, Nannu Meah and Chotu Meah, two Mussulmans of whom the first could play beautifully on the musical instrument *dolak* and both could exquisitely sing Hindustani airs, *Swarabath* Krishna Aiyar, a Telugu Brahmin, who could play on the *Swarabath* instrument, fiddle. Krishnan, a Telugu non-Brahmin, who could sing well and play on the violin, and Sāranda Virāswāmi Nāyak, a performer on the instrument *Sāranda*. Of the musicians now attached to the Palace, we may mention Girīsa Aiyar, a good vocalist and composer.

A scheme for introducing the Kāveri water into the State. In 1838, the necessity of a scheme for introducing into Pudukkóttai "a portion of the water of the Kāveri, wasted and running into the sea", was before the Madras Government. The Resident found His Lordship the Governor entirely well disposed to meet the Rājā's wishes and trusted that "even if the scheme cost a considerable sum of money, the Court of Directors, in consideration of the blessing it would prove to the people of a Prince, who merited so much from them, would in the end sanction the measure". Nothing came out of the effort of the Resident to have the project accomplished. Another scheme for obtaining in exchange for certain lands in the border of the State, a tract on the banks of the Kāveri shared the same fate (1831). The introduction of a bit of a Native State in the midst of the British Territory would have been extremely inconvenient.

History of the Postal Department In 1838, a Post office was established in the town of Pudukkóttai. It was not till 1879 that sub-post offices were established at the Taluk stations. The work was confined to the transmission of letters, packets and parcels. In May, 1866, an Experimental British Post Office was established for six months in the Pudukkóttai town. The State authorities, who had not been consulted in the matter, were dead against the measure. The Rājā considered the measure as

"throwing disgrace" upon the State. The Political Agent requested the Rájá to reconsider his decision and was informed that the Rájá considered that the opening of a Post office by Government at this place would lessen him in the estimation of the public, that there existed no necessity for establishing one at the cost of the British Government, and that such measures should be adopted as would secure the rights and privileges till then enjoyed by the State. In December, 1866, the Rájá was informed that orders had been passed by the Government that the Experimental Post Office should be abolished. The question was reopened in June, 1873, by the Political Agent, who was informed again that there was no necessity for opening a British Post Office in the town. It was only during the days of the Sirkil Sashiah Sástri, that permission was granted for the opening of a British Post Office in the town (April 1884). In July 1894, the State Postal Department was abolished and the postal work of the State was handed over to the Imperial Postal Department of India.

The Rájá's visit to the Tanjore country. Among the minor matters of interest, we may refer to "an excursion into the Tanjore country" that was made by the Rájá and his two sons in March, 1838. They were entertained at Tanjore by Mr. Kindersley, the Collector of the District, who had the highest esteem for the Rájá, and who "considered it his duty as a servant of the Honorable Company to testify to all the people, as far as his humble means would admit, the consideration in which His Excellency's character, both public and private, was held by his Honorable Masters. The inhabitants showed the greatest anxiety to do honour to the Raja on the occasion". The conduct of the Rájá of Tanjore was not at the time particularly satisfactory, and with reference to the interposition of the Rájá of Pudukkóttai on his behalf to the Resident, the Resident wrote to the Tondaimán that "His Excellency's interest in the welfare of the Raja of Tanjore showed what might be expected from his excellent and good heart and disposition", but that "if His Highness the Raja of Tanjore would not support his own character and dignity, any efforts of the Resident to do so would be useless". The Rájá was requested by Mr. Kindersley to permit his sons to spend

some time (about two months) at Tanjore after his return to Pudukkóttai. Mr. Kindersley wrote about these princes to the Rájá on the 17th of May, 1838.

"We are much obliged to Your Excellency for having allowed your sons to remain so long with us at this place, and I believe they have enjoyed themselves very much, and I trust too that their health has derived benefit from the change of air. Nothing could be more proper than their conduct has been in every respect, and it certainly reflects the greatest credit on the Fouzdar (Appá Aiyar) who has so well performed the part of their guardian and instructor Tirumal is so much attached to his brother (Ramachander) that he is only glad when he is glad and sorry when he is sorry".

Among other matters of minor interest, we may mention the permission granted in April 1834 to the Kandy prisoners (see p. 366) to return to Ceylon, the death of the second daughter of the Rájá in June 1838, and the grant of Anganviduthi in Alangudi Taluk as umbalam (as 'pinmoney'—for செற்றிலைபாக்குச் செலவு) to Ráni Saidámbá Sáhib of Tanjore on the occasion of her marriage to Rájá Siváji in 1833.

General remarks. (a) We have now to close our account of the rule of this Rájá, and before doing so we may give, from an interesting report that was submitted to the Government of Madras by Mr. Bayley*, a few extracts relating to the administration and the general financial condition of the State at the time.

Soiróba Náig, the Sirkil, and Appá Aiyar, the Foujdár, were the most important officers in the State. "There was a little preponderance in the appointments held by the Sirkeel's family". His two sons Lakshman Náig and Gópál Náig and his brother's two sons Krishnaswámi Náig and Sakháram Náig† held important offices in the State.

* See Mr. Bayley's Report to the Madras Government on Pudukkóttai affairs. dated 7th July 1841.

† The five members were known locally, it is said, though not very appropriately, as the Pancha (five) Pandavas.

The accounts were kept in Maratti and other Maratti Brahmins or Brahmins of other sections that knew Maratti had to be employed as accountants. All these looked up to the Sirkál as their patron.

"The Foudjár, Appá Aiyar, exercised unbounded power. He was the bosom friend of the late Tondaimán and his oracle on every subject. He had been brought up with him from his youth, and, as life progressed, his influence increased till at last nothing could be done without consulting him. This influence was not the reward of servile adulation, but the experienced result of the late Rájá's knowledge of the Foudjár's talents and solicitude to increase the importance and wealth of the country. This influence of the Foudjár gave much dissatisfaction; public feeling against him was openly exhibited when he wished to take the young Princes in his palankeen and when he wished them to remain in his own house. This was done during the late Rájá's (Rájá-Raghunátha Tondaimán's) life-time when he was considered quite as a second father to these children".

(b) There were four service Jágirs at the time enjoyed by the members of the family of the Rájá, and two other estates granted for the maintenance of the Ránís of the Palace and a daughter of the Rájá.

(1) The Western Palace Jágir. [See p. 161].

(2) The Chinnaranmanai Jágir, which lapsed to the State on the death of Tirumalai Tondaimán in 1835 [See p. 393]. "The Jágir which was involved in debt and was under Sirkar management was to revert to the younger son of Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán".

(3) & (4) The Jágirs granted to the two sons-in-law of the Rájá. [See p. 382].

(5) The Manovarti Estate, which was set apart for the maintenance of the wives and unmarried children of the Rájá. The revenues of the Jágir were generally controlled by the Rájá and appropriated occasionally for other uses.

(6) "Ammani Rájá Estate" granted to Princess Ammani Rájá, the first daughter of Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán.

[When Jágirs were applied for in 1868 according to precedent for the daughters of the next ruler, the Government sanctioned "an allowance of Rs. 10,000 a year for each Princess".]

Other lands wholly or partly rent-free were lands allotted to temples within and outside the State, to churches and chattrams, and lands enjoyed by the Brahmins of Sarvamányam and Srótriem villages, etc., by the Amarakárs (or watchers in the town and taluks) and their chiefs called Sérvaikárs and the Ráchewárs, * by the Úliakárs or peons and servants with their Sérvaikárs who were not allowed like the Amara Sérvaikárs to sit in Durbar, and by the Umbalakárs, who were village-servants.

"Of the cultivable lands in the State, $\frac{1}{3}$ was devoted to religious purposes and another $\frac{1}{3}$ consisted of lands granted to members of the family of the Rájá, to military followers and to retired servants".

The details of the distribution of the lands are given below :—

1. Pagodas, Foreign (Pararáshtam Dévastánam, 15 villages)	1,077 vélis.
2. Pagodas, Home (within the State, 40 villages)	8,517 "
3. Agharams (96), Sarvamányam and Srótriem	7,763 "
4. Chattrams (17 villages)	1,641 "
5. Manóvarti Estate (16 villages)	771 "
6. Ammani Rájá Estate (4 villages)	318 "
7. Service Jágirs to members of the ruler's family.	
(a) Western Palace (10 villages)	1,982 "
(b) Chinnaranmanai Jágir (19 villages)	1,627 "
(c) Rangan Pallava Row's Jágir (11 villages)	849 "
(d) Ranganátha Panrikondár (4 villages)	717 "
8. On Amaram and Úliam tenures	8,935 "
9. Mirási and life umbalams	2,800 "
Total free land	36,997 vélis.

* "Rachewars, probably from Sanskrit Rájá. They claim descent from the pure Kshatriyas of the Hindus and are remarkable for their high sense of honour". See Wilson's *Glossary*.

10. Lands directly under the management of the State.

Kavinád (Southern) Taluk ...	... 3,560 vélis.
Perumánád (Western) Taluk ...	... 4,409 "
Kulattúr (Northern) Taluk ...	... 2,689 "
Álangudi (Eastern) Taluk ...	... 6,068 "
Kilánilai (South-eastern) Taluk ...	... 1,231 "
	17,957 vélis.

Thus the extent of free lands as compared with lands directly under the control of the State was in the ratio of 37,000:18,000 or 37:18.

(c) "The proportion of rent or land tax per véli of wet land was from Rs. 6 to Rs. 30 and of dry land from Re. 1 4 as. to 8 Rupees. The sale price of paddy was about 7 annas per Poodoo-cotta cullum". In 1841 the price was as low as 3 annas per kalam.

(d) Some details relating to the income and expenditure of the State are given below:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Land Revenue (for 1839-40) ...	1,45,942	8	11
By Taxes on Jágirs and Amarams, Srótriems, and by Loom and Mohterpha tax ...	30,401	5	...
Income from Land Customs, Salt, Abkari, Jungles and Monopoly for digging and smelting iron * ...	42,181	4	4
Sundry receipts ...	226	5	7
Total ...	2,18,751	7	10

DISBURSEMENTS.

	Rs.	A.	P.
For Palace expenses ...	53,160	14	9
Salary of Huzur servants, of the Foujdár, of the Judicial Department, etc. ...	83,550	8	3
For buildings, tank repairs and Maramut ...	7,143	7	...

* In the accounts for 1841-42, the income from each of these sources was derived from leases for a term of years. Sayer, Rs. 20,680; Salt, Rs. 12,666; Abkari, Rs. 3,529. 6as; Monopoly for digging iron, Rs. 2,500; Jungles including license fees for brick manufacture, Rs. 1,872 11as.

DISBURSEMENTS—(cont).

For funeral expenses of Rájá Raghunátha	Rs.	A.	P.
Tondaimán and his daughter ...	11,725	10	8
For interest on account of Sarkár debts ...	4,581	14	3
For interest on account of Rájamahál debts ...	7,978	1	10
For purchase of jewels, horses, band instruments, etc. ...	11,291	11	6
For advance for indigo works ...	3,210	4	4

1,82,642 8 7

Balance on hand... 36,108 15 3

(e) We may explain now what the Sarkár and the Rájamahál debts that are referred to above were and how those debts came to be incurred.

i. The Sarkár or the public debt originated in the famine of 1836 (see p. 394), when money was borrowed to the extent of some Rs. 50,000 to purchase grain for the numerous Palace servants and dependants; this sum had increased by interest.

ii. The Rájamahál debt were Rs. 1,34,166 at the time of the death of the Rájá in 1839. The Rájamahál* accounts were "Palace private accounts" kept by the Foujdár under the orders of the Rájá, and debts in connection with Rájamahál had existed as early as 1832. Certain Sarkár villages and Manóvarti villages as also the revenues from the Sáyar (Land Customs) and Salt had been set apart for the gradual liquidation of the debt. When there was occasional surplus after the liquidation of the portion of the debt and interest arranged to be paid in any year, it was drawn upon for the purchase of jewels.

To shew the immense power that was exercised by Appá Aiyar, the Foujdár, we may mention that he had the following Departments under his control:—

1. The Military establishment and occupancy of lands held on service tenure.
2. The indigo business.

* Rájamahál means literally the king's house or the palace—often the *seraglio*, *mahal* meaning according to Wilson, "a place, a house, an apartment, a seraglio".

3. and the management of the three villages connected therewith.
4. Management of three villages specially set apart for payment of Rájamahálah debts.
5. Management of the Kavinád pannai lands.
6. Collection and administration of the Salt and Sayer rents.
7. Foreign Pagoda (Pararáshtam) Department.
8. Management of the villages in Valnád set apart for Palace religious ceremonies.
9. Management of the lands and property of Tirumalai Tondaimán that died in 1835 (as chief administrator).
10. Management of the lands allotted to the Ráni and the widow of the preceding Rájá.
11. Superintendence of Palace affairs.
12. Education of the young Princes.

Death of the Raja. We have to bring our account of the rule of this Rájá to a close. On the 13th of July, 1839, Rájá Ragnunácha Tondaimán closed his earthly career. The reader that has gone through our narrative would have gathered that the Rájá was an enlightened ruler bent on promoting the happiness of his people. The successive Residents had the highest respect for him, and Mr. Thomas Maclean, the Resident, was never tired of expressing his appreciation of the benevolence and uprightness of character of His Excellency, whom he called "the father of his people". The Governor on hearing of his death communicated to his successor "his sense of the exemplary manner in which the Rájá discharged the important duties of his station and of his fidelity and attachment to the British Government."

His Excellency Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman Bahadur.

Accession of Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman, a minor. Administration during the minority. Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán was a minor nine years old at the time of the death of his father. Agreeably to the instructions that had been left by the late Rájá, the Government approved of the administration being conducted, during the minority of the Rájá, by "the Sirkeel, the Fouzdar and other officers in communication with the Ránee".



His Highness Sri Brihadamba Das
Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman Bahadur
1839—1886.

The Resident, Col. Maclean, wrote to the Sarkil and the Foujdár on the subject, using the words, "While the management of affairs remains with the Ranee and yourselves, I can have no fear for the result".

On the 18th of September, 1839, the Government resolved upon continuing the title of "His Excellency" to the Rájá, and on the 15th of the month, the Governor, Lord Elphinstone, wrote to the Ráni, Kattakkuricchi Áyi, offering to her "his heartfelt congratulations at the wise, prudent and dutiful determination at which.....she had arrived and which had made her choose to live for her children to watch over their conduct....., rather than sacrifice her life by committing Satee".

Both the Ráni and the Resident had the highest confidence in the Foujdár Appá Aiyar, who for the time being was the most influential man in the State, the Sirkil Soiróba Náig having been too quite a man to assert his rights. It appears from the Resident Mr. W. H. Bayley's Report (July, 1841) that Appá Aiyar had been treated by Mr. Bayley's predecessor, Captain Douglas, (except on one specific occasion) as in rank even "before the Serkell", that "communications were made to him alone both verbally and in writing", and that "he had been led to believe that he would be supported as the leading man" in the State.

In 1841, there were some representations to the Madras Government of the oppression and injustice of the Foujdár from one Venkanna Sérvaikár, "who passed himself as a man of rank", from the sons-in-law of the late Rájá and two other relatives of the Ráni. The Resident, Mr. Bayley, was directed "to reside at Poedocottah as much as possible during the minority of the Tondiman and to take the immediate superintendence and control of the business of the country, which was to continue to be conducted by the ministers of the Rájá".

Mr. Bayley's Report. The Resident, on receipt of these orders, visited Pudukkóttai and submitted a report to Government (7th July, 1841) in which he laid down rules for the guidance of the ministers and prescribed the mode in which business was to be carried on. Some of the rules were the following:—

1. "A diary should be kept and signed by both the ministers containing every order given, every communication received, every petition or other business received and inquired into.

2. "No sum of money either in cash or by sunnad* above Rs. 100 is to be expended without the Political Agent's previous sanction.

3. "No jaghir, amarum, or ooliam land was to be newly granted during the minority of His Excellency and none to be resumed or sequestered, unless for very particular reasons and then only with the Political Agent's knowledge.

4. "No persons serving under the Circar should have their salaries increased or diminished and no such persons should be dismissed and new ones employed without consultation with the Political Agent.

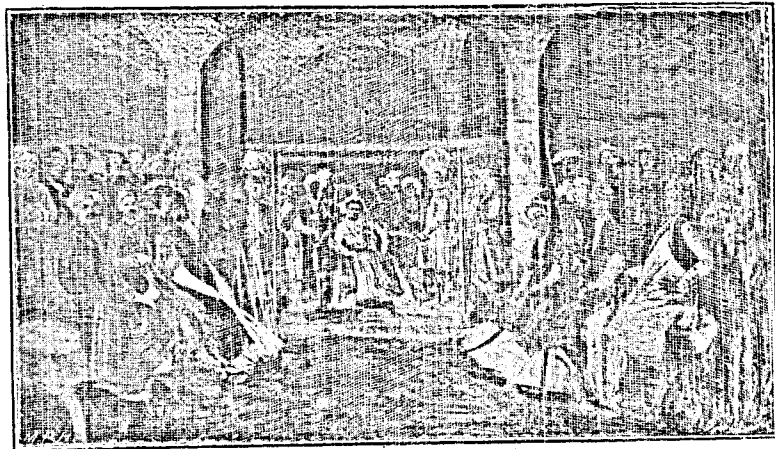
5. "No new taxes should be levied on merchants or shopkeepers, but trade should be assisted by keeping the roads in good order.

6. "The ministers should prevent the carrying of earth-salt into British Zillahs".

Other rules referred to the duties of the Police, the Courts of law, etc.

Abolition of the Tanjore Residency &c. In 1841, the Residency at Tanjore was abolished and the charge of Pudukkóttai was entrusted to the Collector of Madura. The administration of the State was prosperously conducted under the control of this officer during the remainder of the minority of the Rájá. All debts were paid off and a surplus was invested in the funds of the British Government. The Political Agent regulated the revenue and judicial affairs of the State by introducing several rules which were in force in the British Territory and increased the salaries of its many servants in proportion to the work that they had to do.

* A *sunnad* or *sanad* means "a diploma, patent or deed of grant by the Government of office, privilege or right". Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*.



H. H. S. B. D.
Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman Bahadur
in Darbar.

Towards the close of 1844 the Rájá assumed the direct control of the State, his ministers being instructed to report direct to the Rájá, but to keep the Political Agent informed regarding all disbursements of money and cases in which public servants were dismissed.

The Raja's marriages. On the 13th of June, 1845, the Rájá and his brother were married to the daughters of the Zamindár of Kallákottai in the Tanjore District. The Political Agent was present on the occasion and presented the Rájá and his brother with Khillats and *Ven Samarai* or white "cow's tail".*

On the 31st of August, 1848, the Rájá was married again to the first daughter of the then Neduvásal Zamindár.

The Raja's visit to Trichinopoly. His Excellency the Rájá visited Trichinopoly on the 30th of August, 1845, when "a troop complete from the 4th Regiment Light Cavalry under the command of a Captain and in Review order was drawn up for escorting His Excellency to his place of residence, the Nabob's House at Worriore", "a detachment of Artillery was paraded on the Bridge exercising ground and fired a salute of 19 guns", "the Grenadier Company from one of the Native Corps in Garrison under the command of a Subadar and in full dress was in attendance at the Nabob's House at Worriore to receive His Excellency," etc.

Mr. Blackburne's Improvements. The following extract from a letter dated 20th of November, 1846 to the Deputy Secretary to Government from the Political Agent, Mr. John Blackburne, will show that the State was well managed at the time.

"In addition to the 30,000 Rupees invested in the Company's paper, as known to the Honourable Court, other 30,000 Rupees were similarly invested as the surplus profit of the year before the last; and during last month, a further sum of Rs. 40,000; and at the same time the improvement of roads and tanks is going on on a much larger (comparative) and more successful

* "The bushy tail of the Tibetan yak often set in a costly decorated handle... in which form it was one of the insignia of ancient Asiatic royalty".
Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*.

Krishnan Panrikondár of Kattakkuricchi, one of the principal rebels and a close relative of the Rájá, was dispossessed of his Jívidam lands, deported to Madura and paid a subsistence allowance. With reference to the other refractory people including Venkannan Sérvaikár, it was ruled that their Jívidam lands should be placed under attachment and ordered that some of them should be confined in the Pudukkóttai Jail.

The allowance granted to Muttuswámi Panrikondár, a brother-in-law of the Rájá, was discontinued in August 1854, for having brought discredit to the family by irregular conduct during his constant residence at Pudukkóttai.

Mr. Parker's Report on the disturbances. In submitting his final report No. 119 dated 1st September, 1854, on the disturbances, which had been quelled by the aid of the British troops, Mr. Parker, the Political Agent, while exonerating the Rájá from any charge of oppression such as might have in some measure justified the revolt, gave it as his opinion that the people had just cause of complaint against him for mismanagement of public affairs, and therefore recommended that he should be deprived of all share in the direct management of the finances. The proposal was approved by the Government and the Rájá's powers of administration were curtailed and the Political Agent was given a chief hand in the administration of the State. The appointments which the Rájá had to make through the Sarkíl were to be subject to the revision of the Political Agent. The Rájá was to manage the finances subject to the Agent, but his own expenses were to be restricted to his privy purse allowance. An annual report was to be submitted on the administration of the State. The Political Agent could expel from the State disorderly persons. The Rájá was to preside in the Chief Court with a Judge and Sarkíl as co-adjutors.

In 1856 the return to Pudukkóttai was permitted of Krishnan Panrikondár who had been sent to Madura for the offence of having joined the rioters in 1854. And in 1857 the Political Agent recommended that the persons in confinement for their connection with the riots of 1854 might, in the then state of the country, be set at liberty with perfect safety. The Government

ordered that it might be left to the generosity of the Rájá toardon even the persons whose conduct was before particularly dangerous to the welfare of the State. All the persons were set at liberty.

A favourable Government Review. In 1856 was noticed a great improvement in the state of communications and irrigation works in the year. And the Government Review of the Administration Report for 1855 mentioned that a marked improvement was noted in the state of the country and the feelings of the people and that the results were very creditable to the administration. "The country was in a better state in all respects than Mr. Parker ever recollected to have seen it".

A check to the Maratti preponderance. "The Government entirely concurred with the Agent in the propriety of abolishing Maratta accounts and of substituting English figures and desired that measures should be at once adopted for introducing the change. The Agent was also to discontinue corresponding with the Rájá or his minister in Maratti, if that had hitherto been used".

The orders which were passed in 1858 for the abolition of Maratti accounts and substitution of English figures instead of Tamil figures were actually brought into force only on the 1st of February, 1864.

It was observed by the Political Agent that the then minister Annáswárai Aiyar, a Tamil Brahmin, had not appointed a single relation and that the establishment was even then full of the rival caste of Maratta Brahmins, who were closely connected by blood or marriage. The predominance of the Mahrattas was felt even in 1875, when Mr. Pennington wrote as follows about these Brahmins:—

"There are two subjects of universal complaint in Pudukkottai, the one is the Amani system and the other is the paramount influence of Maratta Brahmans, bound together by the closest ties of relationship and interest. Every one has his own private grievances of course, but all are agreed on these two subjects and it would be difficult to say which is the most execrated..... The effect of the preponderance of one family in the

Administration and that a family of Mahratta Brahmins may as well be noticed here; for it is, I think, almost the greatest evil under which the country suffers However honest the Sirkeel may be, he has not the force of character to make a stand against the rapacity of his own relations".

Madras Exhibitions of 1855 and 1857. Six cartloads of articles, representing almost every department, were sent to the First Madras Exhibition of February, 1855. His Excellency was thanked for the interest taken and the assistance rendered in promoting the success of the Exhibition. A medal of the first class was awarded to the Rájá.

In February 1857, another Exhibition was held in Madras. A First class medal was awarded to His Excellency the Rájá as a mark of recognition of the kind assistance afforded by him in promoting the success of the Exhibition of 1857.

In 1858 the following extract relating to the Native Princes of India from the Proclamation announcing the assumption of the Government of India by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress was received.

"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained, and We look for the like observance on their part.

"We desire no extension of Our present territorial possessions; and while We will permit no aggression upon Our Dominions or Our rights to be attempted with impunity, We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as Our own; and We desire that they, as well as Our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good Government".

Some notable visits to the State. In 1841, a visit was paid to the State by Prince Soltykoff, a nobleman of rank from the country of Russia and a friend of the Governor, the Right Honorable Lord Elphinstone. In February 1856, the Lord

Bishop of Madras visited Pudukkóttai (see p. 399), and in 1858 Mr. A. J. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Arbuthnot passed through Pudukkóttai on his way to Madras from the Madura District.

In September 1858, was born to His Excellency the Rájá by the Junior Ráni Sáhíb a son and heir. The child died in March 1867 owing to an attack of small-pox.

In 1859 the title of "His Excellency" was withdrawn from the Rájá for his having involved himself in spite of previous promises of amendment during Fasli 1267 (1857-1858) in additional debt to the enormous amount of 5½ lacs of Rupees, as "eminent persons who act unworthy of their high station are not entitled to be so called". The Governor, Sir Charles Trevelyan, wrote to the Rájá that he trusted that his good conduct would be such as to allow him to restore the title to him at some future time, and that it would entirely depend upon himself and on the efforts which he would make with the kind advice and assistance of the Political Agent to retrieve his good name. The Rájá requested that the order might be reconsidered, admitting that he had not observed economy, and explaining that the debt had to be incurred for the purchase of jewels, etc., for his two wives, and for children that were born after the introduction of Mr. Parker's Schedule and for certain necessary purposes of charity and religion.

In 1862 it was ordered that no disbursement could be made from the Treasury except under the orders of the Sarkil, and the Secretary of State warned the Rájá that he could expect no favour from the British Government so long as he conducted himself in a very extravagant manner.

30th April 1862. The following Sanad issued under the orders of Her Most Gracious Majesty (Queen Victoria) and signed by Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, was sent to the Rájá by the Governor of Madras, Sir William Thomas Denison, K. C. B.

"To Rajah Ramachandra Tondiman Behaudur, Poodoccottah.

"Her Majesty being desirous that Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who govern their own territories, should be perpetuated, and that the representation and

dignity of their houses should be continued in fulfilment of this desire, this Sunnud is given to you to convey to you the assurance that on failure of natural heirs, the British Government will recognize and confirm any adoption of a successor made by yourself or by any future Chief of your State that may be in accordance with Hindoo Law and the customs of your race.

"Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you so long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants, or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

(Signed) Canning".

Some Revenue matters. In August, 1854, some burdensome taxes were abolished, such as jungle fees, fees on picotahs, taxes on oil-machines, bangle earth, dyes, snuff, oil, chunam, trees that were not fruit-bearing.

In 1861-2 Mohterpha tax was for the first time introduced.

The rates were as follows:

For each terraced house	...	One Rupee a year.
For each tiled house	...	Eight annas a year.
For each thatched house	...	Four annas a year.
For each silk loom, &c.,	...	One Rupee a year.
For each cotton loom	...	Eight annas a year.
For oil mill	...	Two Rupees a year.
For shops dealing in cloths, gold and silver	...	Three Rupees a year.
For shops dealing in grains and paddy	...	Two Rupees a year.
For other shops	...	One Rupee and eight annas a year.

There was some violent opposition to the levying of the taxes—some poor people are said to have left their houses and lived for some days by the side of the Sarkil's house—and the tax was abolished for a time. It was finally reintroduced in 1874.

Change in the Administration. Within a year after his appointment, Annáswami Aiyar had incurred the displeasure of the Rájá. And in March, 1855, it was reported that the Rájá was conducting the administration without the intervention of the Sarkil and chiefly by means of Kárbár Jumbú Náik, whom the Political Agent considered particularly unfit for such duty. The Rájá however informed the Political Agent that no impediment was offered to the Sarkil in the conduct of public administration. The Political Agent had again to remonstrate on this subject.

In April, 1863, the Rájá had become quite displeased with his Sarkil, Mr. Annáswami Aiyar. The Sarkil was ordered not to leave the State without the permission of the Rájá.

In November, 1863, regular charges were framed by the Rájá against the Sarkil. The Political Agent transmitted to the Rájá the resignation tendered by Annáswami Aiyar. The resignation was accepted by the Rájá, who passed the following orders on the Sarkil's resignation.

"The Sirkele shall retain all lands and other property now in his possession as beneficially in every respect as he now holds them.

The relatives, dependants and castemen of the Sirkele shall not be disturbed in their offices or pensions without the consent of the Political Agent.

The Rájá ceases the prosecution of the charges brought against the Sirkele'.

In December, 1863, Bhaváni Sankar Rao was appointed Sarkil.

Some Jágir matters. In 1842 (29th of June), a proclamation was issued by the Political Agent (agreeably to a previous order of 1820) that the Jágirdárs were merely to enjoy the produce of the lands of the Jágirs, and that they should not alienate any portion of their Jágirs. *Poruppu** was collected from the Jágirs.

