

DEWAN VELU TAMPI AND THE BRITISH



Dr. B. SOBHANAN

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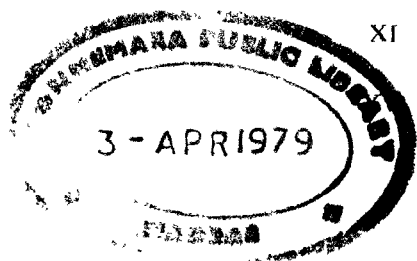
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*to the loving memory my
youngest brother B. Jayakumar
this book is affectionately
dedicated*

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FOREWORD

Much has been written for and against Vēlu Tampi Dalaya of Travancore by historians of Kēraḷa but practically nothing on the objective reality of this extraordinary man's personality, policies, objectives and attitudes and his real place in history. He has, infact suffered at the hands of friends and foes alike, the former extolling him as a paragon of virtue, valour, virile manhood, and of supreme sacrifice and the latter damning him as a monster of cruelty and injustice. Nobody was able to bring out the historical truth, with the aid of critical scholarship, as every historian of Vēlu Tampi was moved to action by some strong caste or class bias. What has been written, as history, about him has as a result turned out to be 'mythology's wicked sister propaganda', and this large mass of literature has served only to make a reflective reader to suspect the purpose of history itself.

Dr. Sobhanan's study of Vēlu Tampi is an honest historian's sincere attempt to reach the realm of truth. He has succeeded to a degree in disentangling the personality of the man from the numerous myths woven round him by his admirers and antagonists. That he does with scrupulous care by producing incontrovertible evidences from archival sources, most of which the previous historians have not had the chance to see. The emerging picture of Vēlu Tampi is consequently shorn off most of the glamour and iridescence of a national hero and the ghoulishness of an evil genius.

Those who are familiar with the traditional accounts of Vēlu Tampi and consider him as a man of high principles and selfless service to the state, may find it difficult to accept Dr. Sobhanan's account. But as his conclusions are properly supported by unassailable documentary evidence, it would be hard to refute them also. If we find fault with English documents as the founts of false evidences against him, we must reject them. However even those who say these are unreliable evidences, use those portions of them that suit their purpose. We have largely to depend upon the English records as in the absence of dependable local sources they remain the main sources of our information on the subject. The Mahārāja's own evidences given in the letters and memorials written by him are eminently trustworthy. It is on the basis of these and other primary sources that Dr. Sobhanan develops his thesis. I am sure that an impartial reader will find this work highly objective and stimulating.

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PREFACE

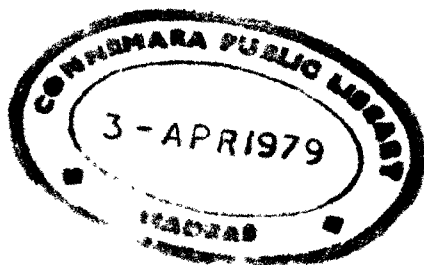
Most of the historians of Kēraḷa have portrayed Dewan Vēlu Tampī as one of the foremost freedom fighters, a statesman of the highest calibre, a man of deep patriotism and exceptional ability, a first rate administrator and highly gifted organiser. He was compared with Oliver Cromwell of England and Richelieu of France. But an unbiassed, impartial and objective study based upon contemporary sources will lead to a different conclusion. His reforms in the political, commercial, financial and revenue spheres were essentially calculated to further the designs of the English East India Company. Those reforms really undermined the vital interests of the State. He was regulated more by a feudal than a national ideology. Throughout the major portion of his career he only acted as a mere mouthpiece of the Company. He was used as a tool to impose their verdicts upon the Mahārāja. He championed the cause of the nation only in the eleventh hour of his life, when his relations with the Company was strained beyond redemption. He was an opportunist who stood for the perpetuation of his power, prestige and status overlooking all the burning problems of the State. He betrayed the Nāyar Community by helping to destroy the Nāyar Brigade which was a bulwark against British imperial designs. Through him, the British imposed the subsidiary system upon Travancore. His blind intimacy with the British brought insurmountable political and financial liability upon Travancore. It is true that he repaid his guilt through an open rebellion and courted martyrdom as a rebel against British imperialism.

This delineation of the character and work of Vēlu Tampi is to be studied against the background of the firm opposition of the King Balarāma Varma, who consistently and vehemently opposed the attempt of Col. Macaulay, the British Resident at the court of Travancore, to interfere in the day-to-day administration of the country. He supported the enemies of the Dewan in their opposition to him. The revolt of the Nāyar Brigade had his blessings but it misfired and the Dewan and the Resident were able to suppress it. All the attempts of the Dewan to persuade the Mahārāja to accept the revision of the Treaty of 1795 ended in failure. It was only after the show of brute force that Balarāma Varma agreed to sign the subsidiary Treaty of 1805. Even after signing the Treaty he continued to petition the Madras and Supreme Governments, stating his inability to meet the increased subsidy provided in it. The failure of the Rāja to pay the additional subsidy enraged the Resident, who did not fail to castigate even his erstwhile friend and supporter, Dewan Vēlu Tampi. It was this personal animosity that persuaded the Dewan to organise the Rebellion of 1809. Even after the failure of the Rebellion and the subjugation of the country by the Company, the Mahārāja continued his opposition to the interference of the Resident in the affairs of the State, and it lasted until his death. When we compare the roles of the Dewan and the Mahārāja in attempting to preserve the independence of the country from British control, we find that the portrayal of Vēlu Tampi as a national hero attempting to stem the tide of British imperialism was more of a myth than a reality.

No doubt it is impossible to bring out the role of Vēlu Tampi from the archival deposits in Kerala. The contemporary vernacular records dealing with his career have mostly disappeared. For a clear understanding of his role in inaugurating British supremacy in Travancore we will have to depend on the contemporary records preserved in the archives of Madras, New Delhi, and London. This study is based upon the original source material collected from the National Archives of India, New, Delhi Tamilnadu Archives, Madras and Kerala State Archives. Secondary sources were consulted at the Connemara Library, Madras, Theosophical Society Library, Adayar, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, New Delhi, Kerala University Library, Kerala Legislature Library and the State Central Library,

With deep gratitude I record my indebtedness to my guide, Dr. A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, Professor of History, University of Calicut. He has gone through the entire manuscript and made valuable suggestions and modifications. I am extremely grateful to Dr. T. K. Ravindran, Professor and Head of the Department of History, University of Kerala, who has written the foreword to this book. I am thankful to Dr. M. J. Koshy, Dr. K. K. Kusuman, Sri. T. K. Vijayamohan and Sri. M. Thankappan Pilla for their encouragement.

B. Sobhanan



ABBREVIATIONS

Anj. Diary	: Anjengo Diary.
A. A. Reg.	: Asiatic Annual Register.
For. Pol. Cons. Proc.	: Foreign Political Consultation Proceedings.
For. Sec. Cons. Proc.	: Foreign Secret Consultation Proceedings.
K. S. A.	: Kerala State Archives.
Minutes	: Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on the affairs of the English East India Company.
Parliamentary Papers	: Parliamentary Papers relating to the East India Affairs.
Pol. Cons.	: Political Consultations.
Sec. Cons.	: Secret Consultations.
Sec. Sun. TR.	: Secret Sundries relating to the Travancore Rebellion of 1809.
Sec. letters	: Secret letters from Fort St. George to England.

INTRODUCTION

Travancore was fortunate to have many talented ministers. The course of Travancore history was largely regulated and controlled by some of its eminent ministers. King Mārtāṇḍa Varma perfected the organisation of modern Travancore mainly through the selfless devotion of his minister, Rāmayyan Daḷava. His successor King Rāma Varma brought peace and prosperity to his kingdom through the assistance of his minister, Daḷava Ayyappan Mārtāṇḍa Piḷḷa. Rāma Varma safeguarded his kingdom from the onslaughts of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan with the help of Dewan Rāja Kēśava Dās. Those ministers rendered signal service for the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom. They derived satisfaction from their selfless and dedicated service to their masters. For instance, just before the death of Rāmayyan Daḷava, Mārtāṇḍa Varma sent Prince Rāma Varma to ascertain his wishes as to the manner in which his name was to be perpetuated. The dying Daḷava replied: "I disclaim any personal right to the proposed honor. I was merely the instrument in my master's hands. Although I have accomplished my aims, I am only sorry that I was not permitted to conquer and annex Cochin."

With the growth of the British power the old designation of Daḷava was changed into Dewan, in common with officers of similar stature outside the state. In 1788, Kēśava Piḷḷa changed his designation of Daḷava and he became the first Dewan of Travancore. The office of the Dewan was originally instituted by the Court of Directors to co-ordinate the activities of the Mahārāja and the Political Resident. In 1788, contingents of the British army were stationed at the frontiers of Travancore to protect the Kingdom from the threatened invasion of Tipu Sultan. George Powney, the commanding Officer of the forces assumed the status of the first Political Resident of Travancore. The Political Resident who represented the mighty British empire in the local court was much more than an ambassador, he was like an uncrowned King. The Mahārāja and the Political Resident constituted two entirely different sovereign authorities. This contradictory dual system of Government was unscientific and unworkable according to the basic maxims of political science.

The institution of the Dewan was created to co-ordinate these opposite executive heads. It was very difficult for the Dewan to please two sovereign masters, who represented divergent view points at the same time. Mahārāja was forced to appoint a Dewan of British choice. The tenure and security of the Dewan's office purely depended upon his talents to please the British officers. The Dewan who was authorised to look after the welfare and prosperity of the Mahārāja and his subjects, degenerated into a mere instrument to fulfil the imperial designs of the British over the land. In the words of Sri Nandan Prasad: "The

extensive control exercised by the Government in the selection and removal of 'Dewans' in the subordinate states during the earlier years was doubtlessly with a view to consolidate its influence in the states.'¹ The Court of Directors recorded in their minutes that "governing by the Dewan is in reality assuming powers of the civil Government." Moreover a "Dewan or Prime Minister, who knows he depends on the support from British power would be dismissed the moment that support should be withdrawn from him, takes care to conduct business in conformity with the inclinations of the British Government."² On the ministers of those days Jawaharlal Nehru commented that they considered themselves answerable far more to British authority than to their nominal head, the prince.³

The English East India Company had gradually extended their imperial domination over Travancore largely through the instrumentality of the Dewans. The greatest Dewans like Rāja Kēśava Dās and Vēlu Tampi played an important role in the establishment of British supremacy upon Travancore. They rendered immense and memorable service for the perpetuation of British power overlooking the crucial problems of the State. In 1795 through the medium of Rāja Kēśava Dās, the English established 'the perpetual treaty of friendship, alliance and subsidy' upon Travancore. He agreed to remit four lakh rupees per annum for the expenses of three battalions of Sepoys. Through this measure he earned the compliments of the Governor-General

1. Sri Nandan Prasad, *Paramourty Under Dalhousie*, p. 91.

2. *Minutes*, Vol. IV, p. 7.

3. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 312.

and the Court of Directors. Marquess Wellesley conferred on him the title of 'Rāja' and the Court of Directors recorded in their minutes that the Dewan was "a man of uncommon ability and worth." His intimacy with the English brought heavy financial liability upon his master King Balarāma Varma (1798-1810) the successor of Rāma Varma, disliked the collusion between his minister Rāja Kēśava Dās and the English East India Company. In 1799 the Mahārāja dismissed his minister and put him under close confinement. There he was poisoned to death.⁴

After two years of ministerial instability, Vēlu Tamp i was appointed as the new Dewan in 1801. His period (1801-1809) constituted one of the crucial epochs in the relationship between the English and Travancore. King Bālarāma Varma, the reigning Mahārāja in spite of his minority of age and inexperience, entertained a strong dislike towards British interference. His great ancestors like Mārtaṇḍa Varma and Rāma Varma had sought after British friendship. They had maintained the friendship amidst several bitter experiences from the English side. The Court of Directors observed that the death of Rāma Varma "appears to have been followed by various circumstances unfavourable to the maintenance of cordial friendship that had subsisted between his state and the Company's Government."⁵ Further they observed that the old Rajah was succeeded by his nephew, "a young man, whose character seems ever since to have been marked by imbecility, caprice and other quali-

4. Vide, My article, 'Tragic end of Rjāa Kēśava Dās and His family', *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 489-496.

5. *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. XIII, p. 125.

ties which show him to be wholly unequal to the task of Government.”⁶ According to them “neither the Rajah nor those employed in the transaction of his affairs regarded British connection with the ancient cordiality.”⁷

Col. Macaulay, the Political Resident of Travancore (1800–1810) after the first meeting with the Rājā wrote to the Supreme Government that the young Rājā was “rather heavy in his appearance.” “He was taught to rate his importance and independence high; conversations had been held in his presence reprobating the idea of interference on the part of the British Government in his nomination to offices or in his interior management.”⁸ On another occasion, Col. Macaulay wrote: “the Rajah had been surrounded since his accession by persons dead to the voice of honour or of reasons; his mind exercised only in the operation of fraud, deceit and duplicity.”⁹ Unlike any other King of British India, Bālarāma Varma entertained the disapproval for the British interference in his domestic affairs. He was not ready to agree to any change or modification in the existing relations with the Company.

During this period the English East India Company was rapidly transforming itself from the position and status of a commercial corporation into one of the formidable territorial and political powers of India. The arrival of Marquess Wellesley in 1798 as the Governor-General of

6. *Minutes*, Vol. VI, p. 226.

7. *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. XIII, p. 126.

8. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, Ff. 15033-4.

9. *Ibid.*, F. 15635.

India and the consequent introduction of his controversial scheme of Subsidiary Alliance marked the beginning of the imperial era in British Indian History. He was 'a sacred imperialist, convinced that no greater blessing can be conferred on the native inhabitants of India than the extension of British authority.' He was ambitious to bring all the major native kingdoms under the Subsidiary System.

Travancore, one of the premier princely states in South India occupied a strategic position in the commercial and political transactions of the Company. Travancore is a coastal strip of land located in the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula. It is bounded by the Arabian sea on the west, the western ghats on the east and hemmed in by British Indian territories on the other sides. In the words of Sir John Shore, the Governor-General of India, the possession of Travancore by any other European power "would in fact prove the subversion of the British power on the coast of Malabar."¹⁰

England was at that time engaged in a war with France and the French therefore took it as a policy to strike at British power in the East. Napoleon Bonaparte had declared in Europe that "he has a commission from God to advance the glory of France."¹¹ The conference held at Amiens between the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France on the 19th of January 1802 affords satisfactory evidence of the insidious views of France upon Travancore. The French plenipotentiary demanded "that France should have permission

10. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 25 September 1795, F. 6962.

11. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, F. 15796.

to establish a Factory at Alleppey." 12 Captain Wood, the Officer Commanding His Majesty's Frigate La Concorde reported from Seychelle Islands that "he had been informed by various persons, particularly by a Monsieur Quincy and a Monsieur Sausee that the Governor General of the French Islands have projected an expedition against Alleppey in Travancore, to be composed of some regular troops and about two thousand conscripts." 13 It shows that there was every possibility for a French expedition under Napoleon against the English in Travancore. In the opinion of Col. Macaulay, "if the French once get possession of this extra-ordinary country, such and so great are its natural advantages and resources that their expulsion could hardly be effected by the united power of the British Empire in India without considerable difficulty." 14

The expulsion of the French from Hyderabad in 1798 and from Mysore in 1799 had relieved the English from all apprehension of their intrigues in those quarters. But Travancore was still vulnerable to French infiltration, if early measures were not taken to guard against it. In January, 1800, the Governor-General observed that he was fully impressed with the absolute necessity of using every practicable degree of caution against the indefatigable attempts of the emissaries of France to establish an interest in India inimical to the welfare of the British empire. 15 On 7th January Col. Macaulay was appointed the Resident with special and confidential

12. Ibid; 16 May 1805, F. 11030.

13. Ibid., 2 May 1805, F. 6437.

14. Ibid., 17 May 1804, Ff. 15594-5 (Vide, Appendix. A. II)

15. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 7 January 1800, F. 6.

instructions to secure the revision of the existing treaty with Travancore, incorporating the provisions of the Subsidiary Alliance, and thereby bring the Travancore Government under the Company's effective control.

Col. Macaulay was a staunch imperialist, who pursued a dictatorial and overbearing policy in his dealings with the Maharaja. The Bishop of Cochin had recorded: "The vengeance of Col. Macaulay was not to be appeased and before whom everything bends, everything trembles."¹⁶ He was more imperious than Marquess Wellesley himself. But the young Maharaja was also equally resolute and he thwarted all the attempts of Col. Macaulay to revise the existing relationship. When Col. Macaulay proceeded to fulfil his imperial mission through the relatives of late Dewan Raja Kēśava Dās, the Maharaja and his followers brought about the murder of the remaining members of the late Dewan's family irrespective of sex or age. Once Col. Macaulay wrote: "The Rajah had bound himself to the host of conspirators by a solemn oath in the great temple not to yield, they having brought him to believe that if he failed me everything would go on to their satisfaction."¹⁷ The difference between Col. Macaulay, the Political Resident and the Maharaja was really unbridgeable. Col. Macaulay failed to have the new treaty accepted through his direct interference. When Macaulay was most helpless Vēlu Tampi came forward and extended full support for the establishment of the Subsidiary Alliance.

16. Ibid., 13 February 1809, F. 591.

17. Pol. Cons., Vol. 42, F. 35.

FORMATIVE EPOCH

Vēlu Tampi was born on 6th May 1765 in an aristocratic Nāyar family at Talakkuḷam, one mile south of Iraṇiyal in South Travancore. His parents were Kuffiṅu Mayārri Piḷḷa and Vaḷḷi Amma Piḷḷa Taṅkaccy. His full name was 'Iḍaprabhu Kulōttuṅga Katircūḷnta Mūḷappaḍa Arasarāna Iṛayaṅḍa Talakuḷattu Valiya Viṭṭil Tampi Cem-pakarāman Vēlayudhan'. But he was popularly known as Vēlu Tampi. In his boyhood days he studied different languages like Malayāḷam, Tamiḷ and Sanskrit and underwent sound physical training in his family gymnasium. He was a terror in his locality to persons who indulged in anti-social activities. According to tradition, his early life was full of lucky adventures. Mahārāja Rāma Varma on his pilgrimage to Rāmēśwaran spent some time at Padmanābhapuram, where his sword and ornaments were stolen by some Maṛava thieves. When the officers of the State failed to find out the culprits, they sought the help of Vēlu Tampi. Vēlu Tampi succeeded in apprehending the thieves and recovering the booty. This event brought him much reputation. In 1785 the Mahārāja appointed him as the Kāryakkār of Iraṇiyal at the age of twenty.

Following the Mysorean invasion upon the Travancore Lines in 1789 and 1790, Rāma Varma was forced to impose several new and vexatious taxes upon his subjects. He imposed *Nilavari* (tax on wet-lands) and *Kaḍamavari* (tax on garden-lands). In 1792 royal writs were issued for the levy of a special war-tax.¹ The Government tried to fight against Tipu Sultan with all its resources and extended its support to the English East India Company in their attempt to stem the tide of the growing power of Tipu Sultan. Naturally this brought heavy financial burden upon Travancore. It was in such a state of financial stringency that the war-tax was imposed. The Kāryakkārs were authorised to collect the additional levy. But some of the officers refused to collect the additional taxes and quitted the office. They even refused to pay their share. Vēlu Tampi was one among them, "who failed to fall in with Kesava Pillai's policy. He had therefore gone into premature retirement".² He made his next appearance in public matters only after the death of R. ja Kēśava Dās.

In 1799, following the death of Rāja Kēśava Dās, King Bālarāma Varma proceeded to organise a ministry independent of British control. The Governor-General while expressing his condolence on the demise of Raja Kēśava Dās, cautioned the Mahaārāja on the selection of a new Dewan. He should be a person of ability and integrity. Such a selection alone would promote the prosperity of the

1. R. Madhava Iyer, *the Travancore Land Revenue Manual*, Vol. IV p. 151.

2. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, *Progressive Travancore*, p. 141.

country and the dignity and reputation of the Mahārāja. The Mahārāja was directed to consult Major Bannerman, the Resident, in the selection of the new Dewan.³

Disgusted at the Company's increasing interference in the internal affairs of Travancore, the Mahārāja appointed without consulting the Resident Jayantan Śāṅkaran Nambūtiri as the Valiya Sarvādhi Kāryakkār on 19th Medam, 974 (M.E.) and invested him with all powers to direct and supervise the subordinate officers.⁴ Jayantan Śāṅkaran had taken refuge in Travancore during the Mysorean invasion. He was very close with the young Mahārāja. But he was unscrupulous and corrupt. The Nambūtiri after his elevation to the high office, appointed his favourites as the subordinate officers. Śāṅkaranārayaṇan Ceṭṭi, a native of Tirunelvēli who was residing at Takkala, was appointed as Valiya Mēleḷuttu or finance minister. Besides these two, Māttū Tarakan, a wealthy Syrian Christian from north Travancore, who held the monopoly of salt, timber tobacco and other goods was also included in the inner circle of the Cabinet. Commenting about them P. Shungoony Menon wrote: "Thus the triumvirate of ignorance, profligacy and rapacity came to rule the destinies of this interesting principality inspite of the earnest wish which the Governor General Lord Mornington expressed that a really efficient ministry should be formed."⁵

However, they inherited only an empty treasury. Dewan Sir T. Madhava Rao described the situation on the eve of Rāma

3. For. Sec. Cons. Pro., June 1799, Ff. 4159-60.

4. K. S. A., Nittu, Vol. III, F. 206.

5. P. Shungoony Menon, *A History of Travancore*, p. 293.

Varma' demise that "even extra-ordinary taxation failed to yield adequate means to answer the incessant call for funds. The Maha Rajah felt that he could not, without exciting dangerous discontent among his subjects, increase their burdens and saw no alternative but that of raising loans. Funds were indeed thus obtained to meet the pressing exigencies of the state, but the obligations incurred inevitably led to difficulties of the gravest character, difficulties which embittered the closing years of the Maha Rajah and culminated in a perilous crisis in the reign of his successor."⁶ He borrowed huge amounts from the English East India Company, the bankers and the merchants of other countries at a high rate of interest. Some of the debts remained unsettled even after the death of his successor King Bālarāma Varma. For example on 15th August 1814 Genarta Poy, a merchant of Purakkāḍ residing at Tellicherry submitted a petition before the Madras Government saying that "in the Malabar year 970 His Highness the former Rajah of Travancore being in want of money on loan to satisfy the demands of the British Government called on your petitioner to lend the Sircar as much as he could and in compliance with the Highness's wish your petitioner lent the amount of two lacs of rupees on bonds now in his possession payable with interest at 12 per annum". He was not paid till that year.⁷ Further the late Mahārāja had granted monopolies over merchandise to these merchants. Most of the important commodities like pepper, tobacco, cotton and timber were brought under monopolies. The trammels placed on internal

6. Sir T. Madhava Rao, *Tiruvitāmkūr Caritram*, p. 284.

7. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1816, F. 4.

trade by monopolies and transit duties adversely affected the country's commercial prosperity. The wealthy foreign merchants exploited the resources of the kingdom through these monopolies, and it led to the bankruptcy of the kingdom. The State was under the grip of a serious financial stringency.⁸

The new ministry turned its immediate attention towards the collection of revenues urgently. A list was prepared of those persons who were able to pay. The ministry pressed the people to pay the requisitions for money. Defaulters were severely punished. Persons of position and respectability suffered equally with others. In the course of their exactions they summoned Vēlu Tampi, the ex-Tahsildar of Talakkulam and demanded 20,000 paṇams (nearly 3000 rupees) from him. After securing three days' leave to make the payment he went to Nañcinad and instigated the people to organise a mass upsurge against the exactions of the government. A rebel by instinct, he knew how to work upon popular passions.⁹ He excited the people of his locality by narrating the oppressive measures of the ministry. It was alleged that engines of torture were freely used to extort payment of money. Neither influence nor position afforded immunity from the exactions of the tax-farmers. He cited some of the dishonourable actions like the procession of Jayantan Śanṅkaran Nambūtiri in the palanquin of the late Mahārāja. Vēlu Tampi exhorted the people by declaring that "these men, the Nampuris,

8. Vide, My monograph, *Rama Varma of Travancore, His Role in the Consolidation of British power in South India*, pp. 73-76.

9. Dr. S. N. Sen. 'A Note on Velu Tampi's Rebellion, *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, Vol. XIX, p. 173.

Sankara Narayanan Pillai and others of their ilk have nothing to lose, however badly the country is misgoverned. The injury and disgrace of it all is for our king and for us, his subjects. The state of affairs was therefore to be corrected."¹⁰ Large numbers of people were easily moved and they assembled at Iraṇiyal and marched towards the capital at Trivandrum. They rejected all attempts made by the Nambūtiri to make a compromise. They wanted nothing less than the dismissal of Jayantan Śāṅkaran Nambūtiri and his associates. Without any opposition the petitioners met the representatives of the Mahārāja and submitted their grievances.

The letters sent by Major Bannerman to Madras and Bengal relating to these events could not be traced. Col. Macaulay, later on, stated that the tyranny and cruelties of the Nambūtiri ministry drove the people of the country into an agitation which was ended only by the interposition of the British Government through the agency of Major Bannerman, who persuaded the Rāja to banish the Nambūtiri.¹¹ Upon the request of Col. Munro for a detailed description of the late developments, in 1817, Varkala Kṛṣṇan Cempakarāman, Valiya Mēleḷuttu Śārvādhi Kryakkār of northern division and Mārātṇḍan Cempakarāman, the commander-in-chief, stated that following the arrival of the Kūṭṭam under Vēlu Tampi, an English army under Major Bannerman had reached Trivandrum from Pālayamkōṭṭa.¹² But a Matilakam

10. T. K. Velu Pill, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, p. 451.

11. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 12 December 1809, F. 3998 Letter from the Resident to Supreme Government, 6th February 1809.

12. Putuppalli Raghavan, "Variyola from Varkala Kṛṣṇan Cempakarāman and Mārātṇḍan Cempakarāman" *Kēraḷa Kaumudi*, Vol. XV, pp. 2-3.

document which deals with the insurrection makes no mention of British interference. According to it the Rāja acceded to the request of the Kūṭṭam on the basis of a precedent of 863 M. E. ¹³

The young Mahārāja was forced to yield to all the demands of the Kūṭṭam which were backed by the British force. He agreed to punish the Nambūtiri and others. The duties on salt, coconut, cotton, groundnut, etc., were reduced to one half.¹⁴ Before the happy dissolution of the Kūṭṭam they were admitted to the royal presence to pay their respects. The Mahārāja's only demand was that, since the oppression of the Nambūtiri and his associates had been ended, they should assist him in paying off the huge debt incurred by the late Dewan Rāja Kēśava Dās during the reign of his uncle.¹⁵

Ayyappan Cempakarāman Piḷḷa of Ciṛanyinkil, who was also one of the leaders of the revolt, was appointed the next Dewan. The appointment was approved by Major Bannerman, the Political Resident in Travancore. Vēlu Tampi, the organisar of the revolt was appointed the Muḷakumaḍiśśīla Sarvādhi Kāryakkār.

The 1799 revolt deserves an unbiassed assessment. Much has been written on 'the 55 days' administration of

13. T. K. Velu Pilla, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, Dec. CLXXXVI, (Malayalam).

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

the new ministry. But what actually the Nambūtiri ministry did was to collect the taxes and arrears, of course by using some amount of force. The partisans of Vēlu Tampi ridiculed the ministry as the union of 'ignorance, profligacy and rapacity.' An opposite group had tried to glorify the part of Mättū Tarakan, the Syrian Christian merchant prince who rose to prominence as a political rival of Vēlu Tampi. But both groups have sacrificed truth to partyaffiliation. What exactly happened was that the young Mahārāja agreed to the formation of a ministry headed by the Nambūtiri, in order to avoid British interference, on the ground of financial crisis. The new ministry immediately set about forcibly collecting arrears of taxes and levying many imposts to meet the crisis. Many of the additional taxes levied were not new. They had been imposed earlier in 1792 to meet the mounting expenses connected with Third Anglo-Mysore War.

The ministry had ordered the use of force to collect the levies and especially the arrears. It was done with the consent of the Mahārāja. The financial crisis facing Travancore was of such serious dimensions that it required unusual measures of taxation to meet the situation. Cruel punishments in the course of collection of taxes were nothing new and unnatural in Travancore history. More tyrannical and cruel punishments were later awarded by Vēlu Tampi himself. What earned the ministry much odium was taxing the influential and privileged sections of the society. This became doubly necessary because they were liable to pay a large share of the tax arrears and they were found to be the major defaulters. But when the engines of extortion were set moving against them, their pride and prestige were touched and they reacted against the ministry.

The Company was least sympathetic towards the ministry on the ground that it was hostile to the Company. Further it was installed without the prior approval of the Company's authorities. That is why Major Bannerman persuaded the Mahārāja to banish the Nambūtiri ministry. In view of the rebellion, supported by the Company, the young Mahārāja had no choice but to surrender his favourites. Thus Vēlu Tampi was beholden to the Company for the success of the mass upsurge he led. To Vēlu Tampi was allotted the office of Muḷakumaṭiśśīla Sarvādhi Kāryam which was the most lucrative office in the state.¹⁶

The following year people of the northern parts of Travancore revolted. It was led by the Tiyar, who cultivated and tended the coconut trees and who wanted the additional taxes imposed by the late Dewan upon the trees abolished. Vēlu Tampi's revolt had secured the remission of additional tax to the south of Quilon only.¹⁷ When the up-rising became formidable, troops were sent to quell it without success. Many were killed on both sides. Thereupon Vēlu Tampi was deputed to the North with full powers to meet the situation. He had no difficulty in violently suppressing the revolt.¹⁸ Thus the very person, who had led to mass upsurge in the South against the oppressive taxes of the Nambūtiri ministry, was instrumental in suppressing a similar movement in the North.

