

THE ALI RAJAS OF CANNANORE

K. K. N. KURUP

Here is an attempt to bring out the political history of Ali Rajas of Cannanore, the only Muslim Principality of Kerala. This ruling dynasty known as Arakkal house also, came into prominence by the middle of 16th century. Its possession of the Jagir of Laccadives and the maritime commerce with the Arabs helped it to become an independent principality of Kerala. The date of its origin and conversion to Islam still remains a controversial subject for the students of history. Like many other royal houses of Malabar, this house also lost its political authority by the end of 18th century during the ascendancy of the English East India Company in Malabar. The English occupation of Laccadives exemplified the real nature of British Colonial policy towards the native chieftains in India.



THE EMBLEM OF ARAKKAL HOUSE (From A painting maintained in the Museum, Department of History, Calicut University).

This emblem of Arakkal House is drawn by ane Vafi. The Arabic words inscribed in the crescent from the Holy Quran are "La Ilah Muhammed Rasul Illah". The Identity of the emblem is also given in the emblem itself as follows: "Al Mustanad Bitoufi Kathi Ar Rabbanihya Malikud Doulatheel Ailaniya". (1) (The emblem of the authority who by the godly blessing became the ruler of the island kingdom)

The cluster of the rays and crescent represent the glory of Islam. The head dress below the crescent is the symbol of the crown. The weapons like spears, muskets, sword, cannon, and balls represent the royal authority and power. The balance is a symbol of justice. The book beneath it stands for the code of laws, especially the Shariyat. The mace and the anchors reveal the overseas relations of the dynasty. The hanging medals are ornamental designs but represent the rewards for meritorious service in this world as well as in the next.

1. This was interpreted to me by Sheik Muhammed Mouli, Oriental Studies, University of Calicut.

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The emblem of the Arakkat House

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FOREWORD

To most knowledgeable people, the writing of the History of Kerala stands condemned as a frustrating task because of the numerousness of the small chieftains and principalities figuring in it and the fickleness of their alliances and rivalries, as the heterogeneity underlying its social structure. Hence Actonian ambitions of designing a comprehensive History of Kerala have so far failed to come off. Such an attempt will have to wait for its success till deep and intensive studies of distinct royal families, regions and social groups are ventured upon by competent scholars. .

This monograph on 'The Ali Rajas of Cannanore' by Sri, K. K. N. Kurup, who is a keen student of the history of North Malabar in all its variegated phases, is a laudable work which attempts effectively to plug a hole in Kerala History. I am glad he has, by and large, succeeded in his exercise. By delving deep into the original records and documents which had remained so far fallow and unexplored, he has created a piece of history which is distinctly authentic and highly readable. He has also succeeded in shedding a lot of illumination on the twilight-area of the confrontation between the native rulers and the Western powers by focussing his researches on this unique Muslim dynasty of Malabar. This book will surely catch on as a fine contribution to the emergence of an exhaustive history of Kerala.

Calicut University,
30--1--1975.

PROF. SUKUMAR AZHICODE,
(Pro-Vice-Chancellor)

PREFACE

The Arakkal dynasty, an erstwhile Muslim royal house of Kerala, came into prominence by the Middle of the 16th century. The rulers of this House were known by the title of the Ali Rajas of Cannanore. The origin of the House is traced in several traditions and legends, but the historical truth is still not unveiled in the absence of authentic documents. To start with, the rulers of Arakkal were the feudatories of the Kolathiries. Eventually, on account of their affluence obtained through maritime trade and the internal dissensions of the Kolathiries, the House began to assert political independence. The history of this principality in the 17th and 18th centuries gives a good account of this political struggle.

When Malabar became a theatre of expanding European mercantilism and contesting interests, the Arakkal House was also placed in a new historical situation like many other chieftains of Malabar. Their policy towards these foreigners was not consistent or prudent. When Malabar was finally brought under British administration, the Arakkal House was also converted into a landed aristocracy along with other royal houses.

The present study is a by-product of my thesis work on 'The History of the English Settlement at Tellicherry.' Some of the factory records of Tellicherry throw light on the history of Arakkal House also. I have mainly depended on these records to construct the history of this principality and its relations with this House are reconstructed on the basis of the Revenue Board's consultations and several other government orders, confidential and nonconfidential, preserved in the Archives of Tamilnadu, Madras.