* By *poruppu*, the grass-tax (பொடி) paid by the Jágirdárs to the State seems to be intended. In the *Administration Report* for 1881-2, *poruppu* vari is defined as the quit-rent on Devadáyam villages.

In October, 1864, we find the Chinnaranmanai Jágir, in the enjoyment of His Excellency the Rájá, who had resumed the same from the Jágirdár and the Government advising its restoration to Ry. Tirumalai Tondaimán, brother of the Rájá, with an intimation that it was not competent to the Jágirdár to alienate any portion of it, and that should any portion be alienated by him in any way, it would be resumed and placed under the management of the Sarkil. He continued to be in the enjoyment of the Jágir till his death in May 1871, when his son Bálasubrahmanya Tondaimán succeeded to the Jágir.

It was ruled in July 1865, that the forests situated in the Chinnaranmanai and Western Palace lands belonged to the Sarkar.

The Government ordered in February, 1866, that the Chinnaranmanai Jágirdár should be made to discontinue at once the use of any badge of authority by his peons, as the use of belts by his peons was thought likely to lead to petty oppression.

In May, 1866, the Sarkil was addressed by the Rájá to the effect that Rádhákrishna Tondaimán, Western Palace Jágirdár from 1856, should be warned against using the musical instruments, Naqqárah, Naubat, etc., contrary to established usage.

Judicial affairs. In 1840, as the Rájá was a minor, the Sarkil directed the Judges of the several Courts to complete their own judgments, leaving it optional with the parties to appeal to His Excellency the Rájá. In 1844, the Kotwal's Office grew into the Sinnakkadan Sabha or Small Causes Court, to which a number of Judges were appointed.

The Political Agent sent about this time (1845) to the Rájá translations of the orders of the Faujdári Adálat Court in Madras with the remark "that the Rájá's Codes would thus be complete". In 1859 the British Code of Civil Procedure was introduced.

In 1860, the practice of appealing to the Nyáya Sabhá from the decrees of the Mudra Sabhá was stopped and appeals from all the Courts in the State were made to the "Huzur Office," which thus became the only Appeal Court in the State.

In June, 1861, the jurisdiction of the Mudra Sabhá was extended from Rs 125 to Rs. 250.

In December, 1863, a law member called the Appeal Judge was added to the Appeal Court.

These changes appeared haphazard, and in November, 1864, suggestions from the Political Agent were called for by the Government for rendering the Courts in the State more efficient. In July, 1865, the Sarkil was required to regularly attend the Appeal Court and see whether the Kárbárs and the Magistrates attended office and discharged their duties regularly.

In June and July, 1866, there was a reorganisation of the Courts. There were to be (1) an Appeal Court with an Appeal Judge, (2) A Civil and Sessions Court of three Judges, [the Nyáya Sabhá and the Danda Sabhá were amalgamated, and the Court formed by the union was styled 'Civil and Sessions Court']

(3) A Small Cause Court,

(4) Five Munsif's Courts for the five Taluks.

Of the Appeal Court, the Rájá, the Sarkil and the Appeal Judge were the Judges. The Rájá was to preside, but all correspondence to the Appeal Court was to be addressed to the Sarkil, who was to be in charge of the records and should issue orders on subjects that came before him. The Sarkil was made to conduct the Appeal Court in the presence of the Rájá on Saturdays, Mondays and Wednesdays.

The Mudra Sabhá was split up into a number of Munsif's Courts which were to be held at different places. Each of these Courts had a single Judge and distinct local jurisdiction. This arrangement was made from a desire to give local convenience to suitors in places far from the capital.

In 1868, the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure were introduced.

Transfer of Political Agency from Madura to Tanjore. On the 27th of September, 1865, the Government ordered that the Political Agency of Pudukkóttai should be transferred from the Collector of Madura to the Collector of Tanjore. The Political Agent was required to proceed to Pudukkóttai, inform himself by

personal inspection of the state of affairs there, and report the results of his inspection, suggesting any reforms that might seem immediately necessary.

The Government suggested in November, 1865, on the report of the Political Agent that the three brothers of the Ráni should be required to leave the country, as, so long as they remained in the Pudukkóttai country, there was not the slightest hope of tranquillity being restored or affairs going on quietly.

Mr. G. Lee Morris' Report. As ordered by Government, Mr. G. Lee Morris, the Collector of Tanjore and Political Agent of Pudukkóttai, submitted a report on the reforms that he considered necessary and the Government passed orders on the 1st of August, 1867, approving of the proposals of the Political Agent, for revising the establishments in the State.

The entire establishment of Pudukkóttai consisted of the following departments:—

1. The Sarkil's office. 2. Taluk Revenue Establishment.
3. Village Revenue Establishment. 4. Town Police. 5. Jail.
6. Post office. 7. Bungalow Establishment. 8. Marammut Department. 9. Abkari and Mohterpha. 10. Jungle Conservancy. 11. Judicial Department.

The most striking features in the establishment were the large number of appointments and the smallness of the salaries attached thereto. Mr. Morris proposed

(1) the reduction of the number of Taluks from five to three by the abolition of the Perumanádu and Kavinád Taluks,

(2) the thorough revision both as regards the number of office holders and the salaries of the establishments with the exception of the village revenue establishment,

(3) the amalgamation of the offices of the Deputy Kárbár and the Joint Magistrate, which were then held by two individuals. The new officer was, in addition to his being a First Class Magistrate, to be in charge of the following departments:—

(a) the Abkari, (b) the Salt, (c) the Mohterpha, (d) the Dévastánam, (e) the Marammut, (f) the Jungle Conservancy, (g) the Post office, and (h) the Jail, which was till then under the Civil and Sessions Judge,

(4) and that the Kárbár was to continue to be, in addition to his being the Chief Magistrate, the Chief Executive Superintendent of the Revenue Department, controlling the proceedings of the Tahsildars.

Further (5) the nine Magisterial divisions—five under the five Tahsildars, two under Deputy Tahsildars or Police Amins, one under the Dévastánam Peshkar and one under the Police Amin of the town—were to be abolished, and there were to be only four Second class Magistrates, viz, the three Tahsildars and a Sub-Magistrate for the town,

(6) the Abkari and Mohterpha establishments were to be discontinued, and the work of collecting the dues under these heads were to be entrusted to the Tahsildars,

(7) there were to be, as sanctioned in G. O. dated 23rd April, 1866, in addition to the Civil and Sessions Judge and Appeal Judge, three Munsifs who were to hold their Courts at Pudukkóttai, Tirumayyam and Kulattúr, as also a Small Cause Court at Pudukkóttai for the adjustment of all petty suits for money,

(8) and there was to be a Revenue Inspector for each Taluk.

The place of the Foujdár was abolished.

Introduction of Mr. Morris' scheme. Mr. Morris' scheme for the revision of Revenue and Judicial establishments was introduced in 1868, of which the main features were, as mentioned before, the reduction of the large number of employers on low salaries, the assignment of salaries sufficient to secure the services of competent and respectable men, and the assimilation of the Revenue and Judicial establishments to those of districts under the British Government.

A Government order dated 31st January, 1868, approved the appointment of three Deputy Tahsildars, who were to exercise magisterial powers and who were to have their head-quarters at Virálimalai, Karambakkudi and Kilánilai.

"Of the three stations, the two first are places of considerable traffic and are in consequence frequently resorted to by a large concourse of people from different parts, while the third, though not equal to them in respect of mercantile importance, consists of many wealthy villages inhabited by many wealthy Nattukkottai Chettis and other respectable classes. Virálimalai,

in particular, is on the high road between Trichinopoly and Madras. More than 500 bandies daily halt there and it is reckoned the only convenient healthy station for European travellers and Regiments, who pass by that road.

"Moreover the three stations are situated on the boundary line of this territory, viz, Viralimalai in the westernmost corner, Karambakkudi in the easternmost and Kilanilai in the southernmost. Each of these divisions lies at upwards of 25 miles from its respective Taluk station....."

Accordingly the five Taluks of the State were re-arranged into three Taluks, each with a sub-division or firka attached thereto. A Sub-Magistrate was appointed for the Town of Pudukkóttai. The Tahsildars of the Taluks and the Deputy Tahsildars of the firkas were invested with magisterial powers.

Visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to Madras. On the 8th February, 1870, a sum of Rs. 20,000 was sanctioned for His Excellency the Rájá's visit to Madras to be present at the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and on the 16th February, 1870, the Government of Madras ordered that "the Tondaman Rajah" would receive a salute of 13 guns at Trichinopoly and Madras, and that the title of "His Excellency", formerly withdrawn, would again be granted.

The Governor wrote on the 21st February, 1870, to the Rájá communicating the decision of the Government to restore to the Rájá a portion of the marks of honour formerly enjoyed by his predecessors and himself (see pp. 319 and 416) in consideration of the happy event of the visit to the Presidency of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, as a mark of respect for the family the Rájá represented and in some degree as a consequence of the more satisfactory course which His Excellency had pursued in the management of his affairs. His title of 'His Excellency' would again be used by the Government in addressing the Rájá and he would receive a salute of 13 guns at Trichinopoly and Madras. The Rájá was informed that the position which his family occupied and the services rendered by the family to the English Government would be explained to His Royal Highness

the Duke of Edinburgh, and that the Rájá would be respected by the Government not for making a great show but for acting with wisdom and economy.

In March, 1870, *His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh visited Madras* and His Excellency Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán Bahadúr had an interview with His Royal Highness.

In concluding this account, we have to mention that the Government disallowed on the 18th December, 1873, the salute sanctioned in February, 1870, on orders received from the Governor-General in Council.

Transfer of the Political Agency from Tanjore to Trichinopoly. On the 18th September, 1874, the Political Agency was transferred from the Collector of Tanjore to the Collector of Trichinopoly. Mr. Pennington was the first Political Agent at Trichinopoly. He was directed by Government to reside for two or three months at Pudukkóttai, make himself personally acquainted with the working of all the principal branches of the administration, Revenue, Police, Civil and Criminal Justice and Public Works, and, after having made a complete scrutiny into the state of the country, submit a full report thereon with the recommendations that occurred to him.*

1875. Mr. Pennington's Report. Mr. Pennington's report, furnished in reply to this order, gave a complete account of the system of administration in force in the State as well as suggestions for its improvement.† In making his recommendations he strongly urged that the Rájá should be removed from all direct share in the administration of justice; but Government, in the order passed on this report, stated that they were unwilling to take this course.

Mr. Pennington described in detail the several circumstances relating to the Rájá's indebtedness, and the various orders which had been issued on the subject. Into this question, the Government observed that it was then unnecessary to go, as it had been just then definitely decided‡ that the surplus revenues belonged to the State, that they must be used in improving the territory and the administration in its various branches, that the Rájá had his civil list and his privy purse, and was entitled to nothing more.

* G. O. No. 448 of the 3rd November, 1874.

† Letter from the Political Agent to Government, dated 23rd April, 1875.

‡ G. O. No. 133 of the 4th March, 1875.

The settlement that had then been sanctioned for the payment of the Rájá's debts was declared to be the last that would be allowed, and this, it was observed, was perfectly well understood by all concerned.*

In explanation of the Rájá's repeatedly running into debt, Mr. Pennington remarked as follows:—

"No doubt he is inexcusably weak and extravagant, but what can be expected of a Rajah whose only associates are narrow-minded jealous wives and intriguing parasites? If a really just estimate of the extent to which he is personally responsible could by any possibility be formed, I am inclined to think that many others would be found to be more guilty than the Rajah himself even in the matter of his continually recurring debts. It may be added that a state of indebtedness appears to be a characteristic of the family, perhaps a mark of dignity. The Rajah's grandfather died 70,000 pagodas in debt and universally respected. We may add that the same was the case with the Raja's father also". It must be said to the credit of H. H. Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán that he was a very liberal patron of learned men and took a pleasure in supporting many poor people that depended on him.

Some reforms and minor matters. In 1857 an Anglo-Vernacular Free school was opened at the capital, which was to be maintained like the Hospital from Dēvastánam Funds.

The Deputy Superintendent of Vaccination went over in March 1867 from Tanjore to Pudukkóttai and organised and instructed a staff of vaccinators. The Government expressed their satisfaction in learning that measures had been taken for introducing an efficient system of vaccination in the State.

In May 1868, the Dēvastánam establishment was revised. The duties connected with the collection of the kist, *etc.*, appertaining to the Dēvastánam and Charity Villages, *etc.*, were entrusted to the Deputy Kárbár. The management of the expenditure and of the internal affairs of pagodas and chattrams was vested in a separate officer styled the Manager of Dēvastánams, who was to devote his whole time and attention to it.

* G. O. No. 703 of the 15th October, 1875. paragraphs, 5 and 6.

In November 1868, the Manóvarti establishment was revised.

Special measures had frequently been taken as for example in 1847 for the prevention of the exportation of earth-salt from Pudukkóttai into the Company's districts. Additional precautions were ordered to be taken in 1870 for the prevention of the sale, *etc.*, in British Territory of earth-salt manufactured in the State.

There was a severe outbreak of cholera in 1871 as there had been in 1867-8. Guineaworm prevailed in May and June to a very unusual extent and it was ordered that the tanks should be thoroughly cleansed.

In accordance with the desire of the Madras Government, the Sirkfi was instructed on the 10th April, 1872, to take a census of the State in connection with the Imperial Census that had then been taken.

The Marammut Department was reorganised on the 19th July, 1872, and placed under the supervision of the Deputy Kárbár.

17th December, 1872. The Sirkfi was required by the Rájá to forward to the Political Agent for perusal and return the original agreement in Persian characters granted on the 28th September, 1755, to the ruler Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán by the Honorable George Pigot, Governor of Madras (see p. 211).

In connection with the proposal made by the Rájá to grant a Jágir to the 1st Princess, a sum of Rs. 10,000 was sanctioned by the Government in March 1873.

1874. Measures and weights were required to be stamped.

In May, 1874 a sum of Rs. 3,000 was sanctioned for the Madras Famine Relief Fund.

An attempt was made to introduce stamps into the State; but the Government in February 1875 did not approve the introduction of Stamp duties on legal proceedings, on the score that the existing revenues of the State were sufficient with a good administrator to provide all that was needed for the public service.

On the 19th March, 1875, it was ruled that officers to be appointed in the State in future should have been vaccinated.

The proposal to let off prisoners imprisoned for life after the expiry of a period of 30 years from the date of the commencement of imprisonment was not approved (March, 1875).

A proposal for the Survey of lands in the State was approved in March 1875.

30th June, 1875. The Government approved of a Registration Regulation to be introduced into the State. And the Registration of documents was brought to force on the 1st of November, 1875, the Department of Registration of Assurances having been organised with a District Registrar and three Sub-Registrars.

1875. A Superintendent of Public Works was appointed.

Hook-swinging was prohibited in July 1876 at Konnaiyūr, Nartāmalai, and other places where it had been practised.

The Sirkāl was asked in August 1875 to obtain sanction from the Government for resuming the Western Palace Jāgīr, as per instructions from the Political Agent, for having mortgaged the Jāgīr.

Reorganisation of the Police Department. The Police duties had been performed on a strict Kāvulgār system (see p. 353). Later on the Tahsildars were empowered to transact the duties of the Heads of Police.

In May, 1875 a Police Force was organised on the British lines and placed under the orders of the Superintendent of Police, Trichinopoly, as ex-officio Superintendent of the Department. 16 stations were established.

The strength of the force as sanctioned in G. O. dated 13th February, 1875, was 3 Inspectors, 22 Head Constables and 152 Constables. As it was found necessary to place the force on a better footing, the strength was revised in G. O. dated 8th May, 1876 and was as follows:—

4 Inspectors, 20 Head Constables and 152 Constables. One Inspector was placed in charge of each Taluk and the Head Quarter Inspector was placed in charge of the office and Town.

In September 1875 the Police powers conferred on the Tahsildars were withdrawn and transferred to the Inspectors of Police.

On the 26th November, 1875 Raja Martanda Bhairava Tondaiman Bahadur, the ruling sovereign, was born.

10th December, 1875. During the tour of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Southern India, His Excellency the Rājā paid a visit at Madura to His Royal Highness.

Before dinner, the principal personages were received, and among them the Native Chiefs, of whom the most conspicuous was the Rājā of Pudukkóttai.

His Royal Highness sent to the Rājā "a silver medal, with a ring bearing His Royal Highness' cypher, with a hope that His Excellency would wear them as mementos of his visit to Southern India and of the pleasure His Royal Highness derived from making His Excellency's personal acquaintance."

The gold ring and the medal presented to the Rājā by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, were delivered to the Rājā at a Public Darbār by the Political Agent, Mr. Henry Sewell, who carried them to him in procession on an elephant. He wrote to the Rājā "Please stick to the original programme. I will ride on the elephant from the entrance of the Town to the Darbar; but I do not wish to be paraded all round the streets."

The assumption of the title of Empress of India by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen. The Rājā was informed in August, 1876 that it was the intention of the Government to publicly proclaim on the 1st of January, 1877, at the Presidency and at all the headquarter stations of the several collectorates the assumption by Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen, of the title of "Empress of India". A copy of the *Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary* containing His Excellency the Viceroy's Proclamation together with the Proclamation by the Queen was also received.

1877, 1st January. "An Imperial Assemblage was held at Delhi for the purpose of proclaiming to the Queen's subjects throughout India the gracious sentiments which had induced Her Majesty to make to Her Sovereign Style and Titles an addition specially intended to mark Her Majesty's interests in this great Dependency of Her Crown and Her Royal Confidence in the loyalty and affection of the Princes and Peoples of India. To this Assemblage, the Governor-General invited the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Heads of Administration from all parts of the

Queen's Indian Dominions, as well as those Princes, Chiefs and Nobles, in whose persons the antiquity of the past was associated with the prosperity of the present and who so worthily contributed to the splendour and stability of the Great Empire."

January, 1877. A grand Darbar was held at Pudukkottai in honour of the assumption of the title of the Empress of India by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria and seven life-prisoners and twenty other prisoners were released.

The famine of 1876-8. The State suffered severely from the famine of 1876-8. His Excellency the Rájá showed himself quite alive to the emergency and at his suggestion conjee-houses for the relief of the destitute were opened and arrangements were made for starting relief works. The road to Madura was specially taken up as a relief work, and money was also allotted for improving the supplies of drinking water and for removing prickly pear. Rice was purchased wholesale in the Tanjore District and retailed here at cost price. The pay of men drawing less than Rs. 8 a month was increased by one Rupee *per mensem* from January, 1877, till the famine was over. At a meeting of the leading men of the place, a handsome amount was subscribed, including Rs. 5,000 from the Rájá. In the fifteen months from November, 1876, to February, 1878, 10,41,672 persons were relieved, and when the famine was over, cloths and small money presents were given to deserving poor people with the surplus of the sums subscribed by the people and sanctioned by the State.

Adoption by the Raja of Pudukkottai of his eldest daughter's third son as heir to the Raj. His Excellency the Rájá forwarded on the 2nd of March, 1877 letters to the Government of Madras and the Supreme Government of India with a covering letter to the Political Agent, communicating that the Rájá had adopted, in conformity with the tenor of the special Sunnud granted to him by His Excellency Lord Canning, Ry. Mártánda Bhairava Pallavaráyar, his eldest daughter's third son, owing to the Rájá's decaying state of health, and had thereby freed himself from all concerns of mind.

On the 15th January 1878 orders were received from the Viceroy and Governor-General of India "recognising and confirming the adoption by the Rajah of Poodocottah of his eldest

daughter's third son as heir to the Raj in supersession of the claims of the son of his deceased brother". On the 23rd of January, the Madras Government communicated the order to the Political Agent, who forwarded it to the Rájá on the 3rd of February. The Rájá "could find no words to express his humble obligations and sincere gratitude for the unparalleled kindness and estimation..... and prayed to the God Almighty for the most prosperous, predominant and everlasting Rule of the British nation—a Sovereignty most impartial and Divine,"

10th February, 1878. *A Darbar was held in connection with the confirmation by the Viceroy and Governor-General of the adoption made by the Rájá, and arrangements were made for releasing some prisoners.*

8th August, 1878. A Sashia Sastriar became the Sirkil of the State. "At the kind invitation of His Excellency the Rajah and under the encouraging auspices of Mr. Sewell, the Political Agent, and of the Members of the Government of Madras, who were all deeply interested in the well-being of the Pudukottai State", A Sashia Sastriar took charge of the administration of the State on the 8th of August, 1878. The selection was suggested by Sir Madhava Row, who had occasion at the time to pay a visit to Pudukkottai. He saw that things had not been going on well in the State for some time and wrote a confidential note to the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, from which the following is an extract.

"The present Rajah of Pudukota is one of those princes, who possess in a remarkable degree the power of producing the most favourable impression on visitors. He speaks many languages, English included. This last he speaks with fluency, correctness and elegance, which I have not seen surpassed in the whole range of my experience of native princes. He also possesses most agreeable manners. Yet in point of fact he has not been a successful and popular ruler. This is partly due to defective education and bad company in early years and partly to other causes.....

"A ministerial crisis appears to be impending at Pudukota. The choice of a suitable minister is obviously one of the most essential conditions on which the healthy development of the

State will depend..... Why not utilise the services of Sashiah Sastri (the Retired Dewan of Travancore) or of Sadasivam Pillay (Retired Chief Judge of the same State) in this direction?"

The place was offered to Sashia Sastriar, who was not very willing at first to accept the place, as he thought that it was almost beyond his power to bring the State to order.

Sir Madhava Row pressed Sashia Sastriar to "vouchsafe to Pudukota what it so much required—the services of a first rate man," observing

"Here is a suffering patient and here is a first rate Doctor—quite near him (Sashia Sastriar was then living at Trichinopoly). What can be more desirable than that they should be brought together?"

Sashia Sastriar reconsidered his decision and finally made up his mind to accept the place. When Sir Madhava Row heard of this, he was delighted and wrote to the Rájá

"I think this is the most fortunate thing that can occur in the interests of yourself and the State. I can assure Your Excellency that Sashiah Sastri is one of the most distinguished natives that India has produced and he is intrinsically a very good man. He is just the man that is capable of placing the State on a safe and durable footing and of promoting your own honour and dignity. In short much larger and more important States might envy Pudukota for having so easily secured the services of such a man."

The Governor of Madras, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, expressed his gratification at the appointment and had no doubt that the arrangement would be attended with early benefit to the State; and later on the Secretary of State for India expressed his satisfaction that the Rájá should have availed himself of the services of so competent a minister.

Matters Judicial. The appellate power over all the Courts had been till 1878 vested exclusively in the Huzúr Appeal Court, consisting of His Excellency the Rájá as President, the Sirkil or Minister as ex-officio Judge and an Appeal Judge. During 1879-80 the appellate jurisdiction over the Munsiffs' Courts and the Small Cause Court was transferred from the Rájá's Court of Appeal to the Civil Judge.

No fees had been levied till October, 1879, for the institution of suits in the Courts. A regulation was passed authorizing the levying of fees from the 1st of November, 1879, on the institution of all suits, appeals and proceedings in the Courts of Civil judicature.

The Munsiff's Court at Kalattúr was abolished and amalgamated with the Town Small Cause Court.

The abolition of the 'Amáni' or the sharing system. The Amáni system of settling the revenue from lands, under which the ryot was a mere tenant at will *was abolished*, so that the lands which were held on this tenure became the private property of those that held them, subject to the payment of a fixed assessment. The general result of the settlement after a few year's experience was one of satisfaction to the ryot, who felt the change as an emancipation from thralldom. (See Revenue History).

The reorganisation of the Devastánam Department. "The Department of Devastanam Manager was found worse than useless and was abolished. The supervision of the pagodas and their establishments together with the accounts of receipts and expenditures connected therewith was transferred to the Tahsildars. Two travelling Superintendents were appointed, one for the pagodas in the British Territory, where special services are performed at the cost of the State and the other for those in the State. Much abuse having crept into the working of the department, the management was remodelled without additional cost to the State and placed under the Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars under the orders of the Karbar".

The resumption of the Western Palace Jágir. The Government ordered the resumption of the Western Palace Jágir on the 14th of May, 1881.

"The estate had almost entirely passed into the usufructuary possession of creditors. The Jaghirdar was in some straits and appeal to the Madras Government for relief. The matter was referred to Sashia Sastri, who went into the question of the tenure of the estate and found that the estate was inalienable by sale, gift or mortgage; and under the advice of the Madras Government, the Jaghir was absolutely resumed in 1881 and a money

pension amounting in round numbers to Rs. 15,000 a year was granted to the family upon such conditions as would ensure to every member of the family his share of the benefit of the arrangement. Liberal provision was also made to meet reasonable extraordinary charges".

The restoration of salute and the grant of the title of "His Highness". In consideration of the introduction of many important reforms and a general improvement in the character and tone of the administration after the appointment of A. Sashia Sastriar as the Sirkil, the Madras Government forwarded in June 1882 to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India an appeal from the Sirkil for the restoration of salute to His Excellency the Rájá.

The following extracts are from the Sirkil's letter to the Political Agent.

"His Excellency the Raja would now assure Government that it will be his study for the future, as it has been during the recent past, to bring the administration of his State to the highest pitch of perfection which the resources of the State and the help of the wise ministers at his command would permit.....

"For my part, I hope and believe that the restoration of honours taken away and the grant of new ones will not make His Excellency the Rájá forget the past or neglect the future; for he now knows that "all honours" are based on and inseparable from, good administration".

The event of the year was the sanction on the 22nd April, 1884 by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India of a salute of 11 guns to the Raja and his successors as a hereditary distinction. "Simultaneously, the Government of Madras was pleased to order that the Raja of Pudukota would thenceforward be addressed as "His Highness".

A grand Darbar was held on the 19th of May, 1884 to celebrate the happy event. "The Political Agent, after repeating his assurances that the Tondiman of to-day would not be found less loyal than his ancestors, should occasion arise, handed over to the Rájá the communication of Government conveying the intelligence of the conferring of a hereditary salute of 11 guns and

the title of "His Highness". As an act of mercy, several convicts were pardoned and set free.

The lighting of the town was commenced with 100 street lamps.

The destruction of prickly pear, "the spread of which most pernicious plant had been rapid and was proceeding with accelerated velocity year after year, was taken on hand".

1883-4. The Pallavankulam was completely dried, and the old bathing ghats were removed. From other tanks also the slush and silt of years were removed with the result that guinea-worm that "seemed to be the everlasting curse of Pudukota" was stamped out, and "those who year after year bore the badge of the curse came to breathe free and think of the return of summer without a shudder".

"The work of removing the slush and silt of the Pallavan tank seemed at first sight an insuperable one, and the *modus operandi* by which it was accomplished was rather unique. All the available labourers of the three taluks had to be called out and mustered for the purpose. The average number at work every day for 10 days was 3,000, while the highest number in a day reached 5,000..... A free conjee and water pandal was maintained at the time on the spot, the season at the time being intolerably hot. The labourers were relieved every three days by fresh sets from their respective vattams. So the hardships of the compulsory labour were minimised as much as possible, for the very short time it lasted". The name of the tank was changed into Sivaganga, by which name it is now known (see p. 103, foot-note).

Abolition of certain petty cesses. "Certain petty cesses called *Mahimés* or presents collected from ryots in the days of the Amant system for the benefit of (1) Pagodas, (2) certain Pandarams or religious mendicant Sudras, (3) a certain Iyavaru or Vaishnava Astrologer and (4) lastly, a family of Mudaliyars who collected these cesses and conducted therewith certain services in the temples at Chillumbrum, Avadaiarcoil and Madyarjunam (or Tiruvidaimarudúr), were abolished. In all probability these were originally voluntary alms given by the ryots at the threshing floor for the various charities indicated. In most cases, the handfuls

were taken out before division into Mēlvaram and Kudivaram..... They had acquired the character of prescriptive right and continued to the time of the supersession of Amani system in 1879-80, when the grain doles were commuted into money cesses. These petty cesses after all amounted to no more than Rs. 915 altogether. The cesses were entirely abolished with effect from the 1st of July, 1884, thus ensuring to the ryots freedom for ever from the petty and vexatious demand. A sum of Rs. 1,000 per annum was sanctioned from the State Treasury to be paid as compensation to the pagodas and persons concerned".

Some minor reforms and other matters. The powers of registration were withdrawn from the Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars, and separate Sub-Registrars were appointed for the discharge of the duties (28th of October, 1878).

In 1878, the Administration Report of the State was for the first time printed and supplied to the important public officers of the State. Till 1878, the Administration Reports had been kept confidential and even high public officers including the Kārbār were not permitted to go through them.

Regulations were passed for the recovery of arrears of revenue and for the acquisition of lands for public purposes.

The printing press was considerably strengthened and a State Gazette was published for the first time.