Thus the 1799 revolt was only a feudal rising against the

16. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, F. 15351.

17. Ibid., F. 15951.

18. Ibid., F. 15349-50.

arbitrary levy of heavy taxes which was imposed to tide over a serious economic crisis. That a similar movement in North Travancore was suppressed with violence by the organisers of the southern revolt clearly showed that it was no people's upsurge. As a result of the southern revolt the young Maharaja fell a victim to the reactionary feudal forces of Travancore and to British imperialism. That the freedom of Travancore and the independence of its king were in peril in the hands of the feudalist junta supported by British imperialist forces was clear to any discerning observer of the political developments of that period.

Ayyappan Cempakaramān Pilla, who was appointed Dewan on the score of his leadership of the southern revolt, continued as minister from June to December, 1799. He too found it impossible to solve the problems of the day. The mounting financial crisis further worsened the situation. A Curuṇa in the State Archives speaks of the critical finances of the state. The creditors both in and outside the state were pressing for payment. Huge debts had been incurred by the late Mahārāja and his minister. The delay in repayment would seriously damage the fair name of the state. But the treasury was empty. Finding no other way out the Dewan took out the crown jewels from the strong room of the Padmanabhapuram palace and pledged them with the Sri Padmanābhasvāmi temple to meet urgent needs.¹⁹ George Parry, the Commercial Resident of Anjengo wrote to the Bombay Government in 1798-9 that the Rāja of Travancore forced his subjects to deliver the full quantity contracted with the Company without paying a rupee for the

19. T. K. Velu Pill, *op. cit*, Vol. II, App. Doc. No. CLXXXVII.

pepper.²⁰ In 1800 the subjects refused to deliver any further quantity without advance payment. The Company however continued their pressure for the prompt supply of the pepper according to the contract. The Rāja was obliged to sell his private jewels to raise funds for the purpose of fulfilling his engagements with the Company.²¹ Even during this critical condition, within a short span of six months, Dewan Ayyappan Cempakarāman Piḷḷa accumulated nearly 6 lakhs of rupees through corruption or fraudulent means.²² Mātṭū Tarakan paid three lakhs as bribe to save one of his ears from the punishment.²³ In December, 1799, Dewan was dismissed from service and imprisoned at Alleppey, and later at Paṛavūr.

On 10 May, 1800 Col. Macaulay reached the Travancore durbar with credentials from the Governor-General.²⁴ He was really astonished by the peculiar nature of Travancore durbar. Dewan Ayyappan Cempakarāman Piḷḷa was in close confinement. The duties of the Dewan were now carried out by Sumpraṭi Kuññunilan Pilla, who was instrumental

20. Anj. Diary, Vol. 1288, F. 63.

21. Ibid., F. 64.

22. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, Ff. 15346-7.

23. Ibid., F. 15358.

24. Col. Macaulay (1759-1836) was one among the twelve children of John Macaulay in his second wife Margaret, daughter of Colin Campbell of Inverseragam. He was brought up according to the old Scottish system. He was the uncle of Lord Macaulay, the historian and brother of Zachary Macaulay, the philanthropist. In 1775 he came to India as a military officer.

in the murder of the late Dewan Rāja Kēśava Dās. The Mahārāja had made this appointment without the concurrence of the Governor-General. Col. Macaulay stated "The right of the Company to interfere in this nomination was industriously deemed (denied?) and attempted to be ridiculed."²⁵ A cabal headed by Sumprati Piḷḷa had succeeded "in seizing the reins of Government to the exclusion of the Dewan and his friends."²⁶ Col. Macaulay was not permitted to meet the dismissed Dewan even after continued requests. When he found that the restoration of the Dewan was impossible, he forced the Rāja to appoint a new Dewan. He wished either General Kumāran Tampi, brother of Rāja Kēśava Dās or Peishakar Irayimman Tampi, nephew of Kēśava Dās to be appointed as the next Dewan. Following their failure to come forward, he preferred Pāraśśala Padmanābhan, brother-in-law of Kēśava Dās as the next Dewan. The sympathy of the Resident to the late Dewan's family once again roused the suspicions of the Samprati group, on British encroachments in the internal affairs of Travancore. To spite the Resident and to demonstrate the opposition of Travancore to the Company's interference in the state's matters, the entire family of the late Dewan was butchered in coldblood, irrespective of sex or age. Thus the late Dewan and his family lost their lives for their close relations with the Company.²⁷

Col. Macaulay was really amazed at the dominance of the hostile group with in the Travancore court. His

25. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, F. 15052

26. Ibid., F. 15032

27. Vide, My article, *loc. cit.*

proposals for the revision of the treaty of 1795, incorporating the clauses of subsidiary alliance were set at naught by this group. When he found it impossible to impose the new treaty directly upon the Rāja, he wished to find out a proper person for the post of Dewan, to support him in his imperialistic scheme against the Rāja and his hostile coterie. In Vēlu Tampi he found his ardent supporter. Ambitious and equally opposed to the Palace clique, he was found to be the fittest person to advance the imperial interests of the Resident. In December 1801 he was appointed as the new Dewan. The first step he took was to prevail upon the Rāja to disgrace and imprison the Samprāti Piḷḷa and to confiscate his property.²⁸ He was very particular to strengthen the friendship existing between the Company and his state. His conversation with the Resident started telling that "the Rajah had lately discovered in a box belonging to his uncle a cadjan in the handwriting of the old Rajah addressed to his nephew, the present Rajah, containing among other instances of good advice, a solemn injunction to regard the Honorable Company next to Palpanavan Swamy as his friends and protectors". Col. Macaulay impressed upon the new Dewan the necessity to accept the proposed modifications in the Treaty of 1795 viz., reduction in the strength of the Travancore troops, increase in the subsidiary force and a corresponding increase in the subsidy. "The minister listened with attention and offered no objection whatever; he promised to explain the whole of what had been said to the Rajah." Col. Macaulay sugge-

28. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, F. 15526.

sted to him his duty to impress upon the Rajah a due sense of the consistency, justice and moderation of the Company. "The minister seemed to assent and took his leave."²⁹

The Dewan returned only on 20th December 1801. He acquainted the Resident with the Raja's reply that "the debt due by his Government was considerable and expenses for charitable purposes increasing." Consequently acceptance of the modified treaty with its increased subsidy was difficult. Col. Macaulay replied that the debt compared with the means for its liquidation was immaterial. So there was no ground for delay on that account. The Dewan in his reply stated that the delay in giving a prompt reply was mainly due to his unfamiliarity with office routine. The Resident felt that the minister though new to the office, was thoroughly conversant with its responsibilities and duties. The Dewan now "voluntarily promised to follow all such suggestions as might come from the Resident, respecting either the debt or any other matter." But he requested for time to set matters right. The Resident acceded to the request. He stated that the proposed agreement need be entered into only after receipt of the Governor General's reply; "this might not reach the Rajah", the Resident assured the Dewan. "for three months and to arrange the treaty and exchange the ratification might keep three more months." Macaulay insisted to settle matters before 24th December, as he intended to proceed to Bengal shortly after that date. The Dewan expressed the hope of his master might entrust him with some presents to His Excellency.

29. Ibid., Ff. 15533-52 (Vide, Appendix A, 1.)

Marquess Wellesley as the mark of his friendship. The Resident replied that "the best and probably the most satisfactory mark of his master's friendship to Your Excellency would be the agreement for a modification of the existing treaty signed as proposed by him"³⁰.

The proposed agreement consisted of five articles. The fundamental provisions of the agreement remained in tune with the instructions of the Governor-General and the draft of the new treaty. There was no change in the position of the Rāja. The Resident and the Dewan waited for the Rāja for three days at Padmanābhapuram to secure his consent. During these days the Rāja did not turn up. In the course of their conversation, the Resident observed that "now the management of the affairs of this country was in the hands of a person of mature judgement and active abilities, the stability of his power must be regarded as highly desirable." The Dewan was easily moved by the words of the Resident. He exercised heavy pressure upon the Rāja. The Dewan again pleaded for some indulgence to the Rāja and the Resident agreed to refer all matters to the Governor-General and that "whatever might be His Excellency's decision upon it, should be acquiesced without hesitation."³¹

On 24th December, the last moment for the Resident's proposed departure, the Rāja met the Resident. The Rāja observed that "he was aware of the heavy and growing expenses of his friends and protectors, the Company; he

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

had it in contemplation to make an offer of some money for the relief of his friends as far as his finances would bear and was still disposed to do so." But the Resident insisted on the Rāja's approval of the modified treaty as a lasting source of satisfaction to the Governor-General. To this the Rāja raised the same objection and difficulties which he had already expressed through his Dewan. He also pleaded for more time. In addition to these reasons he complained about the low rates of the pepper contract. The Resident postponed the revision of the rates until the expiry of the present pepper contract. Upon the insistence of the Resident, the Rāja agreed to refer all matters to the Governor-General and promised to abide by the decisions of the latter.³²

Thus his attempt to secure the consent of the Rāja for the modified treaty through the instrumentality of Dewan Vēlu Tampī also ended in failure. The Dewan's role in attempting to influence the Rāja might better be expressed in the words of the Resident: "The favourable reception which was given to the propositions tendered by me to the Rajah in December last arose from the Dewan's ascendancy in the Council's of His Highness. This man clearly discerned the advancement of the mutual interests of the Rajah, and of the Company, by the means of a closer connection between the two states and he therefore gave it his support but what chiefly swayed him, was the conviction that his own power would be thereby placed beyond the reach of accident. He therefore took a decided line, in consonance to which he

32. Ibid.

pledged himself to lose no opportunity that might offer for the removal of his adversaries, and he promised to unite with me in using his best endeavours to bring all the depending questions to a successful termination."³³

The account given by the Râja about this meeting was quite different. In December, 1801, Col. Macaulay ordered the return of the Travancore troops serving in Calicut and Paḷayamkōṭṭa in conformity with the 7th article of the Treaty of perpetual alliance. He apprised the Râja that the Company's Government would not in future require the aid of the Râja's troops. He further proposed that the Râja should subsidize another regiment in addition to the battalions, stipulated for in the perpetual treaty. The Râja was astonished at this proposition and immediately remonstrated with Col. Macaulay. He pointed out the existence of a perpetual treaty with the Honourable Company and the impossibility of any deviation from that treaty concluded with his ancestors, which was the happy consequence of a long and uninterrupted friendship, a treaty founded on a representation from the late King to the Government of Bengal and duly executed with the sanction of the Honourable Court of Directors. He further stated his want of means to entertain another regiment and proposed to address a letter to the Governor-General. The Resident replied to the remonstrance by stating that he was proceeding to Calcutta where he would explain all the circumstances of the case in a proper manner both to Marquess Wellesley and to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras.³⁴ In

33. *Ibid.*, Ff. 15587-15601 [Vide, App. A, II]

34. *For. Pol. Cons. Proc.*, 19 October 1807, Ff. 373-4 Raja's letter to the Governor of Madras and Bombay 11 September 1802.

the Memorial the Rāja had further stated that according to the 4th article of the treaty of perpetual alliance the Company did not have the right to propose an augmentation of the present subsidiary force ³⁵

Before making the next move Col. Macaulay met the Governor-General and conveyed to him the developments in Travancore. Macaulay returned to Travancore with the personal commands of Marquess Wellesley. The Governor-General in his letter to the Rāja stated that Col. Macaulay would signify to the Rāja the Governor-General's sentiments upon the propositions and upon other points materially connected with the welfare and security of the Rāja and of the Company. He confidently trusted that by a speedy settlement of all pending questions the Rāja would afford fresh proofs of the fidelity and attachment to the Company for which his family had been long honourably distinguished. ³⁶

At the time of his departure for Bengal the Resident had entrusted Dewan Vēlu Tampi with the duty of persuading the Travancore Durbar on the necessity of falling in line with the Company's designs. On his return Col. Macaulay intimated Vēlu Tampi that the Governor-General was very much gratified by the judicious selection of Vēlu Tampi as the Dewan, and presented him with valuable shawls, gold dresses and kincob according to the formality observed at the installation of chiefs in India. ³⁷ Vēlu Tampi's satisfaction at so distingu-

35. *Ibid.*, F. 370.

36. *For. Pol. Cons. Proc.*, 19 October 1807, F. 368 Letter from Governor General to Rāja, 16 May 1802.

37. P. Shungoony Menon. *op. cit.*, p. 305.

ished an honour was obvious to the whole Durbar. The Resident's next enquiry was to ascertain the degree of progress made by the Dewan in strengthening his position and establishing his influence; the general result seemed to be unfavourable to his hopes and wishes.³⁸

At the same time the Dewan reported that the court faction hostile to him was able to excite alarm and raise distrust in the mind of the Rāja.³⁹ Consequently the Resident kept up unrelenting pressure on the Rāja and kept negotiation open for the revision of the existing treaty. He used all the address and management in his power for its successful termination.

Explaining the contents of the Governor-General's letter Col. Macaulay stated that peace had been concluded between England and France. Therefore, considering that the forts of Cochin and Quilon were situated in His Highness country and that the French might try to reestablish themselves in their own possessions and those of the Dutch, it was highly expedient that the old treaty should be entirely revised. The Rāja should subsidize two battalions in lieu of depending on his own troops on occasions of emergency as stipulated for in the 7th article of the treaty of perpetual alliance. Further he should not hold any correspondence with any persons, far or near, without the knowledge of the British Government. After submitting the modified version of the treaty, Macaulay threa-

38 For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, Ff. 15573-87.

39. Vide, App. A. II.

tened the Rāja that no good consequence could be expected to follow from the rejection of it.⁴⁰

The Resident observed that by the existing treaty with Travancore, she was at liberty to correspond and communicate with the Dutch at Cochin and with the French at the Isle of France. No more reliance could be placed on their possessions than was placed on those of the late Tipu Sultan.⁴¹ On another occasion the Resident wrote that the Rāja and his people were evading to give the immediate consent mainly because they expected French help.⁴² When he failed to make Travancore agree to the revision of the Treaty either by promises of favour and benevolence or by coercion, he began fabricating false stories of an impending French invasion in support of the Rāja. The Rāja was rudely shocked by the dictatorial behaviour of the Resident. He immediately petitioned the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Governments.

After narrating his complaints against the Resident, the Rāja affirmed his attachment to the Company's Government. He stated there would be no deviation from the 6th article of the treaty of the perpetual alliance. Should the Dutch or people of any other nation return to their settlements in this country he would have no connection with them. He confidently hoped therefore that the Governor-General would not harbour any such suspicion against him. He requested the Governor-General to look favourably on the old firmly attached ally by allowing the existing treaty to

40. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, F. 371.

41. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, F. 15622.

42. Ibid., F. 15799.

remain in force and not to insist on subsidising another battalion of the Company's troops.⁴³ The Dewan still continued to play his dubious role. He stated that the Rāja was willing to accede to all the points proposed with the exception of the increase in the subsidy. It appeared therefore desirable to get rid of every possible objection by making some pecuniary sacrifice, in the hope of reconciling the Rāja to an immediate acquiescence in the remaining clauses of the treaty, to most of which His Highness had before assented.⁴⁴

Thereupon the Resident agreed to reduce the amount of the proposed increase in the subsidy to one half and to insert in the 3rd article one battalion instead of one regiment of native infantry.⁴⁵ This was communicated to the Rāja on 19th August. After ten days of discussion the Rāja announced his determination to abide by his existing engagements with the Company and expressed his intention to address the Governor-General to convey the same. Writing to the confidential secretary of the Governor-General, the Resident stated that he felt "a sensible regret" in acquainting him with the Rāja's final rejection of the revised treaty and "his declared resolution not to admit even of any modification whatever of the existing treaty."⁴⁶

The attempt of the Dewan to gain the Rāja's assent to any kind of modification of the existing treaty was made abortive through the machinations of the hostile palace faction.

43. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, F. 372.

44. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, F. 15624.

45. Ibid., Ff. 15624-5.

46. Ibid., F. 15623.

UPSURGE OF THE NAYARS

From the time of his elevation to the office of the Dewan, Vēlu Tampi was guided by the advice of Col. Macaulay. He was particular to foster and strengthen the existing alliance with the Company as desired by Col. Macaulay. However, the reluctance of the Rāja and his durbar often raised obstacles in his way. His pro-British policy sparked off the enmity of the hostile court faction. Their opposition only strengthened the resolve of the Dewan in his policy. He was powerfully backed by Col. Macaulay. The Dewan totally ignored all other burning problems of the day, viz., the mounting financial crisis in the state, dislike of both the Rāja and the people towards British interference in their domestic affairs and other evil consequences connected with the colonial policy.

Dewan Vēlu Tampi wielded vast influence upon the Travancore Durbar. He was determined to obtain the Rāja's consent for the new treaty. On 3rd March 1803, Col. Macau.

lay in his letter to the Governor-General stated that the next day after the delivery of the Governor-General's letter to the Mahārāja, the Dewan called upon him and "pledged himself to acquiesce in all measures that should be regarded as tending to promote a close union between the Rajah and the Company, as necessary in his opinion to the welfare and safety of His Highness."¹ On 15th March 1803, Macaulay in his letter to Malcolm observed with satisfaction the fortunate change and the happy prospect of a tranquil settlement of all questions. The letter from Marquess Wellesley had gained for the Dewan his legitimate ascendancy in his Government. He paid frequent visits to the Resident and opened himself without reserve. Col. Macaulay was decidedly of opinion that another letter to the Rāja from Marquess Wellesley expressing His Lordship's displeasure at his conduct would produce the happiest effects and enable the Dewan and the Resident to carry on the business of this country in the mode that might be most agreeable to the Governor-General.² Accordingly, the Governor-General addressed the Rāja and the minister and the letters were followed with gifts. The Dewan also received a khelaut, jewels, and other gifts from the Governor-General. The presents and distinctions offered by the Governor-General produced the desired effect. Both the Rāja and his Dewan were easily moved by them. The Rāja wrote that those presents had distinguished him among his equals.³ He assured all assistance to the English against the French in case of renewal of the struggle. He mobilised a

1. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, F. 15867.

2. Ibid., F. 15860-61.

3. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, F. 381.

force of three battalions and placed it under the command of Col. Macaulay. He was even ready to recruit a still larger force if it was found necessary. He also sent his Dewan to Alleppey for the purpose of executing any work which Col. Macaulay might require. He promised to promote the friendship with the English, the obligations of which his ancestors so faithfully discharged.⁴

Conveying this happy turn of events, the Resident reported: "Having received immediate charge of the whole of the troops belonging to the Rajah of Travancore, it appeared desirable to lose no time in making a public display of the sentiments of satisfaction which so cordial an union of sentiments and interests between the Rajah and the British Government apprehend to render expedient at the present crisis."⁵ It was contrary to the wishes of the Rāja. The Rāja had consented to subsidize only three thousand soldiers and any further aid he might require on the footing of early friendship. His hopes had been further strengthened by the friendly letters and presents from the Governor-General.

But Col. Macaulay and Vēlu Tampi tried to misrepresent the acquiescence of the Rāja. They devised new schemes to offend the patriotic feelings of the section of officers and people who disliked British interference. In the same letter the Resident had stated that his attention had been lately directed to devise the means to reform the administration, in concert with the Dewan. The chief

4. Ibid., Ff. 381-2.

5. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 17 May 1804, F. 15911.

reforms aimed at were the following: Firstly, a more regular system of payment to the troops was to be ascertained. Secondly, provision was to be made only for such men as remained in actual service. Thirdly, to post at least one active officer from the Company's service to each corps of Travancore troops. According to him without these reforms no safe dependence could be placed on the ready execution of such orders as might be found necessary to issue for the prompt movement of troops from station to station.⁶ The Resident was confident that the adoption of these reforms would "result many important ulterior advantages too obvious to recite. The battalions thus officered and regulated might be regarded as differing not very materially from British native troops, while the military defence of Travancore country being under such a system essentially confided to the British Government, without any additional burden on its finances, the security of the British empire in India so far as it can be affected by the designs of the enemy in this quarter, is thereby rendered more complete."⁷

Col. Macaulay stated that the Travancore troops were well-armed and not very backward in discipline. Major portion of the Travancore troops was constituted by the Nāyars. They were the chief fighting class in Travancore. An ordinary soldier received 6½ rupees per mensem.⁸ With

6. Ibid., Ff. 15914-5.

7. Ibid., Ff. 15915-6.

8. Ibid., F. 15276.

this meagre amount one had to meet all his expenses and the expenses of his family. Therefore any reform or change aiming at the termination of service of soldiers or reduction in their allowance was detested by them as it involved not only their employment but also the very subsistence of their families.

Very soon the King and his advisers realised the dangerous situation. The reforms were aimed at the total absorption of the military and civil administration. It would further worsen unemployment and financial situation in the country. It would reduce Travancore to the position of a dependency of the Company. The Dewan's consent for the British orientation of Travancore troops, was strongly opposed by the highest officers of the state. They resolved to assassinate the Dewan. The plot was hatched by the top officers like the Commander-in-Chief, Valiya Sarādhī Kāryakkar, Chief Accountant, Treasurer, Pay-master-General etc.

On 17th March 1804, Col. Macaulay reported to the Supreme Government that "an unexpected occurrence has recently arisen here eventually tending to disturb the harmony and union subsisting of late between the British Government and the Rajah of Travancore",⁹ "The wise measures of placing under the immediate direction of the British Government a portion of the Rajah's troops and the consent given to their being officered by British officers would appear to have erroneously excited the jealousy and displeasure of some profligate and daring intriguers who contrived to infuse their

9. Ibid., 2 May 1805, F. 6299 (Vide, App. A, III).

groundless jealousies into the mind of the Rajah, until at length they brought His Highness to acquiesce in the horrid measure of assassinating his Dewan without a hearing.''¹⁰

Rāmaliṅgam Mudaliyār, the writer of the Resident on his visit to the Rāja, was told by the latter "that it was determined on, to serve him, as they had served the late Dewan's family upon Monday next being the close of the festival of Padpanaben.'" In the course of the conversation the Rāja alleged that his displeasure against the Dewan arose from the former's disobeying him in many respects. If the Dewan mended his conduct he had no cause for complaint against him on other accounts. The Dewan was very much alarmed and "thinks that his life will be taken on Monday next if you don't start immediately to save him; he has earnestly requested me to write you by express to acquaint you that in case you arrive here by Sunday or before Monday evening you may see him; otherwise he is gone.'"¹¹

The Rāja was seriously engaged in hostile preparations. On 21st March, at night one Padmanābha Piḷḷai, *Valiya Yajamān* (commander-in-chief) with a horse and some sepoy's was sent to bring back Samprati Piḷḷa. A house had been made ready for him. The Rāja had sent orders to one Nilakaṅṭhan Cempakaraman Piḷḷa to hurry up to Trivandrum immediately, it was stated, for succeeding the Dewan.¹²

10. Ibid., F. 6299 (Vide, App. A, IV).

11. Ibid., Ff. 6287-9 (Vide, App. B, I).

12. Ibid., Ff. 6293-4 (Vide, App. B, II).

On 17th March, the Dewan departed from Alleppey and reached Trivandrum on 20th, whereupon his servants and friends were arrested; some were banished and others imprisoned. He was surrounded by hostile parties. He was intimated that they decided to put him to death on the night of Monday, 26th instant. The motive for this delay arose not from any sentiments of clemency in the minds of the assassins. Fortunately it so happened that the great festival in the Padmanābhasvāmi Temple forbade the shedding of blood and the festival was to continue till the fullmoon on 26th.

Col. Macaulay afforded the Dewan steady and unreserved support. On 17th March itself Col. Macaulay addressed the Rāja. He complained about the inconvenient separation of the Dewan from the British Resident. He further requested the Rāja to place the confidence and good opinion upon him.¹³ On 25th March Col. Macaulay addressed the Rāja that he had been acquainted with the uncomfortable state of affairs at the Durbar. He declared categorically that the commission of any act on the advice of his evil advisers would endanger the tranquillity and weaken the security of his country.

The Resident hastened to Trivandrum and arrived there on the closing day of the festival in the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi Temple and requested for an immediate audience with the Mahārjāa. The Rāja tried to postpone the visit to the next

13. Ibid., Ff. 6301-2 (Vide, App. A, IV).

14. Ibid., Ff. 6311-5 (Vide, App. A, V).

day. But the former repeatedly pressed for the audience. In the course of this audience with the Rāja, he asserted that in case the Rāja attempted to shelter the authors of the late outrageous and insulting proceedings from punishment he would justly be subjected to the reproach of having not done his duty ¹⁵

It was a conspiracy engineered by the highest officers of the State. Padmanābha Piḷḷa, Supreme Commander of the Travancore forces, Nīlakaṇṭha Piḷḷa, Valiya Sarvadhi Kāryakkār of the northern division, Kuñcu Nīlan Piḷḷa, late Samprati, Muttu Piḷḷa, the accountant, Ahevedanum Piḷḷa, the treasurer, Pappu Tampi, an officer of the palace in charge of the ladies' apartment, Koccu Nārāyaṇan Piḷḷa, paymaster-general and 'Gosseyn Gomadagirree', a foreign merchant, were the ring-leaders of the conspiracy.¹⁶ Among them Padmanābha Piḷḷa, who was banished from Travancore during the 1799 insurrection and who later participated in the murder of late Dewan's family had been appointed the Supreme Commander. Sumprati Kuñcu Nīlan Piḷḷa had also such a turbulent career.¹⁷

15. Ibid., Ff. 6304-6 (Vide, App. A, IV).

16. Ibid., Ff. 6315-6 (Vide, App. A, VI).

17. Samprati Kuñcu Nīlan Pilla was one of the earliest forgotten heroes of Travancore history. From the beginning to the end of his life, anti-British feelings guided him. He was very much alarmed by the British interference in the internal affairs of the state. He tried by all means to limit and restrict the growing British influence in Travancore. He contrived the liquidation of the entire family of Dewan Rāja Kēśava Dās for their collusion with the British. Col. Macaulay was also frightened by the uncompromising and hostile attitude of the Samprati group towards the British interests in Tra-

Most of the other officers were also involved previously in such acts. They evinced deep animosity against British interference in the state's affairs. They followed an uncompromising policy. In the beginning, the Rāja was personally engaged in the hostile manoeuvring and he provided leadership.

It was at the climax of the preparations that Col. Macaulay arrived at the court. The Rāja was greatly alarmed and shocked at the arrival and the threats of Col. Macaulay. Being the head of the British force, Col. Macaulay could easily prevail over the Rāja with the support of the Rāja's principal minister. He was forced to confess his guilt and he admitted before Col. Macaulay that "he had been misled by madmen."

On the demand of the Resident, the Rāja ordered the arrest of the above officers. Col. Macaulay in this letter to the Governor-General wrote that the Rāja was ready to award capital punishment to the conspirators. The same despatch mentions that when Col. Macaulay suggested their close confinement in Alleppey as a humane alternative, the Rāja insisted on their confinement in the fortress of Trivandrum. But at length he agreed that the delinquents should be left

vancore. The Samprati made earnest attempts to safeguard the independence of Travancore even in the face of the powerful combination of Dewan Vēlu Tampi and the Resident. But at last he met with a premature death owing to their vengeful spirit. This man might be compared with the great extremists of Indian freedom movement, who were not deterred by the military strength of the English East India Company.

at the disposal of His Excellency.¹⁸ The Rājā requested for their confinement in Trivandrum mainly to make use of their hostility on another occasion. After awarding the punishments like banishment and close confinement, at the demand of the Resident he secretly re-instated them with all their former powers and privileges.

Col. Macaulay insisted on conclusion of the new treaty with the intention of providing permanent security against the recurrence of similar disgraceful and dangerous events. The experience of the last years had abundantly made clear how the suppression of one conspiracy did little more than pave the way for another. The Resident therefore assured the Rājā that the reforms were "calculated alike to remove from His Highness all suspicion of having shared in the guilt of the traitors, as to secure permanent good order and prosperity for this country."

The Rājā was compelled to order the arrest of the culprits and they were arrested and put behind the bars on 27th March 1804. In the words of Col. Macaulay, "Thus had ended the wicked and insulting project of assassinating an innocent and meritorious minister to gratify the base passions of a few depraved and hostile intriguers".¹⁹ The organisers of the revolt, except Nilakaṇṭhan Piḷḷa and Padmanābha Piḷḷa, all died in prison.²⁰

18. Ibid., Ff. 6306-8 (Vide, App. A, IV).

19. Ibid.

20. K. S. A. Miscellaneous Historical Records, F. 150.

The conspiracy to assassinate the Dewan was motivated by his intimacy with the Resident as well as against British interference in the state's affairs. It was the same reasons which made the conspirators take the lives of the late Dewan Rāja Kēśava Dās and his family. As Kuññu Vīra Tampi, the younger brother of Vēlu Tampi petitioned before the Madras Government, 'Pulnadum Trumra' Piḷḷa and other persons represented to the Rāja that "Col. Macaulay and my brother were leagued together and that the result of their confederacy would be the assumption of the country by the Company. In consequence of these representations my brother became the object of Raja's displeasure, but Col. Macaulay effected a reconciliation between them and caused above-mentioned to be put into confinement, where some of them died."²¹ Padmanābha Piḷḷa and Nilakaṇṭan Piḷḷa, two of the chief conspirators arrested on 27 March 1804 contrived to escape from confinement. They sought the support of the Rāja of Cochin against the English. But they were closely pursued, and apprehended and again put in close confinement.²² While transmitting the list of conspirators, Col. Macaulay remarked that "His Excellency will pursue with surprise in the list of these persons names of men holding the first offices of this state. This will furnish abundant matter for reflection and will no doubt serve among other things to satisfy His Excellency, that the application of a remedy sufficiently efficacious to prevent in this quarter the future recurrence of any such disgraceful, dangerous and menacing projects has become indispensably necessary to protect and preserve our honour and safety."²³

21. Pol. Cons., Vol. 42 F. 307 (Vide, App. D).

22. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 2 May 1805, Ff. 6431-2.