With regard to the early dealings of this House with the Portuguese and the Dutch, I cannot claim that I have consulted all original sources. This is a lacuna in this study. However I have consulted several authentic contemporary writings and documents available in English relating to the Portuguese and Dutch

dealings with this House. *Tuhafat-ul-Mujahiddin*, *The Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar*, and *The Dutch in Malabar* were much helpful in tracing the 16th century affairs of this House.

The indigenous sources are very meagre. However the *Keralolpathi* gives a skeleton of some facts. One of the difficulties of the study is that there is not sufficient and continuous source material relating to this principality. They are scattered here and there and I have tried my best to link all these available facts. The principality has a small Archives which also helped me a lot in my pursuit. Some collections of these records are now transferred to the Department of History, Calicut University

I am much indebted to the Government of Tamilnadu for giving me special permission to consult all confidential government orders relating to the Ali Rajas and the Laccadive Islands. I should like here to record my deep sense of obligation to my supervising teacher Dr. M. P. Sreekumaran Nair, Reader, Dept. of History, Calicut University, for the many valuable suggestions he offered in relation to this monograph and also for the trouble he took to read the whole manuscript and suggest improvements. I am also Indebted to my teacher Dr. M. G. S. Narayanan, the Head of the Dept. of History. I have gained considerably from his comments and suggestions on this work.

I record my sincere gratitude towards Prof. M. M. Ghani, Vice Chancellor, and Prof. K. Madhava Menon, Ex-Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Calicut for showing keen interest in developing Kerala studies, and granting me necessary leave on duty and financial assistance to work in the Tamilnadu Archives, for the completion of this monograph. I am greatly indebted to Prof. Sukumar Azhikode Pro-Vice Chancellor, University of Calicut, for having written the Foreword to this book. I am also thankful to the Director, and staff of the Archives of Tamil Nadu, for their sincere cooperation in helping me find out all documents relating to the Arakkal House. A few portion of this work had been published in the Journal of Kerala studies, and the Journal of Indian History. I acknowledge my indebtedness for the same

to my teacher, Prof. T. K. Ravindran, University of Kerala who is the editor of both Journals.

The present Sultan Adi Raja Amina Beebi Tangal of Arakkal and her son Adi Raja Ahammad Koyamma Thangal have earned my gratitude for permitting me to consult all available records in the Arakkal Palace and furnishing necessary information and photographs for this monograph. My thanks are due to Dr. S. Velayudhan, Department of English, University of Calicut, who went through the final script and saved me from many stylistic errors. My colleagues in the Dept. of History, Messrs S. M. Mohamed Koya, K. J. John, M. R. Raghava Varier, V. Kunhali and V. C. Moidu have shown much interest in this work. I am grateful to them and to Prof. M. P. Sreedharan, Malabar Christian, College, Calicut, who helped me by translating relevant French documents for this monograph. Miss. Kanakavally M. N., the Librarian, Department of History has taken the trouble of preparing an index for this volume, and my thanks are due to her. I acknowledge my thanks to Mr. N. Ussain, the Typist, Department of History, and Mr. K. Janardhanan, Photographer, Department of Botany for their sincere services. Finally I am acknowledging my sincere thanks to the proprietor, College Book House, Trivandrum, for taking the responsibility of the publication of this work.

Calicut University
15-3-1975.

K. K. N. Kurup.

To the memory of
my beloved niece
late (Mrs.) Radha K. Kuttamath
alias Radha Gangadharan

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS

The Arakkal House of Cannanore came into prominence as a political power by the middle of 16th century. The rulers of this House were generally known as the Ali Rajas of Cannanore. They were the only Muslim royal family in Kerala. They eventually established their political power in and around Cannanore city and enjoyed virtual monopoly of trade in that area. By economic prosperity and political influence, the House gradually claimed independence from the Kolathiries who were the Hindu sovereigns of Kolathnad. (1)