A census of the State in connection with the Imperial Census of February, 1881, was undertaken and completed. It showed an increase of 8,560 in the number of inhabitants of the State according to the previous census.

The Government communicated (10th December, 1881) to the Political Agent that "the Rājā's prefixing to his name the initials 'S. B. D.' = *Sri Brihadambā Dās* appeared unobjectionable on political grounds, with which alone the Government was concerned".

August, 1882, Certain differences having arisen in connection with the settlement of the boundary between this State and Ramnad Zemindāri, the Political Agent at great personal trouble inspected the localities with Mr. Gompertz, the Government Arbitrator, and the Sarkīl, and settled the differences.

22nd August. A regulation was passed for the protection of the earth-salt revenue. The rules which had been in force from time to time for the control of the manufacture and sale of earth-salt had never assumed a legal shape. The regulation embodied them into a systematic enactment.

7th October, 1882. Regulation II of 1882 declared distinctly the Acts of the British Indian Legislature relating to Civil and Criminal matters which were to be followed in the Courts of the State.

1883, 13th June. A Town Sarkar Girls' School for imparting instruction to the girls of the town was opened.

The English school started in 1857 at the Capital was raised to the grade of a Second Grade College. It was ordered in 1883 that the supervision of the State schools by a British Inspector of Schools which had been going on from April, 1878 was unnecessary.

1884, 1st April. His Highness cheerfully consented to the establishment of a combined British Post and Telegraph office and the people were thus given the modern advantages of the Money Order System, Insurance of parcels, Value Payable System, Savings Bank, *etc.*, (see pp. 405-6).

April, 1884. The Friday Fair was removed to the spacious grove to the south of the Sandaippéttai suburb.

1884. To arrest the destruction of jungles and to create new sources of fuel supply, a beginning was made with a small casuarina plantation on the banks of the Vellar.

• 1885, April. For the encouragement of Primary Education, grant-in-aid rules were promulgated and came into force on the 1st of April, 1885.

24th May, 1885. Marriages of His Highness' Grand-daughters by the Senior Princess.

"No former ruler of Pudukota lived long enough to witness the marriages of grand-children, and according to Hindu notions, it was a singular good fortune, which it was reserved to His Highness (Rājā Ramachandra Tondaimāo Bahadūr) to attain".

The Treasury full. "For the first time in the history of Pudukota (in 1883) there was literally no room in the Treasury for the money that had accumulated in it, and it was thought

advisable, rather than so much money should be idle, to invest the surplus in Government securities, not only as a source of some profit but generally as an Insurance Fund against future years of adversity. There was no intention of hoarding, for expenditure on public works was allowed to the fullest amount that could have been carefully and economically spent".

His Highness the Rájá's Tours. His Highness the Rájá started on the 30th May, 1884 on a tour to the Trichinopoly and Madura Districts. "After visiting the shrine at Nerúr in the Coimbatore District (see p. 179, foot-note) and the temple at Madura, the Rájá was on the 30th of July at Trichinopoly, waiting for Their Excellencies the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, who were then about to pass through or visit that station".

16th July, 1884. His Highness the Rájá accompanied by the Political Agent had an interview with His Excellency the Governor in the Waiting Room of the Trichinopoly Railway Station.

27th July, 1884. His Highness the Rájá had an interview at Trichinopoly with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts. His Highness was received with military honours by His Excellency's Military Secretary at the carriage door and by His Excellency Sir Frederick Roberts at the entrance of the house and conducted to the drawing room where he had a very cordial interview. His Highness and His Excellency with the Political Agent then drove together in His Highness' carriage to the Race course.

On the following day, His Highness the Rájá accompanied His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to witness a Review of the troops in the Parade Ground.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief returned the visit of His Highness the Rájá on the morning of the 26th July at His Highness' Camp. After a tour which lasted 60 days, His Highness the Rájá returned to Pudukkóttai on the 30th July, 1884, and was received in a decorated Pandal, a little way outside the Town, and led into the Capital in procession amidst the rejoicings of His Highness' subjects.

His Highness made a second tour in November and December 1885 to Trichinopoly and Madura, with the object chiefly of

fulfilling a vow, which he had taken on his previous visit, to light one hundred thousand lamps in the famous pagoda at Madura. His Highness left Pudukkóttai on the 9th of November, 1885, and after visiting the shrine at Nerúr, went to Madura where he fulfilled his vow. His Highness, after visiting the shrine of Kunasékharam in the Trichinopoly District, returned to Pudukkóttai on the 6th of December.

Changes of the designations of the Chief administrative officers. At the suggestion of His Highness the Rájá and at the recommendation of the Political Agent, the Governor-in-Council of Madras approved on the 29th May, 1885 of the designations Sirkil, Kárbár, and Deputy Kárbár which were not known or properly recognised outside the limits of the State and were not familiar to the Foreign Office, that is, the Political Department of British India, being changed into those of 'Dewan',* 'Dewan Peishkar'† and 'Deputy Peishkar'. The change was adopted from the 1st of July, 1885.

The first gubernatorial visit to the Capital, 1886, 2nd—4th February. "His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, G. C. I. E., Governor of Madras, was the first Governor to visit the Rájá in his capital. His Excellency arrived a little before the noon of Tuesday, the 2nd of February, 1886, and left on the afternoon of Thursday the 4th *idem*. A grand Darbar was held on the occasion. A levee was held, at which the Rájá presented all the members of his family, officers of the State, Sardars of the State, and other gentry of the Town. There was the usual display of fireworks, *etc.* His Excellency witnessed also the natiye game of *అడవి* or the throwing of the Boomerang" (see p. 242).

The following details are from Sir M. E. Grand Duff's *Notes of a Diary kept chiefly in Southern India in 1881-1886*. †

* *Diwán*, (incorrectly *Dewan*) means "a minister or a chief officer of State. Under the Mohammadan Government, it was especially applied to the head financial minister, whether of a State or a province....."

† *Peishkar* (Hindustani) means "an agent, a deputy, a manager in general for a superior or proprietor, or one exercising in revenue and custom affairs a delegated authority". The word also means in Telugu and Canarese "a subordinate officer, who is employed to keep the accounts".

‡ See Vol. II, pp. 171-173.

"I went to Vellum near Tanjore, passed thence on the 2nd of February to Pudukota where I remained to the 4th.....Next came the rejoicing plains of the Tanjore delta and the populous villages on the road to Pudukota.

"No Governor had ever before visited the little State †, somewhat smaller than two Surreys, which owns the sway of the Tondiman, and I was naturally received with much *empressement*. At the fireworks on the night of the 3rd, there may have been well on to 30,000 men. Everywhere (throughout the tour) it rained wreaths and nautch girls".

The Governor officially noticed his visit to the State in his Review Minute of 1886.

"And I have been able to visit the Nizam, the Maharaja of Mysore, the late Maharaja of Travancore, the Raja of Cochin the Raja of Sandur, the late Raja of Pudukota, each in his own capital. No previous Governor had, I believe, ever entered the chief town of the interesting little State, which is ruled over by our old ally the Tondiman.....

"The last Raja of Pudukota fell at one time under the displeasure of the Paramount Power; but I had the satisfaction long before his death of seeing the agreeable relations, which prevailed between this Government and his family, completely restored. Pudukota has advanced considerably in recent years under the care of the experienced and able minister whom we have now nominated Regent for the grandson of the late Raja, who is still a boy. I trust that he will grow up to be a credit to the Government, with which his ancestors were so long connected".

Death of Rájá Rámachandra Tondaimán on the 15th April, 1886. His Highness the Rájá Rámachandra Tondaimán Bahadúr died at the age of 57. All the public offices and institutions of the State were closed for sixteen days as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased. He left an heir to the Ráj in the person of His Highness Martanda Bhairava Tondaimán Bahadúr. (See p. 434).

* See pp. 377-8 for an account of the visit of the State by Sir Thomas Munro. What is meant is the capital town of the State, containing the Palace of the Rájá.

Raja Martanda Bhairava Tondaiman Bahadur.

Education of His Highness the Raja.—On May 2, 1886 the religious installation of the young Rájá—known as the *Pattābhishekam*—took place, according to the custom of the family, in the State Pagoda at Tirugókarnam, a suburb of the capital town; and on 8th July the Rájá was formally installed by the Political Agent, who presented a *khillat* from the Government of Madras and a letter from the Governor, congratulating His Highness on his accession to the *musnad*. A Darbár was held on the occasion and the usual *nazars* were presented to the Political Agent. His Highness was then conducted in a procession through the four main streets round the Palace, during which the installation was proclaimed. Six convicts were set at liberty in honour of the occasion.

The Rájá was about eleven years of age at this time and had already made considerable progress in English, Tamil, Sanskrit and Drawing. As observed by (afterwards Sir) A. Sāshih Sāstri, the young Rájá was blessed with natural talents and a keen desire to learn. His disposition was frank and affectionate and he appeared to possess a natural repugnance to whatever was impure. He was diligent and industrious and had also taken kindly to manly sports and exercises. A guardian was appointed to look after him in the hours of study as well as of recreation, drives and riding exercises; and in the beginning of 1887, a graduate of the Cambridge University—Mr. F. F. Crossley—was appointed English tutor, with a staff of assistants to give instructions in the several branches of study.

The education of the Rájá, now inaugurated, was continued for eight years and comprised a course of studies and exercises, that was calculated to bring out and develop all that was best in him. As reported by his English tutor, year after year, His Highness' uniform good conduct and the zeal with which he entered into all he undertook made the task of training a very pleasant one. He showed a tenacity of purpose in what he believed to be right and an individuality which, it was expected, would be of great service to him in the future.

His tastes were catholic, if not exactly scholastic. He soon learnt to speak English 'absolutely without accent' as if it were his mother tongue. In Sanskrit he soon acquired proficiency enough to compose short verses himself. He then took a course of lessons in French under educated French gentlemen and, with his natural facility of accent, easily acquired a correct pronunciation. After a course in English literature, he turned his attention to administrative questions and with his English tutor went through a selected course of studies on Land tenures, Survey and Settlement, the British system of administration, Taxation, Agriculture and Criminal Law.

He had a very decided talent for drawing and painting. He possessed, in a marked degree, the knack of catching a likeness and had, besides, a correct eye for line. He had also the advantage of lessons from a master—Mons Van Strydonck—and was able to execute portraits from life and paintings from nature, which showed that he had talent of no mean order. He had also a good ear for music and learnt to read music fairly and play a large number of breakdowns, *etc.* At an earlier stage he had learnt photography and carpentry.

The young Rájá early showed the will and ability to excel in manly pursuits. He learnt cricket, rowing, rackets and lawn tennis and became an expert in most of them. He also learnt to shoot and became a capital shot. His keenness and perseverance in pursuit of game were marked; and after a blank day his cheering, "At any rate we have had good exercise" spoke him a sportsman at heart, as did the fact that despite many temptations, and disappointments, stalking and driving, he never fired at a doe. In 1893, His Highness visited Travancore twice on elephant-shooting and shot two elephants—one with tusks 5 ft. 8 in. long, which weighed 78 lb. The coolness he displayed and his straight-shooting on these occasions were considered remarkable.

In December, 1886, Lord Dufferin the Viceroy toured in Southern India and during the tour visited Trichinopoly on 6th December. His Highness the Rájá went to Trichinopoly and had a cordial private interview with the Viceroy. His Excellency made many kind inquiries about His Highness' health and

progress in studies and treated His Highness with parental affection. This was a memorable event in the annals of Pudukkóttai, no previous Rájá having had an interview with a Viceroy or Governor-general.

In 1887, the Governor of Madras, Lord Connemara, visited Trichinopoly and on that occasion invited His Highness in person to pay a visit to Madras. It was also thought that it was time the Rájá travelled a little every year as part of his education. A trip to Madras was accordingly resolved upon and His Highness, accompanied by (Sir) Sásiah Sástri, Dewan-Regent, and a retinue consisting of his personal staff and tutors and servants went to Madras in January, 1889, and made a stay of two months there. His Highness received the utmost consideration and experienced the kindest treatment at the hands of the Governor. While in Madras he visited the several institutions and places of interest, made the acquaintance of the then Maharájá of Mysore who was also then staying at Madras, the Members of Government, the Chief Justice and other leading gentlemen and officers and attended a Convocation of the University of Madras. On his way back His Highness visited Pondichery and paid a visit to the Governor who returned His Highness' visit. He also attended a Ball given at the Government House in his honour. His Highness returned to his capital in March, vastly improved in his knowledge of the world and of men and manners.

His Highness had the honour of a private interview with His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor during his tour in India in 1889.

In January, 1890, His Highness made a second trip to Madras, which lasted for a month and a half. While at Madras His Highness made the acquaintance of the Maharájá of Travancore, who was halting at Madras on his way to Calcutta. During the return journey His Highness visited Bangalore and Mysore. This visit was most interesting and instructive to His Highness. He was the guest of the Maharájá of Mysore and it was felt that no words could adequately convey the kind personal attention and the brotherly affection shown by the Maharájá and the brilliant reception and entertainment given to him both at Mysore

and Bangalore. The country, the people, the manners and customs—everything was new and what His Highness was able to observe of the home-life, manly sports and rational amusements of the Maharajah and of the many educational institutions in that premier Hindu State left lasting and useful impressions on the young Rájá's mind.

Since the beginning of 1891, Trichinopoly had been virtually made the ordinary residence of the Rájá, as that station furnished facilities for games and field sports and for mixing with European society. To keep in touch with his subjects, His Highness drove into Pudukkóttai for all important feasts and festivals and religious ceremonies. In November, 1892, Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras, paid a visit to Pudukkóttai and the Rájá proceeded to Madras immediately after and returned the visit of the Governor and there had the opportunity of an interview with the Viceroy, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who was then on a visit to Madras.

In December, 1893, when his educational course was drawing to a close, His Highness undertook and accomplished a tour through Upper India. He visited Bombay, Allahabad, Benares, Calcutta, Agra, Ahmedabad and Baroda. His Highness at his own request travelled *incognito* most part of the tour, the public receptions being confined to Bombay and Calcutta, where he was received in Darbár by Their Excellencies Lord Harris and Lord Lansdowne.

Writing in December, 1889, to a friend in England—William Digby, C. I. E.,—Sashiah Sástri had thus written of His Highness and his progress in studies.

"A week hence the young Rajah will be entering on his 15th year. His progress in his studies has been so far very remarkable. He rides and drives well. He is excellent at Tennis. He has taken very kindly to Drawing, Carpentry and Photography as his indoor recreations and has shown great taste and aptitude. He moves with dignity and is ever cool and collected. He is blessed with an engaging countenance and a kindly harmless disposition. If all goes well, there is every reason to hope that six years hence the Pudukota State will be able to congratulate

itself on the possession of a Ruler in no way inferior to the best of Native Rulers in India, in training, ability or character".

That this promise was fulfilled is seen from the concluding words of the last report on the education of His Highness by his tutor Mr. Crossley.

"I cannot refrain from expressing in this, I believe, my last report, the pleasure I have in being able to say honestly that I cannot in the past seven years recall to mind one single instance of deviation from the strict truth or misbehaviour of any description on the part of His Highness. It is a record to be proud of and, I trust also, of happy augury for an honourable and useful career".

Installation.—On the completion of his nineteenth year, His Highness the Rájá was installed by His Excellency the Governor of Madras, Lord Wenlock, and invested with the powers of administration at a grand Darbár that was held for the purpose. His Excellency the Governor, who was received with the usual honours at the Darbár, delivered an address to the Rájá, from which we quote the following:—

"It is with great pleasure that I find myself here to-day with the object of personally giving effect to the decision of the Government of India that Your Highness should, on attaining your 19th year, be entrusted with the administration of the State of Pudukkottai The inheritance upon which you are this day entering was twenty years ago financially and in every other respect in a most dilapidated condition. The aspect of affairs is now very different; you will have made over to you a State not only unencumbered with debt, but possessing a balance of more than three lakhs, while there is every prospect of its yielding an increasing revenue if it is administered with due care. On every side material improvements are visible. Every branch of the administration has been more or less reformed, the revenue has improved, the roads are excellent, and the capital is adorned with modern public buildings. All these are due to the untiring energy and devotion to his duties of Dewan-Regent, Mr. Sashiah Sástri, one of that talented body, the proficient of the High School. Mr. Sashiah Sástri became Dewan in 1878 and after

serving your grandfather until his demise in 1886, has since then continued to work for the well-being of the State of Pudukkottai with great ability and remarkable fidelity and honesty of purpose. The result of his labours has been so successful that what was at the time of his accession to office almost a wreck is at the present moment a prosperous possession Your forefathers assisted in the laying of the foundation of the British Empire in India by supporting our arms in the struggle for supremacy with the French, a very important episode of which was the siege of Trichinopoly in 1752, next by aiding them in making head against the famous invader Hyder Ali Khan, and lastly, when alien enemies had ceased to oppose us, by affording, after the cession of the Carnatic, material help in suppressing the outbreaks of rebellious usurpers in what now forms the Madura District. Those days of warfare and bloodshed are now, as far as Southern India is concerned, happily at an end, with no prospect of return, but you can still follow in more peaceful paths the example of your ancestors of more than a century ago and support the British rule by a wise and just government of the State, to the administration of which you this day succeed.....".

The following extract from His Highness' reply is worthy of quotation. "Appreciating the value of the good advice Your Excellency has given me, I recognise the solemn nature of the trust now conferred on me; and relying on the help and advice of the Political Agent and my Dewan I shall use my whole endeavour in striving to assure to my people a just and progressive administration. Striving to rule without fear or favour I shall seek to be honourable and upright in all my actions, with the Almighty's help and guidance in making the destinies of my people happy and prosperous".

His Excellency the Governor then conducted His Highness to the *musnad* and declared His Highness invested with the powers of administration. A salute of eleven guns was fired and His Excellency the Governor then handed over to His Highness the State Sword.

The following was then read by the Dewan under a salute of eleven guns and a *feu de joie*.

Proclamation by His Highness Sri Brihadambā Dās Rājā Martanda Bhairava Tondaimān Bahadūr, Rājā of Pudukkottai: "Be it known to all that, under the auspices of the Supreme Government, we have assumed direct charge of the State from this date on the completion of our nineteenth year of age".

His Excellency held a levee on the day, where His Highness the Rājā presented to His Excellency the members of his family, the Dewan, the principal officers of the State, the Sardars and others.

Regency.—During the minority of the Rājā, the State was administered by (afterwards Sir) A. Sāshiah Sāstri. He was invested with the powers of a Regent and was styled Dewan-Regent. To relieve him of a great part of his routine and less responsible work, an assistant Dewan was appointed at the beginning of the Regency. This arrangement continued till His Highness came of age and assumed the reins of Government in November, 1894.

During the eight years preceeding the Regency, the foundations of good government had been well and deeply laid. The Land Revenue system had been remodelled; the *amāni* tenure, which was prejudicial alike to the State and the ryot, had been abolished. Most of the irrigation tanks had received the necessary, urgent repairs. The main trunk roads to Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Madura had been put in order. The service had been reformed and the tone of the service raised. Crimes had been put down. A second grade College had been raised and the ranks of office had come to be supplied with young men educated on modern lines. All this had necessitated a series of energetic measures and vigorous changes.

The eight years of the Regency mark a period of comparative rest and assimilation. The salient administrative features of this period are noticed below.

The Salt convention.—The first of these administrative measures was the suppression of the local earth-salt. The revenue from salt was, till 1887, a monopoly of the State. The State has no sea-board; but earth-salt was manufactured. It was gathered and stored in depôts and sold for the benefit of the

exchequer. Much abuse had crept into the department. In 1882, the management was remodelled and a regulation was passed for the protection of the salt-revenue and it provided also for penalties against the importation of the earth-salt into the British territory.

The British Government had been complaining from time to time (so early in fact as 1817) that the Pudukkóttai cheap earth-salt was being smuggled across the boundary. The question threatened to become a source of misunderstanding in 1881-2 between the State and the British Salt department. On a strong representation made by the State, the Madras Government agreed to let matters stand as they were. But a little while after, the question was opened again and Government insisted on the suppression of earth-salt in the State. The late Rájá, though at first unwilling, had ultimately agreed to the opening of negotiations in deference to the repeated wishes of the Madras Government. As a result of these negotiations it was agreed that the manufacture of earth-salt should be suppressed, the State receiving in compensation an annual payment of Rs. 38,000. The British authorities insisted at the outset that the head of the State preventive force should be an officer selected from the graded officers of the British Salt department. The Darbár protested against this on the ground that the late Rájá had consented to open negotiations only on the distinct understanding that the management of the preventive force should be entirely left to the Darbár. The British Government agreed to this after some correspondence.

The annual indemnity of Rs. 38,000 that was arranged to be given to the State was calculated thus: Rs. 15,000 for direct loss of salt-revenue, Rs. 13,000 for loss of revenue by the abolition of house-tax on the houses of the poorest classes, as a *solatium* for the enhanced salt-tax they would have to pay, and Rs. 10,000 for cost of the preventive force. To give effect to this Convention, "the Pudukkóttai Earth-Salt Suppression Regulation" was passed and came into force on January 1, 1888.

The Madras Government had at first suggested that the arrangements should be introduced tentatively for two years, as it was expected that at the end of that period a fair judgment could be formed

as to the adequacy of the preventive arrangements made by the State and the probability of the Madras Government securing a fair return for the large sum to be paid as compensation to the State. If found satisfactory in these respects the arrangements were to be made permanent; otherwise they were to be declared to be at an end and the *status quo ante* reverted to. A. Sásbiah Sástri represented that two years was too short a period for judging fairly of the working of the new regulation and its results, and five years would be the least time required if any reservation of time was at all necessary. There was no reason to think that the subsidy would not be a paying concern to the British Government. If however the Government should find it at any time to their interest to discontinue the indemnity and revert to the old state of things, the Convention might be cancelled, sufficient notice being given to the State and sufficient consideration being shown to such claims as might then arise and be brought forward by the State.

The Madras Government acquiesced in these proposals and decided (No. 671—Revenue dated July 12, 1887) that the arrangements would be cancelled at the option of Government after sufficient notice, if they found it to their interest to discontinue them and any claims for compensation to the State, arising from the resumption of earth-salt manufacture, shown to be justly due, would receive full consideration, though the decision as to the amount payable on this account must rest with Government.

A. Sásbiah Sástri evidently believed that he had made a good bargain for the State. The Madras Government were not quite sure that they would secure an adequate return for the indemnity they had to pay. The people of the State grumbled that they had to pay many times more than before for the salt they required and that the heavy price was out of all proportion to the better quality of the sea-salt. The salt duty in British India was raised about this time and this enhanced the unpopularity of the salt Convention.

For ten years the Convention worked more or less smoothly. In 1897, the Madras Government doubted whether the working of the preventive force in the State did not require closer

supervision. In 1900, the Darbár was informed that the Governor in Council would be obliged to take the terms of the Convention into reconsideration unless the statistics of the import of Madras Government salt into the State under any new system of record afforded satisfactory grounds for believing that the terms of the Convention were being faithfully carried out.

A reliable system of registration was organised for ascertaining the quantity of British salt annually imported into the State and it was shown that the Darbár was faithfully carrying out the terms of the Convention. But the Darbár had found that the quantity of British salt annually imported into and consumed by the State could not be less than one lakh of maunds. The British Government were actually getting a duty of two and a half lakhs of rupees on the sea-salt consumed in the State and their net gain was by no means less than two lakhs of rupees which would thus represent the annual drain on the resources of the State. The Darbar then asked for a revision of the convention contending that this revenue of two lakhs was in equity due to them but after some controversy their request was refused by the Government of British India. The subsequent reduction of the British salt duty has mitigated the drain on the State to some extent.

The Settlement of Inam.—A more successful measure was the enfranchisement of Inams. The total acreage under Inam (more than 3,00,000 acres) greatly exceeded the acreage paying revenue to the State. The greater part of the Inams was connected with the militia of the State. These Inams were originally granted to the men who were employed in fighting with the neighbouring Poligárs or as contingents to the British troops at Trichinopoly in their marches to Srirangapatam and other places at the close of the eighteenth century and they were continued to their descendants, who were at a later time employed in guarding palaces, temples, catcheries and forts and who were more recently employed as watchmen of the crops under the *amani* system. The *rafit* of Inam was about three acres of wet land known as one *Ál Jívitam* (literally as much as is necessary to support one man or family). The ordinary militia men were granted one or more *Ál Jívitams*, according to the

service rendered by or required of them. The captains of the militia, known as *Sérvaigárs*, who had to supply a number of militia men for military service had been granted a considerable number of *jívitams*. These militia tenures—generally known as *amarams*—had long become out of date and the services connected with them had become more or less nominal. The tenures were mostly rent-free and were theoretically liable to absolute resumption at any time at the pleasure of the ruler. They were inalienable and the holders had no property in them.

There were also Inams granted for the services connected with the State temples, of which there are several, for the support of minor temples scattered throughout the State, for the support of chattrams (feeding-houses), ooranies (drinking ponds) and other similar charitable and religious institutions. There were also Inams granted to *Mirasdárs* or village head-men, to carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers, washermen and other artisans for village service.

Following in the wake of the ancient Hindu sovereigns and actuated by a zeal for acquiring religious merit according to the accepted notions of the land, the rulers of the State had also, by gifts of lands and villages, induced a considerable number of Brahmin colonists on the bank of the Káveri, to come and settle in the State. These lands were known as *Brahmádáyam*, were held rent-free and exempt from restrictions as to inalienability.

A very considerable proportion of lands in the State had in these ways come to belong to Inam tenure. The services connected with several Inams had become unnecessary; the purpose for which some Inams had been granted had come to be neglected and the services connected with them, though useful, had ceased to be rendered; other Inams had come to be fraudulently or irregularly inherited.

The Madras Government had noticed the large extent of lands under Inam tenure and had suggested the desirability of enfranchising the antiquated service tenements on suitable quit-rent and bringing the other Inams under some such settlement as was effected by the Madras Inam department. As a preliminary step a special agency was set on foot in 1887 to collect information from old records and classify the various Inam tenures from

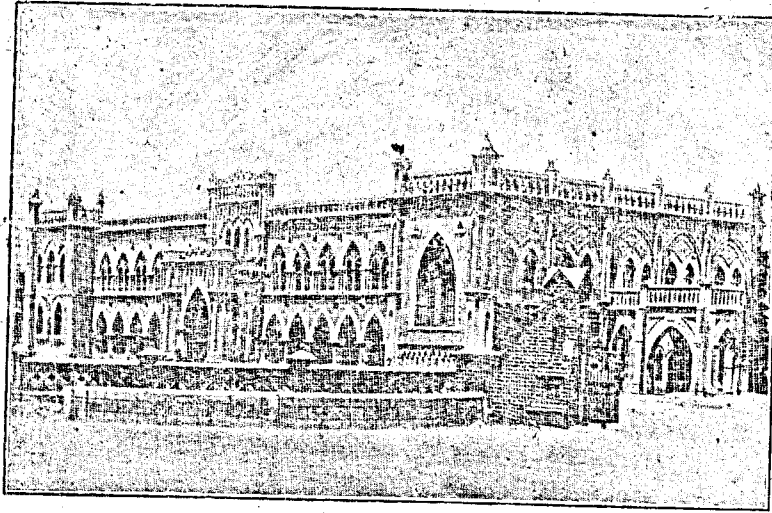
old returns. Special parties of paimashdárs (surveyors under the *hole* measurement system) were also detailed to the several taluks to conduct measurements. The preliminary operations occupied about two years. The rules, which were drafted much on the model of the Madras Inam department, came into force from September, 1888.

The Sardárs and Sérvaigárs, who held a considerable extent of lands under militia tenure, were at first inclined to oppose the enfranchisement, as the immediate result of the settlement was the imposition of a fractional rent where before there was little or no rent. They had great influence in the country and a considerable following. The question of Inam Settlement had therefore to be handled with tact and firmness. Fortunately the minister at this time had both tact and firmness in abundance and by 1894 about all the militia tenures were enfranchised, resulting in a total additional revenue of about a lakh of rupees. The effect of the settlement cannot be better described than in the words of the minister who carried it out:

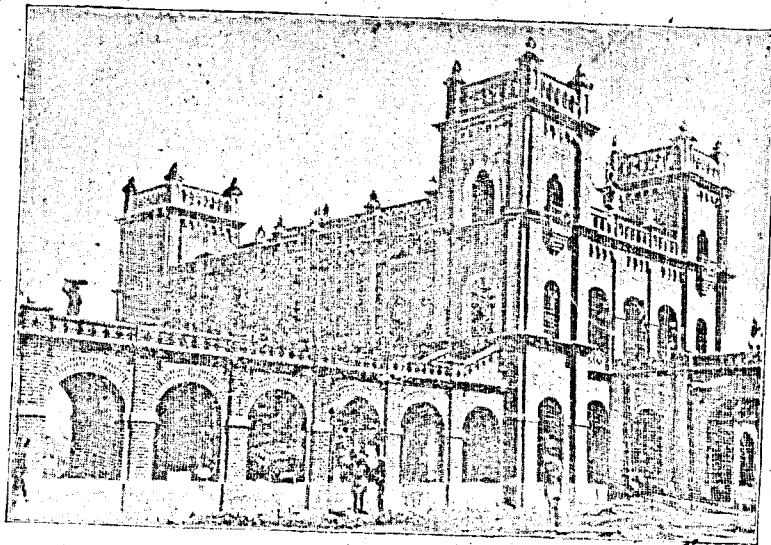
“Their enfranchisement on the payment of a moderate quit-rent in commutation of service was a *magna charta*. Lands which were worth nothing came to be valued hundreds and thousands of Rupees. Several who were hopelessly involved in debt suddenly found themselves rich and solvent. Those who had opposed it at first found themselves mistaken and hailed the enfranchisement of the tenures as their deliverance”.