23. Ibid., Ff. 6310-11 (Vide, App. A, IV).

An open mutiny of the Nāyar Brigade broke out on 16th November, 1804. The primary objects of the rebels were no less than the assassination of the Dewan and the British Resident.²⁴ The entire Nāyar troops stationed at Trivandrum, Alleppey, Paṛavūr, Māvēlikkara and Northern Lines defied the authority of the Company and broke out into revolt. The regulars in the Nayar Brigade within Travancore numbered more than ten thousand men. The Nāyar troops in Alleppey were entrusted with the task of the assassination of the Resident and the Dewan.²⁵ The Resident sought refuge in Cochin on the same day. He wrote to the Supreme Government that the Rāja had entreated the Dewan to urge him to repair to some place of security as he was unable at present to protect him, even from insult.²⁶

On 17th night the Dewan also quitted Alleppey and arrived at Cochin with five or six attendants only. He had taken refuge in a house, in the vicinity, belonging to the Rāja of Cochin. Macaulay provided a small reinforcement from the province of Malabar to afford sufficient protection to his person.²⁷ On 19th November 1804, the Dewan informed the Resident that a "delay of forty eight hours in quitting Alleppey would most probably have terminated fatally for him, as for the Resident". According to him, the Travancore troops had acted criminally on the frontiers of the province of Tirunelvēli. The officer-in-charge of the Lines in that

24. Ibid., 31 January 1805, F. 1483. (Vide, App. A, VII).

25. Ibid., Ff. 1501-2.

26. Ibid., F. 1483 (Vide, App. A, VII).

27. Ibid., Ff. 1487-8 (Vide, App. A, VIII).

quarter had mounted additional guns upon all the accessible batteries and had issued orders to fire upon the Company's troops that might approach the Lines. Thus it was evident that the rebels had determined to oppose by force of arms all intercourse between the British Government and the Raja of Travancore.²⁸

On the same day the Dewan ordered Colonel Daly the Officer-Commanding the Carnatic Brigade to fall back with his brigade upon Cochin. And again he suggested to the Resident that if "some British troops at hand were to cooperate with the Carnatic Brigade, the rebels might be promptly disarmed and dispersed". Col. Macaulay ordered the Officer-Commanding the forces in Malabār to detach immediately one corps of Native infantry. On the arrival of the troops he decided to make an attack upon the three separate positions of the rebels at Paṛavūr, Alleppey and Māvēlikkara by three separate divisions as nearly as the same time. He intended to take personal charge of the attack upon Alleppey. The corps would be composed of two companies together with the Carnatic Brigade. The battalions from Malabār moved upon Paṛavūr. Then he resolved to lose no time in taking effectual steps for placing the military defence of Travancore at the disposition of British Government. As a preliminary measure towards the attainment of this object he called upon the Officer-Commanding the forces of the Southern Division of the army to detach three battalions of the Native Infantry. On 24th November the Rāja urged the Dewan to use every possible precaution against a surprise attack upon his life. The rebels forcibly released two of the

28. Ibid., Ff. 1489-93 (Vide, App. A, IX).

chief conspirators arrested in March, 1804. They were determined to have Nilakaṇṭan Pilla one of those liberated conspirators as the next Dewan. The Rāja acquainted the Dewan "that an attack upon Cochin is meditated and will most probably take place." The Rāja also sent orders to the rebels to send back the criminals immediately to their place of confinement. He instructed some confidential persons to warn the rebels of the serious consequence of their continuing to disregard and insult the authority of the Rāja and of daring to defy the British power. The rebels disregarded the Rāja's order, drove away his messengers and moved on to Trivandrum. The Rāja then convened a meeting of the leading men of the country at which it was resolved to call upon the inhabitants to rise *en masse* for the relief and protection of the Rāja. This resolution was circulated in every district, but it had little effect.²⁹

On 23rd November the rebels arrived at Trivandrum escorting the liberated conspirators. About two thousand men, armed with different weapons collected together within the fort with resolution to protect the Rāja from insult. On 24th morning the rebels advanced to the gate of the fort and demanded admittance to the palace, but those within refused and declared their determination to put to death whoever should attempt to force a passage. The rebels retired in awe by that unexpected show of firmness.³⁰

The call of the Rāja for assistance was responded by

29. Ibid., F. 1518.

30. Ibid., Ff. 1526-9.

the Christian fishermen of the coast and by hill men. They assembled at Trivandrum in immense numbers each man armed with a short bludgeon, the bowmen from the hills appeared at the same time in the Raja's behalf and the Nayars laid down their arms and fled.³¹ The assembled people sent a detachment to re-arrest the conspirators who had been liberated by the rebels.³² About fifty of the ring-leaders were seized and hanged. On 30th November the Dewan reported from Trivandrum that all the rebels at that place had been disarmed and secured. He had taken measures without delay to disarm and secure the rebels stationed at Alleppey, Māvēlikkara, Paṛavūr and the Northern Lines.³³ The Dewan took steps, with the support of the British troops, the Carnatic, and the local people other than Nāyars to put down the formidable rebellion of the Nāyar Brigade.

On 11 December Col. Macaulay announced the successful execution of his designs both in Alleppey and Māvēlikkara.³⁴ On 18th he acquainted the Governor-General of the final termination of hostilities. On that day the rebellious Nāyars at Paṛavūr surrendered their arms.³⁵ Many of the mutineers were apprehended and hanged, beheaded or blown off the cannon's mouth. One Kṛṣṇa Piḷḷa from Quilon suffered the most cruel and shocking punishment. His legs were tied

31. Pearson, *Memoirs of Claudius Buchanan*, p. 235.

32. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 31 January, 1805, Ff. 1550-

33. *Ibid.* Ff. 1584-5

34. *Ibid.*, 16 May 1805, Ff. 10913-4.

35. *Ibid.*, Ff. 10927-8.

to two elephants and the animals were driven in opposite directions, which tore the unfortunate man into two.³⁶ Kēśava Piḷḷa and the fellow conspirators were hanged at Alleppey. Nīlakaṇṭan Piḷḷa and Padmanābha Piḷḷa were hanged at Uḷḷūr hill, near Trivandrum.³⁷

The Dewan had a very poor opinion about the rebels. He was disposed to regard them as a set of madmen broken loose, easily brought to subjection by the proper application of firmness and coercion, who were capable of incalculable mischief if opposed with timidity and irresolution. Moreover, according to him, they were not actuated by one mind or motivated by one aim. Communicating to the Governor-General the immense services of the Dewan, the Resident commented on the "high sense of his firmness, integrity and unabated attachment to the united interests of his masters and of the Honorable Company." The Resident trusted that the Dewan would soon reap the pleasing reward of all his meritorious exertions and severe trials in the establishment of a permanent system of security for the undivided interests of his Master and of the Honourable Company within Travancore. The Dewan, the Resident further assured the Governor-General, had pledged himself to adhere to his last breath to that system of measures, which should receive and merit the approbation

36. K. Maheswaran Naif (Ed.), *A History of Travancore*, (Malayalam) p. 47.

37. K. S. A. *Miscellaneous Historical Records*, Ff. 151-2 (Vide, App. G).

of His Excellency.³⁸ In another letter the Resident wrote, "From a review of the conduct of the present Dewan since he came to office, it will be found that he has generally sought by all practicable means to maintain, extend and consolidate the principles of the alliance which connects the Rajah to the British Government and to *augment* the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of Travancore."³⁹

Vēlu Tampi fell into the trap of Col. Macaulay. Col. Macaulay's avowed intention was to persuade the King of Travancore to accept the new subsidiary treaty. But the former hostile block which opposed the British interference now turned against Vēlu Tampi. He became the target of their attack, because the Dewan was acting as the tool of the Resident. The militant Dewan did away with the hostile group step by step with the help of Col. Macaulay. At length "the young Maharaja was perplexed at his singular situation, for there was not a single man of ability and firmness to cope with the difficulty."⁴⁰ Thus the young Mahārāja had no option but to follow the lead of the Dewan, who had become a puppet in the hand of the imperial masters.

The revolt of the Nāyar Brigade was essentially a revolt intended for ending British interference in Travancore. On 10th December 1804, Col. Macaulay wrote to the Commanding-Officer of the Southern Division of the army at

38. For. Sec Cons. Proc., 31 January 1805, Ff. 1493-4.
(Vide, App. A, IX).

39. Ibid., 2 May 1805, Ff. 6298-9 (Vide App. A. IV).

40. Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.* p. 308.

Palamcottah that the rebels "had grossly insulted the dignity and defied the power of the British Government and thereby endangered in a very great degree the security of the National Interests upon this coast."⁴¹ Further, in the course of his conversation with the Rājā, he told him that "their enmity towards him was not personal it was solely directed to his official and ambassadorial character by attacking the Resident they demonstrated their object to be no less than the dissolution of the alliance subsisting between the Honorable Company and the Rajah of Travancore; and even in its nature so hostile to the British Government, in its tendency so pernicious to the tranquillity of this country, and so manifestly subversive of the foundation of the joint interests and safety of the Honorable Company"⁴²

Thus the revolt was not a mere Nāyar mutiny organised by some 'madmen' against reduction of some allowances.⁴³ It was a daring and most vigorous adventure to oppose the

41. For. Sec. Cons. Proc, 2 May 1805, Ff. 6441-42.

42. Ibid., 16 May 1805, Ff. 10955-6 (Vide, App. A, XI).

43. P. Shungoony Menon, V. Nagam Aiya and T. K. Velu Pillai are of opinion that the Dewan had proposed a reduction of Nayar troops in order to defray the arrears of subsidy due to the Honorable Company which was still very high. This proposal caused dissatisfaction which was fanned into flame by the Dewan's enemies P. Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 308, V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.* p. 423 T. K. Velu Pilla, *op. cit.*, p. 458

But this seems to be incorrect. King Balarama Varma, after his accession to the throne remitted the subsidy punctually according to the 1795 treaty. There was no mention about arrears in the despatches of that period. The following Appendix to the *Second Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of East India Company* would prove this point. *Receipts from Subsidies under Treaties with Native Princes of India* *

British absorption of the military and civil administration of Travancore. It was a powerful upsurge of the Nāyar Brigade against British imperialism. But however it was brutally suppressed by the Dewan and the Resident acting together.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Receipts</u>
1792 - 93 £	54,194
1793 - 94	1,249
1794 - 95	—
1795 - 96	—
1796 - 97	—
1797 - 98	53,189
1798 - 99	42,914
1799 - 1800	42,914
1800 - 1801	42,914
1801 - 02	42,914
1802 - 03	42,914
1803 - 04	42,914
1804 - 05	42,914
1805 - 06	42,914
1806 - 07	42,914
1807 - 08	88,818
1808 - 09	12,132
1809 - 10	151,744

India Board Office,
White Hall, 14th June 1810

Errors excepted
Thomas Nicholas Wittaner
Accountant.

Further the same Report mentioned that "from 1798-9 to 1806 the amount of this subsidy fixed at £ 42, 914 has been annually realized in the way of set-off in the accounts with the Rajah for pepper furnished by him under contract".*

* *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 5/419/290, App. No. 6 (B)

THE BETRAYAL

Marquess Wellesley considered the Nāyar Revolt of 1804 as a favourable opportunity for compelling the Rāja to join the subsidiary alliance. He authorised the Resident to exploit the opportunity for the modification of the Treaty of 1795 and for the permanent billeting of subsidiary force within Travancore.¹ Col. Macaulay immediately ordered the Officer Commanding to march three battalions of native troops into Travancore. It took nearly one month for the arrival of the British force. During the interval the Resident and the Dewan together tried their best to secure the consent of the Rāja for the new treaty. In his conversation with the Resident the Dewan revealed that when he conveyed the news of the arrival of the British force in Travancore the Rāja felt very happy and prepared to give it a warm welcome.² When the Resident expressed his doubts regarding the sincerity of the

1. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 31 January 1805, Ff. 1495-1500.

2. Ibid., 2 May 1805, Ff. 6441-2.

Rāja, the Dewan repeated the objection of the Rāja to the heavy burden of the additional subsidy. Against this objection, the Resident emphasised the sentiments of indulgence and liberality shown towards the state by the Company. Then he narrated all the dangerous developments that followed in rapid succession during the last six years. These acts of commission and omission were pregnant with dangerous possibilities for the British Government. As a lasting security to his power, the Resident insisted on the Rāja's immediate approval for the new treaty.³

In the next meeting with the Resident on 31st December, the Dewan expressed his entire satisfaction on the question of adopting the new treaty. He agreed to arrange it within 48 hours after the arrival of the Rāja at Trivandrum. On the same day the Resident informed the Governor-General that he entertained great hopes of a speedy and successful adjustment of a new treaty with the Rāja of Travancore founded upon the principles of securing to the Honourable Company the Military defence of Travancore with the powers both of regulation and assumption "to the same unqualified extent nearly as are provided for by the subsidiary treaty of Seringapatam."⁴

On 7th January 1805 a meeting with the Raja was arranged. The Resident explained the last six years' developments in detail. According to him the late disturbances were aimed at breaking the British connection with the

3. Ibid., 16 May 1805, Ff. 10940-47, [Vide, App. A, XI].

4. Ibid., Ff. 10951-53 (Vide, App. A, XI).

state. It was injurious to the joint interests and safety of the Company and the State. For securing the interests of the British and Travancore governments and for the safety and security of the Rāja's person and Government, he insisted on the immediate approval of the draft of new treaty. The Rāja, however, continued his resistance to the increased subsidy.⁵

But the Rāja in his memorial to the Supreme Government wrote an entirely different account. A month after the Najar revolt Col. Macaulay stationed a detachment of regular infantry and a corps of Europeans at the eastern and northern entrances of Travancore. He now informed the Rāja that a new treaty had arrived from Bengal which he had to sign and deliver to him. If he oppose any clause of that treaty the troops would take immediate possession of his country and he would be kept under restraint and treated with asperity and rigour. Such he affirmed was the nature of orders which he had received from the Governor-General. He read an English letter to that effect. In the letter the Governor-General had desired the Rāja to consider the suggestions of the Resident. The Rāja later wrote that he feared as he could write a letter to the Supreme Government, explaining his difficulties in accepting the treaty, only through the channel of Col Macaulay, he might distress him. In order to avoid such a predicament, he had signed the treaty with a heavy heart, and the Resident had not allowed him to study the provisions of the treaty.⁶

5. Idid., Ff. 10953-64 (Vide, App. A, XII).

6. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, Ff. 353-5.

In the changed circumstances the Rāja became a mere puppet in the hands of the Dewan and the Resident and they prevailed upon him to accede to their wishes. It was also evident that the Resident secured the Rāja's consent through the instrumentality of the Dewan. On this account the Dewan was held in high esteem. Communicating the conclusion of the treaty to the Governor-General the Resident wrote of the Dewan that it would only be justice to observe that "his conduct upon this important occasion as upon many others was such as to entitle him to a very high degree of praise."⁷

The signature and exchange of the newly drafted treaty took place on 12th January 1805. It was celebrated with great pomp and show. The Dewan personally attended to all the details of celebrations. He wore on the occasion the gorgeous dress presented by Marquess Wellesley. Many who attended the function considered it as the symbol of slavery.⁸

The modified treaty consisted of ten articles. It differed fundamentally from the treaty of 1795. According to the 6th article of the treaty of 1795 the Rāja obliged to furnish the Company, when it was involved in war with another power such part of the military force as he could spare. By the second article of the new treaty the Rāja was relieved from the obligation. In lieu of it, the 3rd article stipulated that the Rāja should maintain an additional regiment of native

7. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 16 May 1805, F. 10962.

8. T. K. Velu Pilla, *Velu Tampi Daṣava*, (Malayalam), p. 57.

infantry and meet its expenses estimated to cost Rs. 4,01,655. The disposition of the whole subsidiary force within and without the territory of Travancore was left at the discretion of the Company.

The 5th article provided that whenever the Governor-General-in-Council had reason to apprehend a failure of funds destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extra-ordinary expenses in time of war, he would have full power and right to introduce regulations and ordinances, as he should deem expedient, for the internal management and collection of the revenues or for the better ordering of any other branch or department of the Government of Travancore or to assume and bring under the direct management of the Company any part or parts of Travancore.

According to the 6th article the Rāja was bound to carry out the instructions of the Governor-General according to the tenor of the 5th article within ten days. In case of failure, the Governor-General had the liberty to assume the civil and military administration of the state.

The 7th article prohibited the Rāja from making any interference or correspondence with other native states or foreign powers without the consent of the Company. According to the 8th article no European was permitted to reside in Travancore without the knowledge of the Company.⁹

The treaty of 1805 was the culmination of the imperial designs of Marquess Wellesley upon Travancore. The Resident

9. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 16 May 1806, Ff. 10965-80. (Vide, App. A, XIII).

congratulated the Governor General "upon the completion, of an arrangement resting upon those principles the soundness of which have been demonstrated by an experience of six years operation within the dominions of the Rajah of Mysore."¹⁰ The provisions were in accordance with the confidential instructions and verbal communications of the Governor-General.

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of subsidiary alliance the Resident ordered Major Dowall, Officer commanding the Southern Division of the army, to march into Travancore.¹¹ In his Memorial, the Rāja had stated that when Col. Macaulay marched three battalions of Native infantry to Quilon, he had desired to know why the Resident had adopted such a measure to which the Resident replied that it was necessary to station them at that place until he received an answer for a communication he had sent to the Government of Bengal.¹² But what the Resident reported was that the Rāja felt great satisfaction and happiness at the entry of the subsidiary force into Travancore.¹³ It was clear that what Col. Macaulay reported was contrary to facts. The Rāja was actually coerced into signing the treaty.

On 2nd May 1805 the Governor-General-in-Council ratified the treaty with high commendations. On 27 July the

10. Ibid., F. 10983.

11. Ibid., Ff. 11003-4.

12. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, F. 955.

13. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 16 May 1805, Ff. 11005-07.

delivery of the ratified treaty took place at Paḍanilam near Anjengo. The Rāja and the Resident sent two entirely contradictory accounts with regard to the delivery of the ratified treaty. The Rāja in his Memorial stated that he excused himself by every means in his power arguing that the Resident was sensible of the inadequacy of the resources of his country to defray the expenses of the proposed additional subsidiary force. He further stressed his utter inability to provide funds to the extent necessary for that purpose and that his acceptance of the present treaty would involve him in utmost difficulty and distress.¹⁴

Upon the insistence of the Raja, the Resident agreed to reduce the subsidy from four lakhs to two lakhs for the first two years. He gave it in writing and stated that he had already secured the consent of the Governor-General for the reduction.¹⁵ The Rāja expressed his inability to fulfil even the obligations under the former treaty. He asked how he was to pay the additional two lakhs from the revenues of his country. On hearing this the Colonel harshly replied that if he did not receive the treaty and the Governor-General's letter at Anjengo, he would immediately move the troops which were assembled at the frontiers, which would involve the Rāja in ruin and disgrace. Under such circumstances he was compelled to receive the new treaty and the Governor-General's letter in the vicinity of Anjengo.¹⁶ But what Col. Macaulay reported was that "to

14. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, Ff. 355-6.

15. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 16 May 1805, F. 11020.

16. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, Ff. 355-6.

explain the degree of joy visible in the countenance and demeanour of His Highness and of his court upon this important event so essential to the welfare of Travancore would be difficult, their gratification appeared complete.”¹⁷ He continued: “When the system thus happily established in Travancore with the cheerful consent and unqualified approbation of the Rajah and his minister and of the enlightened part of his subjects, is contemplated in all its relations near and remote, foreign and domestic, when it is considered that the salutary principles which from the groundwork of the treaty of Seringapatam and which have produced such practical benefits to the inhabitants of Mysore, are now firmly radicaded(?) in this country, there can be no hesitation whatsoever in offering that under the discreet operation of this beneficial system.”¹⁸

The Resident's communication of the delivery of the ratified treaty was too much exaggerated. According to the Rāja he was forced to receive the ratified treaty under circumstances of threat and intimation. He made an elaborate statement relating to the signing of the treaty. It read “Lt. Col. Macaulay with a view to promote the satisfaction of Marquis Wellesley had made repeated representations to Bengal on the subject of the formation of a new treaty and all his endeavours have had for their object the ruin of me, my family and of that country, which has been transmitted to me by my ancestors. He stationed a body of European and native troops on the borders of my

17. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 16 May 1805, F. 11020.

18. Ibid., F. 18260.

country without cause, and forced me to sign the treaty. He afterwards brought the troops into my country and destroyed my peace of mind by his harsh and severe language.''¹⁹

It was a treaty arbitrarily thrust upon an unwilling Râja through the instrumentality of his principal minister. It marked the virtual end of the political independence of Travancore. Though the treaty was concluded on equal terms and throughout the text it was qualified as a treaty of mutual friendship, alliance and subsidy, there was every possibility for the reduction of Travancore into a dependent state whose king enjoyed his position by sufferance. It was thus a mere theoretical acknowledgement of the independence of Travancore by the Company. The Maharâja never really consented to the revision of the treaty; especially the provision dealing with the additional subsidy was strongly resisted by him. He was alarmed by the question of the additional subsidy. But he found the resistance futile. Through the display of superior military power and direct threats Col. Macaulay compelled the Râja to sign the treaty. The young Mahârâja now found himself deserted by all. The former hostile group had been entirely crushed. His principal minister, Vêlu Tampi, degenerated into a mere instrument of the imperial agent, Col. Macaulay, to carry out his decisions. The Râja thus became a victim to the machinations of the Resident and his group. The people resented the action of Vêlu Tampi and Macaulay and believed that the Daḷava had betrayed his country in order to gain his own private ends.²⁰

19. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, F. 361.

20. T. K. Velu Pilla, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 468.

INABILITY TO IMPLEMENT THE TREATY

Dewan Vēlu Tampi tried his best to meet the obligations under the treaty. He arranged for a systematic survey of the land. It was the first authentic survey carried out in Travancore. It excluded *Inām* lands, unalienated properties of Nambūtiri Janmis and of Dēvasvams, *Kaṇtukṛṣi* lands the Villages belonging to Eḍappalli Chief, the free holds of certain other chiefs, Dēvasvams and *Śrī Pādam* lands. All other lands including *Paṇṭāravaka* (Sirkar) lands belonging to Maḍampis and other chiefs were covered by the survey. A settlement Register or *Ayakeṣṭu* was drawn up to safeguard the titles of owners and to guard against excessive collections by officers. He issued a new *Caṭṭavariōla* or Revenue code for the collection of taxes. He introduced a *Nālvāḷi* (daily account Register). He took measures for the punctual collection of taxes. Corrupt officers were severely punished. His criminal code was severe and delinquents were punished not only by imprisonment and confiscation of property but by public flogging and mutilation of limbs in some cases like forgery.

Vēlu Tampi reorganised the trade, commerce and industry departments in order to increase the revenue income of the state. Quilon, Alleppey, Cañnanāśśēri, Vaikam etc. became the important commercial centres during his period. He wished to take over all the Dēvasvams with their immense wealth.¹ But all these measures did preciously little for the prompt payment of the subsidy.

On 6th September 1805, Col. Macaulay wrote to Marquess Cornwallis that the Dewan continues to conduct the general administration of the concerns of the state with his usual ability and address, grounded on the firmest integrity and on a disposition ardently ambitious of advancing the joint interests of his master and of the Honourable Company. Ever since the period of his elevation to the post of Prime Minister, he appears to have invariably regulated his conduct by principles of rectitude and probity in every measure connected with finance, and he forms a very singular and honourable exception to the general depravity. He has even declined to receive those presents usually taken by his Predecessors from the individuals raised to an office or advanced to a place of higher emolument and trust, because he alleges that such presents are nothing but bribes under another name. He enjoys the office of the Dalawa united to that of first minister or Dewan, the salary of both all emoluments inclusive do not appear to reach nine hundred rupees per month.²

1 V. L. Sastri (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of the Madras Presidency and the Adjacent States*, p. 201.

2 For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 4 October 1805, Ff. 20850 - 52.

But the obstinate hostility of the Mahārāja and his subjects towards the treaty obstructed the Dewan from implementing it. "They were now convinced of the object the Dalawah had in view and his reason for joining the Resident and they little expected that any of the Travancore Rajah's faithful subjects would have ever made such an attempt."³ The popular indignation produced a slight change in the resolute policy of the Dewan. Several appeals from the Mahārāja to the Supreme Government requesting the restoration of the treaty of 1795 and the recall of Col. Macaulay went without any response. At last the Mahārāja decided to send his Dewan to Bengal to place his grievances before the Governor-General for his kind consideration. The Rāja wrote: "The Dewan observed that it would be difficult for him to proceed to Calcutta by sea, but as there appeared to be no other means of relieving me from my distress and of accomplishing the objects of my wishes, he was prepared to accompany the Colonel to Bengal."⁴ On 13th June 1806, Col. Macaulay solicited the permission of the Supreme Government for the journey. He mentioned that they were "desirous of clearly ascertaining from the highest authority whether or not they will become liable to any penalty in the event of their failing to pay at the periods fixed." His explanations and assurances respecting the treaty did not appear to satisfy them. Therefore it had become indispensably necessary for their tranquility to receive an explanation on this point direct from the Governor-General himself.⁵

3. P. Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

4. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 19 October 1807, F. 358.

5. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 10 July 1806, Ff. 8732-33.

By this time there took place some very important administrative changes. Following the departure of Wellesley once again the Court of Directors favoured the process of decentralization of authority. On 10th July 1806, the Governor-General-in-Council informed the Resident that "orders have been received from the Honorable Court of Directors which have induced the Honorable Governor-in-Council to place the Residency of Travancore under the immediate authority and control of the Government of Fort St. George". Thus the Resident was directed to communicate with the Madras Government in all points connected with his official duties. The question of the proposed visit of the Dewan to Bengal was therefore referred to the Madras Government.⁶ The Rāja was not interested to represent his case before the Madras Government. He believed that the Supreme Government declined his request due to the manipulation of the Resident.

When the petitions and representations for the redressal of his grievances went without effect, he refused to carry out the terms of the new treaty though it was formally ratified and received by him. The Rāja was prepared neither to reduce the Carnatic Brigade nor remit the additional subsidy. Both measures constituted the main clauses of the treaty.

The Carnatic Brigade was the only remaining militia of the State. The late revolt of 1804 resulted in the abolition of the Nāyar Brigade, which had constituted the major portion of the Travancore army. Although this Brigade was designated

6 Ibid., F. 8740.

as the Carnatic Brigade, the people enlisted in it were mostly the Râja's faithful subjects. They had no other means to support themselves and their families than by the scanty pay allowed by their sovereign. Surely in the event of their reduction and discharge they would fall a prey to poverty and hunger.⁷ According to Mill the Râja considered the Carnatic Brigade as an essential part of his dignity and indispensable to his personal safety and the proposal to disband it, was treated as a step to the seizure of the Raja's person and the annihilation of his authority.⁸

The Raja earnestly desired to maintain the Carnatic Brigade. On 29th December 1806, Col. Macaulay reported that the Brigade was accordingly kept up "effective and complete...."⁹ The Dewan stated unequivocally that "the reduction of the favourite corps would prove a measure so painful to the personal feelings of His Highness." Moreover it was feared that its reduction might create a suspicion in the minds of the people that His Highness' dignity has been corroded. Further he solicited the liberality of the British Government for a permanent remission of one half of the additional subsidy, which was necessary to enable His Highness to maintain, the Carnatic Brigade and fulfil with fidelity his other commitments.¹⁰ The Carnatic

7 Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. I, Ff. 17-22 (Vide, App. C, II).

8 Mill and Wilson, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. IV, p. 245.

9 For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 12 February 1807, F. 245.

10 Ibid., 9 April 1807, Ff. 191-3.

Brigade required a monthly disbursement of not less than Rs. 12,500/ .¹¹

The Governor-General-in-Council insisted on the immediate or at least gradual discharge of the unremitted half of the additional subsidy and the gradual discharge of the whole amount from 12th January, 1807. According to them the discharge of the Carnatic Brigade was a measure obviously conformable to the spirit and intent of the treaty. By the new treaty the Company was charged with the defence of the state of Travancore. After requiring the full payment of both the additional and usual subsidy the Governor-General left the question of maintenance or discharge of the Carnatic Brigade to the discretion of the Raja on account of their merit and attachment to the Company during the late revolt of 1804.¹²

Col. Macaulay continued his relentless insistence on the remittance of the arrears of subsidy. He deputed his nephew Dr. Macaulay to demand the immediate remittance of the additional subsidy which was in arrears. But the Râja replied that his debts and want of resources rendered it impossible for him to pay the money due under the new treaty, to which he had been made to affix his signature under duress. Col. Macaulay retorted that in case the amount was not paid within thirty days, he would be compelled to support his demand by the presence of troops and put a stop to all commerce. Astonished at the communication, the Râja

11 Ibid., 12 February 1807, F. 247.

12. Ibid., 9 April 1807, Ff. 193-6.

sent four lakhs of rupees "by borrowing money from the Bankers and by pawning his jewels to others, giving bonds at the same time for the money bearing a high interest."