The traditional history of Kerala as revealed in *Keralolpatti* contains few references to this principality. A *Jonaka* [Moplah] male and a female were invited to Cannanore from Velapuram or Aryapuram and the male was given a title the Azhi Raja or the lord of the sea by the last Cera ruler. (2) Another tradition as rendered in the Dutch records was that this family was of Kolathiri extraction. "A certain princess" stated Moens, "of this dynasty on account of having had to do with a person of lower standing, had lost her caste or nobility, and in order to some extent to cover up the disgrace, she was given in wedlock to a rich Arabian Moor, on whom was conferred the title of prince and the general name of Ady Raja, meaning in that country [*sic*] as much as head of the Moors of that kingdom (really Ali Raja = Sea king)". (3)

Logan, the author of *Malabar Manual* recorded another tradition, that the first chieftain of this House was one

Arayan Kulangara Nair, one of the ministers of the Kolathiri who lived about the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A. D., and who embraced Islam and adopted the name Muhammed or Muhamed Ali. (4) But the family records of this House introduce another version and claim origin from the last Cera emperor. According to this version, the sister of the Cera emperor, Sreedevi residing at Dharmapattanam was asked to crown her son Mahabali after the emperor's departure to Mecca after conversion to Islam. The nephew of the emperor was converted to Islam who adopted the name Mohamed Ali. (5) As he was the first Muslim ruler, he assumed the title 'Adiraja' or the first king. This title 'Adi Raja' and another title Ali Raja or the noble Raja were very commonly used by this House as early as A. D. 1545. (6)

Whatever the stories or traditions may be, the first ruler of this House was converted to Islam and as a symbol of this Hindu tradition, even now a '*Bhadra deepa*' or a full lighted auspicious lamp is maintained in a southern room of this House. Near the lamp there is a bed, spread over a coat. Another tradition related to this lamp was that it was kept facing the Arabian sea in memory of the ancestor of the House who went to Mecca. (7) The House had strictly maintained the Hindu custom of the matrilineal succession which was contradictory to the rules of Shariyat. This Hindu custom of succession had been later sanctioned by the Caliph as the 'custom of the land' in one of his letters. (8) The female succession was very common in this House and a woman ruler was known by the title of "Adi Raja Beehi".

No authentic documents are found to substantiate the early history of this House. The traditional list of the chieftains of this House maintained in its archives reveals that the fifth ruler Ali Moosa had conquered some of the Maldive Islands by A. D. 1183-84. (9) Whether the conquest of these islands was made by him as an admiral of Kolathiri or as an

independent chief was unknown. However, by 16th century the influence of this House in Arabian sea was widely recognised even by the Portuguese and other European powers. On account of the relation of this House to Maldieves and Laccadives, the 9° channel separating Minicoy from Laccadive group was known by the family title Mammala's channel nearly to the end of 18th century. (10)

The Laccadive Islands belonged to the Kolathiri who was responsible for its colonisation by families from the continent. *Mooshakavamsa*, a Sanskrit chronicle of the 12th century on Kolathiries by Atula had referred to the possession of innumerable islands by the king. (11) These islands were bestowed on Arakkal as Jagir, probably for its meritorious service to the Kolathiries. The traditional *Keralolpatti* mentions that Udayavarman Kolathiri entrusted the eighteen islands to one Jonakan who was given a title of 'Deepu Raja' (king of island) and was asked to pay an annual tribute of 18000 fanams at Valarpattanam (Baliapatam) fort. (12) The Jagir of these islands and the assignments of the port of Cannanore and a few villages like Kanathur and Kannotheanchala in the mainland made the rulers of this House powerful. "The city of Cannanore" writes Cortesao, "itself is described as an international trading centre which deals in goods of all sorts from the other great port cities surrounding the eastern rim of the Arabian sea. Had the Portuguese not taken over the city, Pires believes that it would have fallen to Mohammad Ali and the Moors". (13) Castanheda who apparently visited Cannanore in 16th century writes:

"This is a large city with a fine bay, the houses being built of earth, and covered with flat stones or slates. It abounds in fish, flesh and fruits, but has to import rice from other places. The king or Rajah is a bramin.....but not so rich as the Zamorin, or even as the rajah of Coulan [Quilon]". (14) During the stay of Castanheda at Cannanore, probably

the House of Arakkal would not have been independent as he referred to the Brahmin Raja of the place. But Tome Pires rightly attest the prominence of the Moors and Mohammed Ali.