The Inams granted for the upkeep of religious and charitable institutions or for the performance of village or temple services were registered on their existing tenures in cases where the performance of the service or the charities was considered satisfactory and necessary. In other cases the tenure was altered and the lands were brought under full assessment.

Town Improvement—Another undertaking that was attended with brilliant success during this period was the improvement of the town. Though the town had been originally well laid out, the streets and lanes had been largely encroached upon and the side drains had almost become bogs. The weekly market was held along the public thoroughfare and obstructed all traffic. The



View of the College building.



View of the Hospital building.

Paracheri, with narrow lanes and the filthy habits of the Pariahs, then stood where now stands the Diamond Jubilee Arch and invited the cholera and the smallpox which often spread into the town and claimed their annual victims. The several offices of the capital were held in dingy corners or rented private houses. The College building was cramped for space with no grounds for recreation. The scanty dimensions of the Hospital building left little provision for in-patients, surgery or dissection. The jail was ill-housed and ill-suited for the purpose and was in the heart of the town.

The change that has come over the town would appear like the magic of a good fairy to one who might revisit it now for the first time after twenty-five years. Houses which obstructed the roads were removed; lanes were broadened; new roads were opened; new suburbs were formed; the market was removed to a spacious tope and became a great centre of trade. The Paracheri was laid out on spacious grounds in regular streets; towering edifices were constructed in airy situations for the use of the College, the Hospital and the Public offices and strike the visitor with wonder and admiration. A spacious tank in the town was improved and enlarged into a large reservoir capable of containing several years' supply of drinking water to the town and became a magnificent sheet of fresh wholesome water which is now supplied by pipes throughout the town.

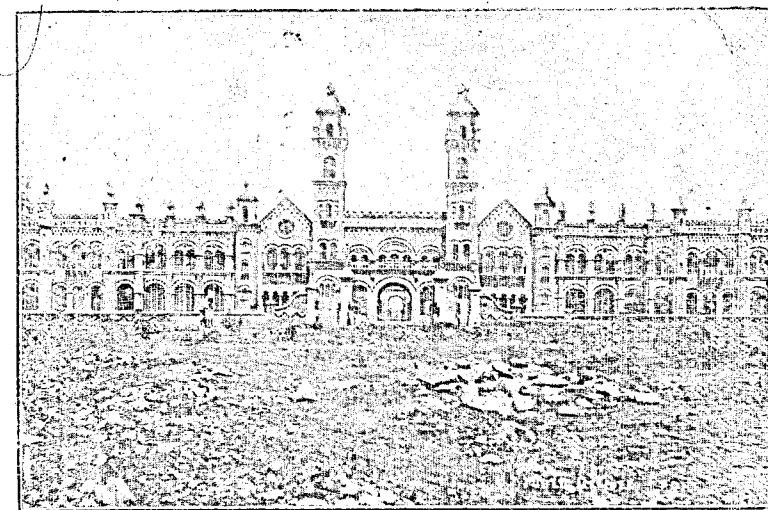
Reorganisation of the Judicial Machinery.—In the early "eighties" there were a few Munsiff's courts, a Civil and Sessions court at the capital and an Appeal court. In the highest court of appeal the ruler himself sat *in propria persona*, the Dewan was an ex-officio Judge and there was a judicial officer called the Appeal Judge. A court of judicature in which the ruler and the head of the executive were ex-officio judges and formed a standing majority against a single professional Judge was an anachronism, which demanded a reorganisation of the judicial machinery. A scheme was drawn up by the Civil Judge. Based on this and the constitution of analogous courts in other Native States, a Chief Court consisting of three judges and independent of the executive was brought into existence in January, 1887. After some experience it was found that the work turned out by the

Court was much too little for its strength. To give sufficient work to the judges, the two existing Munsiff's Courts were abolished.

Survey and Settlement.—The change from the *amani* had been dictated by urgency and had admitted of no delay—such as a regular survey and settlement required. In view to correcting the inequalities found in the existing assessment, caused by the absence both of a correct measurement of area and a correct classification of soils, measures were set on foot in 1893 for a Revenue Survey and Settlement. Young men, some of whom were already in the service, were selected and sent out for being trained in the several processes of cadastral survey, which was being carried on in the neighbouring district of Trichinopoly and after their return from training actual field work was commenced and fair progress was made by end of June, 1894. A doubt, however, was thrown on the competency of the agency employed and the work was stopped for a time. In April, 1895, work was recommenced, under the superintendence of an officer of the Madras Survey.

Certain permanent remissions.—Since the change from *amani* and introduction of money assessment, complaints came to be made that the general incidence was heavy and the impression gained ground that measures of alleviation were necessary before the circumstances of the ryôts could be materially bettered. The year 1892 was exceptionally disastrous and as it was preceded by two successive bad years the resources of the ryôts were so crippled that they were ill-prepared to stand another and more crucial test. The character of the season offered a favourable opportunity for granting certain permanent reductions of the revenue demand. The special assessment on garden crops was abolished and replaced by the ordinary rates. All rates higher than Rs. 60 a *Veli* were reduced to this figure and proportionate reductions were made in lands assessed under Rs. 60 a *Veli*. The tax on trees standing on patta lands was also done away with. The total remission of revenue on these accounts amounted to over half a lakh of Rupees.

Among other measures may be mentioned the introduction of the excise system and the abolition of the State Postal Department.



View of the Public office building.



View of the Pudukkulam.

The excise system was introduced and a distillery was constructed at the capital town. In 1893, the tree tax system was introduced in its entirety. Negotiations were entered into with the Madras Government for the amalgamation of the State postal department with the British postal department. In 1894, a regulation was passed for the purpose and the State postal department was handed over to the Imperial post.

Change of Ministry.—A. Sášiah Sástri retired on the termination of the Regency in November, 1894 and R. Védánthachárlu, Assistant Dewan, was appointed as Dewan. He continued in sole charge of the administration for about three years. During this period, rules for the grant of agricultural loans were passed; a Sanskrit School was opened at the capital; Stationary Magistrates were appointed to relieve the Tahsildars of their magisterial work; an agricultural farm, with a training class, a dairy farm and a technical school for giving instruction in carpentry, tailoring and painting were opened. But this administration was characterised by weakness and laxity of control over the finances and many of these useful institutions had to be closed after brief periods of usefulness.

Brahmadayam Inams were taken up for Settlement. The Brahmin Inamdars—the *mahajanams* as they are called—vehemently opposed the measure and appealed to His Highness the Rájá. The Rájá tactfully reconciled the *mahajanams* to the step and also granted them some substantial concessions. Inams that continued in the line of the original grantees were registered in *status quo*, those that had changed hands and excess over the original grants alone being brought under a slight quit-rent.

Another noteworthy measure, if of doubtful expediency, that was carried out by this Dewan was the abolition of the Dévastanam department as a separate branch of the Administration, in 1897. The lands attached to the important temples and chattrams of the State, (and they formed a considerable proportion) had been till now administered by a separate agency. The Dewan proposed to amalgamate these lands and villages with the *ain* lands of the State and make allotments out of the general receipts for the maintenance of the temples and the charities,

The Madras Government were at first disposed to consider that the amalgamation of Dévastánam and Charity lands would be unfair to the departments for which alone the lands concerned were held in trust and which therefore had a *prima facie* right to the enjoyment of their surplus revenues, and the tendency in an age of practical utility would be to undervalue the requirements of those departments which primarily appealed to sentiment. But they ultimately approved of the proposal. From this time, the revenue from these villages was included under the general Land Revenue and fixed money assignments were made out of the general revenues for the upkeep of the religious and charitable institutions.

Constitution of a State Council.—Early in 1898, His Highness the Rájá made arrangements for a visit to Europe and for the satisfactory conduct of the administration during his absence he formed a council of administration consisting of a Dewan and a Councillor. To the post of the Councillor, His Highness appointed his brother M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunátha Durai Rájáh Avl., B. A., (then a Deputy Collector in the British Service). The post of Councillor, tentatively created for a year, was made permanent after the period and the constitution of the Council remained unchanged for ten years.

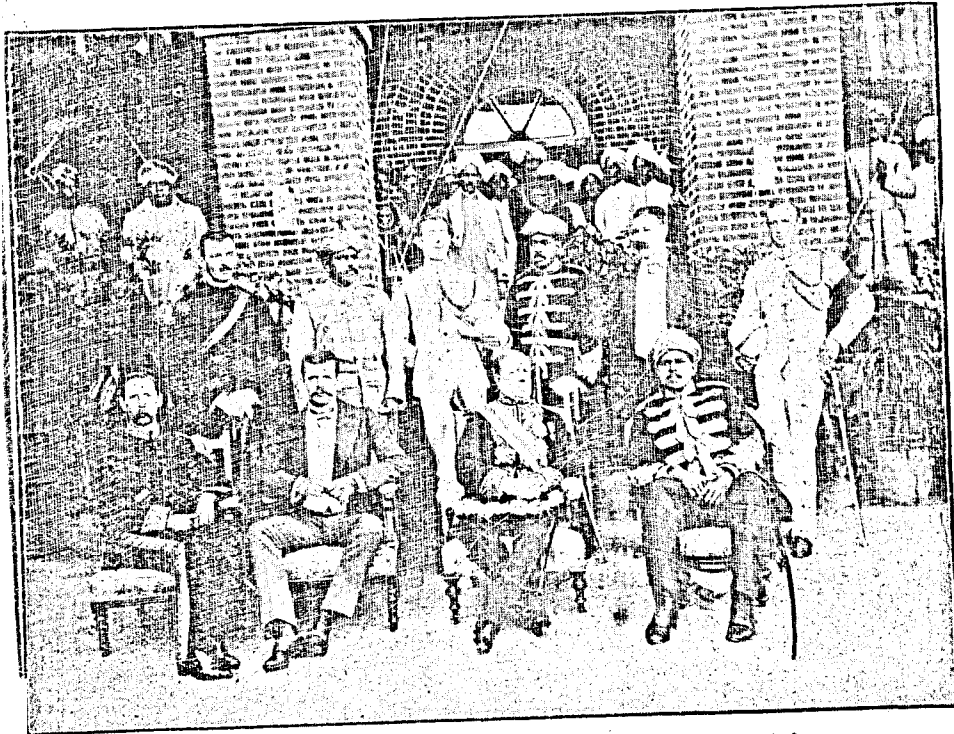
Visit to Europe.—In April, 1898, His Highness left for Europe in the P. and O. Steamer *China* but was wrecked off Perim, near Aden and completed his voyage to Brindisi in the *Carthage*. He visited the principal towns of Italy and was vastly interested in the art treasures of Naples, Rome and Florence. On May 23, 1898, His Highness was received by the Prince of Wales (afterwards EDWARD VII) at Marlborough House and on 14th July had the great honour of being received by Her Majesty Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle. During his stay in England His Highness also attended a levee of the Queen at Buckingham Palace. His Highness returned to his capital in November, 1898 and was received by his people with all demonstrations of joy and loyalty; it was proposed in a meeting of the people assembled to erect a Town Hall in commemoration of the interview accorded to His Highness by Queen Victoria and the foundation stone of the building was laid by the Governor of Madras, Sir .

Arthur Havelock, who visited Pudukkóttai in February, 1899. Since then His Highness has visited Europe several times, his health having failed owing to the contraction of a severe type of malaria caught during a shooting excursion to the Bengal jungles and necessitating residence in a more genial climate during the hot weather of India and a regulated course of cures in the watering-places of the Continent.

A change in the Council.—R. Védānthachārlu's connection with the State came to a close in January, 1899. A British Deputy Collector—the late Dewan Bahadur S. Venkatarāmadās Naidu Garu—was appointed Dewan, M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunātha Durai Rājāsh Avl., continuing as Councillor. This arrangement continued almost uninterrupted till the beginning of 1909.

Finance.—The first problem that the new Council had to face was the restoration of the finance to a sound basis. A fund—known as the *amanut*—had, till now, enabled the minister to incur expenditure, untrammelled by the Budget figures. This fund included all sorts of miscellaneous receipts, which were not brought within the general accounts of the State; nor was it included or shown in the yearly balance of the State. This fund was closed. The Treasury department was reorganised and the accounts were brought to order and a special Treasury Officer was appointed a little later; and a policy of retrenchment was followed for a time. The Agricultural and the Dairy Forms which had been working at a loss were abolished; as also the three Deputy Tahsils at the Firka stations. Revenue Survey and Inam Settlement were nearing completion and the establishment in these departments was curtailed and the expenditure minimised. A few additional sources of revenue were created. In 1900, toll-gates were established near the frontiers of the State. Stamped papers and labels—judicial and non-judicial—were introduced in 1905. In these and other ways the finances of the State were brought to a satisfactory footing.

In other respects also the administration of the State by the new Council, during the decade 1899 to 1909, was marked by substantial progress in the several departments of the State. The salient features of the administration are noticed below.



A group photo taken on the occasion of the visit to Pudukkóttai by His Excellency Sir A. Havelock, Governor of Madras, in 1899.

Representative Assembly.—One of the earliest and most noteworthy measures was the attempt to associate the people with the administration of the State. In 1902, a Representative Assembly consisting of thirty members was called into being. The members were representative of the various classes of His Highness' subjects and were at first selected by the Council out of those nominated by the Heads of Departments and by the existing public associations in the State.

It meets once a year when the Darbār gives it an account of the progress made in the several departments of the State, and replies are given to the interpellations by the members and a discussion is held on the requests and suggestions made by the several members. Apart from the annual meeting, the Darbār consult the members occasionally on questions about which they wish to elicit an expression of public opinion. Addressing the members in 1902, the Dewan thus spoke of the views and motives of His Highness the Rājā which led to the formation of the Assembly. "His Highness felt that, to govern the country well, the needs of the people must be learnt not only from persons charged with the administration of the State but also from persons like you who have better opportunities of mixing with the people and understanding and voicing their grievances. It was further thought necessary that the public should have accurate information regarding the action of Government in every branch of administration so that there might be no misconception abroad regarding the motives of Government, which, I need hardly assure you, is ever anxious to do everything calculated to further the interests of His Highness' subjects. It is not unlikely that, in the absence of information regarding the views of the public in respect of any matter, the Government may unwittingly introduce a measure counter to the wishes and the interests of the public and it is hoped by the formation of this Assembly to avoid such mistakes and, to this end, the Government welcomes from you all suggestions which you may wish to make in the interests of the public".

This institution has been in existence for about twelve years. At the outset, all the members were nominated by the Darbār but from 1907 the majority—three-fifths—came to hold elective

seats. The usefulness of the institution as a means of communication between His Highness' Government and the public has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Darbār. The service rendered by this Assembly cannot be better expressed than in the words of the Dewan who said in his address to the members in 1906 ".....It has a fair record to show for itself and is developing a capacity for further substantial work. It has helped the Darbar with wise counsels; by judicious interpellations and practical suggestions it has drawn the attention of the Darbar to remediable evils and shown the way for their rectification; it has exerted a wholesome influence on all the Departments of the State by strengthening their sense of responsibility in that once a year at least they must show before a public assemblage a fair correspondence between their promises and their performances".

Irrigation Improvements.—Considerable attention was paid during this period to the improvement and expansion of irrigation works in the State. About 1899, the Council took up the question of increasing the irrigational facilities of the State and an experienced Engineer was specially appointed for suggesting projects which might improve irrigation. The Engineer reported that there was little or no scope for really fresh irrigation projects; he was however of opinion that there was much to be done for the improvement of the irrigation of the country. The ancestors of the place seemed to have done their best for the irrigation works of the State and studded the country with a system of irrigation tanks, connected like the links of a chain, the surplus of one filling the one next below, so that not a particle of water that heaven might send could escape unutilised. The works were however in a neglected condition and continued and devoted attention had to be paid to their restoration, improvement and enlargement. In 1902, a special party was entertained for the restoration of tanks and investigation of new schemes. A special staff was also appointed for strengthening the Railway affecting tanks in the State and about five lakhs of rupees were spent in this decade on the repairs to the irrigation sources of the country.

Agriculture also received considerable attention. In 1906, an Agricultural Association was started under the liberal support of

the Darbár and it has been working to place up-to-date methods and appliances of agriculture within easy reach of the ryots. A Meteorological observatory was opened in 1905. In 1907, a Veterinary Hospital was brought into existence and has been doing useful work. Arrangements were made to grant loans for seeds and other agricultural purposes and for sinking irrigation wells. New varieties of seeds suited to the conditions of the State, sets of well-boring instruments, the services of men trained in well-boring were made easily accessible to the people. In 1904 and for some years after, cattle shows were held in the Taluk stations, for improving the breed of cattle and in 1908 a big cattle show and an agricultural exhibition were held in the capital. A Co-operative Credit Society Regulation was passed and came into force in 1908.

Revenue Settlement.—The lands that were held under a fixed money assessment before the *amani* settlement were all under low rates ranging from Rs. 18 a Veli wet to Rs. 25. The rates determined on a five years' average during *amani* settlement ranged from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 in general. The older rates were not revised with reference to the rates of the *amani* settlement. These inequalities were obvious and gave rise to complaints for redress. A regular survey and scientific settlement had been decided upon for removing these inequalities and bringing the land revenue administration into line with the system obtaining in the adjoining British districts. The survey which was started in 1894 was completed in 1903.

It was not found feasible to introduce revenue settlement immediately after the completion of survey. The first thing that had to be done before commencing revenue settlement was to overhaul the revenue accounts of the State and correct the inaccuracies in the accounts and bring up the registry of holdings. This preliminary work, which involved sub-division on a large scale, was commenced in 1907 and actual settlement was started in 1908. The new settlement was conducted on the lines of recent settlements in the British districts. But in two respects the peculiarities of the old system were retained—no seasonal remissions were to be granted for failure of crops and there was to be no double crop assessment. Under the *amani* settlement

the ryots were not allowed to relinquish the lands for which they had once accepted a cowle. This was perhaps a necessary step at the time, as the newly created proprietary interest of the ryot was likely to take some years to fructify and give sufficient money value to the land and as, till then, the ryot might be tempted to throw up his land, if allowed, at the earliest sign of unfavourable seasons. The new settlement allowed relinquishment.

Legislation, etc.—The attention of the Darbár had been drawn in 1882 to the desirability of defining the Pudukkóttai code of laws distinctly and consolidating the laws to be followed in the State. For a long time however after this, mere notifications were published in the State Gazette, as circumstances required, to give validity to any departure from the practice in the British territories or to any procedure or policy the adoption of which was considered desirable or necessary for the State. It was brought to the notice of the Darbár that such notifications could not have the force of law; and at the suggestion of the Representative Assembly a legislative committee was formed in 1904 to advise the Council in drafting regulations and for reporting on the legislative needs of the State and a Law Reporter was also appointed to compile for easy reference law reports of the important judgments of the Chief Court. In 1904 was introduced the system of trying sessions cases with the aid of assessors. In capital offences the extreme penalty was imprisonment for life and not "hanging"—as the traditions of the State are against the taking of life. From 1908 life convicts are transported to the Ardamans in accordance with a regulation passed for the purpose in that year.

Elementary Education.—Perhaps the most note-worthy feature of this administration was the carefully planned efforts to introduce and extend primary education on modern lines. In 1907 opinions were invited from educational experts in the Madras Presidency and a conference was held to discuss and recommend the measures to be adopted for the improvement and expansion of primary education. A great many primary schools were opened and the pay and the allowances of the teachers were raised so as to secure a better class of teachers.

A training school was opened for training the village teachers in the improved and up-to-date methods of teaching. New educational rules were framed; revised inspection and grant-in-aid codes were drawn up and brought into force and many important changes were introduced in the elementary course of studies, so as to harmonise it with the requirements of the ryots' children. In 1907 was held the first exhibition of the works of school children and teachers. It was first called the Sarasvathi Exhibition, and it has since expanded into the annual general exhibition.

Among other important measures may be also mentioned the opening of a Women and Children's dispensary in 1902 and the constitution of a Board in 1903—called the Sanitary Board—consisting of a few official members to attend to the sanitary needs of the capital and to get all executive work done by a full time officer called “the Secretary to the Sanitary Board”.

Political.—A few events of political importance that occurred during the period are worthy of note.

In honour of the coronation of KING EDWARD VII, EMPEROR OF INDIA, a Darbár was held at the capital by His Highness the Rájá on November 27, 1902 and there were general rejoicings in the town for three days. In January, 1903 His Highness attended the memorable Coronation Darbár held at Delhi on the 1st of January, 1903. A Darbár was also held at Pudukkóttai on the same date when the Proclamation was read. Arrears of revenue amounting to about Rs. 34,000 were written off in honour of the Coronation and special facilities were granted for the formation of new topes in the State, to be styled ‘coronation topes’ and rules were framed for the purpose and published in 1903.

Rájasrí Brihidambál Rájámani Sáhib Avl., senior daughter of His Highness the late Rájá died on December 4, 1903, leaving behind her five sons and two daughters (in addition to His Highness the present Rájá adopted by the late Rájá). She was the last representative of the last generation of the ruling family.

The Chinnaranmanai Jágirdár, cousin of His Highness the Rájá, died in May, 1903 and after his death the Jágír was resumed by the State, allowances being settled on his sons, wives

and daughter. The villages belonging to the Jágír were surveyed and the settlement of the Inams under the Jágír was started in 1908 after the close of the survey.

In January, 1906 the present Emperor (then Prince of Wales) paid a visit to Madras in the course of a royal tour in India and His Highness the Rájá paid an official visit to His Royal Highness at Madras on the 25th of January.

Modification of the administrative Council.—In March, 1909 Dewan Bahadúr S. Venkatarámadás Naidu Garu was granted three months' privilege leave, preparatory to his reversion to British service and His Highness modified the constitution of the State Council a little. The Council was henceforward to consist of three members—a member of the Indian Civil Service as Superintendent of the State, a Dewan and the Chief Judge as ex-officio Councillor. Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, I. C. S., was appointed Superintendent of the State and M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunátha Durai Rájáh Avl., B. A. was appointed as Dewan and the new Council was installed on the 15th March. Mr. G. T. H. Bracken went home on furlough in February, 1913 and has been succeeded by Mr. J. T. Gwynn, I. C. S.

Revenue Settlement.—The Revenue Settlement, begun in 1908, was completed by the end of 1912. Having regard to the marked rise in prices during the last fifteen years the increase of revenue by settlement (about 3½ per cent., in the whole State) must indeed be considered very moderate, the practical effect of the settlement having been merely to readjust the inequalities of assessment under the old system and apportion the land tax more equitably according to the fertility and irrigational facilities of the soil. No small measure of the success was due to the personal interest taken by the responsible head of the administration, who, during the four years of settlement work, inspected almost every *ayacut* in the State and its irrigation facilities and corrected and modified the settlement pass abstracts as circumstances required. After the resumption of the Chinnaranmanai Jágír in 1903, the only Jágír that remained as a separate estate, managed by a special agency, was the Manovirti Jágír intended for the maintenance of the Ranis of the Ruling Chief. In 1911, this was also amalgamated for administrative purposes

with the *ain* villages of the State and a fixed sum of Rs. 18,000 a year was to be paid annually for the maintenance of the Rani or Ranis of the Ruler in lieu of the varying net surplus contributed by the Jágir. These villages also were brought under the operations of the revenue settlement. Since then, all the lands in the State have been brought under one uniform treatment, sharing equally the benefits of the several reforms and improvements in the land revenue administration of the State.

Special Jamabandi.—Another important measure was the holding of a special jamabandi throughout the State for the collection of old arrears. Owing to the suspension of collection in Faslis 1314 and 1315 and other causes, there remained about five and a half lakhs as arrears uncollected. The accumulation of arrears of assessment on land impeded transfers and mortgages, injured credit, interfered with the making of improvements, discouraged the ryot and placed him at the mercy of subordinate revenue officials. It was desirable to clear off these arrears before the introduction of settlement and enable the pattadars to enter on the new settlement freed from the encumbrance which was weighing on them. A special jamabandi for this purpose was commenced in September, 1909 and completed by the beginning of 1912. The Superintendent of the State camped for a few days, in convenient centres for every four or five vattams or groups of villages, and came face to face with 75 to 90 *per cent.*, of the pattadars, granted remissions according to the means and circumstances of individual pattadars, inspected all important tanks and *ayacuts*, heard complaints and *takarars* and decided them immediately after personally inspecting the scenes of dispute.

It was not simply a clearing of the arrears of revenue. It was a clearing of the arrears of general administrative work. The capacity and integrity of the revenue and other officers were personally noted and necessary action was promptly taken; questions left pending for a long time were decided on personal inspection; the habits of the people, the economic condition of the several villages and the scope for their improvement were shrewdly observed and noted for immediate action or future guidance.

One feature of village administration, which is perhaps peculiar to the State, may be mentioned here. It is the institution of "Village mirasdars". In matters of village administration, the mirasdar stands midway between the rulers and the ruled and interprets each to the other. He is not paid for his work and would, in some cases, consider it undignified to be paid. But he is generally in enjoyment of a certain extent of Inam lands (known as *miras oombalam*, one acre wet or three acres dry), which he values not for its money value but as a mark of recognition by Sarkar. Each village has one or more of these mirasdars. The mirasdar is often the wealthiest man in the village and his influence in the village, hereditary and acquired, is always very considerable. The kist collections by the village officers are left with him for safe custody. He settles disputes, heals factions and helps collection. The obstinate tax-payer sooner obeys him than he does the official tax-gatherer. The habitual burglar or vagrant is more afraid of him than of the police. The mirasdar is, in most cases, ready to make his position and influence available for the general well-being of the village and the Darbár have, of late, utilised this source for increasing the efficiency of village administration.

Irrigation and other improvements.—Special attention was devoted to the improvement of the irrigation works of the State and many of the more important reservoirs were repaired and brought to an efficient condition. A minor irrigation system was introduced in 1909, whereby the smaller irrigating tanks and *yendals* were transferred to the Revenue department for the execution of repairs and a great many of these have since been satisfactorily repaired and improved.

A Museum was formed in 1909 and a model agricultural farm was opened at the capital in 1911 and is maintained under the supervision of agricultural experts. The Sarasvathi exhibition was developed into a general exhibition in 1911. This exhibition embraces several sections—Agricultural, Industrial, Educational, and Fine Arts. In addition to the highly finished exhibits that are invited and received from several Native States and other parts of India, experts are also invited from outside to give

lectures on subjects connected with agriculture, industries and primary education and practical demonstrations are held for nearly a month in the year and arrangements are made to gather together in the exhibition premises a large number of elementary school teachers from all parts of the State, for demonstrating to them the latest and improved methods of teaching and a considerable number of ryots, weavers and other artisans for showing to them practically the methods and benefits of improved working.

In 1909, a Village Conservancy Regulation was passed, providing for the appointment of village panchayats for the management of local affairs in unions or groups of villages outside the limits of the capital and a few large and important villages were constituted as 'unions' under the regulation in 1912. In the same year, another regulation was passed for the conservancy of the town of Pudukkóttai and under the terms of this regulation the Sanitary Board was replaced by a Municipal Council, consisting of a few official and some non-official members.

In 1910, the Chief Court and Second Appeals Regulation was passed, consolidating the provisions of law relating to the Chief Court and providing for the appointment of two appellate judges to hear appeals from the Chief Court on points of law in civil cases and to advise His Highness the Rájá in the decision of second appeals and the Second Appeal Court sat for the first time in May, 1911.

In March, 1911, a census of the State was conducted in connection with the Imperial Indian Census of 1911. The population of the State was found to have risen to 4,11,878 from 3,80,440 in 1901, in spite of the fact that in seven years of the decade from 1901 to 1911 the agricultural seasons were more or less unfavourable.