On 31st July 1807, Lord Minto arrived in India as the next Governor-General. Just after receiving the report of his arrival as the Governor-General, the Rājā drafted a lengthy memorial narrating all the past transactions, supported with documents. It was mainly to show his disapprobation of the new treaty and to expose the haughty, overbearing, and dictatorial conduct of the Resident. He stated that he always liked to remain a sincere and cordial friend of the Company on terms of equality. In conclusion, the Rājā once again assured that he would regulate his conduct in conformity with the stipulations of the old treaty and he reposed his entire confidence upon the Honourable Company's Government.¹³

The Governor-General failed even to acknowledge the receipt of such a memorial. The memorial went without discussion on the plea that it was transmitted without the knowledge of the Resident residing at his court. On 19th October 1807 the Rājā sent a reminder to his memorial.¹⁴ In the second reminder the Raja wrote: "night and day I await with utmost anxiety the receipt of a receipt of a favorable answer to my letter, renewing the former treaty which was concluded in the time of my late uncle with the mutual consent of the contracting parties and

13. Ibid., 19 October 1807, F. 361.

14. Ibid., Ff. 400-401.

abrogating the existing engagement. I entertain a confident hope that Your Lordship will be pleased to regard with favor the condition of an ancient friend whose conduct has been distinguished by hereditary attachment, that his mind may be relieved from a state of anxiety and distress."¹⁵ Failing to receive any reply for the three letters sent by the king, the Dewan addressed the Supreme Government on 4th June 1808 that the Rāja might be favoured with a reply to his Memorial. The Dewan stated that "His Highness is led to understand that it is the unshaken intention of the Resident to enforce the payment of the innovated subsidy concluded by an act of extortion, and oblige likewise the Rajah to do what he cannot without violating the laws of his country and cementing (creating?) a general cause of discontentment among his subjects."¹⁶

When the Travancore Government failed to elicit an answer from the Supreme Government they submitted a petition before the Madras Government. In this case also Col. Macaulay refused to forward the letters. So the Rāja adopted the method of despatching his letters through private agents. Commenting on the non-receipt of any reply from the Madras Government, the Dewan wrote, "Your Government will not be biassed by the influence of their political Resident at this Durbar to act unjustly, against a sincere and useful old ally."¹⁷

15. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 26 December 1808, F. 282.

16. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 4 July 1808, F. 19.

17. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. I, Ff. 14-5 (Vide, App. C. 1),

Without giving any reply to the letters, the Madras Government transmitted the original letters to the Resident as they had not been transmitted through the prescribed channel. They instructed the Resident to explain to the Rāja “that this Government is not at liberty to relax any part of the engagements contained in the existing treaty between the two states and that it is expected that those engagements on the part of His Highness should be immediately fulfilled.”¹⁸

Both the Governments of Bengal and Madras gave no reply to the requests of the Rāja as the letters were not transmitted through the Resident. This once again delayed the payment of the additional subsidy. The Resident was authorised by the Supreme and Madras Governments to exact the full amount of the subsidy without default. On 7th September 1808, the Court of Directors gave their approval to call on the Rāja to liquidate the arrears.¹⁹ The Dewan in his letter stated that “Subsequently that gentleman demanded several times in a threatening language through the medium of his nephew Doctor Macaulay the payment of the subsidy innovated by him by acts of compulsion in order to avoid the bad consequences that might follow the threats, I always replied for the Maha Rajah My master that I would shortly procure the means of complying with his demands²⁰ He persuaded the Rāja and the

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, F, 11

19. India Office Records, Political Secret 6/437, F. 300 Political despatches from the Court of Directors to Fort St George, 7 September 1808.

20. Sec Sun. TR., Vol. I, F. 13. (Vide, App. C. 1).

Officers through Sthanapathy Subbayyan and the English Interpreter Mr. D' Veigas to reconcile themselves with the new treaty, which he assured, would do no harm to the interests of Travancore.²¹ At length the Resident seriously warned the Dewan that "if it be not regularly discharged something must happen."²² In one of the letters, to Subbayyan, Col. Macaulay ordered "to lay hold of that minister and throw him into the Valiathoray surf who would not pay heed to his advice."²³ The warm regard which the Resident showed to the Dewan disappeared and he began to use highly objectionable and abusive language in his correspondence. He now began to describe the Dewan as a "temporizing, equivocating, prevaricating and marauding boy."²⁴ These insulting remarks naturally infuriated the Dewan very much. The Dewan, arrogant and haughty by nature, bitterly resented such treatment from the Resident.²⁵ Macaulay stated, "The Dewan greatly changed in temper of late; he has become ferocious to a degree that alarms everyone who approaches him."²⁶

Col. Macaulay wrote to the Madras Government that it would be difficult to receive an apology for the rejection of the suggestions made by the Government, much less the disbanding of the Carnatic Brigade. The Dewan continued to maintain the Brigade, fully armed and at the same time

21. P. Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.* p. 325.

22. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 2 January 1809, Ff. 84-5.

23. T. K. Velu Pilla, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 470.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 471.

25. V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual* Vol. I, p. 429.

26. Sec. Cons., Vol. 37, F. 259.

withheld the subsidy due to the Government. By these acts of violation of his engagements he had slighted the counsel of the Government, yet he did not scruple to force the irregularity upon the notice of Government. He made complaints of imaginary unrest and financial difficulties. On these grounds, the Resident concluded that the Dewan was the sole obstacle to the payment of the arrears of the subsidy, at which he was professedly aiming.²⁷

According to the Resident the resources of Travancore state, from different major sources, would not be less than twelve lakhs of rupees per annum, after defraying all charges of a civil and military nature (with the exception only of the Carnatic Brigade) and after paying the full amount of the treaty.²⁸ He advised the Madras Government to address a letter to the Dewan in such strong terms of admonition, as he merited. The letter was also to express the confident expectation of the Government that the Dewan as the manager of the country and a principal subscribing party to the existing treaty, should in future show himself to fulfil with promptness and fidelity the whole of his engagements to the Honourable Company.²⁹

On 30th May 1808, the Madras Government addressed a strong letter to the Dewan. After reviewing the role of the Dewan in the formation of the treaty of 1805, the

27. Ibid., Ff. 38-39.

28. For. Pol. Cons., Proc., 1 September 1807, Ff. 336-7.
Revenue account prepared by Col. Macaulay on 23 April 1807.

29. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. I, Ff. 40-41.

Governor-in-Council requested the prompt fulfilment of the engagements established by the same. In reply to the letters from Travancore, he stated that "it has been abundantly established that these excuse have no real foundation. The Honorable Governor-in-Council is therefore reluctantly compelled to ascribe the delay in the payment of the subsidy not to the want of means but to the disinclination to comply with the just demands of the British Government."³⁰ The Governor seriously warned the Dewan for transmitting letters through irregular channels, and insisted that all future correspondence should be conducted strictly through the Resident. They highly commended the character of the Resident and asserted that he was acting according to the directions of his superiors. On 5th August 1808, the Madras Government transmitted a copy of the above letter to the Supreme Government together with a forwarding letter. They observed that the demands of the Resident had been evaded and this evasion had been apparently connected with intrigues of an improper nature calculated to call in question the grounds of the existing treaty.³¹

The letter of the Madras Governor to the Dewan dated 30th July 1808 produced a profound change in the character of the Dewan. The Dewan expressed his contrition for his past defaults.³² He apologised to the Resident "that it was to please the Rajah that he went wrong and

30. Ibid., F. 68.

31. Ibid., F. 74.

32. Ibid., F. 84.

that his proceedings must be ascribed to a want of sense.³³ He once again professed his faith and confidence in the Resident.³³ The Dewan next sent a big bundle of coins to clear some part of the arrears.³⁴ But when it was counted it was found to contain only Rs 60,000/-. The accumulated arrears had reached eight lakhs.³⁵

All these embarrassments and surprises did not produce any change in the mind of the Rāja. On 30th October 1808, Dr. Macaulay met the Rāja and enquired of him the exact time required for the discharge of the arrears of subsidy. The Rāja replied: "I am now paying money and I will pay more when I get it."³⁶ He repeated the same answer to his further questions. At last through the intervention of the Dewan he stated: "I will now pay two lakhs and by the month of March three more."³⁷ Then Dr. Macaulay showed the Rāja the Malayālam translation of the letter of the Madras Government to the Dewan and articles 5 and 9 of the new treaty which dealt with the absorption of the internal management of Travancore by the Company in case of failure in the prompt payment of subsidy. Without perusing the documents the Rāja handed them over to the Dewan. Thus ended the meeting of Dr. Macaulay with the Rāja.

Dr. Macaulay in his meeting with the Dewan on the same day expressed the extreme dissatisfaction on the evasive and

33. Sec. Cons., Vol. 37, Ff. 237-8.

34. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 24 October, 1808, F. 308.

35. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. I, F. 93.

36. Ibid., Vol. II, F. 488.

37. Ibid., F. 489.

unbecoming conduct of the Rāja. Then he took a letter of Col. Macaulay from his pocket. It warned that the failure in the prompt payment of the subsidy was "a circumstance not only improper but unexcusable." In conclusion Dr. Macaulay stated "indeed it is now too plain that speaking or writing to him serves no good."³⁸

But the Rāja was determined to secure the change of the Resident at any rate. Pedro D' Veigas, the confidential agent of both the Company and the Rāja, conveyed to the Resident that the Dewan wished to disgust the Resident with the people and the country and to get you leave it or that Government (British Government) perceiving you unable to carry on business smoothly might be led to recall you and send another whom these people might bend more to their purpose.³⁹ Col. Macaulay suggested a change of the present Dewan as the only mode of preserving harmony. But it was possible only through the interference of the Government of Madras⁴⁰ The Resident considered the default in the prompt payment of the subsidy as "a systematic plan of contumacious resistance to the due observance of the stipulations of subsisting engagements." The Madras Government in their letter to the Supreme Government considered "those appearances which had led to the belief of an intended change in the conduct of the Dewan could only have been used for the purpose of deception."⁴¹ The Resident considered the maintenance of British influence in Travancore

38. Ibid., Ff. 489-93. Extract of a letter from Dr. Macaulay 26, 28, and 31 October, 1808.

39. Ibid., F. 478.

40. Ibid., F. 482.

41. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 2 January 1809, F. 125,

essential to the security of the British Empire. In his opinion, this seemed clearly incompatible with the Dewan's continuance in office. To bring about the proposed change of the Dewan from office, he suggested the despatch of three battalions of the Company's troops from Madras to act on his instructions.⁴² The personal conflict on account of the non-fulfilment of the terms of the new treaty between the Resident and the Dewan brought matters to a grave crisis. The differences became wide and unbridgeable. Vēlu Tampi saw that an open conflict with the Company was inevitable.

42. Sec. Cons., Vol. 37, F. 278.

THE REVOLT OF 1809

The hostility between the Company's Government and Travancore was moving to its climax. The Company adopted an uncompromising stand. They were not prepared to make any adjustment on the additional subsidy as requested by the Rāja. They continued to tighten their grip upon Travancore day by day. Prospect for reconciliation and peaceful settlement of the issues was becoming more and more remote. Matters were heading towards a confrontation. Vēlu Tampi, the erst-while friend of Col. Macaulay and the principal minister of the Rāja, who was actually responsible for persuading the Raja to sign the Treaty of 1805, had by this time turned out to be the most bitter opponent of the Company's Government.

The Dewan despatched confidential agents to the several divisions of the country charged with special instructions to the principal officers. He had ordered a portion of the population of every district within Travancore to be trained in the use of arms. The Nayars who were clothed in distinctive uniform and armed with firelocks, were ordered to drill

constantly and to fire ball cartridges. Immense quantities of weapons of offence including firelocks, bows and arrows were manufactured everywhere.¹ Vēlu Tampi dismissed Mārtāṇḍan Cempakarāman and appointed his brother as the General of all the Travancore forces. He ordered Col. Daly, a French officer who commanded the Carnatic Brigade, not to seek any more advice from the Resident. He was brought under the direct control of the new General.²

On 5th December, one of Col. Macaulay's confidential agents from Ciṛayinkīl reported that since 22nd November the Dewan had collected about twenty thousand men with arms of various kinds.³ The Dewan employed Nāgamaṇi 'Maltium', a member of the Nāḍār caste to enrol eight thousand men of the Nāḍār caste in the eight adhikārams of Kuḷaccal, and to enrol two thousand Nāyars in each adhikaram with bows and arrows. In Ārriṅṅal he collected six thousand Nāyars armed with bows and arrows. Iron was transported from a mine in Aramboly (Āruvāmoḷi) to Udayagiri Fort to make shots.⁴ Udayagiri was the principal arsenal of the Government with a fine foundry, "the only one it is believed in use in India for casting iron guns."⁵ The Āruvāmoḷi Lines towards Tirunelvēli was completely repaired and three guns placed in each tower. Guns and

1. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. I, Ff. 103-4.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, F. 516.

3. Ibid., F. 515.

4. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 23 January 1809, Ff. 384-6. Intelligence given by Hircarrāh Rama Swamy on 21st December, 1808.

5. *A. A. Reg. for 1809*, p. 60.

gunpowder were continuously manufactured in Udayagiri. The disbanded troopers who resided at Nagercoil were ordered to be ready for re-enlistment.⁶

It was widely circulated that the French and Marathas would come to the assistannce of the Travancore Rāja. The expected arrival of the French aid was the subject of common talk in Travancore. The Dewan expected military assistance from Russia also. In his conversation with Col. Daly, the Commander of the Carnatic Brigade, he said that the Russians and the French were on their way to Travancore through Persia. He had despatched messengers with letters requesting aid and assistance from the Poligars and Māppilas, extending over an area from Madras to Cannanore.⁷

Pāliyatt Accan, the minister of Cochin, had favourably responded to the move for rebellion. Just like Vēlu Tampi, Pāliyatt Accan had been a good friend of Macaulay. He owed very much to the Resident for his elevation to his office. But he contrived the death of Kārakkāṭ Rāman Mēnōn and Iṭṭattu Gōvinda Mēnōn, the former chief minister and commander-in-chief of Cochin, by poison. When he turned against Ceṅu-paṅampatt Kūñṅu Kṛṣṇa Mēnōn, an intimate friend of Raja Rāma Varma, the Rāja sought the help of Col. Macaulay, who granted asylum to Mēnōn. When Col. Macaulay refused to surrender Kūñṅu Kṛṣṇa Mēnōn Pāliyatt Accan decided to extend

6. For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 23 January 1809, F. 386.

7. Sec. Cons., Vol. 39, F. 1809, Statement from Col. Daly to Col. Macaulay, 10 March 1809.

his support to the move of Vēlu Tampi to rebel. No other native prince seems to have come forward either to assist or sympathise with Vēlu Tampi. The Zamorin's minister, Shāmnath Paṭṭar, immediately handed over the appeal of Vēlu Tampi to the British officers.⁸

The Dewan continued to pursue his ambitious plans with unremitting zeal. He established his headquarters at Alleppey, from where he communicated his orders. He employed a number of armed boats to patrol the coastal waters for the purpose of interrupting the coastal communication of the British. He expected the arrival of a French force at that port.⁹ But according to Col. Macaulay "it was used by the Dewan as a cover to incite the people to train with such publicity to arms with the scheme of thereby intimidating the British Government into a passive acquiescence in his bold contumacy and daring resistance."¹⁰

On 1st December 1808, as a precautionary measure the Resident alerted Col. Chalmers, the Officer-commanding the subsidiary force in Travancore, regarding the hostile preparations of the Dewan. He required the Madras Government to despatch a competent force to arrest the Dewan, the prime mover and instigator of the projected rebellion.¹¹ Further he suggested two modes of attack: one, attacking the Dewan

8. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 6 February 1809, Ff. 740-742. (Vide App C. IV).

9. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. I, Ff. 156-7.

10. Ibid., Ff. 104-5.

11. Ibid., F. 106.

individually as a public enemy, and two, temporising until next August and then carrying out a plan of combined military movements. The Governor-in-Council of Madras, shocked out of their wits, hastened to authorise the Resident to carry out the above measures. They empowered him to call on the Commanding Officer of Malabar or the Commanding Officer of the Southern Division of the Army for any additional troops as might be required. They also instructed the Commanding Officers at Cannanore and of the Southern Division at Trichinopoly to provide sufficient troops for meeting the emergency in Travancore. On 18th December, 1808, they conveyed to the Supreme Government their resolution to suppress so dangerous a spirit that had become manifest in Travancore and to effect the seizure of the person of the Dewan as a measure of indispensable necessity.¹²

On 25th December, 1808, a reversal of policy was made by the Madras Government. They countermanded all military movements and ordered that "the preparations for hostile measures in Travancore may be discontinued and you will not take any measures for securing the person of the Dewan."¹³ The Madras Government had only now realised that they had acted in contravention of the Charter Act of 1793. Article XLII of the Charter Act of 1793 clearly stated that "for as much as to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant

12. Ibid., Ff. 123-4.

13. Ibid., Ff. 192-3.

to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation: be it further enacted that it shall not be lawful for the Governor-General in Council of Fort William aforesaid, without the express command and authority of the said Court of Directors or of the said Secret Committee by the authority of the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India."¹⁴

On 27th December, 1808 the Madras Government communicated to the Supreme Government their decision to countermand military movements partly because these measures were adopted without the sanction of the Supreme Government.¹⁵ In their secret letter to England dated 29 December, 1808, they expressed doubts on the designs of Col. Macaulay and stated that they had countermanded the forces on that account.¹⁶

Alongside the punitive preparations Col. Macaulay tried also for a rapprochement with the Dewan. The Dewan deputed one 'Rilparch Pilla' as his agent, who on 24th December met the Resident accompanied by Col. Daly. He put forward two propositions. One, the modification of the subsidiary treaty. If the Resident refused to comply, the Dewan would resign his post. Col. Macaulay declared that modification of the treaty was impossible and insisted that the immediate resignation of the Dewan was the best course to avert injury and disaster to the state. Rilparch

14. Mukherji, Panchanandas, (Ed.) *Indian Constitutional Documents, 1600-1918*, Vol. I, p. 68.

15. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. I, F. 200.

16. Sec. Letters, Vol. III, F. 234.

Pilla expressed his fear that the resignation might result in the murder of the Dewan. The Resident assured security to the person of the Dewan and his freinds.¹⁷

On 27th December 1808, the Dewan submitted his letter of resignation, stating that "in consequence of failures on my part in the fulfilment of the terms of the treaties, subsisting between His Highness and the Honorable Company, His Highness and the inhabitants may feel uneasiness and trouble. Col. Macaulay however by a letter addressed to me has solemnly pledged himself to the safety and protection of His Highness and his country—on my resigning the office of minister and retiring within the territories of the Honorable Company."¹⁸ On the same day Rāmalingam Mudaliyar, the writer of Col. Macaulay reported that the Dewan confessed his mistakes and in the course of his conversation stated: "Now I know that I was wrong and misled. Col. Macaulay has already twice saved my life at the risk of his own; by tommorow I shall owe my life to him a third time." He proceeded, "All the country know that to him I am also indebted for the rank and authority I have held. In quitting office cheerfully confiding in the Colonel—it is the only reparation that I can now offer to him and to the Rajah."¹⁹ The Dewan requested for Rs. 2,000/- and a palanquin in order to continue his journey.

17. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. II, Ff. 548-550. .

18. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 6 February 1809, F. 769 (Vide, App. C. III),

19. Ibid., Ff, 667-8.

Col. Macaulay immediately sent a company of sepoy's under Col. Daly with palanquins and made other arrangements for the convenient journey of the Dewan. Col. Daly was ordered to accompany him as far as Calicut. The manoeuvrings of the Resident were not backed by any genuine desire for conciliation and peace but they were merely measures planned for deception. After his first day's conversation itself, Col. Macaulay had directed Col. Chalmers to apprehend the Dewan, Rilparch Pilla and the Dewan's brother.²⁰

The Dewan also used the proposal of resignation as a smokescreen for hostile preparations. On 27th Col. Daly waited upon the Dewan after making all arrangements for his journey. In the evening the Dewan was seriously engaged in meeting the highest officers of the state. He postponed the journey for 28th evening. Again Col. Daly waited, when the Dewan frankly revealed his intentions. Following is the substance of the discussion between Col. Daly and the Dewan. The Dewan said that the Resident was no more than a fool who trusted his words! He asked Col. Daly how he, being a Minister of Travancore, could leave his king and country to live in the Company's territories. If he happened to do likewise the king and the people would look upon him as a traitor. He would stay on, for the moment he quit the state the Resident would assume all powers. He had raised an army of not less than one lakh and fifty thousand men. He was also under the impression that the Company had no large army at hand to employ against him as they were engaged in the war with the Marathas. He expected assistance from

20. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. II, F. 551.

various other sources also. Col. Daly answered that his information was wrong and his expectations false. He also warned that the Company's troops would arrive within a short period by land and sea and the Dewan would certainly lose his life. The Dewan replied that it was customary to make war and afterwards make peace; and he was determined to make war. Col. Daly stated that once the war was started the Company would near make peace with the Dewan. The Dewan replied that he wanted to precipitate a war, get a name, and then die. He continued, "Oh! Col. Macaulay's business is all done today; his head it is kicking about the streets of Cochin at this time."²¹

On the same night, a party of Nāyars, about one thousand in number, headed by the Dewan's trusted friend, Padmanābha Piḷḷa, and Pāliyatt Accan, the minister of Cochin, surrounded the house of the Resident at Cochin. They commenced a smart musketry fire at every opening. They disarmed the guards and killed those who attempted resistance. They pillaged the house and destroyed the records and official papers.²² The Resident, providentially escaped from the hands of his assassins with the help of a confidential clerk under him, by concealing himself in a recess in the lower chamber, the door of which was not easily distinguishable from the exterior wall. At day-break on sighting a British ship, the Nāyar troops retreated. The Resident came out of his hiding together with Kuññu Kṛṣṇa Mēnōn joined the reinforcement from

21. Sec. Cons., Vol. 37, Ff. 1803-1812.

22. Ibid., Ff. 22-3.

Malabar that had just arrived at the harbour. He despatched orders to the Officers Commanding the British army at Tinnevely, Malabar, Ceylon and Seringapatam for the immediate despatch of sizable contingents to Travancore.²³

23. This open attack on the person of the British Resident did not make any change in the decision of the Madras Government. The Governor-in-Council of Madras expressed their great concern at the attack and gratification at the escape of the Resident from personal danger. They advised him to avoid the adoption of any measure of hostility against Travancore. (Ibid., Ff. 30-2 Letter from Madras to Col. Macaulay 5 January, 1809).

On the same day the Governor addressed the Rājā of Travancore and directed him to issue such orders as would prevent the renewal of similar acts of violence and to discontinue the hostile preparations as to restore the former state of tranquillity. He informed the transfer of Col. Macaulay and the appointment of Major Blackburne, the Resident at Tanjore, as the acting Resident of Travancore.

(Ibid., Ff. 33-4, Letter from Governor in Council to Rājā of Travancore, 5 January 1809).

On 27 January 1809, in the secret general letter to the Court of Directors they stated that the question regarding their relations with Travancore had been submitted to the Supreme Government, they had thought it advisable notwithstanding the above incident to adhere to their earlier resolution not to move a force into that country, and to postpone the adoption of any measure for bringing the authors, or the perpetrators of the outrage, to punishment until they should receive the instructions of the Governor-General in Council for their guidance.

(Sec. Letters, Vol. III, F. 238).

From Alleppey the Dewan moved to Quilon. He planned for a surprise attack upon the subsidiary force at Quilon, from two sides. Thousands of people assembled at Paravūr and moved to Quilon. Col. Chalmers who learnt the details of the Dewan's proposed attack through confidential sources, adopted prompt measures to resist it. He ordered a section of the army with guns to advance to some heights near the Dewan's house. Another party under the command of Captain Clapham was stationed in a hillock on the right of the road near the Dewan's house. On 30th December the Travancore troops made two daring attempts to surround the English encampment at Quilon. They were forced to retreat with heavy losses. Next day the subsidiary force occupied the house of the Dewan. Another army unit under Major Hamilton advanced further and reached 'Ayikal' (Alĭkkal) after several encounters with the enemy. Here he defeated a Travancore army consisting of 4000 soldiers. On hearing that a large enemy contingent was rapidly proceeding from Paravūr to Quilon, Col. Chalmers strengthened his defences though he was facing acute shortage of food and ammunition.²⁴

The insurgents now resorted to cruel measures. On the night of 29th December, they seized and detained Doctor Hume and thirty-three other Englishmen who were driven by bad weather to disembark near Alleppey.²⁵ Dr. Hume together with two other officers were butchered in cold blood in the

24. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. II, Ff. 566-574.

25. Ibid., F. 593.

beach at Purakkād.²⁶ According to Nagam Aiya, the European soldiers were tied back to back in couples and thrown into Pāllatturūtti river, on the eastern side of Alleppey, with heavy stones tied round their necks.²⁷ The story was confirmed by Koccu Śaṅkara Piḷḷa, the confidential Secretary of Vēlu Tampi. The murder of those persons, it was stated, took place on the express orders of the Dewan.²⁸ A servant of Lt. Col. Chalmers, who had been detained along with Dr. Hume, escaped to Quilon on 29th January and declared himself as an eye-witness of the murder of Dr. Hume. He also confirmed the tragic end of the other British soldiers.²⁹

All British as well as Travancore historians, have blamed Vēlu Tampi for this tragic event. However Vēlu Piḷḷai, Editor of the Travancore State Manual, has tried to exculpate Vēlu Tampi from participation in this wanton butchery. Contemporary records however give out a different version. Vēlu Tampi himself had issued the order for the arrest of Dr. Hume and his companions and their execution. Koccu Śaṅkara Piḷḷa had confessed that he wrote the order of execution at the Dewan's dictation.

However, events of this kind are not uncommon during times of revolt. The British soldiers also committed similar atrocities. For instance, on 2th January 1809 four thousand

26. P. Shungoonny Menon, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-9.

27. V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

28. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. V, Ff. 1779-82 (Vide, App. E),

29. Sec. Cons., Vol. 38, Ff. 822-3.

insurgents who opposed the British at Alikkal, while attempting to save themselves, were fired upon at the bar and three to four hundred were drowned in the backwater.³⁰ When Col. Chalmers asked for the immediate release of Dr. Hume and his companions the Dewan pointed to the above incident and stated that it was a cruel tyranny never heard amongst the civilized and even amongst arch enemies. How do you think of satisfying our country men, who are ever crying for their blood?³¹

As soon as the Madras Government issued orders countermanding all warlike preparation, Col. Macaulay tried for conciliation with the Dewan through Col. Chalmers. But the Dewan demanded the withdrawal of the British troops to their former camps, restoration of all places, goods and guns captured from Travancore and the re-embarkation of all additional troops from Travancore within four days.³² In spite of the conciliation efforts, the Dewan proceeded with further measures to create a mass upsurge in Travancore against the English.

The Dewan issued from Kunḍara, a place east of Quilon, a spirited proclamation to incite the masses. It appealed to the religious sentiments of the orthodox people. He delineated his resistance against the English as a national struggle. He

30. Sec. Cons. TR., Vol. II, F. 570.

31. Idid., Ff. 661-2. (Vide App. C. VI).

32. Sec. Cons., Vol. 37, Ff. 118-122 (Vide, App. C. VII).

traced the relationship between the Company and Travancore from the very beginning and stated that their trust upon the Company "was betrayed and our friendliness taken advantage of to bring harm upon us by this very English nation, who as is well-known to the whole world, is unequalled for base ingratitude and treachery. The English came over to Travancore first by craft and then forcibly, they have taken steps to exterminate us from our land." The appointment of Col-Macaulay, the enforcement of the treaty of 1805, the arbitrary claim for increased subsidy, encampment of the British forces and pressure upon the Dewan to resign the post were all calculated to absorb the country. He appealed to the people that it was high time to break with the English; otherwise "not a single soul in this country would be able to bear and pass his days."

He further excited the people by narrating the disastrous consequences that would fall upon the country after its annexation. "It is the nature of the English nation to get possession of countries by treacherous means, and should they obtain ascendancy in Travancore they will put their own guards in the palaces, sircar buildings, and the fort gates, destroy the royal seal, do away with honorific palanquins and other distinguishing marks, suppress the Brahmanical communities and worship in pagodas, make monopolies of salt and every otherthing, measure up and assert themselves absolute owners of waste lands, impose exorbitant taxes on paddy lands, coconut trees, etc., get low caste people to impose heavy punishments for slight faults, put up crosses and Christian flags in pagodas, compel intermarriages with Brahman women without reference to caste or creed and practise all the unjust and unlawful things which characterize *kaliyuga*." He therefore

appealed to the people in general to guard their homes, the charitable institutions, and the manners and customs of their land.³³

The appeal was warmly responded to by the people. Thousands of people rallied round the Dewan. On 15th morning the Travancore troops attacked the subsidiary force at Quilon. The encounter lasted for six hours.³⁴ But in the end British forces came out victorious. On 19th January the combined forces of Travancore and Cochin again attacked the British forces at Cochin.³⁵ It was with considerable loss that the English were able to gain a victory in the battle. On 31st January, 1809, the Travancore troops attacked the subsidiary force at Quilon for the third time. The attack was carried out by the Dewan at the head of forty thousand men. But it was also repulsed with heavy losses.³⁶

On 15th January 1809, the Madras Government resolved to resume vigorous military operations until all opposition in Travancore was removed. The countermanded military operations were now resumed with added vigour. The courage and determination which the Resident exhibited in the last encounter with the Travancore forces was publicly applauded. Further he was allowed to resume his

33. P. Shungoony Menon, *op cit.* pp. 339-343. (Vide, App. C. V, for the proclamation)

34. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. II, Ff. 664-5.