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese intrusion to Malabar coast was detrimental to the maritime activities of Arakkal House. In the beginning of 1504, as the Portuguese won the support of the Kolathiries in their fight against Zamorin of Calicut, the Arakkal House also must have maintained good relations with the Portuguese. Since 1504 the Portuguese had a fortress, trading station and colony made up of Portuguese and their christianised wives and families in Cannanore. (15) As the portuguese power achieved its zenith in Malabar coast, it enforced passes for native vessels to undertake journeys by sea. The Moorish trade of Malabar coast was greatly jeopardised by such restrictions. Throughout the sixteenth century as a nationality the Moplahs were struggling for the naval independence at the Arabian sea.

Valiya Hassan, a close relative of the Ali Raja and a prominent Captain of Cannanore was one of the great enemies of the Portuguese in Cannanore. He molested several Portuguese vessels in the Arabian Sea. The Portuguese approached the Kolathiri against this veteran captain and finally with the permission of the Kolathiri, captured him and made him a prisoner at the Cannanore fort. The Ali Raja offered a heavy ransom but was refused. The Kolathiri also intervened but it was to no purpose. The Portuguese Governor Dom Henrique de Meneses ordered his execution. (16) Following this incident, the Muslim opposition to the Portuguese became more violent and implacable. When Kutti Ali, the veteran seadog of the Zamorin intercepted the Portuguese relations between Cochin and Goa, the Arakkal House gave all possible assistance against

the Portuguese. After a few years peace was again maintained between the Portuguese and the Arakkal House. However, the Arakkal trade with the west Asian nations could be carried on only after obtaining the necessary passes for the traffic from the Portuguese. The Arakkal House had to fear always the colossal loss to their trade and existence as it was situated only a gun shot distance from the Portuguese fort St. Angelo.

By 1557 hostilities commenced between the Portuguese and the Moplahs in Kolathnad. The Portuguese were threatened with a seige by all the princes of Malabar stirred up by the Ali Raja. (17) But he was not properly supported by Kolathiri and his subjects in other towns. On account of these hostilities between the Moplahs and the Portuguese, the latter started out in anger to despoil Ali Raja of his Laccadive islands. (18)

These wars greatly suppressed the naval power of the Moplas at Cannanore. After peace was established they undertook the journeys by sea taking with them the passes as they used to do before. By 1570, attempts were made at Cannanore to revive the Moorish power against the Portuguese under the leadership of Arakkal House. There was a continuous war of three years with the queen of Malabar (Ali Raja Beebi) and other princes on one side and the Portuguese on the other. The Queen was forced to sue peace and her son was killed when he was on a pilgrimage to Mecca. (19) The Arakkal House requested for assistance of Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur for a holy war "for rescuing these Muslims" from the tyranny and oppression of the Portuguese. (20) According to this request Adil Shah reaching at Kuwa (Goa) commenced fighting against the Portuguese and intercepted their food supplies. Arakkal being a Muslim principality had friendly relations with Bijapur and other Muslim kingdoms of the South. Bijapur's immediate assistance against the Portuguese was a matter of sympathy towards co-religionists and political exigency.

The Moorish power in Kolathnad was largely suppressed by these frequent wars. Even Muslim pilgrims were not left safe by the Portuguese mariners. Religious bigotry and economic motivations were the forces behind these atrocities. At the dawn of 17th century, peace had been again established at Cannanore between the Moplahs and the Portuguese. Pyrard de Laval, a French Traveller recorded that the Portuguese were at peace with him (Ali Raja) and that with his permission they built a small fort in Cannanore containing a church and a Jesuit college. (21) The maintenance of a Portuguese fort at the very vicinity of the Arakkal House was a handicap for the stability and integrity of this small principality. Not only its commercial dealings were disturbed, but also its maritime power was curtailed by the Portuguese.

Arakkal House, a maritime power contesting with the Portuguese on the coast had trade relations with Arabia and other west Asian countries at the end of 16th century. The rulers of this House were known as the lords of the deep sea or Sultan-ul-Bahar. They had already possessed the islands of Laccadives as Jagir and had gradually denied the suzerainty of Kolattiries. The mutual jealousies of these houses prevented them from making a common front against the rising power of the Portuguese in Kolathnad. This want of unity and political farsightedness created chaos and turmoils in Kolathnad for generations to come.