Political.—His Highness the Rájá was invited for and attended the coronation of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary at the Abbey church of Westminster on June 22, 1911. The Rájá returned to India in November, 1911, and attended the Imperial Darbár at Delhi on the December 12, 1911, and paid the homage due to the King-Emperor. The visit of Their Imperial Majesties to the Indian Empire was celebrated at

Pudukkóttai with the widest expressions of loyalty and enthusiasm. In honour of this glorious event, His Highness the Rájá on his return from Delhi remitted for one year the village service cess, amounting to Rs. 20,000 and permanently abolished the tax on weavers' looms. He also extended the boon of free elementary education to all parts of the State outside the capital and granted certain special allowances to the lower ranks of State servants and pensioners.

On January 1, 1913, the title of Grand Commander of the Indian Empire was conferred on His Highness the Rájá by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and the bestowal of the honour was a source of great joy to His Highness' subjects.

In January and February, 1913, His Highness the Rájá paid an official visit to the Benares State and another to Bikanir to attend an entertainment given by the Maharájá of Bikanir to Native Chiefs in honour of the Silver Jubilee of his reign.

The Silver Jubilee.—In February, 1913, the Silver Jubilee of His Highness the Rájá's reign was celebrated by the people at the capital in a manner befitting the occasion. The celebrations were held for three days—22nd, 23rd and 24th February. A considerable number of European ladies and gentlemen, including the Political Agent, and some Indian gentlemen of wealth and position from outside the State attended the celebrations at the invitation of His Highness.

A large and beautifully decorated Darbár Pandal, capable of accommodating more than a thousand persons, was erected in the Palace square and extensive enclosures were provided for the public on the sides of the pavilion. Welcome arches were put up on the main streets and the town with its decorations presented a most beautiful appearance. People from all parts of the State flocked to the capital and everywhere one saw multitudes of happy faces eager to offer their greetings to the Rájá on the auspicious occasion. A grand Darbár was held on the morning of the 22nd February in the pavilion in the Palace square. The President of the Celebration Committee read an address to His Highness on behalf of the people. The address was then presented to His Highness enclosed in a beautiful casket. The following extracts from the address and His Highness' reply are worthy of quotation.

"It is now a little more than twenty-five years since YOUR HIGHNESS ascended the *musnad* of YOUR HIGHNESS' illustrious ancestors, which, though a period short in the life-time of a nation, has been so full of many-sided activities and healthy reforms introduced under YOUR HIGHNESS' benign auspices that we cannot but look upon these eventful years with feelings of pride, joy and gratitude. We may be pardoned if, on an important and festive occasion like this, we afford ourselves the legitimate pleasure of mentioning, though briefly, the different factors that have materially contributed to our undoubted prosperity, and of showing, in our own humble way, our very keen appreciation of YOUR HIGHNESS' generous and anxious solicitude for our progress, political and social, mental and moral, which, more than anything else, has contributed to make the State what it is now, one of the most enlightened of the Native States in India.

"The net-work of fine roads which has secured freer and more rapid communication between the capital and the interior, and free and easy access to the outlying British parts, and has given an impetus and a buoyancy to the ever-increasing trade in the State; the excellent edifices well furnished and accommodating every department of the State according to modern requirements; the introduction of necessary reforms in all departments to cope with the increasing work and responsibility; the supply of free and wholesome drinking-water through pipes in the town; the beautiful Hospital with its branches all over the State in every taluk and firka equipped with modern scientific appliances and manned by a capable body of men to combat the ill-flesh is heir to; the sanitary reforms introduced throughout the State and the constant attention paid to them; the maintenance in good repair of most of the irrigation tanks, the importance of which cannot be too highly appreciated, considering the purely rainfed nature of the country; the institution of Union and Co-operative banks to help the poor ryots in times of trouble and prevent them from falling into the clutches of the rapacious money-lender; the noble efforts that are being made by the establishment of State Farms and the fostering of an Agricultural Association to educate the ryots in scientific methods of cultivation so as to get from mother earth the maximum of yield with the minimum of labour; the Revenue Settlement favourable to the ryots; the holding of the

annual Educational, Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, serving as a powerful incentive to local enterprise and kindling a spirit of healthy emulation; the satisfactory administration of justice and the establishment of a Second Appellate Court; the Second Grade College with its brilliant career and noble traditions, its alumni occupying positions of trust and responsibility here and elsewhere, the most notable among them being our present Dewan (cheers); the facilities afforded and the handsome encouragement given to the education of girls;—these are some of the many reforms and great benefits conferred upon us by YOUR HIGHNESS to advance our progress and prosperity.

"The boon of Free Primary Education, the inauguration of the Representative Assembly and the constitution of the Town into a Municipality, are all reforms so generously conceived and so nobly carried into effect that, containing, as they do, enormous and infinite possibilities for our political advancement, they require special mention.....".

His Highness, rising amidst deafening cheers, replied as follows:—

"MY SUBJECTS,

"I am deeply touched by your expressions of loyalty and attachment to me. I am not as a rule in favour of any public demonstrations, as they necessarily involve a great deal of show and pomp. Still I readily fell in with your wishes when I learnt and felt how sincerely anxious you were to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of my reign in a fitting manner; and when I see everywhere around me to-day such heartfelt rejoicings and such genuine manifestations of joy I feel that it is something more and deeper than the traditional loyalty of the Indian people to their Sovereigns, that has prompted these festivities.

"Gentlemen, you have referred in graceful and grateful terms to the benefits you have received during my reign of over 25 years. During the first eight years of this period which formed my minority Sir A. Sashiah Sastri was in charge of the State and laid the foundations of good government and made it possible for the State to achieve all the progress that it has made to-day. I need not say more about his good work as I am sure you well remember

it. In November 1894, I assumed the reins of government and during all these 18 years I have always felt and acted as if the responsibility for the good government of my country and the well-being of my subjects rested primarily on myself. The several measures of reform and improvement mentioned in your address were only brought about after careful and deep thought and had to be gradually introduced as time became ripe for them. Nothing has been done without forethought or taking into account its immediate or future results; and if the aim or the scope of any measure was not correctly understood by the people at the initial stage, I quietly went on hoping that time would justify its existence. Gentlemen, I am most thankful to find now that all I have done has proved acceptable to you and conducive to your prosperity. I am aware that a great deal more remains to be done. There is no such thing as coming to an end, in this world, and so we must progress or cease to exist. Above all without the blessings of the Higher Powers, no human work can prosper and I feel devoutly thankful that God has blessed the work for my people.

"It is most kind of you to have given me all this credit. But I, honestly, do not feel justified in taking it all to myself. As you know, a great measure of the credit is due to my ministers and advisers, who have always unstintedly helped and co-operated with me. Among these, it would be unjust not to mention my present Dewan, M.R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avergal, who has served me and the State for more than 14 years. His vast experience of State affairs, his high sense of duty and his readiness to place all he knows at my disposal, I have found to be of invaluable service. In this connection, I am sorry that Mr. Bracken, my Superintendent, who has been working so admirably for the last four years is leaving us shortly and the best thing we can wish for the State is that his successor, Mr. Gwynn, may prove as successful. From what I know of Mr. Gwynn, I have no doubt, this wish will be realised.

"Gentlemen, you have referred to the expression of my regret on a former occasion, at my having had to be away from you for a time on account of my illness. I may tell you once more that, whether in your midst or abroad, your interests have always been

the first with me and that whenever health permitted I devoted myself to the work of the State, and no important measure went without my giving it the careful deliberation it deserved. I may add that, during my absence abroad, I have been fortunate in making friendship with great and important men, who represent much of what is best in modern western life, and I hope that the larger and wider out-look that my travels have given me may be of some service to my country.

"The institution of the Representative Assembly, to which you have referred in your address, was due to my desire that it should act as the interpreter between my government and my people. It has now been in existence for 11 years and I am glad to learn from your address that you have begun to appreciate its usefulness. It is in my contemplation to give you a voice in the legislation of the State, the details of which will be announced later.

"Now coming to the subject of education I am strongly of opinion that higher education has been overdone and that the time has come for us to encourage agricultural and technical education. In this connection I may tell you that an Agricultural School will soon be started at the capital, where instruction will be given by experts, in up-to-date agricultural methods and the use of scientific appliances. We shall also grant two scholarships, to commence with, to deserving students of the State to enable them to undergo a higher course of training in the Agricultural College at Coimbatore.

"As you are aware, I am greatly for the spread of Primary education and it gives me great pleasure to find that my grant of free Primary education has evoked your sympathy and co-operation and that already great progress has been made in this direction. I am making a special grant of Rs. 5,000 *per annum* for the next three years for the construction of School-buildings in the rural parts.

"The industrial development of the country has, also, not escaped my attention. It is needless to refer to all that has been done. I may, however, mention here that the total mileage of roads, which was 92 in 1886, is at present 307. I have gone over most of these roads at different times and I can say they are all

well kept up. We are so well off in the matter of roads now that they are very few villages in the State that we cannot get at with comfort. This, of course, must mean a greater development of internal traffic. I have recently sanctioned the construction of bridges over the two rivers on the Karambakkudi road and also the construction of a new road from Pilivalam through Viracchilai to Konnaiyur which will open out a new tract of country.

"But what is further needed is the introduction of the Railway into the State. I have been taking some active interest in this question and I may here tell you that we may hope to have a line through the State before long. Meanwhile, as you know, a new motor service has been started since the 1st January and though we cannot talk of long experience, the service has been working excellently.

"I am glad to find that the citizens of the capital are beginning to think well of the Municipality. I know some of you were inclined to look askance at the municipal taxes; but it appeared to me unfair that men in the town should enjoy the comforts of a city-life and the poor toiling ryot in the far-off villages should pay. It was also my wish that as the people prove themselves fit they should have a progressive voice in the Government. I am now giving the Citizens of Pudukkottai Town, the privilege of electing two members to the Municipal Council as vacancies occur.

"In regard to our finances, it was far from my idea to burden the people with fresh taxes. On the other hand I have always felt that it will be prejudicial, alike to the interests of the rulers and the ruled, to collect from the people more than is necessary to meet the charges of government and the not infrequent contingencies of drought or famine, as a safeguard against which the major portion of the present surplus should be kept untouched as reserve fund. Then alone need we have no fear on that account.

"In token of the Silver Jubilee, I have remitted the house-tax, known here as *Mohturpha* and the karnams' cess throughout the State for three years and if our finances continue to be as satisfactory I hope to be able to remit the cesses permanently. The effect of this remission would be that the ryot will be actually paying less land tax *per acre* than he was paying 25 years ago

when I succeeded to the *Guddee*. I may assure you that not a pie will be raised that is not necessary for good government or for the interests of the people. But if ever the time should come—which God forbid—when it should be found necessary to make a call on you for an increment of revenue I hope you will willingly come forward and help.

"It is indeed a happy coincidence that the bestowal of the distinction of G. C. I. E., should synchronise with the celebration of the Silver Jubilee. I am most happy for two reasons:—*First*, that HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR should have thought fit to recognise my humble work; and *Second*, that it has gladdened the hearts of my people so much.

"Gentlemen, you have spoken of the loyalty of the Tondimans to the British Throne. That loyalty has been the pride of the Tondimans and our most precious heirloom. History has eloquently recorded our services to the British. What pleases me most is that you are now, in no way, less willing than your forefathers to place yourselves and all you possess at my disposal for serving HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE KING, OUR EMPEROR.

"Gentlemen, it is easy to talk of loyalty, sacrifice or brave deeds, so long as there is no necessity for their practical exercise. You can only know what the man is made of, when he is put in a tight corner. I need hardly tell you that my services are always at HIS MAJESTY'S disposal and I feel that I shall not be in any way less, in spirit or deed, than my forefathers.

"Again I thank you all for your kind congratulations and the beautiful casket in which you have enclosed your address, which I value very greatly.

"I shall now here mention the different boons I am now conferring on you in commemoration of this occasion.

Silver Jubilee Boons:—

i. Remission of the village karnams' cess commonly known as the "Kanakku Vari" amounting to Rs. 25,000, for a period of three years.

ii. Remission of the house-tax commonly known as "Mohturpha" amounting to Rs. 5,000 for a period of three years.

iii. Remission permanently of the tax levied on bangle-makers and dhobies' earth.

iv. Association of elected representatives in a legislative advisory council to be newly constituted.

v. Grant of the privilege of election of two members of the Municipal Council as vacancies occur.

vi. Opening of an Agricultural School in the town and the grant of two continuation agricultural scholarships in the College at Coimbatore.

vii. Special grant of an annual sum of Rs. 5,000 for three years for the construction of buildings for Elementary Schools in rural parts.

viii. Grant of special grain compensation allowances to permanent and temporary servants of the State drawing Rs. 10 and less for four additional months.

ix. Grant of special local allowances to servants of the State drawing Rs. 30 and less when employed in localities where prices are especially high in the neighbourhood of Nattukkottai Chetty villages.

x. Grant of Rs. 1,000 to the Town Hall in the capital to enable the Committee to finish the building.

xi. Grant of Rs. 10,000 for the formation of Silver Jubilee agricultural seed banks.

There was a grand procession in the evening, with His Highness on a richly caparisoned elephant, through the four main streets of the town and to Tirugókarnam and back. It was perhaps the most brilliant procession ever witnessed in the annals of Pudukkóttai. On the evening of the 23rd February, the people gave a garden party to His Highness and at night a grand display of fire-works was held on the *maidan* opposite to His Highness' summer Palace and the town and all the public buildings were also beautifully illuminated. On the evening of the 24th, a Carnatic *Darbár* was held in the pavilion in the Palace square and the several brilliant functions came to a close with the State banquet given to the European guests on the evening of the 25th February.

Economic condition.—The State (about 1200 square miles, in extent) is poor in natural resources. There are no minerals

to speak of—no alluvial lands under unfailing irrigation, no rich black cotton soils. There is only one river worth the name—the Vellár. It is a jungle stream in which water runs for a few days in the year when rains are abundant. There are no forests, like those of Travancore or Cochin, where valuable trees like teak or sandal rear their proud heads in native grandeur, no mountains where coffee, tea, cinchona or cardamom plantations can be grown. There is no sea-board. More so here than in other parts of Southern India agriculture is and must continue to be the mainstay of the people and as there are no perennial rivers, the ryots are at the mercy of falling rains.

The economic condition of the State is not, however, as unpromising as these natural disadvantages would suggest. The most prominent classes (or castes) of people in the State are the Kallars, mostly in the Kulattúr Taluk, the Udaiyans mostly in the Álangudi Taluk and Nattukkottai Chetties almost exclusively in the Tirunayyam Taluk. The Kallars—to a sect of which belongs the ruling line of the State—are a sturdy warlike race, with a natural partiality for brave and heroic deeds. Their energies found full scope for exercise during the contest of the British with the French in Southern India, especially in the stirring events in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly and subsequently in the wars against the Mohammedan dynasty of Mysore. In later and more peaceful times after the establishment of British suzerainty in Southern India, a great many of these warlike people, left with no scope for the legitimate gratification of their spirit of daring and no natural leaning towards the peaceful arts of husbandry took to dacoities and robberies and bold deeds of violence. But these pursuits could not thrive in the vigorous and efficient administration of the country during the last 25 years. Notorious dacoits were hunted down and most of them were convicted and imprisoned. With the disappearance of the leaders, the gangs dispersed. A few found employment as watchmen in the neighbouring British districts and the rest have settled down to the more common-place calling of small husbandmen; and the daring deeds of the older generation now live only in the memory or the retrospective gossip of a solitary old survivor here and there, who talks, half in pride and half in sorrow, of the glorious achievements of the brave leaders of the older generation and sighs in

memory of times that have died for ever. The Kallars in the Kulattúr Taluk are in the process of transformation and the State has done a great deal of late to help the process—by opening up the more inaccessible and less law-abiding Kalla centres in the eastern half of Kulattúr Taluk and increasing their facilities for more assured cultivation.

The process may be said to be almost complete in the Álangudi Taluk,—thanks to the example of the Udaiyans there. The Udaiyans are essentially a cultivating class. They appear to have originally settled as tenants under the Kallars to whom the lands originally belonged and by dint of hard labour, intelligent methods of cultivation and thrift they have come into possession of a considerable portion of the lands and are now substantial farm-proprietors, proud of their well-cultivated acres and spending their time on their continued improvement, and the Kalla neighbours, with ill-concealed contempt for the now prosperous Udaiyans who were once their servants, have in most places retrieved their fortunes by perseverance and attention to their ancestral lands.

The characteristic class of the people of Tirumayyam Taluk are the Nattukkottai Chetties. About a fourth of this community live in this Taluk, the rest having their homes in the Ramnad District. The Nattukkottai Chetties are a very enterprising people and make their fortunes in the British settlements overseas, by banking or speculation. Their traditions do not, however, allow them to settle permanently anywhere except in the country bounded by the Vellár on the north and the Vaigai on the south. The following extract from Dr. Caldwell's History of Tinnevely would show how the Vellár came to be the northern terminus of the Chetti land:—"There are certain geographical stanzas current in Tamil which give the boundaries and extent of the three Tamil Kingdoms—the Chera, Chola, and Pandya. These stanzas are regarded by the Tamil people as classical and authoritative. The river Vellaru, which is represented in the Pandya stanza as the northern boundary of the Pandya country, is also represented in the Chola stanza as the southern boundary of the Chola countryThe Vellaru, adopted as their common boundary, is not the Vellaru which falls into the sea near Porto Novo, for this would exclude the Cholas from Tanjore, the most valuable portion of their dominions. The Vellaru referred to rises in the hills near

Marungapuri in the Trichinopoly District, takes a south-easterly course through the Native State of Puducotta, and falls into the sea in Palk Strait, south of Point Calymere. This identification of the Vellaru is confirmed by the circumstance that it was an old custom prevalent amongst the Nattukkottai Chetties that their women should never be allowed to cross the Vellaru, it being considered an act of bad omen for women to cross boundaries".

Thus it is that wherever else the Chetties make their pile they return to the Chetti land where their women and children have their settled homes. Here the first use to which they put their wealth is to construct palatial mansions for their residences. For, the grandeur of their houses is the measure of their prosperity. There is, in this and many other ways, great demand for labour in this taluk and the wages are high and all commodities fetch high prices. Land is also passing gradually into their hands and is coming to be worked on a capitalist basis.

Partly on account of the settlement of these Chetties and partly owing to the gradual growth of a well-to-do middle class, the older class of small Pattadars are going out and being replaced by a far more well-to-do class, who go in for lands more for prestige, security and the innate partiality of the Indian for property in land than as a speculative investment. A Pattadar of this latter class is not solely dependent on the profit of his land and can afford to improve his land, free from the ever present apprehension of failing seasons or persecuting Monigars, which oppresses and crushes the needy cultivating proprietor. To the latter the change from a cultivating proprietor into a cultivating tenant would generally be a change for the better. For, his security being gone he will be no longer able to borrow; he can look on the tax-gatherer or the money-lender without fear. He is assured of half the produce as the price of his labour (the *Varam* in the State being in equal shares) and can trust to his landlord to keep him and his family when the season fails. For, the landlord cannot do without the cultivator and takes upon himself the burden of his tenant's maintenance.

Conclusion.—If the State is poor in natural resources, it is rich in historic associations. Small as it is, it is the only principality that

stands to-day to represent the ancient Kingdoms of the Pándyas and the Cholas—the most important Kingdoms of Southern India mentioned in the Edicts of Asoka, to go no further back. The river Vellár, mentioned as the boundary between the Pándya and the Chola Kingdoms in the stanzas referred to above and ascribed by tradition to that prince of Tamil poets, Kamban, runs about 3 miles to the south of the capital town of Pudukkóttai and at present marks the boundary between the Taluks of Kulattúr and Alangudi on the one side and the Taluk of Tirumayyam on the other just in the same way as in ancient times it divided the Pándya and the Chola Kingdoms. As remarked by Dr. Caldwell, the boundary line between two such restless, bellicose nations as the Pándyas and the Cholas must have been continually shifting. We accordingly find that the same tract within this State formed at one time part of the Pándya kingdom and at another time part of the Chola kingdom. For instance, Irumbánádu, in the south-eastern corner of the State, was at one time part of Pándya Mandalam (Sundara Pándya Valanádu) and at another time a portion of Rājendra Chola Valanádu. On some auspicious occasion, however, when both parties were cementing peace by a marriage, their representatives seem to have been able to agree in fixing on the Vellár as their common boundary; and once this settlement had been arrived at, the poets of both sides seem to have been commissioned to perpetuate the remembrance of the boundary in verse. It is something to be thankful for that when most of the ancient landmarks of India have been swept away by the efflux of time there should still be left a State to represent, albeit in a small way, two of the most prominent kingdoms of ancient and mediæval India. And as the Pándyan King, as recorded by Strabo (A.D.20), sent an embassy to the Emperor Augustus, so his modern representative, the present Rájá of Pudukkóttai, in a manner more appropriate to the present relations, paid his homage and allegiance in person to Queen-Empress Victoria in 1898.

To the Tamil people and lovers of Tamil literature the State would appeal as the only Tamil State in the whole of India, ruled by a Tamil King who liberally supports the present Tamil *Sangham* just in the same way as the Pándyans of old supported the historic and renowned *Sangham* at the capital of



Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman
Bahadur
(Bhoja Raja)
1789—1807.

the Pándyan land—as the land wherein are found some of the villages described in *Silappadikāram*,—that classical Tamil work of exquisite beauty and pathos written 18 centuries ago—and the Kumāra hillock to whose God is dedicated that celebrated Tamil moral text book, the *Kumarāsa satakam*, which has, for a hundred years or more, served to form the morals of the juvenile population of the Tamil land. The large number of inscriptions in the State, of which *fac-simile* impressions have been taken and which are at present being copied and deciphered is likely to throw further light on the connection between the State and the historic kingdoms of the Pándyas and the Cholas.

To the British and the Indians alike the State would appeal as a standing monument of unshaken fidelity on the Indian side and unswerving attachment on the British side. As observed by Captain Fyfe, Resident, in his letter dated 24th September 1828 “It is impossible for any servant of the Company not to feel the greatest regard and respect for the Tondiman family. In prosperity or adversity, from the earliest period of our connection with them, they have never failed us; neither considerations of danger nor allurements of advantage have ever induced them to swerve from their allegiance; and their services, sometimes in very critical conjunctures when we were struggling for empire, have been eloquently recorded in the pages of history. More lately, during the last Poligar war, the Right Honourable the Governor is himself aware that the father of the present chief, in spite of all endeavours to intimidate him, at once espoused our cause and proved by his conduct that he inherited the same extraordinary attachment and fidelity to the Honourable Company, which were so signally manifested by his ancestors in the memorable and perilous days of Clive and Lawrence”.

It may not be out of place to give here one or two short extracts from the letters of these makers of British India. Lawrence writes in A. D. 1758 “I will lay before His Majesty and the Court of Directors in the most favourable manner all the pains and trouble you took for us and the assistance which you afforded us, to which we owe our victory.....Though I shall have gone to a distant country the assistance which you have bestowed will always remain uppermost in my recollection”. Clive writing

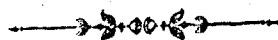
in A. D. 1798 says "To the best of my recollection your ancestors have long since evinced perseverance and presence of mind in assisting the Honourable Company in times of distress and difficulty and I have now received a fresh proof of attachment and fidelity from one so eminently representing the illustrious family of the Tondiman. By this you have not only rendered yourself conspicuous among the allies of the Honourable Company but far extended the good name your ancestors have secured to you".

As described by Sir W. Blackburne (31st December 1822), Rajah Tondiman Bahadur is a native hereditary chief, the prince and ruler of an extensive province.....In the internal management of his province, he is absolute. He has the power of life and death. He enacts laws, appoints Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal, maintains a considerable military force (now no longer needed), collects his revenues and disposes of them at pleasure, paying no tribute, even directly or indirectly, through the well-deserved kindness and favour of the British Government".—

Yes. Paying no tribute, direct or even indirect—Is this not a unique distinction shared by no other ruler in all India,—a signal instance of British good faith, which seems to say to us "As you do to us so we will do unto you now and for generations yet unborn?"

And the present representative of the illustrious line of the Tondaimans has, by his innate gifts, liberal training and travels abroad, so wisely and sympathetically held the reins of Government that to-day his name has only to be mentioned to evoke the heartiest greetings of loyalty from his subjects and the recent bestowal of the title of G. C. I. E., is felt to be but a foretaste of further and higher honours which he has already earned by his intrinsic worth as a man and a ruler.

MAY HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA LIVE LONG.



APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX A.

The Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur.

Kodumbalur, as has been mentioned in the first paragraph of the history, is a very old place, referred to in the very ancient Tamil classic, *Chilappadi-kāram*. It was the chief town of a chieftain named Idangali Nāyanār, one of the Saiva devotees mentioned by Sundara Mūrti Nāyanār, who must have lived before the ninth century A. D. Nambi Andār Nambi, a Saiva priest, who has in his *திருத்தொண்டர் தொகை* written a stanza on each of these devotees, speaks of Idangali Nāyanār as connected with the Cholas (and subject to them), and of his chief town Kodumbalur as Irukkuvelūr,* that is, the place of the Irukkuvels, who formed a family of Vél or Vellāla chieftains that ruled at Kodumbalur. An attempt is here made to collect all that is known of this Vél family.

A note may first be inserted on the name Vél. The Vél's referred to in *Puranānūru* and other ancient classics † were chieftains of the Vellāla class, that were generally subject to the three great Kings of the Tamil land. They were often employed as leaders of armies ‡ and were considered so high in position that the Tamil Kings married girls of their families. One of the most prominent of such families was the Irukkuvel family of Kodumbalur. Another well-known family was that of Evvi, who ruled over Milalai Nādu, the tract of land in and near the south-eastern portion of the State.

It may be supposed that the two families mentioned above were related to each other. From a perusal of *Puranānūru* and its commentary §, it appears that the latter Vél family—the family of Evvi—was no other than the Irungóvel family, of which the founder is said to have come out of a sacrificial vessel or fire of a Muni in Northern India.

வடபான் முனிவன் தடவினுட் டோன்றி

And an inscription at Tiruvisalūr § in the Tanjore District connects the Irukkuvels with the Irungóvels, as Pirántaka Irungóvelar is said to have been known as இறிய வேளார் (or the young Vél chief) of Kodumbalur. From numerous inscriptions at Kudumiāmalai, Tirumālpuram, Kodumbalur,

* See stanza 65, where we have

“திங்கட் சடையர் தமரதென் செல்வ மெனப்பறைபோக்
தெங்கட் இறைவ னிருக்கு வேருர்மன் னிடங்கழியே.”

† See Tirumangai Alvar's *Periattirumoli*, VI. 6. 6.

‡ See commentary on Sutra 30 of *Tolkāppiyam Poruladhikāram*.

§ See the 201st poem. It is not clear that Irungóvel was the name of a person. Nacchinárkiniyar, in his commentary on *Pattinappālai* (line 282) explains Irungóvel as “the (five) great families of Vél chieftains.”

§ See inscription No. 320 (as also No. 317) in the *Madras Epigraphica Report* for 1907-8.

Tiruchendurai, Tiruppalátturai, Uyyakkondán Tirumalai and Purattukovil, we learn that it was the Irukkuvéls that were ruling at Kodumbálúr. And the inscription at Visalúr identifies these Irukkuvéls with the Irungóvéls.

The fact seems to be that a member of the Irungóvéls family, ruling in and to the south-east of the State, went over to Kodumbálúr in the western portion of the State and established himself there with the title of *Irukkuvél*, of which the first part *Irukku* (or a Vedic hymn) may be taken to contain a reference to the mythical origin of the family. Probably it was this fact that gave the family at Kodumbálúr its other name of Ilangóvélar or "the young king-like Véls", an assumption supported by the word *சிறுவ* or "young" in Visalúr inscriptions. The tradition mentioned in *Purandánuru* that the family was Yádava in origin may be taken to be supported by the title "Yaduvamsakétn" or "the distinguished hero of the family of Yádavás," assumed by a ruler of this line, Samarábhírāman.

A genealogy* of the family is supplied by an inscription in one of the Múvarkóvil shrines at Kodumbálúr. It runs as follows :—

Name not known—lost.
(Vanquisher of the Pándyan elephants)

Paravrajit (descendant).

Víratunga, who conquered the Malavas

Ativíra

Anupama (*Samgha krit*)

Nripakésarin

Paradurgamardana, conqueror of Vátápi.

Samarábhírāma (called Yaduvamsakétn).

Killed the Chálukya at the battle of Adhirájamangala; married the Chola princess Anupamá.

Bhúti Vikramakésarin

Destroyed the Pallava army on the banks of the Kávéri; conquered Víra Pándya in battle; destroyed Vanchivél; married Kavalí and Varagunā.

Parántakavarman

Adityavarman.

* See p. 87 of the *Madras Government Epigraphical Report* for 1907-8.