35. Sec. Cons., Vol. 38, Ff. 688-9.

36. *Ibid.*, Ff. 1073-4.

duties as the Resident, and the order for his transfer was annulled.³⁷ On the same day they addressed a letter to the Rāja explaining the grounds which had led to the mobilisation of the British forces into Travancore. They requested the co-operation of the Rāja to suppress the intrigues of the Dewan and guaranteed security to the person of the Rāja.³⁸ On 17th January the Madras Government published a proclamation appealing to the inhabitants of Travancore and neighbouring kingdoms to co-operate with the English to put an end to the power of the dangerous minister and to re-establish the connection of the two Government on a secure and happy foundation.³⁹

On 19th January the Madras Government, issued necessary instructions to the Resident for the earliest enforcement of all the provisions of the existing treaty upon the Rāja. They ordered the reduction of the military forces of Travancore as they were employed in hostilities against the Company, the earliest liquidation of the arrears of subsidy, dismissal of Dewan Vēlu Tampi and appointment of a new Dewan with the consent of the Resident, settlement of the Resident and at least a part of the subsidiary force near the palace of the Mahārāja, demolition of the military lines and defences of the Rāja and the construction of roads throughout Travancore. They also required the unconditional submission of the Dewan as indispensable to public safety and tranquillity. The Madras Government authorised the Resident to

37. Ibid, Vol. 37, F. 176.

38. Ibid., Ff. 181-2.

39. Tinnevely District Records, Vol. 3569, Ff. 38-9 (Vide, App. F).

adopt all measures to suppress the opposition in Travancore.⁴⁰

On 23rd January, 1809, the Supreme Government explicitly demanded enforcement of three conditions upon Travancore: (1) that the persons principally concerned in the atrocious attack on the person of the British representative should be delivered into British hands, if they had not already been punished, (2) that the Dewan should be dismissed from office and banished from the country, subject to such arrangements for his future residence and support as may appear advisable; and (3) that the validity of the subsisting treaty should be distinctly acknowledged and that its recognition should be evinced by the payment in full of the arrears of the subsidy. They also authorised the Madras Government to despatch sufficient military force into Travancore. The expense of such an expedition should be borne by the Rāja.⁴¹ The Madras Government evolved a systematic plan to move several columns of British troops to Travancore. "The principle of the operations of the troops must necessarily be entirely offensive and of the most rigorous and decided nature. The primary object of their proceeding will be to attack and disperse or disarm the whole collected bodies of soldiers that may appear in arms against the British Government. The forces deployed in Travancore consisted of three principal divisions: (1) a regiment from Trichinopoly under Lt. Col. Senterger. (2) the division at Quilon under Lt. Col. Chalmers and (3) a detachment under the command of Lt. Col. Cuppage.

40. Sec. Cons., Vol. 37, Ff. 230-237.

41. Ibid., Vol. 38, Ff. 796-815.

The regiment under Lt. Col. Sentleger was asked to enter south Travancore by way of Āruvāmoḷi. The division at Quilon was instructed to hold on at Quilon. The detachment under Lt. Col. Cuppage was to move from Malabār and attack Cochin and the northern parts of Travancore. A detachment of troops was rushed to Tinnevely for the purpose of overawing the southern poligars. Another detachment was stationed in the district of Vayanād, in order to maintain tranquillity in Malabār and afford assistance to Lt. Col. Cuppage, if necessary. On 6th February, 1809, the Supreme Government expressed their entire concurrence and satisfaction in the energetic measures adopted by the Madras Government against the rebels in Travancore.

Even after the adoption of such powerful measures to suppress the revolt, the Raja continued to stick on to the position he held earlier. In February, 1809, he addressed the Madras Governor through the Collector of Tinnevely. After an earnest appraisal of the intimate and sincere amity which had long subsisted between the Company and his state, he observed that "the pure source of that ancient friendship has been disturbed and infected by Colonel Macaulay, from the commencement of his residence at this Samsthan in like manner as milk and sugar would be treated by the admixture of poison." He expressed his anxiety that he was not in receipt of any reply to the last several representations he had made. He requested that another gentleman of sagacity and impartiality might be deputed in the place of Col. Macaulay. He agreed to abide by his decision after a proper investigation. He did not wish to continue the warlike preparations.⁴² In reply the

42. Ibid., Ff. 866-9.

Madras Government directed the Raja to listen to the advice of the Resident and to withdraw his countenance from the Dewan.⁴³ At the same time the military movements continued as arranged.

The additional force from Trichinopoly arrived and encamped at Āruv moḷi pass on 6th February. The pass was defended by formidable lines, consisting of a number of small well-built bastions each mounting two or three guns and connected by strong wall masonry. It extended about two miles embracing rugged hills and terminated at either extremity by mountains flanked by impenetrable jungles. Col. Welsh stated that the approach to it was rather difficult "from the wild state of the country, within cannon range of the walls."⁴⁴ On the night of 9th February an entry was accomplished by a *coup-de-main* directed by Col. Welsh. With few losses the English obtained the enemy's guns, arms and stores, the arsenal and the pass.⁴⁵ The Travancore troops withdrew to the villages. They concentrated at Kōṭṭar and Nagercoil and prepared for meeting the next attack.

Lt. Col. Sentleger ordered the march of the army into the interior parts. On 17th February British forces again defeated and dispersed Travancore forces in the interior. On 19th they occupied Padmanābhapuram and Udayagiri fort

43. *Ibid.*, F. 870.

44. Col. Jame Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*. Vol. I, p. 289.

45. *Ibid.*

without much resistance. At Udayagiri, they captured 160 pieces of cannon and occupied the principal arsenal of the Rāja. About 20,000 stand of arms and 40 pieces of ordnance with 1200 barrels of gun powder were captured from Padmanābhapuram.⁴⁶

Travancore troops were now rather dispirited and discouraged. On 18th February, the Dewan requested for a truce, to which Lt. Col. Sentleger made no reply.⁴⁷ The Dewan himself retreated to Trivandrum in despair. The utter failure of the Travancore troops in the southern parts rather dismayed the natives. They lost confidence and found resistance futile. From Padmanābhapuram, Vēlu Tampi proceeded to Trivandrum. Matters had moved contrary to his expectations. He expected aid and assistance from outside. The French expedition did not materialise. Pāliyatt Accan, his ally, deserted him in time of necessity. No other native power came forward to assist or even to sympathise with Vēlu Tampi. He decided to retreat and hide himself for security reasons. Before his departure he met the Rāja in his palace and told him that "he had prepared a place of retreat for the Rajah on the mountains, fortified it with care and stored arms,ammunitions and provisions; it was arranged that the Rajah and the Family of the Rajah should repair in case of need." When the Rāja refused to shift his residence, he assured the Rāja that within a month or two he would

46. *A. A. Reg.*, for 1809, p. 60.

47. *Sec. Cons.*, Vol 39, F. 1361.

“reappear supported by a formidable French force to drive away every Englishmen out of the country.”⁴⁸

The withdrawal of the Dewan marked the end of all local resistance. The Travancore forces were dispersed with heavy losses. The powerful British army converged into Travancore from all directions. The Mahārāja was left without any assistance. He was very much alarmed by the triumphant march of the British army towards the capital. On 20th February 1809, he wrote to Col. Macaulay that “it is clear and evident that the assembled forces of this country are unable to oppose the troops of my friends the Company.”⁴⁹ He ordered the commanders to suspend all warlike preparations and cease hostilities.⁵⁰ On 19th January he addressed Lt. Col. Sentleger to stop all hostilities in his country.⁵¹ On 21st February 1809, Col. Macaulay demanded the immediate release of Doctor Hume and the soldiers confined at Alleppy and Puṛakkād. Further he demanded the complete dispersal of Travancore troops within three days.⁵² He agreed to terminate active hostilities provided the Dewan was apprehended and handed over to him. On 22nd February Col. Macaulay demanded the delivery of the person of the Dewan within twenty four hours followed by a threat to resume hostilities in case of failure.⁵³ On 24th the

48. Ibid., F. 1585.

49. Ibid., Ff. 1367-8.

50. K. S. A., Nittus, Vol. IV, Nos. 189-192.

51. Sec. Cons., Vol. 39, F. 1365.

52. Ibid., Ff. 1354-5.

53. Ibid., Ff. 1414-6.

same demand was repeated by Lt. Col. Sentleger encamped very close to the capital. The detachments under Lt. Col. Chalmers and Lt. Col. Sentleger were now ordered to move in the direction of the capital with instructions to avoid hostilities.⁵⁴ It was intended mainly to secure the person of the Dewan. Following the flight of the Dewan the Rāja assembled the principal officers of his Government to discuss and decide on the Resident's demand for the surrender of the Dewan's person. All officers except on Kuññu Kṛṣṇa Piḷḷa recommended the seizure and delivery of the Dewan as a measure of protection. The Raja informed the Resident that he had dismissed Vēlu Tampi and appointed Kumāra Piḷḷa to carry on the duties of Dewan. Again he urged the cessation of the movements of the British army.⁵⁵ On 25th February, Col. Macaulay wrote to the Madras Government informing them of the downfall of the Dewan and stated that "the case of the Dewan of Travancore is at an end."⁵⁶

But on 26th February Col. Macaulay came to know that the new minister, Kumāra Piḷḷa, had married a sister of the Dewan. Moreover the old Samprati Piḷḷa, who piloted the last several conspiracies, was still very close to the Rāja. Thus the Resident did not perceive any real change in his attitude towards the Company and the Dewan Vēlu Tampi. So he again ordered the movement of the forces, towards the capital. He also directed Lt. Col. Cuppage for the

54. Ibid., Ff 1376-7.

55. Ibid., Ff. 1422-4.

56. Ibid., F. 1376.

immediate occupation of the Travancore Lines, the district of Ālaññād and the arsenal at Paṛavūr and next the central depots of Maṅvēlikkara and Alleppey. Col. Wilkinson was instructed to take possession of the Cenköṭṭa and Āruvāmoḷi passes.

The military units under Lt. Col. Chalmers and Lt. Col. Sentleger reached their destinations on the morning of 1st March, 1809. Major Hewitt with six companies of his battalion reached Pūntuṛa, two miles west of the capital on the next day. On 4th March, 1809, Lt. Col. Cuppage, without any opposition, occupied Travancore Lines and Paṛavūr. On the same day Col. Wilkinson occupied Cenköṭṭa and Āruvāmoḷi passes.⁵⁷ The Travancore troops throughout the country surrendered without any resistance.

The British army was in complete possession of the Travancore Lines, fortresses, arsenals and magazines. The Resident turned towards the Carnatic Brigade, the only regular militia of Travancore, which played a conspicuous role throughout the late hostilities. They led and carried out the active battles, aided the Dewan, attempted to assassinate Col. Macaulay at Cochin, and massacred the European officers at Quilon and thirty three Europeans and Dr. Hume at Puṛakkād.⁵⁸ In retaliation, Col. Macaulay decided to disgrace and humiliate them. He issued orders to disarm and dismiss the entire Carnatic Brigade. Hence he

57. Ibid., Ff. 1663-9.

58. Ibid., Ff. 1610-11.

ordered that "their eqaulets may be stripped from their shoulders, their sashes cut in pieces and their swords broken over their heads and also dismissed."⁵⁹ He thus disposed of the Carnatic Brigade but the Rāja was permitted to retain some five hundred men armed with firelocks to be in attendance on him.

Now the Rāja was virtually a prisoner of the English. His army was brutally suppressed, British army contingents had occupied all strategic points. His friends and supporters were apprehended and treated harshly. The English insisted on the strict adherence to all the provisions of the treaty of 1805 and the immediate apprehension of the Dewan Vēlu Tampi. Thus the Rāja was once again forced to acknowledge the late treaty. On 10th March, the Rāja declared that the treaty of January 1805 was signed with his own free will and consent, and that he would exert all his endeavours to carry it into execution. The arrogance and wickedness of Vēlu Tampi had disturbed the harmony which subsisted between the two Governments and he endeavoured to overwhelm the Rāja in disgrace and ruin but the Honourable Company was pleased to pardon his past errors.⁶⁰ He assured the earliest apprehension of Vēlu Tampi.

Still the army remained at the advanced posts. They made relentless demands for the payment of the arrears. On 24th March, the Rāja remitted at the military camp in

59. Ibid., F. 1611.

60. Ibid., Ff. 1947-8.

Trivandrum nine lakhs and at Māvēlikkara another two lakhs towards the arrears of the additional subsidy. Immediately Col. Macaulay ordered the withdrawal of the army under Lt. Col. Chalmers and Lt. Col. Sentleger from Trivandrum to Quilon and Udayagiri respectively.⁶¹

But Col. Macaulay still remained at Pūntuṟa and continued his demand for the immediate apprehension of the Dewan. The Rāja had already issued several nittus to different officers for securing the person of the Dewan and his close associates.⁶² Following failure in the prompt arrest of the Dewan or even the delivery of his dead body, Col. Macaulay repeated his threats. The Rāja now sent more reminders with warnings to the officers engaged in the search of the Dewan.⁶³

In the course of his flight from Trivandrum the Dewan halted at Ciṟayinkīl and conversed with the Company's Linguist at Anjengo.⁶⁴ Due to the hazardous nature of the journey of several days he stayed at the Kiḷimānūr palace one night. The Dewan and his friends felt much hungry and they asked the Nambūdiripād, incharge of reception, "Can we get some rice? We are very hungry." For the several questions of the Nambūdiripād they made the reply that "we are fearfully hungry. If you give us plain rice without any curries, we shall be much obliged and there after we may be better able

61. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. V, Ff. 1789-91.

62. K. S. A., Nittus, Vol. IV, No. 202.

63. Ibid., Nos. 213-19.

64. Anj. Diary, Vol. 1300, Ff. 82-6.

to talk," The chief visitor looked exhausted and care-worn and lay stretched on the carpet with his hand for a pillow.⁶⁵ Even at this late hour of the night, the Nambūdiripād entertained the guests at his best. The miserable appearance of the Dewan roused the sympathy of the Nambūdiripād and he guaranteed all kinds of possible help if he revealed the real difficulty. The Dewan replied: "it is not possible for you to help me out of my present difficulties. My remaining here may harm you and this noble family of Kilimānūr, which I should not cause on any account. You will know all about me soon enough. You must have patience till then" At the moment when they were leaving, the Dewan presented his sword telling "let this sword of mine be kept in this palace as a momento of my visit here today."⁶⁶

The Rāja failed to arrest and hand over Vēlu Tampi as promised, though he was forced by circumstances to order the apprehension of Vēlu Tampi. He was still sympathetic towards the Dewan. The new minister, Kumāra Piḷḷai, was the nominee of Vēlu Tampi.⁶⁷ He had been married to a sister of the Dewan and was a close friend of the Dewan. The Rāja and his officers were playing a false game.⁶⁸ They favoured Vēlu Tampi's escape and connived at his concealment.⁶⁹ On 6th March 1809 the Resident in his letter to

65. V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 442.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 443. This sword was presented to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, by the Kilimānūr Chief on the occasion of the Celebrations of the Republic Day at Trivandrum in January 1957.

67. Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. V, Ff. 1780-81.

68. Pol. Cons., Vol. 38, F. 917.

69. *Ibid.*, F. 921.

the Madras Government stated that "Since the Rajah had failed, I must proceed to detach parties in every direction through the country and into the mountains to search for the proscribed traitor."⁷⁰

"With the view therefore of being enabled to prosecute this search with the co-operation of the authority of the Rajah, I requested the attendance of Wommani Tomby, an illegitimate son of the late Rajah and a man firm and resolute in character, whose fidelity to the true interests of His Highness and the country had long procured him the bitter enmity of the Dewan; for the last six months he had been closely confined by the Dewan's orders and narrowly escaped assassination."⁷¹

In this search, the Resident sought the assistance of Ummini Tampi who came forward to extend his voluntary help for the earliest apprehension of the fallen Dewan. According to him the delay in the apprehension of the Dewan was caused by several of his partisans, who were in power. A few of the Karyakkars throughout the country were bound to him by sentiments of gratitude and some abstained from actively pursuing him through feelings of dread.⁷² Under such circumstances he found it necessary to take some decisive steps without delay. On 13th March, Col. Macaulay appointed Ummini Tampi as the next Dewan.⁷³

70. Sec. Cons., Vol. 39, F. 1602.

71. Ibid., F. 1603.

72. Ibid., Ff. 1605-6.

73. Ibid., Ff. 1879-83.

Vēlu Tampi was moving through the Kunnattūr Taluk receiving the hospitality of the local chieftains with the expectation of a happy tomorrow. He wished to organise a more powerful upsurge with the aid of France and some of the native Kingdoms in India. Tradition says that he did so with a desperate obstinacy to collect men and money for yet another struggle.⁷⁴

Searching parties closely pursued him. Koccusānkara Pilla, the confidential secretary of the fallen Dewan, was apprehended. Most of his close friends were captured and treated in the most brutal manner. A native party under Captain Newall were on the lead. Their close search led the Dewan to utter despair and difficulty. "In the wild scene, chosen as his place of refuge he has less to fear from the savage and ferocious herds, continually howling around him, and watching for their casual prey, than from merciless man, his unappeasable and never-ceasing pursuer."⁷⁵ In the course of their search they apprehended some close friends and servants of the Dewan. But it did little to accomplish their mission. After several attempts on 27th from Kisten, a boy servant of the Dewan's brother they elicited the Dewan's plan to conceal himself in a Madham at Maṅṅady. They soon rushed to that place. When they began to knock at the door, Vēlu Tampi closed the door and committed suicide. "The steel alas! has entered his soul, and the minister lately commanding the empire lies now a clod

74. T. K. Velu Pilla, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 490.

75. A. A. Reg. for the year 1809, p. 66.

upon his fellow clay "76 First they tried to unroof the room, as it was boarded they attempted to break the wall close to the door.77 On their entrance they found the Dewan breathing his last. Mallam Pilla was entitled to the proposed rewards and distinctions.78

The deadbody [of the Dewan was soon despatched to Trivandrum through express-bearers to satisfy the hungry vengeance of his rivals. It was exposed at Kaṅṅamūla hill on an open gibbet. It was undoubtedly the most disgraceful action known to the world. It was a barbarous, inhuman and monstrous atrocity engineered by the new Dewan and the Resident. But they tried to impute it upon the Raja. Even the Governor-General-in-Council deprecated it and observed that the ends of justice and the purpose of public security were attained in the death of the Dewan. The prosecution of the dictates of vindictive policy when the object of it had ceased to exist, by exposing to public insult on a gibbet the body

76. *Ibid*, p. 66.

77. Pol. Cons., Vol. 38, Ff. 910-2.

78. Kuññu Vira Tampi, the younger brother of Vēlu Tampi stated before the Superintendent of Police of Madras an entirely different account, Ummini Tampi had sent persons to seize Vēlu Tampi; when "he resisted and was killed in the contest, his body together with his brother Chinnup Gramen Tumbée was carried to the Rajah who commanded that it should be burnt with the customary rites, but the Dewan by his Malicious representations caused this order to be revoked and the body was hanged." Pol. Cons., Vol. 42, F. 309 (Vide, App. D).

of the Dewan, in a proceeding so adverse to the common feelings of humanity and to the principles of a civilized government that the Governor-General-in-Council must deeply regret the adoption of that measure and especially the imputation of the concurrence and even the participation of a British authority in the execution of it.⁷⁹

Macaulay's desire for vengeance continued unappeased even after the brutal action against the Dewan. Next he turned towards the Dewan's family. His brother Padmanābhan Tampi was sent to Quilon in chains. Soon Ummiṇi Tampi proceeded to Quilon and represented to Col. Macaulay "The impropriety of showing any lenity towards the brother of a man, by whose intrigues the Rajah had suffered so much, and declared that it was His Highness' order that the house and property of Chinnup Gramen Tumbee, should be sequestered. Upon this the Resident delivered up Chinnup Gramen Tumbee with directions that he should be produced whenever he might be called for. With respect to his property the Rājā was at liberty to act as he might think proper. The Dewan returned with Chinnup Gramen Tumbee in his custody, and treated him with every indignity."⁸⁰

79. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 29 April, 1809, F. 2367.

80. Pol. Cons., Vol. 42, F. 310 (Vide, App. D) Chinnup Gramen Tumbee might be Padmanābhan Tampi, the direct brother of Vēlu Tampi. It was popularly held that he was hanged at Quilon before the 12th Regiment of the Company. In a later date Col. Macaulay in his despatch to Madras Government stated that he was not hanged but he was under the custody of the Dewan as a captive of the Company. For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 15 July 1809, F. 3567.

The house of the late Dewan, along with those of his brother, relatives and dependants were plundered and razed to the ground. The treasures were forcibly taken out. From the late Dewan's *taravād* an amount of 24,000 pagodas was taken. It was earned by the other members of the family independent of the Dewan. Kuññu Vira Tampi said that the property accumulated by the late Dewan, while he was in the service of the Raja was not in their possession. He always lived at Quilon, and never dealt with them at the family house. Kuññu Vira Tampi gained his livelihood through his own labours. He never received a salary from any person.⁸¹ The late Dewan's pious mother advised her sons not to touch the public money. For instance one lakh of pagodas was buried in the underground of their house, which was accumulated by the uncle of the Dewan forty years before when he was the Dewan.⁸²

Kuññu Vira Tampi, the younger brother of the Dewan and some of the other members including men, women and children escaped to other countries.⁸³ Two other brothers Chhipace Ramber Tombee and Comarum Tombee were confined in prison at Travancore. Later Kuññu Vira Tampi sent back Casavan Tomby, his sister's son aged fifteen back to Travancore in order to gather information. He returned to Madras with a Brahmin named Gunnapelly and Chellumbrum Perumal

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*, Ff. 312-4.

83. T. K. Velu Pilla, *Velu Tampi Dalawa*, p. III.

and Veera Pillay, two Malabar men and another Brahmin Nellyapen were at Madras. They came to bring back the family.⁸⁴ Kuññu Vīra Tampi was confined in prison by the Police Superintendent at Madras on his arrival there. Later on 17th January 1810, he was released from confinement on the ground of his petition.⁸⁵

The 1809 revolt requires an impartial assessment. European Writers have portrayed it as the outbreak of the Dewan's cruel design to kill the British representatives stationed at Cochin. They have tried to belittle the importance of the struggle which was clearly intended to subvert British power. Native writers, on the otherhand, over emphasise the Dewan's part and consider it as an epic struggle led by the Dewan against British imperialism and as the clarion call for a national upsurge. They exaggerate the role of Vēlu Tampi without considering his early career. In the beginning the British protected the Dewan from his native hostile block with the clear intention of establishing their influence upon Travancore through the instrumentality of the Dewan. He was too inexperienced to recognise the viles of the Company, at least in the light of their contemporary relations with other South Indian powers like Mysore, Hyderabad, the Carnatic, Tanjore and Surat. The young Rāja disliked British interference in the state's administration and tried to resist it throughout. The subsidiary treaty of 1805 was dictated and imposed upon the unwilling Raja mainly through the

84. Vide My article 'A Fresh look at Velu Tampi, *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. IV, p. 135.

85. Pol. Cons., Vol. 42, F. 314.

instrumentality of Vēlu Tampi. The Dewan's earnest attempts to implement the new treaty ended in failure. But the British Government treated the Dewan as responsible for the defaults in payment. The resolution of the Supreme Government to enforce the new treaty and dismiss the Dewan, provoked the latter and led him to rise in revolt, by resorting to adventurous measure. Thus "the Dewan championed the cause of the freedom of the state only after his relation with the Company had strained beyond redemption."⁸⁶ Though he organised a mass upsurge against the British it became a mere abortive crisis following his sudden departure from active warfield and concealment for personal safety.

86. A. K. Panicker, 'Travancore Rebellion, 1809,' *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLVII, p, 171.

CONCLUSION

Dewan Vēlu Tampi rendered yeoman service for the establishment of British paramountcy in Travancore. The administrative career of Vēlu Tampi commenced with his appointment as the Kāryakkār of Talakuḷam. But he relinquished the office when he was called upon to collect additional imposts from the people. The additional levies had been imposed to meet the mounting expenditure in connection with the Mysorean invasion of Travancore. A major part of the Travancoreans had sacrificed their all in defence of their kingdom. But Vēlu Tampi not only failed to pay his share of the imposts but also to support the administration at a most critical period in the history of the country.

At the climax of these dangers, Dharma Raja and later his Dewan Raja Kēśava Dās expired. Their intimacy with the English and the 3rd Mysore war brought much financial strain upon Travancore. After the death of Rāja Kēśava Dās, King Bālarāma Varma formed a ministry independent of the British support. The bankruptcy of the treasury led them

to impose heavy taxes upon the people. They exacted arrears using brutal force against the defaulters. Vēlu Tampi, the ex-Karyakkar of Talakuḷam also became a victim to the exactions of the Nampūri ministry. Instead of remitting the arrears he went to Nāñcināḍ and roused his followers. He levelled several charges against the new ministry just to excite the people. He led the feudal lords and their retinue to Trivandrum and sought the support of the British force. With the assistance of the British, Vēlu Tampi compelled the young Mahārāja to punish his ministers. The Raja was forced to appoint a new ministry headed by Ayyappan Cempakarāman Pilla and Vēlu Tampi. Vēlu Tampi led a successful feudal revolt against the Mahārāja with British help and thus earned the good-will of the British.

The so-called popular ministry organised just after the revolt became extremely corrupt. The principal minister alone amassed six lakhs of rupees within the short term of six months. It brought further strain upon the Rāja. He was forced to pledge his private ornaments to meet the mounting arrears of payments. When the Mahārāja tried to eliminate the corrupt Cempakarāman Piḷḷa ministry, the British again prevailed upon him to appoint Vēlu Tampi, the Muḷaku- maṭiśśīla Sarvadhikaryakkar as the next Dewan. From the very beginning Vēlu Tampi stood as a staunch supporter of British interests in Travancore. In spite of the open hostility of the Rāja and his durbar to the increasing British interference in the affairs of Travancore Vēlu Tampi manoeuvred for the establishment of British ascendancy in the country. In his dealings with Col. Macaulay especially in matters of the Subsidiary Alliance, Vēlu Tampi showed an utter lack of

statesmanship. He never expressed a single word of disapproval against the new treaty. Without the knowledge and consent of the Mahārāja, Vēlu Tampi expressed the Rāja's approbation to the new treaty just to please the Company. Further he exercised undue pressure upon the Rāja to secure his consent. Here Vēlu Tampi had behaved in an irresponsible manner.

Another matter in which Dewan Vēlu Tampi supported Col. Macaulay, without much forethought, was in the modification of the Nāyar Brigade which constituted the bulk of the Travancore forces. The proposed reforms were calculated to place the Nāyar Brigade under the Company's control, which would have reduced the military effectiveness of Travancore. The measure adopted was to reduce the meagre salary given to the soldiers. It was resented by the freedom-loving and patriotic Nāyars of Travancore. In March 1804 they hatched a conspiracy against the life of Dewan Vēlu Tampi. It was arranged and piloted by the highest officers of the state with the consent of the Mahārāja. They resolved to murder Vēlu Tampi, because they felt that he had betrayed their interests just to please the English. Vēlu Tampi sought the support of Col. Macaulay. With his support, Vēlu Tampi succeeded in scotching the conspiracy by imprisoning the ring leaders.

But in November 1804 the Nāyar resentment burst forth into a serious revolt. They declared an open war against Vēlu Tampi and the British. The war broke out at Trivandrum, Mavēlikara, Paṛavūr, Alleppey and in the Northern lines. They resolved to murder both the Resident and the Dewan. They feared that collusion between

Col. Macaulay and Vēlu Tampi would lead to the total annexation of Travancore.

In order to escape the outburst of native fury against the British interference, the Resident was forced to seek refuge in Cochin territory. V lu Tampi fled from Travancore and requested protection from Col. Macaulay. Staying in Cochin territory, Vēlu Tampi requested the help of British Government to suppress his countrymen. He came to Travancore at the head of a British force and the revolt was suppressed most brutally. Hundreds of Nāyars who stood for a noble cause, viz. the subversion of the British power, were butchered in cold blood. It was really an alarming situation in which the natives tried to root out British influence from the affairs of Travancore. It might be considered as Travancore's first adventure to overthrow British domination. But it failed on account of the combination of Vēlu Tampi with the Company.

After the destruction of the Nāyar Brigade, Vēlu Tamp assisted Col. Macaulay to impose the subsidiary treaty upon the Rāja, against his will. The revised treaty proclaimed the virtual British paramountcy over Travancore. Without realising the after-effects, he tried to pressurise the unwilling Rāja to accept the provisions of the treaty. The Rāja and his loyal officers resisted the implementation of the new treaty. Overlooking the refusal of the Raja and the popular indignation, Vēlu Tampi tried by all possible means for the implementation of the modified treaty. Though the Daḷava tried by all means to increase the revenues of the state, the hostility of the Rāja prevented him from remitting the increased subsidy. The Rāja not only refused to reduce the Carnatic Brigade, but he further strengthened it. He insisted on the permanent remission of the additional subsidy and the

restoration of the 1795 treaty. Thus the cardinal provisions of the treaty, viz. the reduction of the Carnatic Brigade and the increase of the subsidy were not ineffect accepted by the Mahārāja .