NOTES

- (1) The traditional sovereign of the territory between Mount Dely and river Puduppattanam. He was the ruler of the medieval cities like Madayi, Valarpattanam, Sreekanthapuram, Kannanur, Etakkad, and Dharmapattanam.
- (2) The place where the Jonaka or Muslim male and female were settled was a significant place like an eye and the place was named as Cannanore. Refer Gundert, *Keralolpathi* (Trivandrum, 1961) PP. 54.

- (3) Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, (Madras, 1911) P. 147.
- (4) W. Logan. *Malabar* Vol. I (Madras, 1951), P. 357.
- (5) *Arakkal Records*:- The Coronation of the first ruler of the House is mentioned in the Kali year 3739, i.e. A. D. 637. This statement however, could not be treated as authentic. See appendix II
- (6) Zaynud-Din, *Tuhfat-Al-Mujahidin*, (trans.) by S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Madras, 1942) P. 76. Referring to the "Royal titles in Malabar" J. A. Thorne writes: "As for the Ali Raja, even if he is Azhi Raja, and that means "Lord of the sea" that proves nothing. He was lord of the sea ruling the Laccadives and possessing his own fleet. I have no doubt that Azhi Raja is a Hindu invention like Kunnalakkon with the purpose of turning a title into Malayalam. The *Keralolpathi* appears to be the source of it". M. L. Dames (Transed) *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (London 1921) P. 261.
- (7) K. K. N. Kurup, "Ali Rajas of Cannanore, English East India Company and Laccadive Islands". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. II (Jabalpore University) 1970. P. 45.
- (8) *Arakkal Records*. See the Journal of Kerala Studies, (Trivandrum) July 1973. See appendix III
- (9) Ibid. See also the list of the rulers.
- (10) W. Logan, *Malabar* Vol. I. See footnote, P. 358.
- (11) "Uttirna Sagara Jalena Kulam Ripunam
Hathva Balena Harikunjara Bhishanena.
Lankahvayam Raghupathim Paramekameva
Dveepan Bahunabruta Ramaghateshwarastu"
(14th Sarga, 69th quadruple.)
(Sreerama conquered only one Island named Lanka after a mighty war fought by elephants and cavalry. But Ramaghateshwara (Kolathiri) conquered innumerable islands.)
Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological series*, Vol. II, part-I, (1916)
- (12) Gundert, *Keralolpathi*, Op. Cit. PP. 123, 124. Valarpattanam as a centre of trade was well known to the Arab geographers like Dimishqui in 14th century by the name of Buddhattan. S. Muhammed Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of South India*, (Madras, 1942) P. 29.
- (13) Armando Cortesao (transsed). *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, (London, 1944) Vol I. P. 77.

- (14) Richard Eden (trans,) *The Firsr Book of the Historic of the Discoveries and Conquest of the East Indies by the Portugals*, (London, 1582) as reprinted in Robert Kerr (ed) *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1824) Vol. II. P. 425.
- (15) M. L. Dames (transed) *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (London, 1921) Vol. II. P. 81.

A Portuguese factory was established at Cannanore in A. D. 1502. F. C. Danvers, *Report on the Portuguese Records*, (London, 1892) P. 3. The fort was built by the Portuguese in the year 1505 and the first Captain was Lourenco de Brito. It was named Sao Angelo. Walter De Gray Birch, *Commentaries of Affanso Dalboquerque Vol. II.* (London, 1877) P. XXX.
- (16) O. K. Nambiar, *Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen*, (Mysore, 1955) P. 101.
- (17) John Stevens Tomc., (trans) *The Portuguese India* by Mannuel de Faria Ysousa (3 Vols), Vol. II, (London, 1695) P. 197. Another contemporary chronicle stated: "During the period of the holy war against the Portuguese, a great leader Ali Adi Rajah by name, who was energetic and zealous, spent a large amount of money in that war". Zaynuddin, *Tuhafat-al-Mujahidin*, P. 80.
- (18) Zaynuddin, *Tuhafat-al-Mujahidin*, Op. Cit. P. 80.
- (19) Noel Sainsburg, *Calender of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan. 1513-1616.* (London, 1862) P. 9 serial No. 18 of 1571 (?)
- (20) Zaynuddin, *Tuhafat-al-Mujahidin*. P. 85.
- (21) Pyrard de Laval's *Travels*, Vol I. P. 445, quoted in the editorial notes by M. L. Dames (transsed) *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Op. Cit. Vol. II. P. 81.