The names of the Irukkuvéls found in inscriptions in other places do not mostly agree with these. They are :—

- (1) Sattan Máripidugu Ilangóvélar.
- (2) Vidélvidugu Ilangóvélar.
- (3) Virasóla Ilangóvélar.
- (4) Tennavan Ilangóvéls *alias* Maravan Púdiyár.
- (5) Madurántaka Accha Pidáran.
- (6) Madurántaka Irukkuvélar *alias* Acchan (Adityar in Sanskrit) Vikramakésariyár.
- (7) Pirántaka (Parántaka) Irukkuvélar.
- (8) Sembian Irukkuvéls *alias* Púdi Parántakan.
- (9) An Irukkuvéls whose name is not known. In an inscription at Ténimalai in the Pudukkóttai State, he is said to have endowed lands for feeding one Malayadhwajan, probably a Jain ascetic.

The names Máripidugu and Vidélvidugu are clearly connected with the Pallava kings and the first two chieftains in the list given above were evidently feudatories of the Pallavas. Of these the first is said to have flourished in the time of Pallava Maharájá Danti Nandivarman, or in the time of Nandivarman son of Dantivarman* or Nandippottaraiyan, victorious at Telláru—*i. e.*, in the second half of the eighth century A. D. The second chieftain Vidélvidugu Ilangóvélar, whose wife was Púdi Arindigai, lived in the time of the Ganga Pallava king Kovijaya Kampavarman, who ruled in the ninth century A. D.

Virasóla Ilangóvélar in the above list is found from inscription No. 306 of 1907 to have been the father of Madurántaks Accha Pidáran, who has been identified with Vikramakésarin in the above table, the chieftain who seems to have been the most distinguished of Kodumbálúr chiefs.

The following extracts are from the Madras Epigraphical Reports and refer to Vikramakésarin.

"Bhúti Vikramakésarin was also called Tennavan Ilangóvélar, Madhurántaka † Irukkuvel, Adittan Vikramakésarin or Maravan Púdiyar (this seems to be the Tamilised form of Bhútiyár); consequently Parántaka Ilangóvéls appears also to have been another surname of Bhúti Vikramakésarin. In inscription No. 337 of 1904, he seems to bear the title Sambian Irukkuvel".

* See inscription No. 88 of 1910 and *Report of the Madras Epigraphical Department* for 1912-3. See also inscriptions No. 306, 316, 319, 323, 349 of 1903, 321, 335, 336, 337, 339 of 1904, 129, 317, 320 of 1907, 470 of 1908, 287 of 1911 and 131 and 174 of 1912.

† "The name Madhurántaka Irukkuvel might have been assumed by him (or conferred on him) after the accession of the Chola king Parántaka I".

It will thus be found that the names 4-7 in the above list refer to one and the same ruler.

It was this Vikramakésarin that built the Múvarkóvil at Kodumbálúr. "The Múvarkóvil has nothing to do with the three kings of the south as is generally supposed" or with the three Saiva saints, Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar. "An inscription at Kodumbálúr tells us explicitly that the three shrines were actually built by the chief Vikramakésarin in his own name and in the names of his two wives. The third shrine, of which no traces now exist, was evidently pulled down at a later period and the stones used up—perhaps for building the fresh-water pond in front of the Muchukundésvara temple in the same village. A few inscribed fragments have been found on the margin of the pond, some of which are in the ancient Kanarese language and alphabet. "The temple of Tirupudisvaram at Kodumbálúr referred to in inscriptions might have been the Múvarkóvil built by Púdi Vikramakésarin".

"Having built three shrines (śrīmānas) in his own name and in the names of his two wives, he i. e., Vikramakésarin set up Mahésvara (Siva) and presented a big maṭha (brihan-maṭham) to Mallikārjuna of Madhurā (Madura), who was the chief ascetic of the Kālamukha (sect) with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (here called *asita-vaktra*). Mullikārjuna belonged to the Atréya gótra and was the disciple of two teachers Vidyārāsi and Tapórāsi."

"Vikramakésarin had two wives, who were named Karralippirāttiyār and Varagunā and had by his first wife two sons called Pārantakavarman and Adityavarman. Sembian Irukkuvél alias Púdi Parantakan, who built a stone temple at Andanallúr in the Trichinopoly District, might be identical with Parantaka (varman) son of Púdi Vikramakésarin". One Púdi Adittapidāri, daughter of Tennavan Ilangovalār and queen of the Chola prince Arikulakésarin, who was a military officer under Parantaka I, built a stone temple at Tiruchendurai. As Tennavan Ilangovalār was one of the names of Púdi Vikramakésarin, Púdi Adittapidāri might have been his daughter. The fact that members of this family built temples in the Chola country (at a distance from their territory) and that a Chola prince and princess married into the family shows that intimate friendly relations existed between the Chola kings and Kodumbálúr chieftains".

I believe we shall not be far wrong if we take Púdi Vikramakésarin* to have lived towards the close of the ninth century and in the first half of the tenth century.

* It is not clear whether, and if so, how, Vikki-Annan who distinguished himself in the conquest of Tondainādu by Aditya I, and to whom a throne, a fly-whisk (*chāmara*), mansions, an army of male elephants and the hereditary title of Sembian Tamiladiraian were granted was connected with the family of the Irukkuvéls of Kodumbálúr.

APPENDIX B.

More about the Pallavaraya line of rulers.

The following additional information relating to this line based on inscriptions found within, and outside the State, and on two Tamil works—*Seventheluntha Pallavan Pillai Tamil*, *Seventheluntha Pallavan Ula*,*—may also be found interesting.

The Pallavarāyars † are said in both the manuscripts to have originally lived at Mallai or Mallapuram, an old historic town in the Chengleput District called *கடல்மலை* by Tirumāngai Alwār in his hymns and generally known as Mahābalipuram. One of these is said to have been invited by a Pāndya, when he was attacked by a Chola king, and, having defeated the latter, he is said to have been appointed Governor of Kéralasingavalanādu near the southern border of the State (see page 76 and map opposite to that page). Another is said to have been born in and settled at *கேரளிப்பதி* by which Perungulūr near Vaittūr is evidently meant, Perungulūr being called 'கேரளி' in inscriptions. The Pallavarāyars are said to have subdued the eighteen Vanniar castes, to have destroyed Alumbil, to have been victorious at Kadāram and Sūraikkudi (see p. 118, p. 68 & p. 82), to have won distinction at Kalabham. Valuttūr is described as a fertile wet land village in Kōnadu (see pp. 61 & 62) under the sway of the Pallavarāyars called Kōnadārs.

The name Pallavarāyan seems to have been in use from very early times. An inscription at Solapuram in the Madura District refers to one Tennavan Pallavarāyan, alias Māran Acchan (Adityan) of Pōliūr in the 4th year of the Pāndya king Māran Sadaiyan, i. e., towards the close of the eighth century. Other chiefs that bore this title were

1. Vidēlvīdugu Pallavarāyar of Umbalanādu.
2. Mayilattindan alias Avantiyakōvappallavarāyar.

* These two manuscripts were kindly lent to me by Mahāmahōpādhyāya M. R. Ry. V. Swaminatha Aiyar Avergal, Tamil Pandit, Presidency College.

† That the custom of giving children the names of men of power by whom they were patronised or to whom they were subject was very common, as is shown in the first footnote on page 98, will be clear, also from the following lines in the 12th stanza of the "Seventheluntha Pallavan Pillai Tamil"

"அங்கவங் கருடகு கருட தேசத்தி லரசரெல் லாரு முடனே
யவரவர்கள் மகவைநின் பேரிடழைப்பதவும்."

that is, "the Kings of Anga, Vanga (Bengal), Coorg and Canara gave their children your name—the name of Seventheluntha Pallavarāyar."

3. Ingunattu Pallavarayar.

4. Pallavarayar, chief of Tunjalur, Milalai Kúnam (see p. 61).

5. Muvendra Pallavarayar * *alias* Adittan Pidáran, son of Viranarana Pallavarayar of Kúhúr near Kunnandarkóvil in Vadapanangádu division in the modern Kulattúr Taluk of Pudukkóttai State.

In the war of Pándya succession in the twelfth century A. D., a Pallavarayar is said to have gone with a force as directed by the Chola king to help Kulasekhara Pándya, who, defeated by Lankapura Dandanayaka, had fled to the Chola king for protection and help. The Pallavarayar was defeated.†

The Pallavarayars seem to have helped both the Cholas and the Pandyas. One of them is said to have married a Chola princess and to have been treated by the Cholas as their son-in-law. Their throne is said to have been a six-footed stool ‡, their flag is said to have borne the figures of both the tiger (the Chola symbol) and the fish, (the Pándyan symbol), and they are said to have worn garlands of the காவீ, (the symbol of the Vellálas, a Pallavaraya having married a Vellála Malavaraya princess), the (Chola) Agatti, and (the Pándya) margosa. They are often referred to as “பாரசங்கிவி” of which the meaning seems to be that the Pallavarayars put in heavy chains those whom they captured in war. The lands over which they ruled are given below.

“ஆலங்குடி நாடமராபதிநாடு
கோலங்கடுவன்குடிநாடு—மேலான
செங்காட்டுநாடு திருப்பேரையூர் நாடு
மங்காதவல்லவளநாடு—கொங்காரும்
மெய்யமலைநாடு மேவு சந்திரரேகை நா
டையன் கொடுங்குன்றணி நாடு—செய்யதிருக்
கோனக்குடிநாடு கோனாடுனப்புரந்தே
ஆளப்பிறந்தவரசர்கோன்.

* See Madras Government Epigraphical Reports, Inscriptions No. 162 of 1912, No. 322 of 1904, No. 228 of 1908, No. 186 of 1912 and No. 425 of 1911.

† See Madras Government Epigraphical Report for 1898—99.

‡ The special importance of such a stool is not clear. In the Introduction to Tiruvilaiyádal Purānam by Paranjōti Munivar, the author, when he read the manuscript for acceptance by the learned, is said to have been seated on a six-footed stool in the presence of Sundarésar of Madura.

These lands were, (1) Alangudi nádu, (2) Amaravati nádu, (3) Kaduvankudi nádu, (4) Senkattu nádu, (5) Péraiýúr nádu, (6) Valnádu, (7) Meyyamalai (Tirumayyam) nádu, (8) Chándra rékhá nádu, (9) Kodunkundra nádu, (Pirānmalai nádu) (10) Thirukkólakkudi nádu, (11) Kónádu.*

The annual income of their State is said in a petition presented by a Kannanúr Sérvaikar to have been 30,000 *pon*.

Seventheluntha Pallavarayar, the hero of the two poems referred to above, is said to have married a lady of the Malvar caste. He is said to have been a great Saivite and worshipper of the Gods at Tirugókarnam, Kudumiámálai, Péraiýúr and Tiruvarankulam and at Conjeveram. He is said to have purchased jewels and lamps for the temple at Tirugókarnam and to have added to the temple at Kudumiámálai, porches, towers, halls flower-gardens, groves etc., and built cars.

The following names of the Pallavarayar rulers are given in the *Uḷḷ* after the names of several Pallava kings mentioned in Tamil literature. The list seems to have been based on no reliable or verified information. The object of the poet seems to have been to bring together all that he had ever heard of the Pallavarayars. Probably several of the names are merely periphrastic expressions applicable to Pallavarayars bearing other names. At first certain Pallavas Pallavarayars are described without names. Of these were

1. The Pallava that came to help the Pándya king, got rid of the Chola trouble and ruled over Kéralasingavala nádu.
2. The Pallava who ruled the world with the title Malava, having married the daughter of a Vellála Malava family.
3. The Pallava, who wore a garland in which *Kávi* flowers were put in between the Agathi (Chola) and the Ním (Pándya).
4. The Pallava that was born at Kóli (Perungulár).

* Most of these formed portion of the last mentioned Kónádu. See pp. 66—68 for 1, 4, 5, 6, 10 and 11, p. 1 for land 7 and p. 4 for land 9.

The second nádu Amaravati nádu may be taken to be the tract about Ponnamaravati. The third nádu Kaduvankudi is the tract about Virálmalai.

These lands were not far from the modern Pudukkóttai town. The eighth nádu, Chándra rékha nádu, is the tract about Sendalai in the Tanjore District (according to the *Journal of the South Indian Association* for July 1911). But it seems to be a little too far from Pudukkóttai to be taken to be meant. Probably it denotes the land watered by Ambuliýáru (see p. 4) *ambuli*, meaning Chandra.

In another place கபிலவளநாடு (Tirugókarnam) and குலமங்கலநாடு (see Gazetteer under Tennanúr) are mentioned.

5. The great Pallava that made for himself the six-footed throne.
 6. The king that mounted and rode a daring war-horse and thus got the additional name of Rāyar and became *Pallavarāyar*.
 7. The Pallavarāya that plundered Alumbil and captured Súraikkudi,
 8. The Pallavarāyar that defeated the eighteen Vanniars.
- Those with names other than Pallavarāyar were,
1. Periaivudaiyān Pallavarāyar.
 2. Tirumēni Pallavarāyar.
 3. Nittalaga Pallavarāyar.
 4. Narapāla Pallavarāyar.
 5. Valuthimānamkātta Pallavarāyar.
 6. Adaikkalamkātta Pallavarāyar.
 7. Adiyār Vēlaikkāra Pallavarāyar.
 8. Mukunda Pallavarāyar.
 9. Kulasēkhara Pallavarāyar.
 10. Tennava Jayatunga Pallavarāyar.
 11. Kāchikodutta Pallavarāyar.
 12. Villiputtūr Pallavarāyar.
 13. Ativirarāma Pāndya Pallavarāyar *alias* Bhattarmānam kātta Pallavarāyar.
 14. Srivalava (Srivalabha) Jayatunga Pallavarāyar.
 15. Nayinār Pallavarāyar.
 16. Avudaiyān Pallavarāyar.
 17. Acchamariyān Pallavarāyar.
 18. Bhāskara Nārāyana Pallavarāyar.
 19. Sriranga Pallavarāyar.
 20. Mukunda Seventheluntha Pallavarāyar.
 21. Singa Pallavarāyar.
 22. Sriranga Pallavarāyar, who captured Kīranur in the morning Tenungūr in the midday and Kūttanūr in the evening.
 23. Sāranga Pallavarāyar known as பரங்கதிவி or Bhāra Sangili and described as "the ruler of the Sāluvas, who were originally feudatories of the Vijayanagar Kings."
 24. Vallaiyarāyan *alias* Vararāma Pallavarāyar.
 25. Kōnēri Pallavarāyar.
 26. Tirumakuta Pallavarāyar.
 27. Vilitturangum Pallavarāyar.
 28. Tirumalai Rāja Pallavarāyar.
 29. Tirunirru Pallavarāyar.
 30. Tirumāncholaī Pallavarāyar.

31. Alaga Pallavarāyar.
32. Achyuta Pallavarāyar.
33. Mallappa Pallavarāyar (son of No. 32).
34. Seventheluntha Perumāl Pallavarāyar (brother of 33).
35. Avudaiya Pallavarāyar.
36. Chidambara Pallavarāyar.
37. Muttappa Pallavarāyar (son of No. 36).
38. Kandappa Pallavarāyar (son of No. 37).
39. Mallappa Pallavarāyar.
40. Seventheluntha Pallavarāyar (said to have been the son of one Perianāyakam, son-in-law of Mallappa No. 33).

APPENDIX C.

Notes from a petition of historic interest.

The following information is from a petition containing historic references from Valamkondān Rāmaswāmi Sērvaikār, son of Valamkondān Kumāraswāmi Sērvaikār (see p. 161). The manuscript may be taken to be of as much value as the petition of Ilandān Ambalakaran, occasionally referred to in the book (see pp. 160 and 127). The income of the Dominion under Seventheluntha Pallavarāyan was 30,000 *pon* a year and the Pallavarāyan left no descendants (see p. 126 footnote). Periya Rāma Bānam also came from Rāmnad (see p. 123). The Sētupati's agent at Tirumayyam was Kurunda Pillai (Dharma Pillai is not mentioned) to whom earrings were sent (see p. 159) as well as the State finger-ring. Namana Tondaimān subdued the Visengināttu Kallars (see p. 137). For his services to the Tondaimān Nallakutti Valamkondān, is said to have got Kannaugudi, Māngudi, and some lands near Kavinādu. Avudaippa Valamkondān, his son, is said to have been of help in getting for the Tondaimān from the Sētupati, Tirumayyam, and the tract of land adjoining it worth 30,000 *pon* a year. He is said to have received Kannanūr, Duvūsapuram on the borders of Tirumayyam, in exchange for lands granted to his father and to have received various honours such as palanquin, horse, umbrella, &c. (see p. 152). He is said to have annexed to the Pudukkóttai State the Rāngiam tract then in possession of Udaiyanna Tévan, brother-in-law of the Sētupati.

Ragunātha Rāya Tondaimān (1686-1730 A. D.) is said to have had 32 sons, legitimate and illegitimate (see p. 146).

The account in the last paragraph of page 160 is partly based on this manuscript, which states that Rāmaswāmi Tondaimān was also sent as a prisoner (perhaps for a time) to Tirumayyam and that Ananda Roy, when he invaded Pudukkóttai, took with him from Tanjōre 3,000 horse (see p. 171).

APPENDIX D.

A Note on Protestant Mission work*.

[See pp. 397 and 398 of the book].

"Puducotta was called a station from 1846 to 1849 and a band of Indian workers were employed there under the supervision of Cherry (Rev. H. Cherry) and then of Murry (Rev. C. F. Murry). It had been passed over to the (Madura) Mission by the Church Missionary Society. But no Missionary of the Society ever resided there and it can hardly be considered as having fully entered the circle of stations. The Rajah of Puducotta recognised his relation to the work of the Mission in the year it was taken over by visiting Pasumalai Seminary in company with the Collector Blackburne. They showed their appreciation of the Seminary by each giving a donation of Rs. 200. But Puducotta was far too away from Madura and the funds of the Mission were too limited for the Mission to take that work; as the Church Missionary Society had passed over lands, schools and catechists to this Mission, so this Mission passed over to the Leipsic Lutheran Mission the lands, schools and catechists and the good-will of the Rajah, let us hope. Negotiations were carried on in 1848, but the representative of the Lutherans, Rev. C. Ochs, was detained in Mayavaram; so at his request the transfer was considered to be from and after the end of 1848".

* From Rev. J. S. Chandler's *Seventy-five years in the American Madura Mission*. See p. 76.

APPENDIX E.

List of Residents of Tanjore and Pudukkottai.

Names.	From	To
Captain William Blackburne } Tanjore ... 24- 3-1801	} Pudukkottai ... Feb. 1807	6- 8-18 09
Captain Butler, Acting Resident		
Captain William Blackburne	... 7- 8-1809	4- 3-1810
Captain William Hardy	... 5- 3-1810	3- 3-1823
[Colonel Scot's name appears in the Madras Almanac (see p. 371) but he never seems to have taken up that appointment].	... 4- 3-1823	21- 8-1824
Captain Fyfe	... 22- 8-1824	9-11-1830
Captain M. Tweedie, Acting	... 10-11-1830	31-12-1830
W. Hudleston, Esq., Acting	... 1- 1-1830	31- 3-1831
J. Blackburne, Esq., Acting	... 1- 4-1831	16- 8-1832
Captain Douglas	... 17- 8-1832	18-10-1834
Lieutenant Colonel T. Macleane	... 19-10-1834	20- 7-183-

Names.	From	To
Captain C. M. Macleane, Acting	... 21- 7-1837	20-10-1837
Lieutenant Colonel T. Macleane	... 21-10-1837	2- 7-1839
Lieutenant W. Lockhart	... 3- 7-1839	23- 9-1839
Lieutenant Colonel T. Macleane	... 24- 9-1839	14-10-1839
Lieutenant W. Lockhart, Acting	... 15-10-1839	13-11-1839
Captain A. Douglas	... 14-11-1839	3- 4-1840
Lieutenant Halpin (officer in charge), Resident's escort	... 4- 4-1840	6- 7-1840
Captain A. Douglas	... 7- 7-1840	20- 3-1841
Lieutenant Selby (officer in charge), Resident's escort in charge	... 20- 3-1841	14- 4-1841
W. H. Bayley Esq.	... 15- 4-1841	21-12-1841

The Residency of Tanjore was abolished under Court's letter No. 3, of 1-9-1841.

List of Political Agents.

J. Blackburne Esq., Collector of Madura, 1st Political Agent	... 22-12-1841	22-12-1842
G. D. Drury Esq., Commissioner in charge of Madura (under G. O. Rev. No. 1415 dated 6th December 1842)	... 23-12-1842	24- 4-1843
W. A. Morehead Esq.	... 25- 4-1843	23- 6-1843
W. Elliot Esq., Acting Sub-Collector in charge	24- 6-1843	31- 7-1843
J. Blackburne Esq.	... 1- 8-1843	5- 7-1847
R. D. Parker Esq.	... 6- 7-1847	24-10-1856
R. J. Sullivan Esq.	... 25-10-1856	19-11-1857
A. Hathaway Esq.	... 19-11-1857	21-10-1858
T. Clarke Esq.	... 22-10-1858	21- 2-1860
V. H. Levinge Esq.	... 22- 2-1860	27- 9-1865

Political Agency transferred to Tanjore (under G. O. No. 241 dated 27-9-1865).

G. Lee Morris Esq., Collector of Tanjore and Political Agent	... 27- 9-1865	4- 3-1866
G. Banbury Esq.	... 5- 3-1866	30- 3-1873
Hon'ble D. Arbuthnot	... 31- 3-1873	18- 9-1874

Political Agency transferred from Tanjore to Trichinopoly (under G. O. No. 387 dated 18th September 1874).

J. B. Pennington Esq.	... September 1874	May 1875
H. Sewell Esq.	... May 1875	April 1879

Names.	From	To	
C. W. W. Martin Esq.	... May 1879	December 1880	1880
H. Sewell Esq.	... December 1880	August 1885	1885
H. R. Farmer Esq.	... August 1885	September 1886	1886
W. P. Austin Esq.	... September 1886	April 1887	1887
W. H. Welsh Esq.	... April 1887	December 1888	1888
G. W. Fawcett Esq.	... January 1889	April 1891	1891
M. Hammick Esq.	... May 1891	June 1891	1891
C. J. Weir Esq.	... July 1891	December 1891	1891
W. H. Welsh Esq.	... January 1892	July 1893	1893
L. C. Miller Esq.	... August 1893	November 1893	1893
J. Andrew Esq.	... December 1893	August 1896	1896
J. K. Batten Esq.	... September 1896	January 1897	1897
B. Macleod Esq.	... February 1897	October 1897	1897
R. H. Shipley Esq.	... November 1897	February 1899	1899
J. H. Robertson Esq.	... March 1899	November 1899	1899
R. H. Shipley Esq.	... December 1899	February 1901	1901
G. W. Elphinstone Esq.	... March 1901	April 1901	1901
R. H. Shipley Esq.	... May 1901	August 1903	1903
J. P. Bedford Esq.	... September 1903	April 1904	1904
C. G. Spencer Esq.	... May 1904	August 1904	1904
A. Thompson Esq.	... September 1904	November 1904	1904
A. Butterworth Esq.	... December 1904	March 1905	1905
E. L. Thornton Esq.	... April 1905	October 1905	1905
A. Butterworth Esq.	... November 1905	June 1906	1906
A. L. Vibert Esq.	... July 1906	August 1906	1906
A. Butterworth Esq.	... August 1906	March 1908	1908
A. L. Vibert Esq.	... April and May 1908		
C. T. H. Johnson Esq.	... May 1908	October 1908	1908
M. Young Esq.	... November 1908	January 1911	1911
E. W. Legh Esq.	... February 1911	October 1911	1911
M. Young Esq.	... November 1911	May 1912	1912
J. C. Molony Esq.	... June 1912	August 1912	1912
R. Narayana Aiyar Esq.	... September 1912	November 1912	1912
L. E. Buckley Esq.	... December 1912		

APPENDIX F.

List of the Administrators of the State from 1807 A. D.
1807

- A. 1. Tirumalai Tondaimán, Chinnaranmanai Jāgirdār.
2. Māppillai Pallavarāyer son-in-law of the ruler that died in 1807. } Managers.

Venkappayya or Venkat Row was Sarkil, to whom the Resident's orders were issued through the Managers.

1808 Anantayya was appointed the Resident's Agent to exercise the powers of the Rājā under the superintendence of the Resident and be the medium of instructions to the Managers from the Resident.

1814

- B. 1. Soiroba Naig, Principal Manager.
2. Anantayya
3. Tāna Pillai } Managers.

[There was no Sarkil from 1814 to 1822].

1815 (to 1817 or 1822*).

- C. 1. Soiroba Naig, Principal Counsellor.
2. Anantayya
3. Tāna Pillai } Counsellors.

[A to C during the minority of Rājā Vijaya Raghunātha Tondaimán Bahadūr (till 1817)].

1822 Soiroba Naig, Sarkil.

1839

1. Ry. Kattakkurichi Ayi Avargal.
2. Appā Aiyar, Foujdār.
3. Soiroba Naig, Sarkil. } formed a council of Regency.

[During the minority of Rājā Rāmachandra Tondaimán Bahadūr].

1844 Soiroba Naig, Sarkil.

1851 Soiroba Naig, Sarkil,
Gopal Naig, Deputy Sarkil. }

1853 Gopal Naig, Sarkil.

1854 R. Annaswāthi Aiyar, Sarkil.

1863 Bhāvāni Sankar Row, Sarkil.

1878 Sir A. Sashia Sastriar, K. C. S. I.

[He was styled Sarkil from 1878 to July 1885 and Dewan from July 1885 to 1886].

* This arrangement which should have come to an end in 1817, seems to have continued till 1822, when Soiroba Naig was appointed Sarkil.

1886 Sir A. Sashia Sastriar, K. C. S. I., Dewan-Regent.
[During the minority of the present ruler].

1894 R. Vedantacharlu, Dewan.

1898 R. Vedantacharlu, Dewan,

M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, Councillor.

Jan. 27, 1899 M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal,
Acting Dewan.

A. Venkat Row, Acting Councillor.

Feb. 18, 1899 Dewan Bahadur S. Venkataramadas Naidu, B.A., B.L.,
Dewan.

M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, B.A.,
Councillor (till July 1908).

March, 1909 Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, I. C. S., Superintendent of the
State.

M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, B.A., Dewan.

M. R. Ry. C. Rajagopala Pillai Avargal, B.A., B.L., Councillor.

Feb. 1913 Mr. J. T. Gwynn, I. C. S., Superintendent of the State.

M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, B.A., Dewan.

M. R. Ry. C. Rajagopala Pillai Avargal, B.A., B.L., Councillor.

APPENDIX G.

List of Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State.*

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).	The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
I.—ALANGUDI TALUK.			
1	Kulaváippattí village, Ataviswaran Kóvil.	1	
2	Alangudi Siva temple	24	
3	Ambukkóil Siva temple	5	
4	Kóvilúr Siva temple	23	
5	Maniambalam Siva temple	7	
6	Palankarai (Pálayúr village) Siva temple.	14	
7	Perungulúr Siva temple	8	
8	Pudukkóttai (Town Hospital)	1	
	„ Kalasakkadu	1	In archaic characters.
	„ Hanumarkoil near the Public offices building.	1	
9	Sembáttúr Siva temple	9	
10	Sóttuppalai Siva temple	1	
11	Tirugókarnam Siva temple	16	Contains an old inscription of Mārānsadaiyan.
12	Tirukkattalai Siva temple	13	Contains three inscriptions in archaic characters
13	Tirumanamchéri Siva temple	6	
14	Tiruvarankulam Siva temple	72	
15	Tiruvappúr Siva temple	4	
	„ Vishnu temple	1	
16	Tiruvidaiyáppattí Siva temple	4	
17	Vadaválam Surandarkoil	1	
18	Vārappúr Siva temple	6	
19	Vāgaivāsai Siva temple	1	
		219	
II.—KULATTUR TALUK.			
1	Alattúr Siva temple	5	
2	Alurutámalai, west of Annáchátthiram.	1	
3	Annavāsai Siva temple	3	
4	Ariyúr Siva temple	1	
5	Irumbáli Siva temple	3	
6	Kadavampatti ruined Vishnu temple.	1	
7	Kāyāmpatti ruined Jain temple	1	
8	Kilaikkuricchi Siva temple	6	

*The list was supplied by Mr. S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, the State Archaeologist.