The steadfast resistance of the Mahārāja and his subjects at last seems to have effected a change in the mind of Vēlu Tampi. He expressed his readiness to proceed to Bengal to lay the objections of the Rāja to the treaty. He wrote several letters to the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Governments indicating the disapprobation of the Mahārāja to the new treaty. Those letters and petitions made no change in the attitude of the Company

The long delay in the implementation of the new treaty was noticed by the Company's authorities. They required the immediate enforcement of the new treaty without any change Col Macaulay was authorised to enforce it upon the Mahārāja. In order to avoid the impending crisis Vēlu Tampi once again tried to make the payment. But the Rāja's resistance continued unabated.

At this juncture the Supreme and the Madras Governments ordered the dismissal of Dewan Vēlu Tampi and the appointment of a new Dewan. According to them, Vēlu Tampi being the principal minister and a principal subscribing party to the new treaty was bound to implement it. Col Macaulay required additional British force from Madras for effecting the proposed change of the Dewan. With the least regard for his past meritorious service and severe trials he faced for promoting British paramountcy in Travancore, they required his dismissal.

The obduracy of the Company's Government and the ill-advised policy of the Resident at last forced Vēlu Tampi to give leadership to the opposition of the Mahārāja and to change it into mass upheaval. The clash of interests between the Dewan and the Resident might be viewed as one of the immediate causes for the outbreak of 1809. The essential cause for the war was the extreme dissatisfaction of the Rāja at the way in which the Subsidiary Alliance was thrust upon him and the constant interference of the Resident in the internal affairs of the state. The revolt was 'engineered by the Mahārāja and later pilot'd by the Dewan. They carried out massive preparations for the total subversion of the British power. They tried to secure the support of the neighbouring rulers. Appeals were sent to the rulers of India and abroad. From this moment the Dewan took the initiative. He was eagerly awaiting a French expedition. An open assault on the life of Col. Macaulay by the combined forces of Travancore and Cochin under and the leadership of Pāliyatt Accan marked the beginning of the revolt. Following the miraculous escape of Col. Macaulay, the Travancore forces launched heavy attacks upon the British garrisons at Quilon, Alleppey, Paṛavūr and different parts of South Travancore. In the beginning the British Subsidiary forces sustained heavy losses. Vēlu Tampi tried to excite the people by appealing to their religious, feudal and communal prejudices. He exhorted them against the British in the name of the bitter experiences which the state had from British connection. It was a clarion call to the rulers of Indian states to liberate themselves from the clutches of British imperialism.

Soon the British army contingents were rushed to Travancore from different directions, which easily subdued

native resistance. Travancore forces met with several defeats one after another. They got no support except from Pāliyatt Accan. However, he also left the battlefield at the crucial hour. After fifty days of spirited resistance the Dewan was forced to retreat and hide himself for safety even before the termination of hostilities. But before his departure from the capital he met the Mahārāja and confessed his guilt. He took the entire responsibility for all the misfortunes which the Mahārāja and his people experienced during the last few years as a result of his pro-British policy.

But the British forces were not ready to end the active hostilities in Travancore without getting Vēlu Tampi out of the way. When the British forces hemmed around his capital and threatened with total destruction of the entire kingdom, the Mahārāja was forced to order the arrest of the Dewan. Out of extreme frustration and helplessness, the fallen Dewan took refuge in the Kunnattūr hills. Several search parties went to search him out. After a prolonged search, a native party under Mallan Piḷḷa and a British party under Captain Newall closely pursued the Dewan. The Dewan died at Maṅṅadi temple as a fugitive fighting against the party that pursued him.

Here it is relevant to cite the opinions expressed by some of the eminent historians and scholars about Vēlu Tampi.

According to P. Shungoony Menon, "Velu Tampi began a career unprecedented in many respects. He was a man of extra-ordinary ability and talents; of strong passions and quick sensibility and was amazingly bold and daring. Though the career of this Dalawah had every appearance of despotism and

cruelty, yet his intention throughout all his proceeding was honest, fair and good, his attention being always directed to promote the public interests. The most remarkable quality in this officer was his purity of character; his moral principles were so refined, that his equal was scarcely to be found in Travancore in those days''¹

A. Sreedhara Menon described him as "a man of deep patriotism and exceptional ability. He was ever anxious to promote the public interest and increase the prestige and prosperity of the State. He established a very strong central government. Dishonest and corrupt officials were dismissed and the administration was purified..."² According to T. P. Sankarankutty Nair "he was a great organizer and agitator for human liberty and independence inspite of his being reckless in action and ruthless in his dealings with his opponents."³ Commenting upon the death of Vēlu Tampi the editor of the *History of Freedom Movement in Kerala* wrote "thus ended the spectacular career of one of the greatest and most altruistic patriots whom India had produced during the early period of British ascendancy."⁴

K. M. Panikkar in his forward to *Swarājyābhīmāni*, a biography of Vēlu Tampi, stated that "it is as India's first champion of freedom that Vēlu Tampi has won a place in the

1. P. Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
2. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala State Gazetteers*, Trivandrum District, p. 212.
3. T.P. Sankaran Kutty Nair, *A Tragic Decade in Kerala History*, p. 82.
4. *History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 34.

History of India, not because of his greatness as a finance minister, or as an administrator." Further he stated: "a life which thus ended, still elates. We consider Velu Tampi's devoted name as fit to be worshipfully remembered in the morning hours, we respect him not in the capacity of a capable minister or as a clever Dalava. His fame still lives in Kerala and in India as an unselfish leader of the people, as a lover of freedom who sacrificed himself for it, as a hero, and acted boldly to protect his people and Dharma. Where is now that royal power which depended on the English East India Company as masters." These prevailing views now require revision in the light of what have been narrated in the preceding chapters.

APPENDIX A
CORRESPONDENCE FROM
COL. MACAULAY

1

Col. Macaulay to Marquess Wellesley

I reached Polar, the place at which the Rajah of Travancore resided on the 16th Instant and next morning at an early hour received a visit from the minister his conversation was intelligent and satisfactory, he seems to possess a well informed mind and to understand the full extent for his rights and duties. After some desultory conversation I acquainted him with my intentions of proceeding shortly to Bengal, where I should have an opportunity of preferably explaining to your Excellency how much I was satisfied with the Rajah's judicious selection of a minister so apparently capable of promoting the prosperity of his state and of cementing more closely its connection with the Honorable Company. I then communicated to him by the order of the Right Honorable Lord Clive for the information of His Excellency the Rajah, his Lordship's

acknowledgement for the attachment shown by his Excellency to the Company in the attentions received by His Excellency's 77th Regiment of foot on its passage through this country for Tinnevelly.

The minister impressively expressed his highest satisfaction at these honorable marks of approbation of his masters conduct. The Rajah had lately discovered he said in a box belonging to his uncle a cadjan in the hand writing of the old Rajah addressed to his nephew the present Rajah, containing among other instance, of good advice a solemn injunction to regard the Honorable Company next to Palpanaven Swamy as his friends and protectors.

I observed to him that without a doubt this interesting testamentary document could not fail of producing the happiest effects upon the mind of the Rajah as well from the manner in which the advice has been conveyed, as from its innate soundness and good sense, this he fully admitted.

I then proceeded through the able interpretation of Mr. George Hughes to acquaint the minister that I had some matters of importance to the interests and security of this state to communicate from your Excellency the justice and moderation of which at first view appear obvious and not likely to occupy much time in arranging.

The first point regarded the obligation on the Rajah by Treaty to furnish military aid to the Company in time of war under this obligation the Rajah is necessarily put to a heavy expense in keeping up several corps to be ready at the call of

the Company, from this burthensome expense it was your Excellency's intention to relieve the Rajah entirely by releasing him formally from the obligation and it was clear that the release would enable the Rajah to make a very considerable reduction in his military establishment and expenses I trusted that his Excellency could find no difficulty in contributing a reasonable proportion of the amount thus saved towards defraying the heavy expenses incurred by the Company in protecting Travancore State against all foreign enemies and thereby maintaining its internal tranquility and independence and I proposed to the minister, the moderate yearly addition to the subsidy of a sum equal to the expense of two battalions or one native regiment, the Company in return binding themselves to protect his Excellency against all enemies.

The next point was one concerning which no discussion could arise as the Rajah has already given his full assent to the principle namely extending the stipulations of the existing treaty respecting the settlement of the Europeans in Travancore to the exclusion of all Europeans both in peace and war from His Excellency's service and country, unless they receive the express consent to that end, of the British Government.

These points I observed him together with the remaining parts of the existing treaty not changed by them might serve as a basis for a new treaty between His Excellency the Rajah and the Honorable Company. I would for the present purpose shaping them into separate articles in the form of an agreement for a future modification of the existing treaty to be signed by the minister on behalf of the Rajah and by me on your Excellency's behalf, binding the contracting parties to arrange a new treaty on this foundation within the space of one

month after Your Excellency shall have been pleased to signify to the Rajah your approval of the same.

The minister listened with attention and offered no objection whatever, he promised to explain the whole of what had been said to the Rajah and when he had received His Excellency's orders he would make communication to me of the same. It was I remarked to him his peculiar duty to impress upon the Rajah a due sense of the consistency, justice and moderation of the propositions now opened when fully understood they could not fail of affording the Rajah a striking proof of your Excellency's attention to the welfare of his family and country, the minister seemed to assent and took his leave.

On the next day I drew up the form of an agreement as intimated to the minister and had it correctly translated by Mr. Hughes into the Tamil language, and at noon waited upon the Rajah after the usual ceremonies I repeated to His Excellency the substance of what had been explained on the preceding day to the minister. The Rajah observed that the approbation of his conduct by Lord Clive made him quite happy he considered himself, his family and his country, as wholly depending upon the Honorable Company. The minister had he said fully explained the nature of the propositions, which had been brought forward by me in Your Excellency's name, and he expressed a wish that Mr. George Hughes and Mr. Da' Viegas might meet the minister in the course of the next morning in order that the whole might be literally translated from the Tamil into Malabar language for his better information; this I assured His Excellency should be done and I was ready to attend His Excellency at whatever time might

desire it, to give such explanations as may be required the subject however was in itself so plain that I looked forward with confidence to its completion in the course of a few days; to this His Excellency did not seem to object.

The next morning the 19th Mr. Hughes and Mr. Da Viegas meet the minister, and had the agreement correctly translated into Malabar it was then carried by the minister to the Rajah.

On the 20th the minister again waited on me and for the first time seemed desirous of procuring some delay, he rested his wish for delay more upon the grounds of indulgence to himself from being new in office, than from anything objectionable in the terms of the proposed agreement; the Rajah had also desired him to acquaint me the debt due by his Government was considerable and expenses for charitable purposes increasing. I observed to the minister, that though new in his present office he was thoroughly conversant in its nature and duties: the being new in such an office might be urged by a weak man, as a reason for desiring delay, but a person of acknowledged abilities could not be permitted to have recourse to such a plea. With respect to the debt of the Government there was still less ground on that account for desiring delay the debt compared with the means for liquidation was immaterial I had good grounds for believing that the sum total of the debt did not exceed one half years revenue of the country; the debt required only to be methodized, an exact register of it taken and a sum set apart for the regular payment of a moderate interest and for the gradual extinction of the capital. By a process of this nature the debt would disappear in a few years

and the credit of the Government may be raised high; but in regard to the increase of expense for charitable purposes the remedy was obvious and need not be pointed out by me to a person of the minister's discernment, but to reform all unnecessary expenses was the fundamental part of his duty.

The minister admitted the truth of these observations and he voluntarily promised to follow such suggestion as might come from me, respecting either the debt or any other matter. He still hoped however that sometime might be given in the present case, I pointed out to him that time was given, the proposed agreement bound upon the arrangement of the subject after he should have received Your Excellency's sentiments upon it, this might not reach the Rajah for three months and to arrange the treaty and exchange the ratification might keep three more months; the conversation respecting this matter ended here. The minister said that the Rajah would move in the evening to Papanaveram, ten miles west, where his Excellency wish to see me. I expressed my readiness to wait there upon the Rajah and as no material objection to the propositions offered by me had been stated, I, begged him to acquaint the Rajah that I trusted it would prove no inconvenience to His Excellency authorize his minister assenting formally to them on or before the 24th instant, as I intended taking my departure on the 25th for Palamcottah and Bengal the minister upon this asked if his master might sent by me to Your Excellency, some mark of his friendship, I replied that the best and probably the most satisfactory mark of his master's friendship to Your Excellency would be the agreement for a modification of the existing treaty signed as proposed by me. He then took his leave.

On the 21st I moved to Papanaveram and was waited on by the minister that day and the two following days without any new observations from him relative to the subject in discussion, I urged his acceptance of the propositions as no less tending to the stability of his own power than conducive to the honor and prosperity of his master for now that the management of the affairs of this country was in the hands of a person of mature judgement and active abilities, the stability of his power must be regarded as highly desirable; this he appeared to feel, but he still pleaded for some indulgence to the Rajah and said "that if I would consent to defer pressing this business forward at present, and agree to refer the whole to Your Excellency that whatever might be Your Excellency's decision upon it, should be acquiesced without hesitation."

Although the declaration by the minister might be considered as carrying the point, I still urged his signing the proposed agreement and requested that he would ask permission for me to take leave of the Rajah when I would present the agreement for His Excellency's acceptance or rejection and I expected from the minister that he would advise the Rajah to adopt the line most consonant to his true interests.

On the 24th moon I awaited upon the Rajah, and recapitulated the different arguments used to induce the minister's assent to the propositions tendered by me in your Excellency's name and I felt satisfied that the Rajah in return for being released from the burdensome obligation to furnish military aid to the Company and in consideration of the Company's taking upon themselves the protection and defence of His Excellency and country against all foes, would feel gratified for the moderation that guided your Excellency in the propositions now tendered for his acceptance.

The Rajah observed that he was aware of the heavy and growing expenses of his friends and protectors, the Company; he had it in contemplation to make an offer of some money for the relief of his friends as far as his finances would bear and was still disposed to do so. I assured his Excellency this fresh instance of his attachment to the Honorable Company so creditable to himself would certainly meet Your Excellency's approbation and that I should have great pleasure in conveying it to Your Excellency. I requested however that the business which had been pending since my last arrival might be first disposed of for His Excellency might next assured that his acquiescence in the propositions offered in Your Excellency's name would in all probability prove a lasting source of satisfaction to his own feelings.

The Rajah then said that he did not mean he had directed his minister to explain to me his reasons for desiring more time and in addition to these reasons he now mentioned the low terms of the pepper contract. I replied that the pepper contract would expire in a short time after the commencement of the operation of these propositions; His Excellency would then be at liberty to treat for such new terms as might appear reasonable. The Rajah then made the request that had been made by the minister in paragraph 15th. His Excellency wished that the whole be referred to Your Excellency and promised to abide by the decisions of Your Excellency, whether communicated to me or to himself. I pressed the subject on further, but assured him of my making to Your Excellency a faithful report of what passed.

I then asked his commands for Your Excellency, he rose and begged that I would recommend him to Your Excellency's

favor and protection, he gave me a ring, a horse and two shawls and gave to Mr. Hughes a ring and two shawls, the Rajah so earnestly pressed the acceptance of the rings and shawls, that I could not an appearance of disrespect decline receiving them. I then took my leave under a salute from the batteries.

The foregoing detail may appear tedious to Your Excellency but it seemed an act of necessary justice to the Rajah, and to his minister to state at large these marked instances of their attachment to the Honorable Company's it will also serve as a satisfactory evidence of the minister's conviction of the expediency of a close connection with the Company's government and of his inclination to be guided in all material points by the advice of the Resident appointed by Your Excellency.*

Travancore
26th December, 1801.

I have the honor to be
Signed
Col. Macaulay,
Resident at Travancore.

II

Col Macaulay to N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the
Government, Fort William

His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General has been informed of my arrival here and of my having delivered to His Highness the Rajah and to the Dewan the letters from His Excellency with which I had the honor of being charged for them.

The favorable reception which was given to the propositions tendered by me to the Rajah in December last, arose from the Dewans ascendancy in the councils of His Highness. This man clearly discerned the advancement of the mutual interests of the Rajah, and of the Company, by the means of a closer connection between the two states and he therefore gave it his support but what chiefly swayed him, was the conviction that his own power would be thereby placed beyond the reach of accident. He therefore took a decided line in consonance to which he pledged himself to lose no opportunity that might offer for the removal of his adversaries and he promised to unite with me in using his best endeavours to bring all the depending questions to a successful termination.

On my return here from Bengal it naturally became the first object of my enquiry to ascertain the degree of progress made by the Dewan in strengthening his means and establishing his influence; the numerous as might he expected were various, but the general result seemed unfavourable to my hopes and wishes.

Measures were taken to gain a more accurate knowledge of these necessary matters and a communication was opened with the Dewan, through confidential channel, from this I became acquainted with the whole of his situation, it appeared that the progress made, fallen short of his expectations, but that some of the faction, opposed to him, had succeeded in exciting alarms and in raising distrusts of him in the mind of the Rajah; such arts made it was said their natural impression upon a person of weak, understanding and of constitutional sickness of character: and the Dewan

expressed his regrets at his being yet unable to control the Councils of his Master.

Under such untoward circumstances the success of any negotiation with this impracticable durbar must hinge wholly upon accident; nor is it possible for me to form an accurate judgement upon the subject, perhaps the course of events may ere long present a more favourable opening for the introduction of such a system here as may secure the interests of the British nation from imminent danger; under the present situation they do not seem sufficiently secure and it will probably be admitted that this assertion is not without foundation. In the meantime I have formally proposed / a fortnight past / to the Rajah a modification of the existing treaty, inconformity with my Instructions, and I shall keep the negotiation open using all the address and management in my power for its successful termination,

In explaining to the substance of the changes in the existing treaty which the change of the circumstances have rendered necessary, it occurred to propose such a condition as should serve to engage and fix attention considerably, and to be of such a nature as would admit of relinquishing or retaining it, according to circumstances. If it could be retained its utility is sufficiently manifest but in the event of being importuned to renounce it a compliance might it was presumed be made the condition of adequate concessions from the Durbar: with this view I proposed the introduction into the stipulations of the new proposed treaty of the following article.

When the degree of danger is duly estimated to which the British interests in Travancore became exposed, unless the

Rajah can be brought to consent to meet the advance of His Excellency the Governor General for such a new arrangement as the change of circumstances in India and in Europe appear to have rendered necessary, it cannot be denied; but that the most unremitting vigilance, with great temper and a cautious firmness on the part of those to whose prudence His Excellency may confide a discretion at this Durbar, may be constantly required to be exercised.

The harbour and fortress of Cochin commands an entrance into the very centre of the Travancore country by means of navigable rivers and canals and it connects also by a water communication with the important posts of Quilon and Cochin are to be restored to Batavian Republick. That the councils of Batavian Republick are liable to be directed by the Government of France is generally believed and scarcely admits of a doubt: and that France is likely to use the Dutch settlement in India as Instrument for the advancement of her own insidious and ambitious schemes, seems but too probable. The passage from the French Islands to Cochin is effected with ease in 14 or 16 days, with these advantages of which they are perfectly aware, should the French come to the resolution of seizing the Travancore country under any pretext whatever/ and that pretexts will be sought seems pretty certain/it appears scarcely possible for the British Government circumstanced as our means of defence are relative to this country. to oppose any effectual resistance from the natives there will be little; in no other part of India are we so vulnerable as here. If the French once get possession of this extra-ordinary country, such and so great are its natural advantages and resources that their expulsion could hardly be effected by the united powers of the British Empire in India without considerable difficulty.

It may be said that France is likely to act in a manner so irreconcilable with every principle of good faith, as to commit hostilities without just cause against an ally of the English nation, lest it should provoke the resentment of Great Britain and lead to an open rupture between the two countries. I do not presume to discuss this topic. If France attacks Travancore, she will probably be insinuated provocation to herself or her ally; but those who are better informed will judge whether the present rulers of France would be much disposed to deprecate a renewal of the contest with Great Britain and whether from an apprehension of such an event, they would be likely to depart from that faithless line of policy and conduct which their practice seems to have consecrated wherever an advantage is to be obtained.

But it is not wholly from such an attack on the part of France that the British interests in Travancore will incur danger. The silent and sure operation of that species of indirect and active intrigue, which seems natural to most Frenchmen, and in the pursuit of which they have no equals, cannot fail to have the way for mischief in a country where the field is so open and in which the French influence has never ceased to exist.

A treaty offensive and defensive between the Dutch and the Rajah of Travancore still subsists containing a reservation to His Highness the Rajah of continuing without interruption his friendship and trade with the Honorable East India Company. Do the Dutch on recovering possession of all rights derived to them under this treaty, saving only the changes which the Rajahs subsequent voluntary engagement with the Company may have produced in the spirit and letter

of its stipulations. Should this be annexed in the affirmative, by what means, can a direct interference by Holland in the concerns of the Travancore State be prevented? It seems very desirable to examine this subject with circumspection and prudence. Two Frenchmen whose names are wellknown in the public records and whose deadly animosity to the English - has been sufficiently manifested have contrived since the intelligence was received of the ratification of preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and France to open an indirect communication with persons at this burbar, the Frenchmen alluded to are, the one Monsieur Descombe; the same notorious character from whom a letter to the late Tippoo Sultun enclosing one for the Rajah of Travancore was found in the palace at Seringapatam, the other is Mons. Migot de La Combe, whose expulsion from Rajah's service was insisted on during the late war by the British Government, the former of these namely, Descombe, has a claim upon the Rajah's Circar to the astonishing amount/ as I am credibly informed/ of not less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ of rupees: Migot holds also claims for a large amount, the general reflections that must arise in every mind upon the bare mention of such circumstances render any particular observations from obviously unnecessary supposing Mons. Descombe to repair to this place under the authority of the Government of Cochin, but with secret instructions from Buonaparte, with whom he may have concerted to receive compensation in France for any sacrifices he might make here. One lac of rupees judiciously distributed would in all human probability gain the whole Durbar to his interest, many other probable cases connected with this might be supposed but the subject well merits a serious consideration.

I would sooner have addressed myself to you for His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General information,

would I have obtained from this Durbar any explanation of their sentiments upon the propositions tendered for their acceptance; the real cause of the delay refers, there is reason to believe, to the non-arrival of replies to letters written by them for advice to Madras and Tinnevely; in conversation with me they urge the great importance of the subject and the little time which the Rajah has to spare for church ceremonies to bestow upon temporal business of any description whatever the Dewan, continues cordially well disposed and I am satisfied of his sincerity. *

I have the honor to be
Signed

Col. Macaulay

Resident at Travancore.

Travancore,
12th August, 1802.

III

Col. Macaulay to Marquess Wellesley

An unexpected occurrence has recently arisen here eventually tending to disturb the harmony and union subsisting of late between the British Government and the Rajah of Travancore at a period when matters seemed in a progressive march towards the establishment of a system of security which should be fixed on solid and durable basis. The two copies of the letters addressed by me to the Right Honorable Governor of Fort St. George and to the Commander-in-chief of the forces there will be likely to afford Your Excellency some

* Ibid., Ff. 15587-15601.

explanation of the critical situation in which the Dewan of Travancore stands in consequence of the conspiracy formed to destroy him.

It was only yesterday that I received the first intimation of these plots in their present daring shape. The Dewan communicated the intelligence in detail and although he sufficiently preserved his composure he could not help indignantly lamenting the helpless fate of his minister. So liable to be misled by miscreant Impostors, he had received he said authentic information that the conspirators headed by a Gosseyn named Gomadagirree were maliciously endeavouring to the Rajah as a person whom it would be necessary instantly to displace and destroy and therefore that it behoved not only for his own safety but also for the safety of his master, which might be liable to be endangered if these conspirators succeeded to lose no time in crushing for ever the games of similar conspiracies.

Notwithstanding the aggravated provocation which he has received he has nobly determined to shed no blood unless forced there to by the clearest necessity. The first proposes remonstrating with his master and laying before His Highness the alternative of dismissing these unworthy favourites or of being eventually embroiled with the British Government and he seems disposed to hope that this mode of proceeding may prove efficacious and successful if not he will consult with me respecting ulterior measures.

It is my intention which I trust may prove acceptable to Your Excellency to afford the Dewan a steady and unreserved support abstaining however from any declaration or any measure beyond the spirit of my instructions.

The Dewan appearing to be of opinion that a letter from me to the Rajah might serve to strengthen his representations to such a degree as might induce His Highness to dismiss at once the chief conspirators. I have written a letter accordingly, copy of which I have the honor to transmit for Your Excellency's information.

The Dewan having set out last night will probably reach the Rajah's residence by the 20th and as he has promised to keep me informed of all occurrences relating to this subject. I shall not fail faithfully communicating the same to Your Excellency.*

I have the honor to be

Signed

Col. Macaulay.

Alleppe

17 March, 1804.

IV

Col. Macaulay to Fort William

The bright prospects held forth by my dispatches of the 14th of January 15th and 20th of February have been lately obscured by the occurrences of a most flagitious conspiracy on the part of various persons holding places of trust at this Durbar; having for its primary object the assassination of the Dewan of His Highness the Rajah of Travancore, who was appointed under the authority from His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General, the scheme for this projected assassination was as base as the intended mode of carrying it

* Ibid., 2 May, 1805, Ff. 6270-74.

into execution was barbarous and atrocious. The time chosen for it was while the Dewan approached the residence of his Master under His Highness pledged faith for his security, a safeguard of very slender sanctity at this court not a single crime has been attempted to be imputed to the Dewan by the Rajah or by any one of the conspirators. The only motive that appears to have impelled such men to perpetrate a deed of so deeply criminal a nature seems to have sprung from perverted feelings of enmity towards the Dewan in consequence of his having endeavoured to convince his master of the expediency of his reposing an honorable confidence in the acknowledged generosity and good faith and in the powerful protection of the British Government.

But now all is calm and serene, order has been happily established and the Dewan placed in the legitimate exercise of the duties of his office, last night all the chiefs of this traitorous conspiracy were arrested by the orders of the Rajah and secured in close confinement, His Highness appearing fully sensible of the enormity of their guilt by what means these nefarious plots fregnant with such danger to the security of the Honorable Company and of the Rajah of Travancore.

It will not probably be necessary to bring again before the view of His Excellency the Governor General any detail of the distracted and degraded state in which this Durbar has continued more or less since the demise of the late Rajah. Such a detail without appearing useful, could excite no sentiments but those disgust.

From a review of the conduct of the present Dewan since he came to office, it will be found that he has generally sought by all practicable means to maintain, extend and consolidate

the principles of the alliance which connects the Rajah to the British Government and to augment the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of Travancore.

The wise measures of placing under the immediate direction of the British Government a portion of the Rajah's troops and the consent given to their being officered by British officers would appear to have erroneously excited the jealousy and displeasure of some profligate and daring intriguers who contrived to infuse their groundless jealousies into the mind of the Rajah, until at length they brought his Highness to acquiesce in the horrid measure of assassinating his Dewan without a hearing.

On the 16th Instant the Dewan waited upon me at Alleppe to intimate his having received authentic advice from the Rajah's residence of the formation of plots by some wicked men who had unfortunately gained the confidence and countenance of his master. The main objects of this plots led to the seduction of the Rajah from his Dewan and from the Honorable path in which His Highness had lately trod. The Dewan suggested the expediency of his proceeding to his master for the purpose of opening his eyes to the disgrace and danger which His Highness would be likely to incur unless he followed better counsels and separated himself from those who would engage him to retract the creditable sentiments expressed in his last letter to the Governor General.

I acquiesced fully in the importance and necessity of his losing no time to remove every obstacle to the due progress of the prosperity and security of the country, and I promised if necessary to repair to the Durbar to support and assist him in such laudable views. On the 17th Instant he departed from

Alleppe and reached Trivandrum on the 20th where on his entrance into the Fort his servants and friends were arrested, some banished and others imprisoned. He was surrounded by hostile parties and intimation conveyed to him of its having been determined to put him to death on the night of Monday the 26th Instant. The motive for thus delaying the assassination arose from no sentiments of clemency in the minds of the assassins. It fortunately happened that pending the duration of the great festival of Palpanaben, then celebrating, the Master of Travancore forbids the shedding of blood and the festival was not to terminate before the full moon of the 26th instant.

This circumstance providentially preserved him during the night of the 20th instant and enabled my efforts for the support and safety to take effect. On the day of his departure from Alleppe I transmitted a short note addressed to the Rajah. This note was delivered to His Highness on the morning of the 22nd and seemed to embarrass not a little the projects of the conspirators. Having however received intimation on the 23rd at night and 24th in the morning of the daring and insulting measures openly pursued against the Dewan, measures too plainly indicative of a hostile disposition towards the British Government. I judged it prudent and proper to hold a more clear and firm language to His Highness and accordingly transmitted a written message which was delivered to His Highness on the afternoon of the 25th in the following terms.

“That I had been made acquainted with the uncomfortable state of matters at the Durbar of His Highness. That I declared to His Highness that the commission of any act by the evil advisers of His Highness which should

endanger the tranquillity or weaken the security of this country in contempt of my remonstrances might be regarded by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in the light of an indecent menace of hostility tending to provoke a war that the Dewan appointed by His Highness under the sanction of the Governor General had advanced the credit and reputation of His Highnesses Government and had strengthened the friendship subsisting between the British Government and His Highness and that his enemies were alike the enemies of His Highness and of the Honorable Company.''

This produced a happy effect it arrested all violent proceedings against the Dewan, - still he remained in disgrace and dismay.

I reached Rajah's residence on the close of the festival of Palpanaban, and early on the morning of yesterday sent to His Highness to request an immediate audience. His Highness wished me to delay my visit until the next day, but I repeated and pressed the request. I then saw the Rajah, but with such marks of shame and contrition apparently impressed on his countenance as made it an easy task to complete successfully what had begun so favorable. I informed His Highness that I would spare his feelings, and avoid unless thereto compelled entering into a detail of all the circumstances of disingenuity deceit and bad faith which the late outrageous and insulting proceedings had manifested. His Highness must see and feel that in case he sanctioned such proceedings or attempted to shelter the authors and advisers of them from punishment, he would become justly subject to the reproach of having not only deceived the Governor General, but also having designed to

insult him. How far any such design would be tolerated His Highness might learn from the history of last 6 years. The Rajah admitted that he had been misled by bad men. I then informed His Highness that under this admission I had two points to propose to him, equally just calculated alike to remove from His Highness all suspicion of having shared in the guilt of the traitors, as to secure permanent good order and prosperity for this country. These two points are so intimately connected that it would be impossible to acquiesce in one without assenting to the other. The first point included and involved the fate of the conspirators against His Highness and the British Government. His Highness admitted that they were bad men and had misled him. They had done more, they had nearly caused his destruction, and they were without a shadow of claim to indulgence or forgiveness meriting as they all justly did the infliction of capital punishment as an atonement for the enormity of their offences. I would suggest humane alternative which while it tended to satisfy the claims of public justice with less vigour might operate with equal efficacy of to deter others from entering into similar projects. The alternative was to keep them closely confined in irons at Aleppo until the sentiments of His Excellency the Governor General relative to the whole subject could be received. The Rajah concurred in thinking them deserving of death, but he preferred their confinement upon the conditions proposed. He then suggested their imprisonment in the fortress of Trivandrum to this I objected, as I also did to other places that he proposed at length His Highness acquiesced declaring that the delinquents should be held at the disposal of His Excellency.

The second proposed point was then brought forward which I informed His Highness was of no less important than

the first. The arrest and punishment of these conspirators and traitors was essential to the present tranquillity of the country and to the reputation of His Highness. But the experience of the last five years had abundantly shown how the suppression of one conspiracy did little more than pave the way for the introduction of another. The Governor General would now be likely to expect from His Highness such permanent security against the future possible return of similar disgraceful and dangerous events as might be equally satisfactory to His Highness and to the Honorable Company. The measure of this security I informed His Highness would be communicated to him. So soon as I became honored with instructions for that end from His Excellency in the meantime I requested His Highness to say if he was willing to grant such security? The Rajah in reply declared himself ready to grant every kind of security that could be reasonably required upon this a list of the conspirators eight in number was handed to His Highness. I trusted that he would see the expediency of losing no time in giving orders for their arrest and imprisonment. The necessary orders were issued and I took my leave.

Thus has ended the wicked and insulting project of assassinating an innocent and meritorious minister to gratify the base passions of a few depraved and hostile intriguers. His Excellency will persue with surprise in the list of these persons names of men holding the first office in this state. This will furnish abundant matter for reflection, and will no doubt serve among other things to satisfy His Excellency, that the application of a remedy sufficiently efficacious to prevent in this quarter the future recurrence of any such disgraceful, dangerous and menacing projects has become indispensably necessary to protect and preserve our honor and safety.*

I have the honor to be Sir

Signed

Col. Macaulay.

Trivandrum
20 March 1804.

* Ibid., Ff, 6295-6311.

V

Col. Macaulay to King Balarama Varma

Your Highness in your letter to the Governor informed His Lordship that your Dewan would proceed to Aleppe for the purpose of living near the British Resident to co-operate with and to assist him in securing the tranquillity of your Highnesses dominions. This information afforded the greatest satisfaction to His Excellency Marquess Wellesley will now learn with a regret proportionate to his satisfaction, that circumstances require the Dewans presence at Trivandrum.

This very inconvenient separation of Dewan from the British Resident will it is earnestly hoped, prove of short duration. But should unhappily my expectations on this score be disappointed, I have to apprise Your Excellency in the name and on behalf of His Excellency the most noble the Governor General that it will be necessary for me to proceed to your presence for the purpose of removing all obstacles to the due progress of a complete system of security for the united interest and welfare in this quarter of Your Highness and of the Honorable Company.

The Governor General recommended strongly to Your Highness to consider me as deserving Your Highness's confidence and good opinion. Since my arrival at your court, I have had no object in view but the advancement and security of the joint prosperity of Your Highness and the Honorable Company.

I therefore entreat Your Highness not to slight the Governor General's recommendation what need I say more.*

Travancore
17 March, 1804.

Signed
Col. Macaulay.

* Ibid., Ff. 6311-15.

VI

**List of Conspirators arrested at Travancore by Orders
of His Highness the Rajah on 27 March 1804.**

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Papoo Tomby | An officer of the Palace in the charge of the ladies apartment. |
| 2. Mootoo Pillay | Accountant |
| 3. Palvanen Pillay | Commanding the forces |
| 4. Conjee Neelum Pillay | Late sumpreddy |
| 5. Neela Candan Pillay | in charge of the northern division. |
| 6. Ahevedanum Pillay | Treasurer |
| 7. Cochee Narayu Pillay | Paymaster General |
| 8. Gosseyn Gomadagirree | a foreign merchant |

Signed
Col. Macaulay,
Resident at Travancore.*

VII

Col. Macaulay to Fort William

The Suspicions entertained by me, of the calm produced by injudicious concessions to Nair Mutineers as noticed in my dispatch to you of the 13th Instant, have been too fully verified.

This morning the Dewan of the Rajah of Travancore called upon me to communicate the disagreeable intelligence

* Ibid., Ff. 6315-16.

that the mutiny had burst forth with afresh with most decided symptoms of an open revolt against his authority and that of the Rajah whose orders had been in many places treated with slight and in others with contempt. The spirit of this revolt was stated to have communicated itself to numbers of the inhabitants

The Dewan having made this communication under great affliction, proceeded to state that he had just received an Express from the Rajah under the signature of His Highness, which he read and explained; it imported the primary objects now avowed by the revolvers were no less than the assassination of the Dewan and of the British Resident; His Highness entreating the Dewan to urge the Resident to repair to some place of security, as he was unable at present to protect him, even from insult.

The Dewan in conveying this message from the Rajah appeared considerably agitated and added his own information respecting the subject co-incided with the information received from the Rajah and that my life was in danger. He entreated me to take measures for averting from His Highness and the country all the disastrous consequences necessarily attendant on the perpetration of so nefarious a deed as the wanton assassination of a British subject invested too with the sacred character of the representative of the British Government.

In reply I observed to him that it was incumbent upon the Rajah to address a letter to his Excellency the Governor General detailing all the circumstances of this extraordinary case and of his very critical situation. This would, he said be done as the Rajah was this time in his opinion free from all suspicion. I then enquired of him whether fidelity of the

Carnatick troops stationed at Aleppe might not be relied on, he said that these troops were believed staunch, but they were so few comparatively, as to render it very doubtful whether they could successfully oppose the Nairs when reinforcements arrived to them.

Thus situated, there appears no choice and no room for deliberation. The Government of Travancore, while it pleads its utter inability to protect the British Resident from insult, has itself announced to him the criminal designs against him of its mutinous and revolted sepoys and subjects. I shall therefore repair to neighbourhood of Cochin and remain there in the hope that the ferment may soon subside and this Government recover its authority, an event which the Dewan considers to be doubtful without aid at least to be distant. He is also strongly of opinion that he himself will be soon compelled to withdraw.

Travancore,
16 November 1804.

I have the honor to be
Signed
Col. Macaulay
Resident at Travancore.

VIII

Col. Macaulay to Fort William

I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General that agreeably to the intimation conveyed to you in my despatch of the 11th Instant, I left Aleppe during that night and reached this place next morning.

The Dewan having also come to the resolution of escaping from the daggers of the assassins surrounding him, quitted, Aleppo last night and arrived here this morning with five or six attendants only. He has for the present taken refuge in a house in the vicinity belonging to the Rajah of Cochin.

The garrison of this place being very weak and incapable of affording sufficient protection to his person against the designs even of a few desperadoes, I have requested a small reinforcement to it from the province of Malabar.

Cochin,
18 November 1804.

I have the honor to be
Signed
Col. Macaulay.

IX

Col. Macaulay to Fort William

This morning early the Dewan of the Rajah of Travancore waited upon me, nothing depressed, but on the contrary chearful and in good spirits, he had, he said, the best grounds for believing that a delay of forty eight hours in quitting Aleppo, would most probably have terminated fatally for him, as for me. In his present situation, while he remained secure from assassination he would be more at liberty to exert his endeavours to rescue the Rajah from his present unfortunate situation and to adjust the concern of Travancore upon a basis conducive of the firm establishment of the prosperity and welfare of the country and to the advancement

of the mutually combined interests of the Honorable Company and of the Rajah. He had, he said previous to his departure left orders with Colonel Daly, the Officer Commanding the Brigade of Carnatick troops to fall back with his brigade upon Cochin, should the Nairs, manifest any disposition to molest him. I approved of this arrangement, but suggested the expediency of calling at all events the Carnatick Brigade nearer his person. This he replied might be done so soon as the necessary arrangements for their pay and accommodation were adjusted.

On enquiring into the state of his authority over the country, it had not, he said, suffered much diminution anywhere, excepting with the battalions of Nairs. Had there been he observed some British troops at hand to co-operate with the Carnatick Brigade, the Revolters might have been promptly disarmed and dispersed. They had he said proceeded to very criminal lengths on the frontiers of the province of Tinnevelly. The Officer in charge of the lines in that quarter had mounted additional guns upon all the accessible batteries and had issued orders to fire upon any of the Company's troops that might approach the lines. These most daring orders were issued apparently by the sole authority of this Officer, who appears to be one of the ring-leaders of the revolt.

I observed to the Dewan that I would not fail conveying to you for communication to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General the high sense entertained of his firmness, integrity and unabated attachment to the united interests of his masters and of the Honorable Company. A continuance of such a good conduct would be the surest mode of attracting the notice and of meriting the distinguished

approbation of His Excellency and I trusted that he would soon reap the pleasing reward of all his meritorious exertions and severe trials, in the establishment of permanent system of security for the undivided interests of his Master and of the Honorable Company within Travancore. In reply he pledged himself to adhere to his latest breath to that system of measures, which should receive and merit the approbation of His Excellency, the Governor General, being thoroughly satisfied that the adoption of every measure recommended by His Excellency as essential to the welfare and security of the Travancore country, would infallibly lead to those desirable ends.

Having then intimated to him my intention of the proposed visit of the Rajah of Cochin in the course of tomorrow he expressed a desire to wait upon the Rajah of which I approved, and he took his leave.

From this conversation and general aspect of matters within Travancore it would appear that the revolted had determined to oppose by force of arms all intercourse between the British Government and the Rajah of Travancore. The Dewan does not however seem to believe that they are actuated by one mind, or under the direction of any uniform system. He is rather disposed to regard them as a set of Madmen broke loose from the wholesome restraints of their keepers easily recalled to subjection by the proper application of firmness and coercion, but unhappily capable of incalculable mischief while opposed by timidity and irresolution.

I have the honor to be
Signed

Col. Macaulay.
Resident at Travancore.

Cochin

19 November 1804.

X

Col. Macaulay to Fort William

I request that you may be pleased to acquaint His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General with my arrival at this place yesterday. The Dewan had reached it on the day preceding; he waited upon me this morning to state that he had communicated to the Rajah the intimation which he had received from me of the probable approach to this country of a respectable British force for its protection and for the support of the authority of His Highness. He then produced the reply and read it deliberately. It expressed the great satisfaction of His Highness at the intelligence as he considered the troops of the Honorable Company to be his natural protectors. His Highness desired the Dewan to learn from me the probable period of their entrance into Travancore and the route by which they might approach, in order that measures might be taken in proper line for providing Bázars, and all such articles as troops ordinarily require while marching. His Highness then concluded by requesting that his country might be regarded as wholly under the protection of the Honorable Company and himself at the disposition of the generosity of His Excellency the Governor General.

I observed to the Dewan that sentiments like these could hardly fail of meeting with the distinguished approbation of His Excellency. And it was a very pleasing part of my duty to be the channel of conveying them. His Highness had at different times expressed this kind of sentiments. The period now approached which demanded upon every principle of justice and every consideration of reciprocal safety, that the incertainty of those sentiments be brought to the test. And

however lively the concern, or deep the regret with which His Excellency might have been impressed on learning the recent events within this country. These impressions would be likely to give place to feelings of satisfaction when the Rajah carried those laudable sentiments into practical effect, and by an unqualified admission of its necessity provided for the better security of the undivided interests of His Highness and the Honorable Company within Travancore.

The Dewan here repeated an observation which he had once before uttered, namely, that, provided a heavy addition to the subsidy was not required. The adjustment of any other proposed point could meet with new difficulty not having noticed the observation formerly made, I took this opportunity a requesting him to recollect, that supposing an increase to the subsidy to be a point for discussion, the British Government being constantly actuated by sentiments of indulgence and liberality towards those under their protection; and invariably guided by the unerring principles of justice; he ought to presume the improbability of a departure at any time from sentiments; and principles consecrated by feelings of national honor, but particularly after the experience which he has obtained of the moderation of justice and magnanimity which have dictated the measures of His Excellency the Governor General while adjusting the political relations of all the great states of India. Should in future the burden of the defence of this country rest on the Honorable Company. The amount to be paid by the Rajah would of course be in proportion to the force employed, on a fair estimation of the value of the service and the relief afforded to the Rajah. Without denying the justice of this conclusion he still recommended great moderation in adding to the subsidy. I observed to him that the discussion of this

particular point was rather unreasonable that previous to any consideration of the amount to be paid by the Rajah by way of subsidy It behoved His Highness to atone in the most satisfactory manner for the errors (to give in the mildest appellation) of his past conduct. Those errors had not affected His Highness alone. They had produced a series of acts of commission as of omission pregnant with hostility towards the British Government, a like dangerous to the security of the Honorable Company as of His Highness and in their inevitable tendency subversive of the principles of the alliance, which cement and indentify the interests of His Highness and of the Honorable Company. All this he well knew, but should it be required I observed to him that I was prepared, and ready to deliver to the Rajah in writing a Summary review of the whole commencing with the accession of His Highness to the musnud. The humiliating detail while it would afford the clearest evidence of the moderation and forbearance of the British Government could not fail deeply to affect, and afflict the mind of His Highness. On which account I was more disposed, from my knowledge of the Governer General's constant wish to avoid exposing to the world the proofs of infidelity or ingratitude in any prince protected by the British Government to pursue a line of proceeding (unless compelled to a contrary course) entirely conciliatory and amicable in conformity to the desire of His Excellency and to receive voluntarily from His Highness that species of satisfaction for the past, and security for the future which should serve to place on a more solid basis the United interests of the British Government and of His Highness, and to bury in oblivion the whole of the degrading and dangerous transactions, which have followed each other in rapid succession within this country from the last six years, and thereby restore His Highness to the confidence of British Government.

The Dewan seemed affected by this statement but made no reply. He requested permission to return tomorrow that he might renew the conversation to this. I consented and he took leave.*

Travancore
29 December 1804.

I have the honor to be
Signed
Col. Macaulay.
Resident at Travancore.

XI

Col. Macaulay to Fort William

The Dewan was prevented by pressing business from waiting upon me until this evening. After being seated he observed that the conversation of the 29th had made a deep impression upon his mind, he had given his fullest attention to the noble subject, and he came prepared to admit in their utmost latitude the justice of the sentiments which had been then expressed. He urged in the most earnest manner form a view of the situation of this country the expediency of not delaying the adjustment of such points as the British Government might in its wisdom, and magnanimity deem adequate to avert all future source of danger to its own; and the Rajah's interests and safety. He declared himself to be so entirely satisfied of the necessity of adopting this suggestion that he looked forward with extreme anxiety to its termination in less than 48 hours after the arrival here of the Rajah.

Concurring in the amplest manner in the propriety of the Dewan's suggestions I informed him that taking ground on

the commands of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council. I would be prepared to lay before the Rajah a project for His Highnesses acceptance subject to the approval or disallowance of His Excellency.

I request that you may be pleased to acquaint His Excellency that I entertain very sanguine hopes of the speedy successful adjustment of a new treaty with the Rajah of Travancore founded upon the principles of securing to the Honorable Company the military defence of Travancore with the powers both of regulation and assumption to the same unqualified extent nearly as are provided for by the subsidiary treaty of Seringapatam.*

Travancore
31st December, 1804.

I have the honor to be
Signed
Col. Macaulay.

XII

Col. Macaulay to Fort Willam

In my dispatch of the 31st ultimo I had the honor of intimating my intention of proposing upon the authority of my original instructions for the acceptance of the Rajah of Travancore a modification of his subsisting engagements with the powers both of regulation and assumption to the same unqualified extent nearly as are provided for by the subsidiary treaty of Seringapatam.

The urgent motives which led me to be thus guided by the spirit of my original instructions from His Excellency the

* Ibid., Ff, 10951-53.

Most Noble the Governor General previous to the receipt of the sentiments of His Excellency respecting the recent and some preceding events within this country have been generally introduced in my late dispatches. In the present unsettled and precarious situation of affairs within this country it did not appear to my judgement that while possessed of such instructions any delay in seizing the favourable opportunity which seemed to present itself for the conclusion of an arrangement by which the rights and interests of the company in Travancore might be fixed on a solid and secure foundation could be justifiable or could possibly consist with a due regard to the obligations of public duty.

Under these impressions I have acted, I have now the honour to submit the result to the determination thereon of His Excellency.

Upon the 6th instant in the evening the Rajah returned to his residence, and yesterday at noon I waited by appointment upon His Highness after some preliminary discourse I opened to him the main object of the conference, I observed that it must evidently be unnecessary for me to dwell upon the topics of concern, and horror with which every well regulated mind must have been impressed on learning the combination which had been formed by the whole of the Nayar Corps or confidential troops of His Highness for the assassination of the representative of the British Government. The motives by which these men professed themselves to be actuated arose from a determined spirit of hostility towards the British Government. They did not state themselves to have ever received any provocation whatsoever from Lt. Col. Macaulay. Their enmity towards him was not personal it was solely directed to his official and ambassadorial character by attacking the Resident.

They demonstrated their object to be no less than the dissolution of the alliance subsisting between the Honorable Company and the Rajah of Travancore. An event in its nature so hostile to the British Government, in its tendency so pernicious to the tranquillity of this country, and so manifestly subversive of the foundation of the joint interests, and safety of the Honorable Company. And the Rajah would however be probably regarded as the natural and inevitable consequence of various other dangerous and degrading events which have rapidly succeeded each other in this country for the last 6 years, His Highness now being well enabled to judge tolerably of the future from the test of experience, and the evidence of facts could not fail to admit the experience of putting an end to an order of things so injurious to the repose and safety of the united interests of His Highness and of the British Government in Travancore and he must inconsequence be aware of the necessity of providing an adequate security against the future recurrence of any similar measures of offence and mutual danger.

Having dwelt at some length upon these, and similar observations I had the satisfaction of finding Highness not at all disposed to contest the expediency of concluding some arrangement which should more effectually provide for the rights and interests of the British Government in Travancore and for the safety and security of His Highnesses person and Government.

Having come prepared with the draft of such an arrangement as appeared to correspond with the letter and spirit of my instructions, and to be well calculated for the attainment of all the important objects in view. Immediately produced it and I caused it to be slowly and deliberately read and explained to His Highness article by article.

In the course of the reading and during the conference the chief objections referred to the increase of subsidy. The Rajah and Dewan urging the difficulty of making good with their alledged deficient means the payment of four additional lacs, they would they said, in proof of this deliver to me a statement of their receipts and disbursements. I expressed much satisfaction on the disposition now manifested for the first time since my residence at the court of His Highness, of fairly and truly laying open the situation of their affairs when the statement was received and examined the whole subject would undoubtedly meet with a deliberate, and indulgent consideration from His Excellency. In the meantime it seemed advisable that a sum equal to the expence of one additional Regiment be inserted in the treaty. Such sum not appearing at present to me likely to occasion much pressure upon their finances. The Rajah and Dewan made various desultory observations upon the mode of the subsidy in its connection with the Company's commercial concerns here expressive of a desire to be previously satisfied upon that head, there was nothing I informed them in the proposed treaty that could interfere with the establishment of such regulations respecting this and other points by authority of His Excellency as should appear upon a fuller consideration of the subject to be reasonable and proper. His Highness then expressed an anxious desire that the serious injury to his revenues from the contraband trade in tobacco carried on by British subjects and others from the part of Cochin might be taken into consideration. The profit on the sale of tobacco had constituted the most productive source of revenue to his treasury, but through the dealings of smugglers the proceeds from this branch have been reduced to a trifle, His Highness also recommended for notice the future situation of the

European officers who have been long in his service and he further expressed a hope that the amount payable on account of Peshcush and Nuzzeranahs be considered as included in the additional subsidy. I assured His Highness that I would not fail conveying these his wishes and suggestions to His Excellency the Governor General.

Upon this His Highness gave his deliberate assents to the whole of the proposed arrangements with every demonstration of satisfaction at the amicable termination of a measure which seemed so well calculated to save His Highness honor and to preserve in peace, and prosperity his country and people. It was then agreed that the Bramins be desired to name a lucky day for meeting to sign and seal the new treaty. Upon which I took leave of His Highness with many expressions of congratulation on the conclusion of a measure so important, and so essential to the welfare and security of His Highness. The very creditable manner in which His Highness fully, freely, and voluntarily put his confidence in the generous protection of the British Government would I said likely to afford a high degree of satisfaction to Governor General in these sentiments I was joined by the Dewan and by all who were present.

Of the Dewan I think it would justice to observe that his conduct upon this important occasion upon many others was such as to entitle him to a very high degree of praise.

The draft of the treaty approved of by the Rajah shall be engrossed without delay in Persian and English and kept ready for signature to meet the notification of a lucky hour by the Bramins. A copy of it in English accompanies this despatch.

It will be observed that notwithstanding the intimation in my despatch to you of the 31st ultimo of an intention to make the new treaty subject to the approval or disallowance of His Excellency that I have directly engaged to procure its ratification, this last upon reflection appeared a preferable mode, but the Rajah has admitted, and it is clearly and explicitly understood between us that in the event of His Excellency desiring to improve any part of the stipulations in the present treaty, and that His Excellency in consequence proper to transmit from Fort William a copy of treaty so improved and ratified by His Excellency. His Highness consents to receive, and be bound by such a modified treaty.

The amount of the increase of the subsidy may be regarded probably as less than might have been justly expected but its moderation seems calculated to furnish a fresh instance of the generosity and liberal policy of the British Government towards those princes with whom it has been long allied from the moment that they repose upon British justice and magnanimity, whatever may have been their past errors or misdeeds. It has however appeared reasonable to stipulate for aid beyond the amount of the fixed subsidy in the event of company's finding it necessary to employ a larger body of troops for the protection of Travancore.

It is natural for me to feel a considerable degree of anxiety respecting the sentiments of His Excellency upon this important measure.*

Travancore
8 December, 1804.

I have the honor to be
Signed
Col. Macaulay.

* Ibid., Ff. 10953-64.

XIII

Treaty of 1805

Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Honourable English East India Company Bahadoor and the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor, Rajah of Travancore.

Whereas the treaty, concluded in the year 1795 between the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and his late Highness the Rajah of Travancore, was intended to defend and protect the Travancore country against foreign enemies and to strengthen and fix the terms of the ancient friendship and alliance subsisting between the Company, and the Rajah of Travancore; and whereas it is evident that the intentions of the contracting parties have not been duly fulfilled and whereas the said Company and the Rajah of Travancore have judged it expedient that additional provisions should at this time be made for the purpose of supplying the defects in the said Treaty, and of establishing the connection between the said contracting parties on a permanent basis of security in all times to come. Therefore, in order to carry into effect the said intentions, the present treaty is concluded by Lieutenant Colonel Colin Macaulay, the Resident of Travancore on the part and in the name of his Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K. P. and K. C. Governor General in Council of all the British possessions in the East Indies, and by His Highness the Rajah of Travancore for himself agreeably to the following articles which shall be binding on the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

Article I. The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and

enemies of both the Honorable Company especially engaging to defend and protect the territories of the Rajah of Travancore against all enemies whatsoever.

Article 2. Whereas by the Seventh Article of the Treaty concluded in the year 1795 between the Ram Rajah Bahadoor, it was stipulated that when the Company shall require any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the the said reigning Rajah for the time being to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power from his regular infantry and cavalry, exclusive of the Native Nayers of his country and the Company being now willing entirely to release the Rajah from the obligation incurred under the said stipulation; it is hereby concluded and agreed that the Ram Rajah Bahadoor is for ever discharged from the aforesaid burdensome obligation.

Article 3. In consideration of the stipulation and release contained in the first and second Articles, whereby the Company becomes liable to heavy and constant expense, while great relief is afforded to the finances of the Raja, His Highness engages to pay annually to the said Company a sum equivalent to the expense of one regiment of native infantry in addition to the sum now payable for the force subsidised by the third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1795; the said amount to be paid in six equal instalments to commence from the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and five; and His said Highness further agrees that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops to be maintained by it, whether stationed within the Travancore country or within the Company's limits shall be left entirely to the Company.

Article 4. Should it become necessary for the Company to employ a larger force than that which is stipulated for in the preceding Article, to protect the territories of the said Maharajah against attack or invasion. His Highness agrees to contribute jointly with the Company towards the discharge of the increased expense thereby occasioned such a sum as shall appear on an attentive consideration of the means of His said Highness to bear a just and reasonable proportion to the actual revenues of His Highness.

Article 5. And whereas, it is indispensably necessary that effectual and lasting security should be provided against any failure in the funds destined to defray either the expense of the permanent military force in time of peace or the extraordinary expenses described in the preceding Article of the present Treaty it is hereby stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties that whenever the Governor-General in Council, of Fort William in Bengal shall have reason to apprehend such failure in the funds so destined, the said Governor-General in Council shall be at liberty and shall have full power and right either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the revenues or for the better ordering of any other branch and department of the Government of Travancore or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servant of the said Company Bahadoor such part or parts of the territorial possessions of His Highness the Maharaja Ram Rajah Bahadoor as shall appear to him the said Governor General in Council, necessary to render the said funds efficient and available either in time of peace or war.

Article 6. And it is hereby further agreed that, whenever the said Governor-General in Council shall signify to the said

Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor that it is become necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the fifth Article, His said Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor shall immediately issue orders to his amils or other officers, either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances according to the tenor of the fifth Article, or for placing the territories required under the exclusive authority and control of the English Company Bahadoor, and in case His Highness shall not issue such orders within ten days from the time when the application shall have been formally made to him, then the said Governor-General in Council shall be at liberty to issue orders by his own authority either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances, or for assuming the management and collection of the said territories, as he shall judge most expedient for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the said military funds and of providing for the effectual protection of the country and the welfare of the people; provided always that whenever and so long as any part or parts of His said Highness's territories shall be placed and shall remain under the exclusive authority and control of the said East India Company, the Governor-General in Council shall render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of territories so assumed provided also that in no case whatever shall His Highness's actual receipt or annual income, arising out of his territorial revenue, be less than the sum of two lakhs of rupees, together with one fifth part of the net revenues of the whole of his territories, which sum of two lakhs of rupees, together with the amount of one-fifth of the said net revenues, the East India Company engages at all times and in every possible case to secure and cause to be paid for His Highness's use.

Article 7. His Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor engages that he will be guided by a sincere and cordial

attention to the relations of peace and amity established between the English Company and their allies and that he will carefully abstain from any interference in the affairs of any state in alliance with the said English Company Bahadoor or of any state whatever and for securing the object of this stipulation it is further stipulated and agreed that no communication or correspondence with any foreign state whatever shall be holden by His said Highness without the previous knowledge and sanction of the said English Company Bahadoor.

Article 8. His Highness stipulates and agrees that he will not admit any European foreigners into his service without the concurrence of the English Company Bahadoor and that he will apprehend and deliver to the Company's Government all Europeans of whatever description, who shall be found within the territories of His said Highness without regular passports from the English government, it being His Highness's determined resolution not to suffer even for a day any European to remain within his territories unless by consent of the said Company.

Article 9. Such parts of the Treaty of Anno Domini 1795 between the English East India Company and the late Rajah of Travancore, as are calculated to strengthen the alliance to cement the friendship and to identify the interests of the contracting parties are hereby renewed and confirmed and accordingly His Highness hereby promises to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him; with a view to the economy of his finances the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry or any other subjects connected with the advancement of His

Highness's interests, the happiness of his people and the mutual welfare of both states.

Article 10. This Treaty consisting of ten Articles being this day, the 12th of January 1805, settled and concluded at the fortress of Teerovanandapooram in Travancore by Lt. Col. Colin Macaulay on behalf and in the name of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley K. P. and K. C., Governor General in Council with the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor; he was delivered to the said Maharajah one copy of the same in English and Persian signed and sealed by him and His Highness has delivered to the Lt. Col. aforesaid another copy also in Persian and English bearing his seal and signature and signed and sealed by Valoo Tomby, Dewan to the Maharajah and the Lt. Col. aforesaid has engaged to procure and deliver to the said Maharajah without delay, a copy of the same under the seal and signature of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the said Maharajah, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on the Honourable the English East India Company and on the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor of Travancore and the copy of it now delivered to the said Maharajah shall be returned.

Signed
Col. Macaulay.

Ratified by the Governor General in Council on 2nd
May 1805.*

* C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. X, pp. 135-38.

APPENDIX B

I

Extract of a letter from Ramalingam Mudaliyar to Col. Macaulay, 22 March 1864.

“I found it necessary to visit the Rajah without losing any time with your letter addressed to him which I received yesteredy.