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).	The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
9	Kilikkúdalúr	2	One on a stone planted in the agra-haram and the other on another stone found in a prickly-pear jungle, half a mile to the west of the village.
10	Kiranúr Siva temple	13	One in archaic Tamil characters.
11	Kodumbálúr Siva temple	15	See the Gazetteer.
	" Múvarkóvil	2	One Sanskrit inscription in grantha characters.
12	Kudummalai Siva temple	117	One inscription in archaic Pallava grantha. A treatise on music. Some old Tamil inscriptions. One in grantha and one in Telugu. See the Gazetteer.
13	Kulattúr Siva temple	10	
14	Kumaramangalam (on a stone planted in dry lands).	1	
15	Kunnandarkóvil Siva temple	41	Some inscriptions in old Tamil.
16	Lakshmanpatti (in front of a ruined dargá).	1	
17	Madattukóvil ruined Siva temple	13	
18	Madiyanúr Siva temple	4	
19	Malaiyadippatti rock cut Siva temple.	7	Some old inscriptions.
	" Vishnu temple.	2	One in Maratti.
20	Mangudi Siva temple	1	
21	Minalvéli "	3	
22	Méttuppatti (near the sluice)	1	
23	Nārttāmalai Siva temple	1	
	" Kadambarmalai	29	Contains an old inscription.
	" Western Hill	3	One of these is old!
24	Nallúr (on stones planted in dry lands).	2	
25	Nirpalani Siva temple	19	An old inscription of Mārānjadāyan.
26	Panangudi Siva temple	2	
27	Panditakkúdi (on a stone planted to the west of the village)	1	
28	Parambúr Siva temple	12	One of these is an old Tamil inscription.

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).	The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
29	Perumánadu Siva temple	5	
	" on a rock	1	
30	Perumsunai ruined Siva temple	2	
31	Péyál Siva temple	1	
32	Pulvayal "	1	
33	Punnangudi Siva temple	1	
34	Rājālipatti (on a stone in the sluice of a ruined tank).	1	In archaic Tamil.
35	Sirusunai (on a rock to the east end of the tank).	2	
36	Sittannavāsai Jain temple	1	
	" Eladippattam	5	Old Tamil and Pali inscriptions. Two of these are quite gone.
37	Temnāvūr ruined Siva temple	2	
	" (on a stone in dry lands)	1	
38	Tennangudi Siva temple	5	
39	Tiruppúr "	1	
	" ruined Vishnu temple	1	
40	Tiruvēngavāsai Siva temple	12	A fragment of one of these is in old Tamil. One of them is old.
41	Tiruvilāngudi ruined Siva temple	9	
42	Todaiyūr Siva temple	8	
43	Vayalōkam	7	
44	Vellaimandapam, north of Kiranúr and to the west of the road.	1	
45	Vellanúr Siva temple	4	
46	Vennaimuttuppatti Pillaiyārkoil	1	
47	Virakkudi Siva temple	7	
48	Virālmalai Subrahmanya-swami Kóvil.	2	
	" on a rock	1	
49	Virālūr Vishnu temple	2	
50	Visalūr Siva temple	6	One of them is in archaic characters.
III.—TIRUMAYYAM TALUK.		424	
1	Adanur Siva temple	11	
2	Ammanuricchi Siva temple	5	
3	Duvāsapuram "	4	
4	Idaiyattūr "	4	
5	Irumbānādu Vishnu temple	2	
	" Siva temple	8	Contains two old inscriptions.
6	Kandēsaramudaiyārkoil	9	
7	Kannanūr Vishnu temple	1	
	" Siva temple	7	

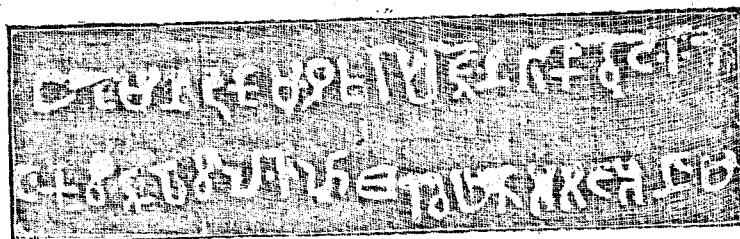
No.	Locality (Taluk and village).	The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
8	Káramangalam Siva temple	2	
9	Káraiýúr " Vishnu temple	12	
10	Káttu Báva Pallivasal	4	
11	Kilattániyam Siva temple	1	
12	Kónāpet Vināyakarkoil	1	
13	Koattiyūr Siva temple	18	
	" Vishnu temple	4	
14	Kóvilpattī ruined Siva temple	2	
15	Kūdalūr Siva temple	1	
16	Malaiyakkóvil "	3	One old Tamil inscription. One small Pallava grantha inscription.
17	Maravāmudura "	2	
18	Mélaippanaiyūr "	6	
19	Mélattániyam "	6	
20	Mélūr Vishnu temple	5	
21	Merattūnai Pidārikóvil	1	
22	Munaisandai Vishnu temple	1	
23	Naikkónam (Nerkunram) Vishnu temple.	1	
24	Nedunkudi Siva temple	4	
25	Neivāsal "	43	
26	Nerunjikkudi "	4	Two old inscriptions.
27	Oliyamangalam "	9	
28	Péraiýúr "	15	
29	Perundurai "	1	An old inscription.
	" Vishnu temple	3	
30	Pillamangalam Siva temple	4	
31	Ponnamarāvati "	15	Two old inscriptions.
	" Vishnu temple	10	
32	Polivalam Siva temple	3	
33	Púvālakudi "	11	
34	Rāngiam "	16	
35	Sāstānkóvil "	1	On a planted stone.
36	Sāttanūr "	4	
37	Sēndamangalam Vishnu temple	1	
38	Sirrūr (செருர்) Siva temple	5	Three are old inscriptions.
39	Sevalūr "	13	
40	Sundaram "	13	
	" Vishnu temple	5	
41	Tānjūr Siva temple	7	
42	Tērkāttūr "	3	
43	Tēnippattī "	1	An old inscription.

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).	The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
44	Tirukkalambur Siva temple	10	An old inscription.
45	Tirunayyām "	8	One Pallava grantha inscription. Two old Tamil inscriptions.
	" Vishnu temple	17	
46	Unaiyūr "	2	
	Unaiyūr Siva temple	8	
47	Vālarāmānikkam "	12	
48	Virācchalai "	17	
		387	

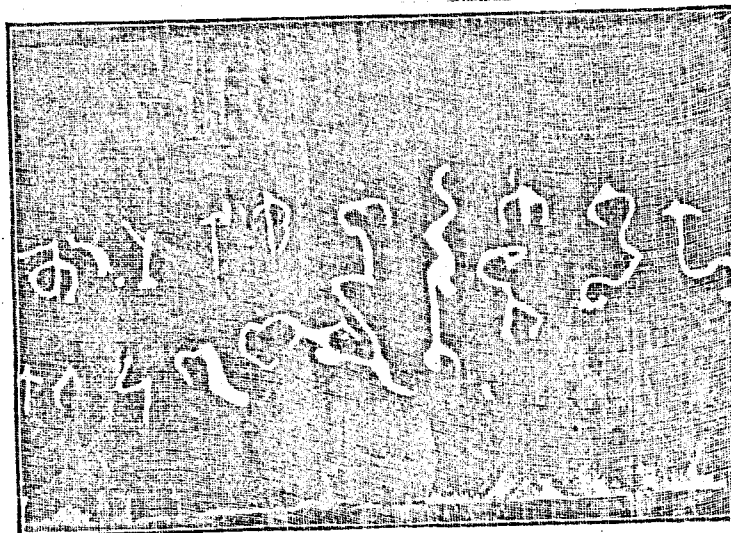
APPENDIX H.

A.—Facsimile copies of some old inscriptions of the State
Sittannavāsai Inscriptions.

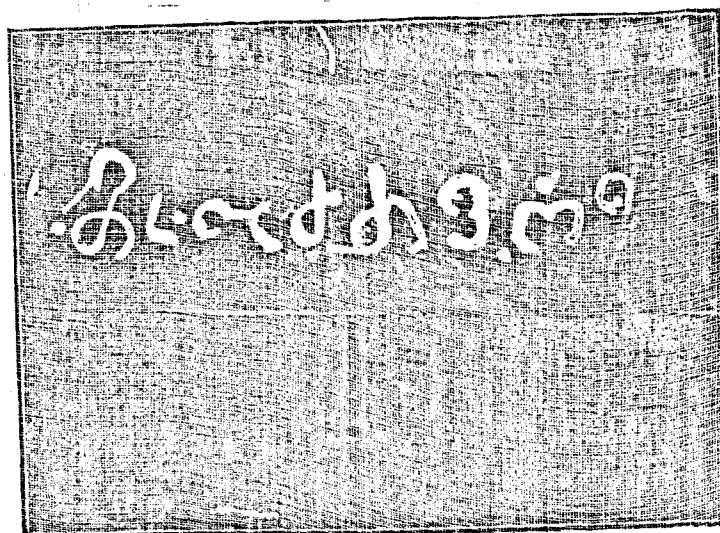
I.



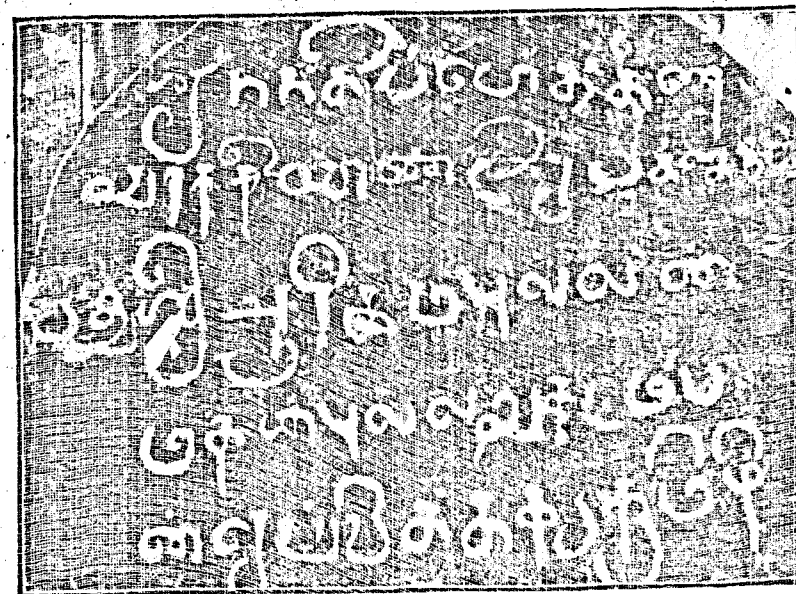
II.



III.

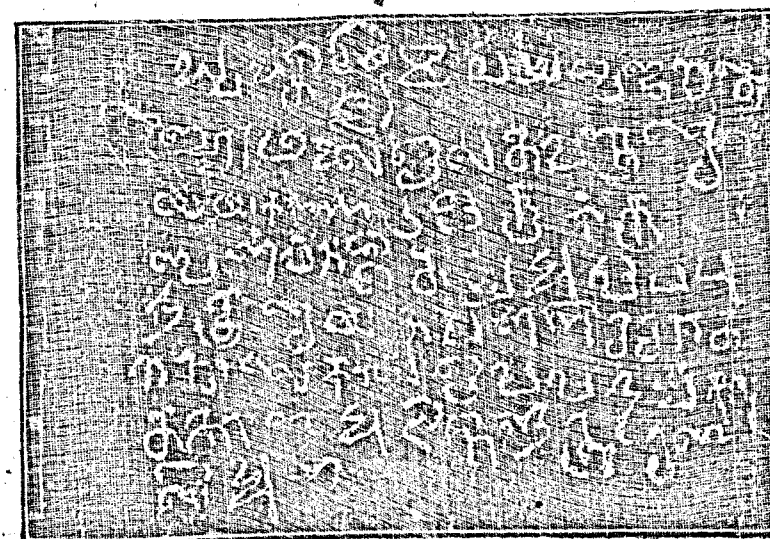


Rājālippatti Inscription.



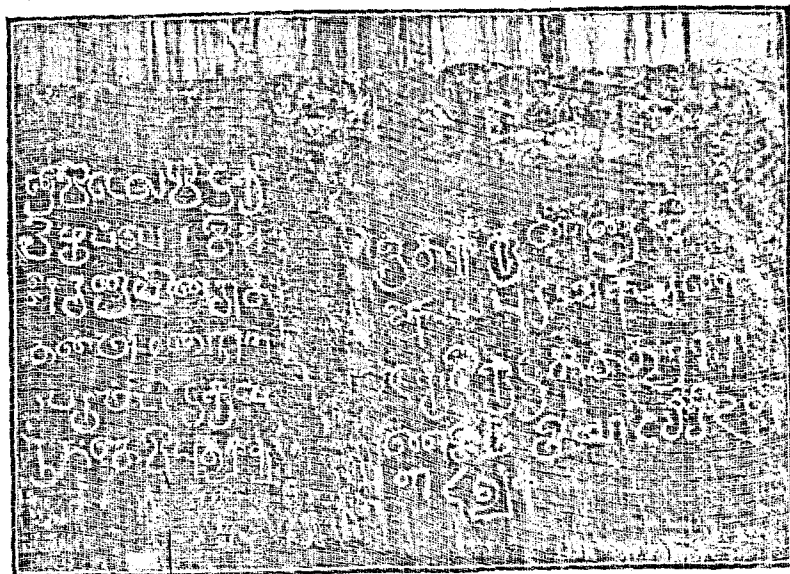
Tēnimalai Inscription.

V.

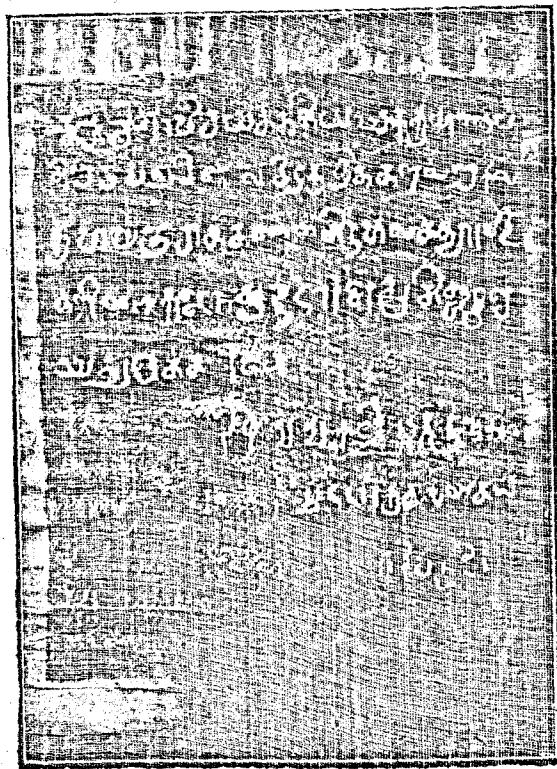


Tirumayyam Inscription.

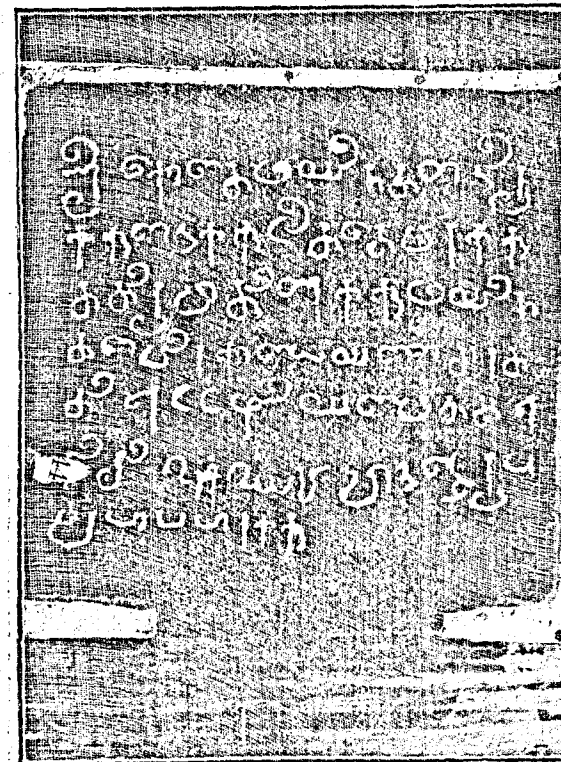
VI.

*Malaiyadippatti Inscription.*

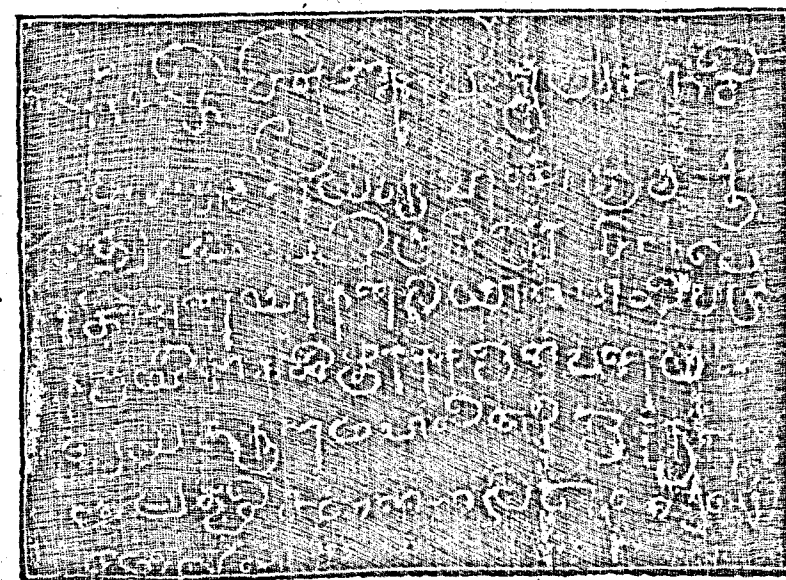
VII.

*Kundrāndārkōvil Inscriptions.*

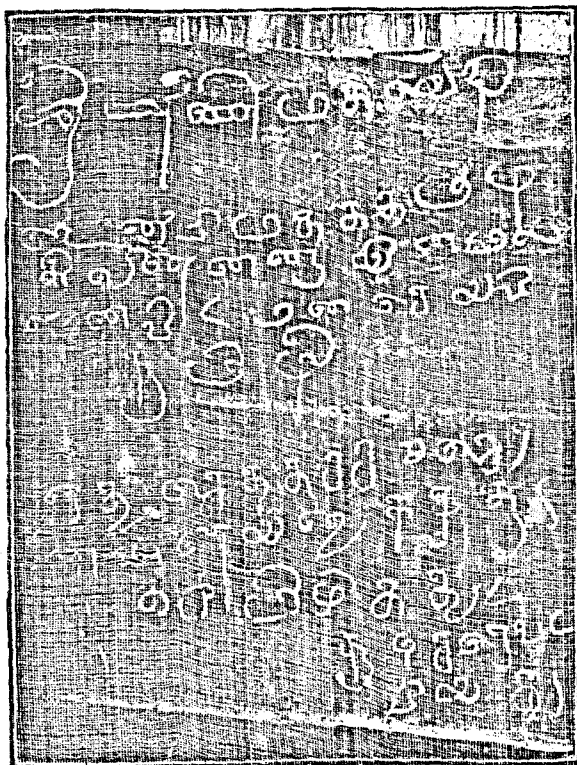
VIII.



IX.



Nārttāmalai Inscription.



X.

B.—The first inscription transliterated in English and the other nine inscriptions printed in modern Tamil characters, translated into English and explained.

I.

A Brāhmī inscription on the pillow of a bed in the Eladippattam cavern at Sittannarāsal.

The following notes on the inscription have been very kindly supplied to me by M. R. Ry. II. Krishna Sastriar Avargal, B. A., Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern India.

“The inscription reads as follows and is unintelligible.

Brāhmī Inscription.

e u mi (?) nā ta ku mu thū ú ra (?) pi jú na tá kà vu ti
i ta nā ku ei tú po ma (?) la í lu

Round the corner

gha (?) ra ce tà a ta a nā ma.”

“The inscription is in Asōka Brāhmī characters of a type peculiar to Southern India, which is found mostly in natural caverns on many of the hills of the Madura and Tinnevely Districts. (See Epigraphical Reports from 1907, Part II, Introductory paragraphs.) The characters are often quite intelligible and may be read with certainty, but the interpretation of these curious inscriptions is still engaging the attention of many scholars.”

In the Epigraphical Report for 1906–1907, it is stated that the alphabet (of the inscriptions in these caverns) resembles that of the Asoka edicts, and may be assigned roughly to the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century B. C., that “the fact that the language employed in them is Pāli may be taken to show that it was understood in the Pāndyan country even at that early period,” and that “if the inscriptions and the beds are synchronous, we have in them the earliest lithic records of the Tamil country and the most ancient lithic monuments of the Tamil race”.

II

A Tamil inscription on the pillow of another bed in the Eladippattam cavern at Sittannarāsal.

=தொழக்குன்றத்துக்
கடவுளன் திருநீலன்.

Note 1. தொழக்குன்றம் cannot be identified with any known hill. கடவுளன் means an ascetic (முனிவன்) of God-like character. Hence திருநீலன் must be taken to have been a pretty well-known ascetic that had gone to Sittannarāsal, seeking a hermitage, from his place தொழக்குன்றம்.

Note 2. “The inscription is in archaic Tamil characters of the ninth century, one or two of the r letters resembling Vatteluttu”.

III.

A Tamil inscription on the pillow of a third bed in the Eladippattam cavern at Sittannavásal.

= திட்டைச்சாணன்,

the name of an occupant (சாணன் of திட்டை) of the bed on the pillow of which the inscription is found.

Note.—“The inscription is in archaic Tamil characters of the ninth century, one or two of the letters resembling Vattelutta”.

IV.

Inscription on a stone sluice of a tank in ruins found about a mile to the south-east of Rájárippatti Agraháram in Kulattúr Taluk.

1. ஸ்ரீ நந்திப்போத்தரை
2. யர்க்கியாண்டிருபத்தைந்தா
3. வது ஸ்ரீ ஆரிதம்புல்லன்
4. மகன்புல்லையகடம்ப
5. ன்செய்வித்தகற்குமிழி

Translation.

Prosperity! In the twenty-fifth year of Nandippóttaraiyar, the stone sluice (is) caused to be built by Pullaya Kadamban, son of Sri Aritam Pullan.

Note.

Nandippóttaraiyan or Nandipóttarajá or Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a Pallava King that “ruled for fifty years from about 710 A. D.”

V.

Inscription on a rock to the west of a ruined Jain temple on Ténimalai in Tirumayyam Taluk.

1. ஸ்ரீ விடேவலிடுகு
2. ஸ்ரீ விடேவலிடுகு
3. யயக்கண்டிருக்கு
4. வேள்சந்தித்து அவிப்பு
5. மஞ்செய்தபள்ளிச்சந்த
6. ந்நாலேகால் இவ்வறங்கா
7. த்தான் அடிநீளெஞ்சென்
8. னிஅன்

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Seeing Malayadhwan 1 performing penance on Ténúr hill, Irukkuvél 2 met him and instituted a pallicchandam 3 of four and a quarter 4 for sacrificial offerings 5. May the feet of the maintainer of this charity be for ever on our head.

Notes.

1. Malayadhwan seems to have been a Jain ascetic. Vide the word Pallicchandam in the 5th line of the inscription.

2. Irukkuvél. Which of the Irukkuvél chiefs of Kodumbálúr met Malayadhwan is not clear. See Appendix A to this volume.

3. Pallicchandam. Palli is a Tamil word that was used to denote a Jain monastery, temple or academy. And Pallicchandam was land granted to and enjoyed by such an institution.

4. Of four and a quarter. Probably the extent of the land granted to Malayadhwan was four and a quarter mās.

5. So அவிப்புறம் has been translated, the former part of this word being the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit *havis*. For the latter part புறம், see the 8th line of the Tirumayyam inscription.

6. For ever. So ன் has been translated.

VI.

Inscription on a stone which must have once formed portion of a parapet to the steps leading to the temple of the Pallikonda Perumál, Tirumayyam and which now lies in a prakāra between Pallikonda Perumál's shrine and Satiāmirti Perumál's shrine.

1. ஸ்ரீ விடேவலிடுகு
2. விடேவலிடுகு
3. ஸ்ரீ (ரை) சஞ்ஞயினசாத்
4. தன்மாறன்ருய்
5. பெரும்பிடுகுபெ
6. ருத்தேவிபுதக்கு
7. இத[ற்]க்குண்ணாழி
8. ஸ்ரீ [=கை]ப்புறமாகஅன்
9. [ய]டகுடிருத்தத காரா
10. ன்மைரியாட்ச்சென்
11. ளடங்க.

Translation.

Prosperity! Renewed by Perumbidugu Perumdévi, mother of Sattan Máran alias Vidévidugu Viluppéradiaraisan. For offerings for this (temple) Andaikkudi is granted, inclusive of the rights of tenancy and proprietorship.

Notes.

1. "The inscription is in archaic characters of the 8th century A. D. (See p. 35 of the *Journal of the South Indian Association* for July, 1911). The names *Vidélvidugu* and *Perumbidugu* show that the influence of the Pallavas was then felt in parts as far as modern Pudukkóttai.

2. *உண்ணுழிகை = உண் + ஊழிகை = offerings at (stated) times?*

3. *Andakkudi* is a village two miles to the west of Tirumayyam.

4. *Viluppéradiaraiyan*. Of the four words constituting this compound word, the first three words mean big, powerful or great; and the last word means chieftain. The compound formed by the last two words is equivalent to the Sanskrit *adhīrāja* and formed a title of honour with the meaning of "the great ruler". Compare *Tamiludiaraiyan* (inscription No. 366 of 1904), *Brahmadīriyan* (No. 501 of 1912), *Viluppéraraiyan* (No. 342 of 1904), *Vīranappéraraiyan* (No. 345 of 1904), *Varagunaadiaraiyan* (No. 311 of 1904), and *Pāndiadiaraisi* (No. 348 of 1904—a title granted to a lady of rank).

VII.

Inscription on a pillar of the Mahāmantapa of the rock-cut Siva temple at Malaiyadippatti in the Kulattūr Taluk.

1. ஸஸ்திஸ்ரீ கோவீசையதந்திபர்மந்த்ருயாண்டிப
2. திருருவது விடேல்விடுகுமுத்தரையனடிய
3. குவாவஞ்சாத்தனென் திருவாலத்தூர்மலை
4. தனியாக்குடைத் துட்டாரரை வுதிடுவெச்செ
5. மது இத்தனியை.....
6.கிழ்செங்கனிகாட்டு.....
7.காட்டார்ச்செய்த.....
8.
9.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity. In the 16th year of Kóvijayadantivarman ¹, I, *Vidélvidugu Muttaraiyan* ² alias *Kuvāvan Sāttan*, caused a temple to be excavated in the hill at Tiruválattūr ³ and installed the God.

[The remaining four lines of the inscription are mostly effaced. They contain the word 'கிழ்செங்கனிகாடு', the name of the Nādu in which Tiruválattūr or Malaiyadippatti was situated.]

Notes.

1. *Kovijayadantivarman* was a Pallava King, who reigned in the 8th century.

2. *Vidélvidugu Muttaraiyan*. Muttaraiyars were feudatories of the Pallavas, who, from the Pudukkóttai inscriptions, are found to have exercised considerable power in the eastern portion of Kónādu. A daughter of

one of the rulers of this line—*Varagunā*—became the wife of *Sembiyan Irukkuvél*. [See *Madras Inscription No. 337 of 1904* and *Appendix A.* to this book.]

3. *Tiruválattūr*. So *Malaiyadippatti* was then called.

VIII.

Inscription on a pillar of the rock-cut temple of Kundrāndārkóvil.

1. ஸ்ரீகோவீசையதந்திபர்
2. க்ருன்றக்குடித்தேவர்க்கு
3. த்திருவாதிரைக்குமயிந்
4. தன்வீரகாடையனைசார்த்
5. திஅட்டழியவைத்தஅ
6. சிசி உள உல கா (ழி) னாற்றெருபு
7. துபாப்பார்க்கு.

Translation.

Prosperity! *Kódai Mayindan* ¹, for the benefit of *Mayindan* ², *Vira Kádaiyan*, has arranged for the cooking and distribution among 110 Brahmins of 220 *nāligas* ³ of rice on the *Tiruvádirai* day ⁴ of the God of *Tiruk-kunrakkudi* ⁵.

Notes.

1. *Mayindan* means son. Possibly it was a title of rank.
2. *Mayindan Vira Kádaiyan* was either a son of *Kódai Mayindan* or a member of the family known as *Mayindans*.
3. *Nāliga* (denoted by கா) is a measure of capacity.
4. *Tiruvádirai* in the month of *Margali* (generally the full moon day in December-January) is a festival day on which *Siva* is, in the form of *Natarāja*, decked and led out in procession.
5. *Tirukkunrakkudi*. So *Kundrāndārkóvil* was then called.

IX.

Inscription on another pillar of the rock-cut temple at Kundrāndārkóvil in Kulattūr Taluk.