At 6 O' clock a.m. this morning I went to him but previous to my visiting the Rajah, I waited upon the Dewan to know how he was treated. Since his arrival, I was not only astonished but concerned to see him alone and with very low spirits—he told me that it was determined on, to serve him as they had served the late Dewan's family upon Monday next being the close of the festival of Palpanaben. A few hours before his arrival here on the 20th two of his Bramin servants were ordered into banishment. After this I went to the Rajah and delivered him your letter. I received it again from him with orders to read it which I did repeatedly in order that he might understand every word of it fully and perfectly. I also explained to him the contents of your private letter to myself.

He replied that his Dewan had come here to explain some important matters and that he would soon sent him back. He then made use of some fine words importing that he had been the company's friend for 300 (sic) years.

I then represented to him the several misfortunes which had then befallen him since the death of his uncle from his having followed evil counsels and in order that he may

avoid further misfortunes. I begged him to place confidence in me and to open his heart to me for your information; he then began to alledge that his displeasure against his Dewan arose from his Dewan's disobeying him in many respects and that if the Dewan would rectify his conduct in this, he had no cause for complaint against him for other matters. I then begged him to send for the Dewan and to hear him in answer to the charge made against him. To this he consented; the Dewan was sent for and came,

The Rajah stated two or three points in which he said the Dewan had conducted himself in disobedience of his orders. The Dewan defended himself with spirit and reason and with address.

The Rajah then informed the Dewan that it was expected of him in future to pay due attention to his orders and to do nothing in any respect contrary to his commands.

The Dewan observed that he never had so acted and was incapable of so acting. Upon which the Rajah said that he might retire to bathe.

The Dewan having retired, I requested the Rajah to inform me of all misunderstanding and all necessity for your presence in Trivandrum were removed. He replied that your presence was not required and that every thing would go on right, he took me by the hands and thanking me for my good advice we departed.

But it would appear not withstanding this, that no change has taken place in the design which he has formed to treat the Dewan cruelly, for which reason the Dewan is much alarmed and thinks that his life will be taken on Monday next

if you don't start immediately to save him. He has earnestly requested me to write you by express to acquaint you that in case you arrive here by Sunday or before Monday evening you may see him, other ways he is gone.

It appears certain that the evil advisers will use all their influence with the Rajah to adhere to his first resolution.

I have every reason to believe that my arrival has prevented the Dewan's close imprisonment. I shall wait upon the Rajah this afternoon for an answer to your letter.*

A true Extract.

Sd/-

Col. Macaulay.

II

Extract of a letter from Ramalingam Mudaliyar to Col. Macaulay, 22 March 9 p. m. 1804.

“My hurried letter of this morning will have explained to you what then passed.

I am just returned from the fort although the Dewan be indisposed to see the Rajah in this present humour. I have recommended him to go to him as usual unless the Rajah forbid his appearance. He accompanied me there this evening, but he was ill-received. Still the Dewan talked to him of business and informed him of the assistance you have given with respect to the pepper. The Rajah enquired of me if I wanted anything in particular I said yes, an answer to your letter which I had this morning presented. He observed that an answer was unnecessary. I replied that I had no doubt he

* For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 2 May 1805, Ff. 6287-9.

would see the propriety of replying upon which he said then an answer should be given tomorrow.

I learn that after my departure the other set entered and remained closet with the Rajah for hours and that they have succeeded in keeping him fixed to their purposes.

Last night one Palpanapelly, Valia Ijman with a horse and some sepoy's were sent to bring back Sumpreddy Pillay, for him a house has been preparing.

I learn that the Rajah has sent order to one Nelacunden Chembana Pillay to repair here immediately for the purpose it is said of succeeding the Dewan. At present this place is in such confusion that it requires your serious consideration.

The Dewan has just sent to request that I would permit one Hircarra and one Conecopolly of mine to be with and sleep near his bed. I shall do so.*

A true extract.

/Signed /

Col. Macaulay.

* Ibid., Ff. 6293-94.

APPENDIX C

CORRESPONDENCE FROM DEWAN VELU TAMPI

I

Velu Tampi to Madras Government

The last letter the Maharajah of Travancore had the honor to address to the Honorable Governor in Council on the subject of the oppressive behaviour on the part of the Political Resident at this Durbar was under date the 31st May last and subsequently that gentleman demanded several times in a threatening language through the medium of his nephew Doctor Macaulay the payment of the subsidy innovated by him by acts of compulsion. In order to avoid the bad consequences... I always replied for the Maharajah my Master that I would shortly procure the means of complying with his demands.

I was under the necessity of making this reply to prevent as I said the bad consequences. Whilst His Highness was in anxious expectation of a decisive resolution of Government regarding the points referred to in the several letters formerly addressed to them, I received a letter from Colonel Macaulay copy of which I have it in to forward herewith for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council, wherein he requires the payment of the novel subsidy already stated by His Highness as being extorted from him in contradiction to all rules of humanity and the laws of nations by the Political Resident and concluding with a severe remark that in the event of non-payment something must happen.

The confidence which His Highness has always put in this wise judgement of the British Government and the circumstance of their not having as yet replied to the letters whereby His Highness declared his incapacity of giving compliance to the subsidy in question, encourage His Highness to encounter these unreasonable threats on the part of the Resident with firmness under a belief that these measures are taken by that gentleman himself to vindicate His Highness communication of the occurrence to Government and that your Government will not be biassed by the influence of their political Resident at this Durbar to act unjustly against a sincere and useful old ally.

His Highness feels great reluctance to believe that the Hon'ble Governor in Council has thrown aside the several letters in question and particularly those respecting the innovated subsidy nothing will be capable of affording at this critical period greater consolation to His Highness than the certainty of those letters having reached at the hands of that Honorable gentleman and that the subjects conveyed in them are actually under his mature consideration.

You will please to lay this letter and its enclosure before the Honorable Governor in Council and to assure that Honorable gentleman that the Maharajah solicits his reliance on his Highness's fidelity and good understanding towards the British Government.*

I have the honor to be
/signed/

Tomby Velayudan] Chembaka Ramam
Dewan of Travancore.

* Sec. Sun. TR., Ft. 12-16.

II

Velu Tampi to Madras Government

I have the commands of my King and master to forward to you for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council copy of a document in the nature of a declaration suggesting the expediency either of immediately fulfilling the engagement respecting the subsidy extorted by the Political Resident at this Durbar or of relieving the finances of this state by the speedy reduction and discharge of the Carnatic Brigade with a view as that gentleman asserts the better to enable the Maharajah to fulfill the engagements in question and also a translation of my reply thereto.

These suggestions press heavy on His Highness and are susceptible of fatal consequences- 1st. Because by fulfilling the engagements of the extorted subsidy the Maharajah must unavoidably fall victim to penury and distress as his finances will not admit of a disbursement so hard, that is of paying a sum over and above the existing treaty concluded in the year 1795.

2nd. Because by reducing and discharging the Carnatic Brigade now in the Maharajah's service, His Highness must undoudtebly feel the hardship of keeping his country in peace and collecting his finances regularly and supporting the honor of his state without interruption.

His Highness commands me further to inform you for the notice of the Honorable Governor in Council that he has never acceded to any of the proposals made by the Political Resident regarding the payment of the extorted subsidy

in question or to the reduction and discharge of the Carnatic Brigade, the only safeguard now existing in his service—although this Brigade is denominated the Carnatic. Yet the people enlisted there in a greater part, His Highness's faithful subjects who have no other means of supporting themselves and their Sovereigns and surely in the event of their reduction and discharge they will fall a prey to poverty and hunger.

His Highness has not as yet been able to conceive with any degree of accuracy the political manner in which the Resident corresponds with his superiors incases regarding the Maharajah and his state. Because he has reasons to be evinced that the Resident takes upon himself the task of writing to government on behalf of his Highness on matters which were never entrusted to that gentleman for that purpose and the Honorable the Governor on a reference to the several letters written on different subjects will find that His Highness is aggrieved all the measures taken by the Resident, and complains bitterly of many oppressive acts performed by that gentleman under the plea of his having been authorised so to do, either by the supreme government or by the government Fort St. George whom His Highness has not in the least given any cause of resentment on the contrary he is at loss for the reasons which actuate the both governments to leave unnoticed the letters to them by him.

The Maharajah is very far from believing the Honorable the Governor in Council would only condescend to acquaint their resolution on the subject of his several letters to the Resident without atleast communicating summarily the same to His Highness who represented his cases to the government and expected anxiously their redress thereon. The

greatest hesitation that attends His Highness to lay stress on the requisitions of the Resident under the plea that he acts so with the authority of his superiors is the indifferent right in which he views His Highness interests and the doubt that accompanies him of His Highness's not acceding to his unreasonable proposals without introducing the plea above stated.

His Highness earnestly entreats that you will communicate his sentiments to the Honorable the Governor in Council and the distressful circumstances he is under owing to the unsupportable treatment on the part of the Political Resident and his nephew Doctor Macaulay who presents himself a person authorised by government to enforce the orders of the Political Resident as it will appear by the copy of the letter accompanying and whose verbal communication of the Resident's wishes is couched upon terms of arrogance and menacing tendency and obtain an answer to the several letters addressed to that Honorable gentleman on various subjects, particularly those regarding the innvoated subsidy.

I conclude with assuring the Honorable the Governor in Council that His Highness's attachment and friendship for the British Government will remain unaltered although he is constantly disturbed by their Political Resident at his Durbar.*

Travancore
10 July 1808.

I have the honour to be
Signed
Tomby Velayudhan Chempakaraman

* Ibid., Ff. 17-22.

III

Velu Tampi's letter of resignation

In consequence of failures on my part in the fulfilment of the terms of the treaties, subsisting between His Highness and the Honorable Company, His Highness and the inhabitants may feel uneasiness and trouble. Col. Macaulay however by a letter addressed to me has solemnly pledged himself to the safety and protection of his Highness and his country-
 on my resigning the office of minister and retiring within the territories of the Honorable Company.

The Colonel has also declared that His Highness will confidently repose on the liberality and moderation of British Government.

Now therefore I reflecting in the most serious manner on all matters find myself more and more confirmed in the persuasion that unless I immediately form and execute the resolution of resigning and retiring the friendship subsisting between His Highness and the Company will be disturbed,

With the view therefore of removing from His Highnesses person and country/as far as depends in me/ all obstacles to a good understanding- I respectfully acquaint His Highness that placing entire confidence in the pledge given in the name of his government by Col. Macaulay I resign into His Highness' hands my office of minister and shall this day retire within the territories of the Honorable Company. The Valia Sarvady Kariacar standing near His Highness's person is to read and explain this letter to His Highness.*

6th Danoo 983
 29 December 1808

Signed
 Vayloo Tomby

* For. Sec. Cons. Proc., 6 February 1809, F. 769

IV

Velu Tampi to the Zamorin Raja

After usual compliments... The state of affairs, here... That three of the Company's battalions with some Europeans have been stationed, two or three years at Quilon that it is in contemplation insidiously to secure this country without incurring any sacrifice of war or treasure by exciting dissensions among the different subordinate Rajahs and principal officers of the state and that having thus acquired the country under subjection it is ultimately designed that all persons without any distinction of caste shall in one and like manner, acknowledge and observe their (the English) faith are passing occurrences which cannot be unknown to His Highness the Zamorin.

The demands now insisted upon me that all the inhabitants of this kingdom shall lay down their arms and obey their (Company's) orders that the high road charitable institutions and the Morajepam (Treinnial festival) with all the ceremonies connected therewith shall be discontinued that two tenths will be allowed for the maintenance and expenses of the Rajah and that in case their demands should be refused, hostilities would commence and the country taken possession of. For this purpose besides those stationed there before, some additional troops have been landed at Quilon and every necessary preparation for war is on foot.

To submit to such demands and give up the country thereby quietly to witness the extinction which awaits the Brahma Dhumma and the Kshetri (or temple) Dhumma and

become one sect are terms which can never voluntarily be assented to at anytime. Whatever being will assured therefore that all the Rajah's most intimately concurred in the interests of this state will afford their assistance in such a course, each to the utmost power of his ability. It has been rendered to compel the Company's battalions to evacuate Quilon and that enmity with them shall again exist, accordingly the necessary means for war have been prepared and hostilities commenced on the 26th of this month. Two attacks have been already made, within 8 days more the battalions will have evacuated Quilon. I shall then lose no time in proceeding to the northward with a part of the forces of this territory.

If all now rise and unanimously act with one mind there will be no need for continuing allegiance to Europeans or for renouncing the Jaady Dhumma (caste).

Hence it behoves His Highness (the Zamorin) to do as follows: To summon the Nayars, the Moplahs, the Ministers and all the different chiefs and separately command them to assemble arms and act against the servants of the Company to whom no revenue should be paid but arrangements made for establishing other people to collect the revenues of the country.

What is here proposed His Highness (the Zamorin) will no doubt undertaken to perform for in case any revolution should happen in this quarter His Highness will find it very difficult to continue in his present condition. Inferring that the stipends allowed to the Malabar Rajahs by government depends entirely on the *Travancore continuing independent.*

Of the two original castes of Hindoos and Mussulmen, the long established charitable institution, religious rites and customs being once subverted both will be compelled to acknowledge and observe the faith of Christians and to pay them allegiance. His Highness the Zamorin has full reason to know if he will maturely consider the subject that such an event can only happen through want of unanimity and concord one with another.

The subjects of the Perampadapill Svarupam (Cochin) have found themselves unable any longer to continue dependent on their protection (Company's). All the inhabitants of the country therefore have assembled and through the Ministers of the country and by the will of the Rajah prepared, what is necessary for hostilities. A letter on this subject for the information of His Highness (the Zamorin) will be sent in the name of Paliyat Accan. All that is herein contained the Tynencherry Eleadu will read and make known to His Highness the Samooripad.

The written communication of the DALAVA TOMBY VELAYUDHEN CEMPAKARAMAN in the year 984 on the 29th Dhanoo.*

Signature

Seal

A true translation

THOMAS WARDEN
Malabar Collector

* Ibid., 6 February 1809, Ff. 740-742.

V

Velu Tampi's Prodamation at Kundara

"WHEREAS it is highly desirable to impress on the minds of the nobles, Brahmans, officers of the State, Sudras and all other classes of the country a clear idea of the nature and probable results of the measure now resolved upon as necessitated by the present critical occasion in which it is inevitable that Travancore cannot maintain itself unless its utmost energies are put forth, it is hereby promulgated:

That, never has this state been yet disturbed with any troubles, nor subjected to question during the several thousand years comprising the period from the foundation of Malabar and Travancore by Parasu Rama upto the close of Cheraman Perumal's reign, nor during the sovereignty of the succeeding Thripada Swaroopam Dynasty.*

"That, the Maharaja who died in 933 M. E., foreseeing the evil days to come, and that his successors will not be able to keep the land entrusted to their care safe from harm made a gift of it, in due form (with flower and water) to Sree Padmanabha Swamy, and the country was to be governed by the succeeding Rajas as the representative of Padmanabha Swamy. In keeping within such a position, they preferred the practice of religious rites austerities, to the personal-enjoyment of worldly pleasure, and were always bent upon the welfare and happiness of the subjects; and in order that the virtues and benefits accruing from such observance may always continue unabated, they initiated several religious, ceremonies and practice for securing divine favour established *Bhadra-deepam, Murajapam, Sathrams* or feeding houses

* The Royal Family of Travancore.

etc. Every one knows that it is for these reasons that in the present *Kaliyuga* there is not a single country from the Himalayas down to Cape Comorin which can rival Travancore as a Land of Charity.

“When Mohamed Ali had subdued and established his power at Arcot, Trichinopoly and the Deccan, it was stipulated that Travancore should send him an annual Nuzoor of (6,000) six thousand Rupees and an elephant to preserve friendly relations with him and the country has not been interfered with by any other power. While the land was thus in peace and tranquillity two great powers appeared, Tipu Sultan and the English East India Company. It was believed that of the two, the English East India Company was more to be relied on, and that they would not betray their trust, and in view to secure their friendship and assistance a very long time ago, they were allowed to build a fort and to establish themselves at Anjengo, and this led to hostilities breaking out with Tipu Sultan, but we have known to our cost how our trust was betrayed, and our friendliness taken advantage of to bring harm upon us by this very English nation, who, as is well known to the whole world, is unequalled for base ingratitude and treachery. Now see what they have done. They gradually curtailed the power of the Nabob who gave them shelter and helped so much towards attaining their present importance, till they had destroyed his dynasty entirely and taken away his territories; next they laid hold on the neighbouring countries which were enjoying peace and comfort until at last the lights of their dwellings were extinguished themselves plunged into misery; and following up their treacherous inclination the English came over to Travancore, first by craft; and then forcibly, they have taken steps to exterminate us from our land..

"We shall briefly mention here a few of the steps pursued by them; when Tipu Sultan made war upon us, we sought their aid against him, they treacherously got out of us, taking advantage of our exigency, ten lacs of pagodas in return for the promised help. After this, partly by craft and partly by threats they stipulated that we should pay them an annual subsidy of six lacs of Rupees promising at the same time that so long as Travancore and the English nation existed they would not ask for a 'chuckram' over and above the said sum; nor interfere with any act, however unimportant, of the Travancore Government, and these terms were solemnly ratified in writing by the treaty of the year 968. While Travancore had been faithfully adhering to fulfil in all integrity, the terms of the treaty, the English, in violation of it, sent a Resident to reside here and stationed three of their regiments at Quilon, and like giving milk to a serpent, this Government had to build at its own cost barracks and dwelling houses for the men of the regiments and in addition, to put up to this day with all the acts of violence practised by them. A little after in Makaram 980, the English Government demanded that two lacs of rupees should be annually paid, in addition to the sum stipulated before and threatened, in failure of this extra requisition being paid, to make war upon us, and actually brought down several pieces of cannon into different parts of the country. Seeing no other means of getting over the difficult position, the Government of His Highness yielded to the impending calamitous fate and paid the extra two lacs also. But the English Government were not satisfied even with all these concessions, and the point they next assumed reached the unreasonable and unwarrantable climax, of requiring the abolition of all religious and charitable institutions, and the disbanding of the armies of the country and payment to themselves of the money that would

be saved thereby; it was required further that the Resident Colonel Macaulay, should be consulted and communicated with in all matters connected with the Government of His Highness' territories. In reply, the English Government was respectfully informed that according to the constitution of this country these demands could not be complied with and our humbling ourselves to the very ground was of no avail. The English Government was inexorable, as we have been always opposed to these measures and had taken active steps against them; we got a letter in *Dhanu* last from the English East India Company, requesting us to resign our post and to quit Travancore, along with the whole of our family and some of the officials who had joined us, and to reside in British territory, and we were promised in the event of our complying with the request that every mark of respect and honour would be paid to us, the Resident that Colonel Macaulay, thereafter intending to introduce reforms and practically administer the Government. We were at the same time informed that we should be the cause of war being declared in case we delayed to agree to the conditions stated in the letter, the contents of which we were requested to bring at once to the notice of His Highness the Maharaja.

“We did not hesitate to reply that we should not, even should our refusal cost our life, be guilty of such treason to our sovereign and country, and once for all spurned the proposals made to us. The Resident Colonel Macaulay, thereupon and without having the slightest consideration or respect for the Sovereign of Travancore or giving the least intimation, brought by the sea and landed a number of European soldiers at Quilon and shipped back all the European

women and children that were there, with all their property, and unjustly commenced war with Travancore. It had never before been, nor is it now our intention to wage war against the English. But now that they have begun the war, if we do not adopt prompt measures in our defence or on gaining the first success, if we do not at once avail ourselves of them to follow up the victory, we should lose all advantages we had gained and the consequences would be that hardships would befall us such as not a single soul in this country would be able to bear and pass his days. We shall give a few instances of those hardships and miseries.

“It is the nature of the English nation to get possession of countries by treacherous means and should they obtain ascendancy in Travancore they will put their own guards in the palaces, Sircar buildings, and the fort gates; destroy the royal seal, do away with honorific palanquins and other distinguishing marks; suppress the Brahmin communities and worship in pagodas; make monopolies of salt and every other things; measure up and assert themselves as absolute owners of waste lands; impose exorbitant taxes on paddy lands, coconut trees, etc., get low caste people to inflict heavy punishments for slight faults, put up crosses and Christian flags in pagodas; compel inter marriages with Brahmin women without reference to caste or creed, and practise all the unjust and unlawful things which characterise *Kaliyuga*.

“Let us therefore, exert ourselves to keep off impending calamities such as those we have sketched above and endeavour so far as lies in our power that no disparagement or discredit may be imputed to us in guarding our homes, the charitable institutions, and the manners and customs of our

land. The rest, of course, we must leave to the divine will. These measures which we have enumerated are incumbent upon us to adopt to defend ourselves) against the action taken by the English*.

VI

Velu Tampi to Lt. Col. Chalmers.

I received your letter of the 6th instant last night at 9 O'clock excusing yourself that by releasing few people accidentally arrested at Quilon you had accomplished all whatever demanded of you, and to contrary accusing us, we are not observed doing the same in our part for giving them there with the first and necessary step of a friendly good understanding to which I have to reply and acquaint you they are almost out of our questions.

Should you have an intention arranging the matters in amicable terms with us, it is the first and absolute measure on your part as frequently related, leaving us our guns, places, ammunitions and other public and private properties etc, suddenly taken away with violent force previous our people were oppressed of such an uncommon attempt.

Withdrawing your troops, guns etc. from their advanced posts to their usual point of destination and exporting Regiments, guns, ammunitions etc. lately landed at Quilon to their respectable stations after the new communication represented to those our serious demands and new claims you replied us nothing else but your needs to wait for Col. Macaulay's,

* P. Shungoony Menon, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-343

instructions, and here you demonstrate as having completely satisfied us to all our directions a mere objection indeed.

If you compare your representation solely releasing your people on the other part ours above proposed and unaccomplished. I believe you could easily conceive how great are the difference their value and weights.

You further communicates your people were arrested before the hostilities took place, pray what are the meaning of your operations in landing fresh troops, guns, ammunitions and provisions etc. In our peaceful country even without our approbation and information—and dispatching two men, properties etc. to other quarters, we were beside threatened evidently by Col. Macaulay's address excepting an inevitable war, who at the same time ordered me the prime minister of an allied foreign King and country removing with my whole family to other quarters from my dutiful country and without my masters knowledge and consent as a mere traitor in fact.

Do you make us now believe all these are marks of good faith and friendship and are these the accommodation of a Resident?

The next morning after possessing our place at Quilon and our guards retired from thence the same evening they were farther sent two guns and soldiers as far as the Northern districts of Quilon at Hywickah and killed with opening their fires, the greater part of the innocent women and children crossing at the mouth of the river, a cruel tyranny ever heard amongst the civilised and even amongst the arch enemies. How do you think satisfying our country for such their lives and ever crying bloods. Wherefore I repeat the whole business requires first

an examination of a third person, or one of the superiority and before perceiving the absolute and necessary restorations. Our dispatch will not find an end in their practice.

Respecting Mr. Chalmers on his way our people were not informed of the simplicity but on my being reported about the subjects I ordered to send her away with every reasonable marks of friendship and the properties were preserved.

You are also not ignorant that on my receiving the communication made by the name of the Honorable government we repulse our troops after our correspondence under certain accords but to contrary by landing again fresh troops. instead of exporting the latter. You have offended our country with great violent of course.

Let us keep the Almighty witness to both parties and all actions.*

Kallarakary
10 January 1809.

What can I say more Remain
Signed/Dewan

VII

Velu Tampi to Lt. Col. Chalmers

Your letter of the 24th instant sent by the Hircarrah reached me at 4 P. M. and I understood its contents which being contrary to the contents of my letter and to that of Col. Macaulay and also contrary to all what has happened have reason to presume that it will not be of any good effect to both parties, but I consider it will produce more difference

* Sec. Sun. TR., Vol. II Fl. 658-61.

than what has passed for, if I ought to attend to Col. Macaulay's letter, your troops and ammunition ought to be moved from our battery to the former lines, the places, goods and guns belonging to the Rajah ought to be restored. Our troops and inhabitants in their former stations, the Regiment and guns that arrived lately to be embarked. I therefore do not know what can be the reason of your not having answered on this subjects you write that the consent of Col. Macaulay is wanted for the shipping of troops, the letter of Col. Macaulay says that it is the pleasure of Government that the troops sent to Travancore shall be ordered back to their respective places and to countermand preparation for war.

Now according to the contents of this letter if it is your wishes that both parties should be in permanent peace and friendship the contents of this letter should be carried into effect.

Against which you said that you have been attacked by us and that you did nothing but secure your persons of which, I am surprised for our troops and ammunitions did not come near your lines and it cannot be excused that you leaving your lines came with your battalions and guns against our guards, and forced the entrance of our fortifications placing at the same time your guns towards the fort of our gates. Though there is no token to believe what you say nor to attend to I (only not receive blame for not having accepted your proposals) dare to declare if your lening be to cement friendship between both parties our places, goods including ought to be delivered to our people, our troops to be stationed in their quarters, which arrangement ought to take place before 2 O'clock of the 25th Dhanu also no military man shall be

landed without our knowledge in the meantime in four days either by writing to Col. Macaulay or by any other means the troops lately arrived with their ammunitions ought to be reembarked the former troops with their ammunitions ought to be replaced within their former quarters and lines.

In giving me a written security of these proposals and by acting so there will be no occasion for any disturbance.

According to your answer I will take my resolution. *

Date Kuriapilly 24th Dhanu month of 984

Signed by the Dewan

APPENDIX D

A petition from Kunchu Vira Tampi, the younger brother of Velu Tampi to Sir George Barlow Bart. K.B. the Governor of Madras

In compliance with the recommendations of Col. Macaulay the Resident of Travancore promoted my brother Valya Tumbec to the situation of Dewan. Pulnadum Trumrapilla and other persons represented to the Rajah that Col. Macaulay and my brother were leagued together and that the result of their confederacy would be the assumption of the country by the Company. In consequence of these representations my brother became the object of the Rajah's displeasure; but Col. Macaulay effected a reconciliation between them and caused the factious persons above-mentioned to be put into confinement, where some of them died.

* Sec. Cons., Vol. 37, Ff. 118-122

Neel Gunthun Chinnup Gramen Pilla and Pulnadum Suma Pilla, two of the persons, who were imprisoned, contrived to stir up a mutiny in the Rajah's army, and instigated the mutineers to represent to His Highness that they would not return to their allegiance unless Col. Macaulay and my brother were expelled from the city. The Rajah was constrained to comply with their desires, and Col. Macaulay and my brother went to Cochin. When the mutiny was quelled they returned to Travancore. Col. Macaulay soon after demanded payment of eight lacs of rupees, being the balance of peshcush due by the Rajah to the Company; the Rajah pleaded inability; and the Resident required him to deliver up his guns, muskets and other arms as security for the payment. Thereupon Oomunee Tumbée, the present Dewan and other persons represented to His Highness that this demand originated in the intrigues of my brother; and proposed as a test of his fidelity that he should be commanded to make war upon the Company. My brother was accordingly compelled to take up arms, fortunately however the fort of Aramunee fell into the hands of the Company's troops, and the Rajah was in consequence induced to sue for peace.

The faction of which Oomunee Tumbée, the present Dewan was the head, then represented to the Rajah that the capture of Aramunee was to be attributed to the treachery of my brother; he was accordingly removed from his situation; and Oomunee Tumbée was appointed to succeed him.

Oomunee Tampi, then sent persons to seize my brother; he resisted and was killed in the contest, his body together with his younger brother Chinnup Gramen Tumbée, was carried to the Rajah, who commanded that it should be burnt

with the customary rites; but the Dewan by malicious representations caused this order to be revoked, and the body was hanged. Chinnup Gramen Tumbee was sent in chains to Col. Macaulay and Col. Chalmers at Coilum; those gentlemen ordered his chains to be taken off, and gave him some money with directions he should be protected. The Dewan on hearing this proceeded to Coilum, represented to Col. Macaulay the impropriety of showing any lenity towards the brother of a man, by whose intrigues the Rajah had suffered so much; and declared that it was His Highness order that the house and property of Chinnup Gramen Tumbee should be sequestered. Upon this the Resident delivered up Chinnup Gramen Tumbee with directions that he should be considered as a person belonging to the Company, and that he should be produced whenever he might be called for, adding that with respect to his property the Rajah was at liberty to act as he might think proper.

The Dewan returned with Chinnup Gramen Tumbee in his custody, and treated him with every indignity. His houses, together with mine and those of all relations and dependents of the late Dewan, were plundered and razed to the ground; and many persons were put to death. Chinnup Gramen Tumbee and another brother named Comaran Tumbee are confined in chains.

The property accumulated by my brother, the late Dewan while he was in the service of the Rajah was not in my possession, or in that of any of his brothers. He always lived at Coilum, and never dwelt with us at the family house. I gained my livelihood by my own labours and never received a salary from any person.

The amount of the peshcush at present payable by the Rajah to the Company is eight lacs of rupees; but if th

property of which I have been plundered, is restored to me, and I am appointed Delvaee, I will engage to administer the affairs of the Rajah with fidelity and to pay to the Company the sum of ten lacs of rupees annually. The Rajah will no doubt consent to the release of my brother Chinnup Gramen Tumbee and to my appointment as Delvaee on receiving the order of the Company.

On my arrival at Madras the police officer confined me. I know not the cause of this proceeding. I entertain the hope that you will be pleased to direct my release.*

2 November, 1809.

Sd/-

W. Oliver

Dept. Persian Translator
to Government.

*Pol. Cons., Vol. 42, Ff. 307-312.

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