1. ஸஸ்திஸ்ரீ கோவீசையதந்தி
2. ப்ரோத்தவரயற்குயாண்டி கு
3. வதுமாற்ப்பிடுவினா(ர)யினபே
4. த்தி அரையர்க்கடியான்வாலிவடு
5. கனயின கவிமர்க்க இளவரையன்
6. செய்தருளம் வாலி ஏரி இக்குள
7. மலக்கவி (கழி) த்தான்னாடி என்றலை
8. மோ(?)லன

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity. In the 5th year of *Kóvijayadantippóttaraiyan* ¹, (this) tank called *Vali Eri* (is) caused to be dug by *Vali Vadugan* alias *Kalimúrka Ilavaraiyan*, a slave (i.e., dependent) of *Marpiduvinār Péradiaraiyars* ².

Notes.

1. *Dantippóttarayan* was a Pallava King of the 8th century A. D.
2. *Máripiduvinar Périadiariyars*. *Máripiduvinar* may be taken to be the plural form of *Máripidugu*, a surname of the Pallava King *Dandippóttaraiyan*. *Máripiduvinar Périadiariyars* may be taken to denote a line of chieftains that were feudatories of the Pallavas. Compare *Sáttan Máripidugu Ilanguvelár*. [See Appendix A to this book.]

X.

Inscription on a flat rock near the front bund of the tank Arumaikkulam, Nárttámalai.

1. ஸ்ரீ அணிமதயேறி
2. வென்றிமதனதமிழ்
3. தியகரனனாயினமல்
4. லன்விடமன்செய்வி
5. த்தருமிழ்
6. இது செ(ய்)ததச்சச்சோ
7. எனநிரயனுக்குரு
8. த்தருமிழ்த்துட
9. குழச்செ(ய்)வட
10. வியது.

Translation.

Prosperity! The sluice (is) caused to be constructed for Animadaéri (a tank) by Vendrimadantha¹ Tamiladiariyan alias Mallan² Vidaman. The land near the sluice, granted to the mason Sónanāsiriyan that built this, is to the north of (the field) Kulacchei³.

1. *Vendrimadantha* may merely mean 'flushed with victory'.
2. *Mallan*. This shows the connection of the chieftain with the Pallavas. The word is found as the latter part of *Pallavamalla*.
3. In the seventh line what is printed as *செ* looks more like *செ*, in which case *சோனன்* would himself be a chief. "*செ*" certainly gives better meaning.
4. தச்சன் = mason, சோனனிரியன் = சோனனிரியன் = the master-builder Sónan (= Swarnan ?); குழச்செய் = குளச்செய் = the land near the tank; துட = துடவை = land; வடவியது = is to the north of.

APPENDIX I.

Extracts from the Author's Gazetteer of Pudukkottai.

Ammachattiram (See p. 73). A little to the west of the Chattiram a tank called "Pallikkulam", meaning "a tank near a Jain monastery". Just to the west of the tank are found cut on a rock at a height of 25 feet three figures of the Jain God Arhat, protected by three umbrellas. From two inscriptions which are found near the place we learn that the rock itself was known as "Tiruppallimalai" or "the sacred monastery hill", and near one of these images is a mutilated Jain image*.

Ammankuricchi (See p. 140). The place once belonged to the Marungapuri Palayam, the chiefs of which tract built the Siva temple at the place, as is mentioned in an inscription in the temple. A now-forgotten ballad has the line

அம்மன் குறிச்சி பூச்சையன் நத்தத்து விங்கையன்

that is, Púchi (Nāyak, who had his capital) at Ammankuricchi, and Līnga (Nāyak, who had his chief seat) at Nattam.

Athanakkottai (p. 263). A Brahmin Sarvamānyam village which lies on the road from Pudukkottai to Tanjore.....When Haidar's forces wanted to plunder the village, a man of this village is said to have concealed himself in a tree with a bow and arrows and shot the leader, so that the forces fled.

Kanakkanpatti (p. 180). A Brahmin Inam village two miles to the south of Pudukkottai town. The lands originally granted to the villagers as Inam by Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān were very fertile; and his son Rāya Raghunātha Tondaimān, not approving of the grant, stopped the canal irrigating the fields. The father remonstrated and the son yielded to his father's request. When the son became ruler in 1769, he stopped the grant. Long after this, on a sultry day, after a hunting excursion, he went over to the village and found that all the Brahmins had left the village except a single Brahmin, who was himself very poor and could supply the King only with raggy grain. The ruler blamed himself for his injustice and granted as Inam other lands to the south of the Kūndār, an adjacent rivulet, to be enjoyed rent free by the Brahmins, who were to return to the village.

* Some other places where Jain temples in ruins and Jain images are found are Sadaiyappārāi by the side of Tirugōkarnam, Bommimalai to the west of Ammachattiram and Kāyanpatti, a village three miles to the north of Malaiyadippatti.

Kilattaniyam (See p. 73). It is inhabited by Vallālas. About fifteen years ago there was found in a field near the village a piece of stone containing figures of Jain Gods, similar to those which are cut on the rock of Ténimalai, including the figure of the God under three umbrellas. The piece of stone has been removed to the temple of Siva in the village and can be seen there.

Kudumiamalai (p. 53). There is an excellently cut cave temple at the place. The front hall measures 23 ft. 5 in. by 12 ft. 2 in. by 8 ft. 9 in. The pillars which are also cut out of the rock are 7 ft. 2 in. in height and 8 ft. in circumference. The big Ganesa, which is also hewn out of the rock, is 5 ft. 2 in. in height.

There are in the big temple 177 inscriptions of the greatest interest. One of them is a Pallava Grantha inscription, forming a musical treatise of seven sections of varying lengths, which treat of svarams (musical sounds), etc. It was composed by an unnamed King for the benefit of his disciples. The King was himself the pupil of a certain Rudrāchārya.

Kumaramalai (p. 332). The rock at the place contains a temple of Subrahmanya, which has recently become popular. The only poet that is known to have sung of the God is Muttumínāksikkavirāyar, popularly known as Gurupādadasā, who has written the well-known one hundred stanzas called "Kumarēsa Śatakam" and several other works.

Kundrandar Kovil (p. 44). The village has a well-known ancient rock-cut cave temple, which is on the model of the rock-cut temple at Malaiyadippatti. The front hall of the temple is 21 ft. 8 in. by 15 ft. 2 in. by 8 ft. 9 in., and the shrine is 12 ft. 6 in. by 10 ft. 6 in. by 10 ft. 6 in. The doorway to the shrine is 5 ft. 9 in. high and 2 ft. 8 in. broad. The pillars which have been hewn out of the rock are 6 ft. 10 in. in circumference, and the image of Ganesa is 7 ft. high, 4 ft. 11 in. broad and 1 ft. 5 in. thick. There are two figures of Dvārapālaka or doorkeeper, which are each of them 5 ft. 5 in. in height and 1 ft. 7 in. in breadth.

Malaiyadippatti (p. 44). The village has a combined temple of Siva and Vishnu cut out of a single rock and situated within one prakāra. According to common report, the cave-temples in these parts, eighteen in number, were dug out by one Nandi Rāja. But according to an inscription in the temple, the Siva temple, with a hall 22 ft. 2 in. by 18 ft. 4 in. by 9 ft. 1 in., with a shrine measuring 9 ft. by 7 ft., with four pillars which are each 6 ft. 3 in. in height and 5 ft. 3 in. in circumference and a Nandi, was cut in the 16th year of Vijaya Danti Varma, a Pallava King who lived in the 8th century A. D. (See App. p. xxviii). The Vishnu temple, with its hall 32 ft. 7 in. by 32 ft. 2 in., platform or altar 9 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 6 in., and shrine 16 ft. 8 in. by 5 ft., has a fine image of Vishnu, lying down

as at Srirangam on a stone serpent, much larger than the one at Tirumayyam, which is larger than the one at Srirangam.

Narttamalai (See p. 73). There are a large number of inscriptions in which the hill is called (Rattaiṇṇādikonda Kulōttunga Chōla) *Nagarattu Malai* or the hill on which stood the mercantile town (established by Kulōttunga Chōla, who captured Rattaiṇṇādi or the town of the Rāshtrakūtas,.....The western hill was otherwise called the rock of the Jains.....There are rare medicinal plants and minerals to be found on the hills forming Narttamalai. Of the minerals that are found may be mentioned the mineral which reduces boiled rice to water. Plants, however rare, are believed to be found in this place and a dance-song has the lines :—

“இலங்கெனும் ஜோதி யிருட்சமுண்டு.....

கருகெல்லி மரமுண்டு—அதில்

கருங்காக வெண்காகப் பறையுண்டு.”

meaning “that there are on the mountain the self-luminous tree, karuelli tree, black crows and white crows. The self-luminous tree called in Sanskrit *thrinājyōtis* or *jyōtishmati* is supposed to be ever shedding light, without requiring any oil. (See Kālidāsa's *Kumarasambhava*, I, 10). Karuelli prolonged one's life indefinitely and it was only by eating a fruit of this tree (resembling the elixir of life) that Avvai, the poetess, is said to have lived for about one thousand years. (See Nacchinārkaṇṇiyār's Commentary on *Sirappinṇeruppadaḷai*, the 91st poem of *Paraimalai* and Mahāmahōpādhyāya M. R. By. Swaminatha Aiyar's note on Anji and Avvai in his edition of the latter book. Another composition mentions that the hill contains an antidote to poison, being the exudation of a “nameless tree” a plant which enables a man to bewitch any woman”, a drug which will render the enemies speechless, and something called *Indradhanus* or “the bow of Indra” which acts like the philosopher's stone and transmutes iron into gold.

From inscriptions to be found on Narttamalai, we find that there were two monasteries there of Jains, which were both academies and places of worship. The hill on which they stood seem to have been originally called *Tirumimmalai* or “Arhat Deva hill”. After these monasteries were established, they came to be called “*Tiruppattimalai*” and “*Ten Tiruppattimalai*” or “the sacred Jain monastery hill” and “the southern sacred Jain monastery hill”. One of the inscriptions states that the produce of the lands allotted to these Jain institutions were to be divided in the ratio of 2 : 1, showing that the first of these monasteries was the more important.

On the Alaruttimalai or "man rolling hill*" near Annachattiram, above the cave in the hill, there are two Jain images cut out on the hill and there is also a mutilated figure of Jaina or Buddhist origin within the cave".

Nallur (p. 142).....From an inscription at Panditakkudi near the village Nallur, it will be found that the Chattram was established for the benefit of the pilgrims to Rannad (and Ramésvaram) by Alagiri Nayakan, son of Treasury Minakshi Nayakan in Vilambi year (1708—9 A. D). His figure is found cut with a *namam* (or the forehead mark of a Vaishnava) on a pillar in the Chattram with that of a woman, who may be taken to be his wife.

Puliyur. See Errata sheet and Visalūr below.

Sittannavasal (See p. 73). Is noted for its rock-cut Jain temple. Its front hall measures 22 ft. 10 in. by 11 ft. 6 in. and has two pillars also cut out of the rock and seeming to serve as supports, which are 2 ft. 2 in. square and 6 ft. 10 in. high. Behind the middle part of the hall is a square room measuring 10 ft. 6 in. each way, and the doorway which leads to it is 5 ft. 7 in. high and 2 ft. 6 in. broad. Within this room there are three Jain images, each of them having three umbrellas over it. There are two images on the northern and the southern side of the front hall facing each other, the figure on the northern side having one umbrella over it and the figure on the southern side having its head protected by a serpent with five hoods. There are some pieces of chiselled stone scattered about here and there, which may be taken to show that there was a building attached to the front hall. On the ceiling of the hall are pictures in water-colours of birds represented as seated on lotuses in tanks. These pictures, which are very likely more than ten centuries old, look as fresh as though they were only ten or twenty years old. It is said that offerings to the Jain Gods at this place are occasionally made every now by Jains that go to the place from Kumbhakonam in the Tanjore District and other places. On the north-eastern side of the rock there is a spacious polished surface containing 17 beds with pillows cut out of the rock. Seven steps lead to this, which therefore bears the name of "ஏழுமட்டம்" or "Seven-step flat". [See pp. 51 (a), 51 (b), App. p. xx, p. xxv].

There is a pond in the village called "நச்சினை", which is a corruption of "நாவல்சனை" or "the spring by the side of Nāval (or native apple)

* *Giripatanam* or "inflicting death by causing a man to fall down a hill" is one of the punishments mentioned in Sanskrit Law books: *வரைபாய்தல* (=falling down a hill), mentioned on pp. 94 and 252 of Nacchinar-kiniyar's commentary on *Tolkāppiyam Poruladhikāram* is allied to this.

trees. The tank is ever full of water. It was drained in 1911, when it was found that in the tank there was a rock-cut oval-shaped temple with a lingam in it also cut out of the rock. The lingam had no moss over it and there was enough of space in the temple for a man to go round the lingam.

Tenimalai (See p. 73). Is also called Ténur hill. Contains a sort of natural cavern which has been fitted out as a temple or monastery. The cavern was once used as a dwelling place by some Jains. Engraved on the rock of the hill are found the figures of a God under three umbrellas and two other Jain Gods. Separate figures also of these Gods are found mutilated in the cavern. There is an inscription on the rock which refers to a monastery under one Malayadhwaja, evidently a Jain ascetic, and of lands granted to this by one Irukkavél, a ruler of Kodumbalur.

Tennangudi (App. p. vii).....The place is said to have been called after one Tennan Rāja, about whom the following story is told. When he had to go out for some war, he gave his wife a flower and turmeric, told her that he would return within a specified time and that, if he should not be by her side within the time she had to infer that he was dead, if she found the flower faded and turmeric black. The Rāja did not return within the prescribed time and his wife found that the flower had faded and that the turmeric had turned black. She got a pit of fire ready and was about to fall into it as an act of Sati, when God appeared to her in the form of an old Pandaram and prevented her from falling into the fire by informing her that her husband would come back to her soon. The Rāja returned as foretold by the Pandaram and the pit of fire became converted into the drinking pond of the village. The land itself came to be called "Mangilyam Kāttha Nādu" or "the land of salvation from widowhood" or Kulamangala Nādu.

Tennanur. See Tennangudi, the correct name.

Tirumayyam (p. 44).....Both the temple of Vishnu and that of Siva are rock-cut. What was once a stone-step of a spiral staircase contains an old inscription of the Pallava period.....

Tiruppur (See p. 73). Near the Pudukkulam tank of this village are found images of Buddha and Vēṅṅina Krishna.

Tiruvarankolam (See p. 70). Kāmāshapāda (Karikāl Chōla) was for a long-time childless. When the Rishi Agastya came to know this, he told the King that to the north of the Vellūr there was a sacred shrine, that Parāmasiva had formed a tank there with a drop of the Ganges in his matted hair and called the tank after himself "அரங்குளம்" or "Tiruvarankulam", which means "the sacred Siva's tank", that one Pushpamitra, an umbrella bearer of Siva, who had incurred his master's displeasure by casting amorous glances at a Gandharva maiden, had been punished by being required to live

for four successive Yugas in this world—in the form first of a Margosa tree, then of an Agatti tree (*Bauhinia tomentosa*) and then of a gold-palm tree* and ultimately of a mantapa or a masonry shed, that Siva as a matter of favour to his servant was kind enough to tell him that he would live under his shadow, that at that particular time the umbrella bearer was in the form of a gold-palm tree, and that the King Karikál Chóla would be blest with a child, if he should go to Tiruvarankulam and worship Siva there. Karikal Chóla resorted to the place as directed, but his efforts to get at the palm tree were for several days unavailing. He finally met with a hunter, who had a gold fruit with him, and told the King that the fruit was from a tree that stood near the place, that he had sold a number of such fruits to a Chetti and that he would take the King to the palm tree. When the King approached the tree, Siva's umbrella bearer, who was seated on its top, told the King that the time had come for him to turn himself into a mantapa. The tree immediately afterwards disappeared, leaving its name in the name of a fort, Porppanaikkóttai near Tiruvarankulam.

The foregoing account is from the Tiruvarankulam Sthalapurana. The following account is from a Tamil manuscript in prose. There was a Rishi performing an austere penance in the neighbouring forest, and a Védan (a man of the hunting caste), who had strayed away from his wife, found her afterwards with the Rishi. The Védan thanked the Rishi and offered to take to him every day some roots and fruits, which the Rishi said he would be glad to accept. The next day the Védan found all of a sudden in the forest a palm tree, from which a fruit fell down at the time he saw it. He took the fruit to the Rishi, who, telling him that it was not fit to be eaten, required him to take it to one of the Chettis in a neighbouring village.

Vellanur (See p. 73). There is an image of Buddha lying down to the south of the Vattai cutchery at the place.

Viralimalai (p. 94; p. 130). Has a famous shrine of Subrahmanya. The story relating to the origin of the shrine is that a boy, having received a beating from his teacher, hid himself behind the image of Subrahmanya at Vayalúr, six miles to the west of Trichinopoly, that he was shut up in the temple when the temple was closed after the night púja, that the boy was dreadfully afraid when he found himself alone, that the God quieted his fears and gave him the power of *extempore* composition, that the boy began at once to sing hymns in praise of the God, that the parents of the boy were

*It is curious that these three trees, Margosa, Agatti and Palm tree were held in great esteem by the three great Kings of the ancient Tamil land, the Pándyas, the Chólas and the Chéras respectively.

delighted when the next day they found the boy safe, learned and wise, that the God once thought of going on a sporting excursion, that the boy was permitted to follow the God catching hold of the feathers of the peacock vehicle of the God, that during the excursion the God was so much pleased with the parts about Virálmalai that he intended to settle down there, that the chieftain of Pérambúr and Kattalúr, Abagia Manavida Tévan, in whose territory lay the tract, was then there, that, on being told by the boy that the God Subrahmanya was there, he expressed a desire to see the God, that the boy composed a hymn for this purpose, that the boy's prayer was granted, but that the chieftain lost his eyesight "blasted by the excessive light" and effulgence of the God, that on praying to the God for recovery of his vision his eyesight was restored and that the chieftain built a temple to the God at the place and was one of his most devoted worshippers. The boy, whose name was Gnána Varódaya, became the first trustee of the temple. Portions of the temple were built by the Náyak chieftains of Kumárávádi, into whose hands the tract about Virálmalai passed later on. To the east of the temple is what is known as "the Eastern gate mantapam", where laudatory songs are sung on the Pérambúr and Kattalúr rulers, who patronised the temple.

.....One Karuppanmútha Pillai, an agent of the palayakár of Kumárávádi, in whose tract lay the temple, had made it a rule to visit the temple and worship the God every Friday. Once after he had set out from his house, he found that on account of heavy showers, a tank had burst and the Mámundi stream, lying between Kumárávádi and Virálmalai, had become unfordable. He concluded that he had to spend the night at some distance from human habitations without meals and what was more important to him without smoking. The God however appeared to him, kindly supplied him with a cigar and light, and arranged for his visiting the temple that night without difficulty. From that time forwards cigars have been offered to the God at the time of the last púja of the day along with food and other eatables and distributed among the Brahmans and others visiting the temple. It is said that, after the tract passed into the hands of the Tondaimans, a ruler of Pudukkóttai ordered the offering of cigars to be stopped as inappropriate to such a superior deity as Subrahmanya, and that is said to have appeared to the ruler in a dream, exhibiting his injured body and explained that it was impossible for him to get on without smoking with the result that the cigar offering was permitted to be continued*.

*See Muthuppalani Kaviráyar's Viráliyānkáthal, from which the two following lines may be quoted.

“மீறுபுகைச் சுற்றேது வேண்டா வெணுமரசன்
தேறு கனவுதனிற் செவ்வுதிரன் காட்டிவின்றேன்.”

Varppattu (p. 155). This is a village near Ponnamarayati in the tract which once belonged to Bonni Nayak of Varappur-Karishpét. The place is otherwise called Ranga Krishna Muttu Vira Bhūpala Samudram, as it was granted in the following circumstances as an Inam village to Brahmins by Dalavay Narasayya of Trichinopoly. On returning from a pilgrimage to Ramésvaram, the Dalavay seems to have thought the place very suitable for an Agraharam. He ordered the jungles at the place to be cleared and houses to be built there and imported Brahmins to whom he presented the houses and cultivable lands in the name of the Nayak ruler, Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa (1682—9 A. D.) The people of the village are said to have of their own accord offered it to the Tondaiman, under whom they thought they would have better protection than under Bonni Nayak.

Visalur,..... There is in the village a big banyan tree with 97 stems. Under and near this banyan tree dacoities were and probably still are arranged and oaths taken. The Kallars are afraid to tell lies within two furlongs of Visalur, which is the most important Kallar centre. There are temples to two Pattavars (persons that died under special circumstances) and a Karuppar. The story is that originally Visalur was a Vellala village, that the Kallars, having settled in those parts, were growing in power, that one of the Kallars asked a Vellala to give him his daughter in marriage, that the Vellala, afraid of the Kallars, pretended assent, that he informed the other Vellalars of this and that all of them including the girl ran away leaving the Kalla proposer of the marriage in a rage, that one Vellala however was in love with a dancing-girl at the place, that he was paying stealthy visits to her, that he was found out and killed, that the dancing-girl, taking herself to be the cause of his death, committed suicide, that her servant thereupon did the same, that these received honours as Pattavars, that a Karuppar (or Black god) of Malayalam, which was often wandering from Malabar to Negapatam, found Visalur a convenient place to live in, that it entered into an arrangement with the souls of the Pattavars that offerings should be made to it after they were presented to the Vellala and the dancing-girl, but before the servant was propitiated, and that the three Pattavars and Karuppar now receive offerings and are worshipped by some Kallars and Melagars.

APPENDIX J.

Some Additional Notes.

Page 48. Insert as the last paragraph the following :—

“The custom seems to have prevailed in Marungapur Estate as late as twenty years ago. One Parattaiyan Ambalakaran is said to have been enclosed in such a pot, which was furnished with arrangements for the man's excrements being removed. The pot is said to have been placed under a tree in one of his *punjai* (or dry) lands outside the village, whither his meals were taken. The man is reported to have had good vision and power of speech, and his confinement in a pot must have seemed to him a sort of punishment”.

Page 82. In continuation of the third footnote, read

Another chief referred to in Tamil literature is “மாதே வீரன்” “or the hero of Mádai” who, in an inscription at Durvasapuram in the Tirumayyam Taluk, is described as “மெய்யன் செல்வத்தனபாலன் பேரிந்தை” (sic) மாதே வீரன்.

Page 100. Between the 9th and the 10th line, add “A. D. 1315* Malittan Pallavarayar of Perungalur purchases lands at Agavayal in Tenkavinadu for instituting in the temple at Tirugokarnam a Pallavaraya *sandhi* (= a daily service at a fixed hour at his expense), a Pallavarayan festival (= probably a festival of the God celebrated on the anniversary of the birthday of the ruler), a festival on the full-moon day in *Vaikasi* month, and a festival on the day on which the God was taken out for a bath in the month of *Chitra*”.

Lines 14–15. Add “The inscription of Maran Sadaiyan in the temple and the rock-cut shrine show that the temple was in existence long before this date (1387)—before the ninth century”.

*The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur M. R. Ry. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai Avargal is of opinion that, in the inscription containing an account of Malittan Pallavarayar's charities, there are no sufficient astronomical data for fixing its absolute date and that probably Maravarma Kulasekhara Pandya, in the second year of whose reign the inscription was engraved, was the Pandya of that name, who began his reign in 1314 A.D.

Page 129. Line 3 and Page 145. Line 4. { Add "In a copper plate dated 1661, however, 'Pudukkóttai Simai' is mentioned, which seems to show that the name was in use before 1686".

Page 141. Line 13. As a footnote to "Akkal Rájá", read

This Akkal Rájá must have been a nobleman of affluence that had gone to the Pudukkóttai side from Vijayanagaram and lived at the time at Uppilikkudi. There seems to have been an earlier Vijayanagaram nobleman of the same name, of whom it is said that, when he was on a pilgrimage to Rámésvaram, he was persuaded to settle in these parts to put down the lawless Visengináttukkallars, that he lived in a fort on the Nárttámalai hills, that one Akkacchiá, a Pallavaráya princess (evidently of Kalasamangalam or Pudukkóttai, as can be easily inferred from the name 'Akkacchiá Tank' in the town) employed a Kallan of the surname Kacchirán to bring her his head, and that, when this was done, Akkal Rájá's seven wives committed Sati by throwing themselves into firepits prepared near Nocchikkanmai by the side of the Nárttámalai hills.

Page 141. Line 20. After 'in that year' add "From an inscription (relating to a charity to a Vishnu temple) engraved on a stone planted near Vellaimantapam between the 17th and the 18th milestone from Pudukkóttai on the road to Trichinopoly, we find this ruler calling himself "கோடியாதிபதி" or "ruler of Pudukkóttai". [Kóti=new; the word is sometimes used for Pudukkóttai=New Fort]. This must be taken to show that the ruler considered himself as connected with the Tondaimán line of Pudukkóttai, of which the Kolatár line was a branch. In this inscription of which parts are wanting, the ruler seems to connect himself with "கள்ளத்திருமங்கைவம்சம்" or the family of the well-known Vaishnava saint of the name of Tirumangai Alwar, who, before he became a saint, is said to have been for a time a robber. This may be taken to mean that the ruler was of the Kallar caste and that he was a staunch Vaishnava".

Page 141. Line 32. As a footnote to "the Sérvaikárs of Nánguppatti" read

These were Unjanaináttukkallars and were related to the Sérvaikárs of Kannanúr (See Appendix, page ix). They

were known as அஞ்சுநிலைப்பற்று ஸந்தார்கள் or "the commandants of the fighting men living in the fire stations" or villages of Nánguppatti, Pérámbúr, Marudampatti, Pákkudi and Sāranakkudi, which were under the rule of the Pérámbúr-Kattalúr chiefs (See p. 94).

Page 263. Between the 25th and the 26th line read

The battle was fought at Surandivadi * (now called Súrāndikkulam), as is mentioned in the following stanza obtained from a member of the Manna Vélár family,

பந்தாடு கந்துகம் தூறு யிரந்தந்தி பத்துலட்சம்
பந்தாக வேவந் தெதிராடு மைதீதன் பானயத்தில்
பந்தாக வேவெட்டிச் சூரண்டிவாடியிற் பேர்நிலைத்து
வந்தான்றென் கோடி மதுநாத மன்னவேன் மன்னவனே.

Meaning that "the ruler Raghunātha (Tondaimán) of Pudukkóttai, who was the feudal lord of Manna Vélár, killed at Súrāndivadi by a stratagem countless horses and elephants in the opposing army of Haider and thus established his name".

Page 332. Line 17. After 'encouragement' add

Subba Aiyar of Ráyapuram mentioned above was also the author of *Madura Tiruvilaigádal Kirtanai* and several marriage songs. Subrahmanya Bháratí, author of *Kundrákkudi Pillaitthamil*, though known as a poet of Sivaganga, was patronised by the second ruler of the State and granted lands at Kánappéttai to the east of Tirumayyam as Sarvamányam.

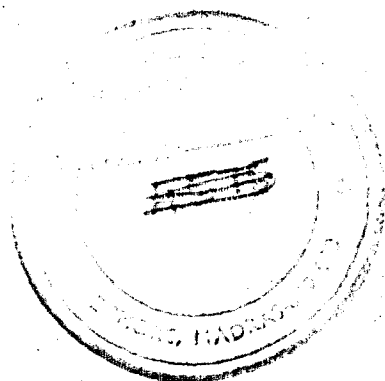
The account would be incomplete if no reference be made to the Mussulman author of *Ablishékamálai*, which was first publicly read and published at Vayalogam and the celebrated scholar Father Beschi † or Viramámunivar, who lived for a time at Avúr (See p. 167). The latter ate, dressed and behaved like the native Head of a native Matt, abstaining from animal food, riding in a palanquin, etc. He was the author

* Vádi—a sentinel's station. The account is that in the Sottuppalai tract a Maravan of the name of Sira Tévan once made himself ruler and stationed a sentinel in the locality now called Súrāndikkulam, a little to the east of the chattram at Athanakkóttai.

† For a very interesting account of this missionary, see the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Series I, Vol. XI, 1840.

of many books in Tamil, including a dictionary and grammars. A copy of his celebrated Tamil epic, *Tembávaní*, was found at Avúr in the house of one Bangáru Naig, his disciple.

Appendix. Page 5, line 6. Add "The latter work is said to have been composed by one Padikkásu Pandáram, who from internal evidence may be taken to have written the former work also. See also page 330 of the History"



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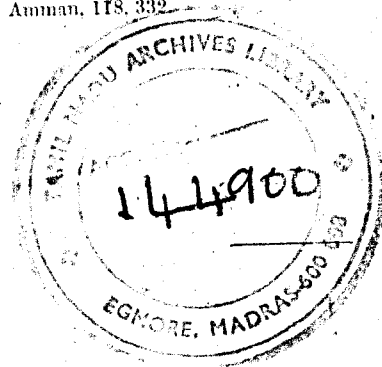
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