CHAPTER II

EARLY RELATIONS WITH THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH

During the seventeenth century, the coast of Malabar became a theatre for European rivalry. The Europeans were motivated with the spirit of mercantilism. This contest had far-fetching result on the political power of the rulers of Malabar. The Portuguese advent in Malabar and their intermittent wars with the local rulers gave an occasion to the Ali Raja to make his House independent from his sovereign, the Kolathiri. Simultaneously the sea power of the portuguese was a great hindrance to the naval power of Ali Raja. His independent growth was curtailed for years, as free navigation was not possible. The Portuguese enforced restrictions on commercial opportunity of the Arakkal House.

Following the Portuguese, the Dutch also participated in the competition for Malabar trade. When the Dutch entered the Malabar coast, they were eager to curtail the Portuguese power and establish their own monopoly of trade. This competition actually ended in the extinction of the Portuguese settlement at Cannanore. The Dutch captured this fort in February 1663 by force. (1) Arakkal House also desired to establish friendly relations with the Dutch. The Dutch also were eager to carry out a policy of friendship with the rulers of Kolathnad. On account of this policy, when they obtained from Kolathiri the monopoly of bringing opium to Kolathnad, the right of the Ali Raja to bring six candies of opium annually was preserved. (2) He helped the company's merchants in the purchase of pepper from his territory. Consequently a treaty

of friendship and trade was made with him. But this was not observed on the ground that it was detrimental to his own welfare which depended much on trade and was therefore opposed to the interests of the Dutch company. (3) So there was a rupture between the Dutch and the Arakkal House. But finding that the Dutch were supported by the Kolathiri and in possession of a strong fortress at Cannanore, he humbled himself. Even then the Ali Raja had with him 24 pieces of iron cannon taken from a Dutch ship stranded in Maldivé islands. As he was always refusing to hand them over to the Dutch, they finally offered him 2000 rixdollars, so that this might not become an obstacle to peaceful relations with him. It was a deliberate policy of the Dutch to establish friendship with the House. A comprehensive treaty was concluded between them on 11th February 1664. (4) This treaty limited the quantities of cardamom, opium and pepper to be imported by the Ali Raja in the Kolathiri's territory. It also prohibited his procuring of any pepper or cinnamon by sea or land from the Zamorin's land or the Cochin Kingdom. (5) The main purpose of this treaty was to eliminate him from his resourceful sea trade and land trade and to consolidate the Dutch interests on the Malabar coast. Probably by this time, he had not become practically independent of Kolathiri's overlordship. Kolathiri, being in good relations with the Dutch, his vassal, the Ali Raja also must have been persuaded to execute such an agreement which was fatal to his interests. However, he never restricted himself to this agreement and so often its conditions were broken.

As an explanatory of the previous treaty, a further treaty was also concluded with him on 13th March 1664. (6) But these treaties were always not carried out by him. He secretly sold his produce to others who offered him more than the company had stipulated. The Dutch attempt to introduce a monopoly based on agreement was infringed by the Ali Raja as well as the other Malabar princes. By 1665 the animosity of the Arakkal House towards the Dutch was so widened that their

relations ended in open hostilities. The English factor at Bhatkal reported: — “Ali Raja at Cannanore and the Dutch are at variance; and we heare he hath killed above 200 of their men and its thought have may turne them out”. (7) It is unknown how this hostility ended.

ADVENT OF THE ENGLISH

When an English factory was established at Cottacunnu (Hill fort) on Baliapatam river in 1669, the English factors also tried to establish friendly relations with the Ali Raja, but soon a rupture occurred among them on account of the inland duty. The English were asked to give some Masjid dues to the Moplahs at Cannanore. This was protested by the English and caused a friction in their smooth relations. (8) Ali Raja and the Dutch supported a junior prince of Kolathiri against the Prince Regent of Kolathnad who was in friendship with the English. The ascendancy of this junior prince was much feared by the English. The English Chief, Petit, requested the Surat council for permission of dissolving their factory at Baliapatam. It was permitted by Aungier and his council on 20th March 1675. (9)

Dharmapatam was a Moplah centre, where Ali Raja desired to consolidate his authority. He desired to be the *Curtow* (governor) of Dharmapatam. However he did not succeed in getting the post, and by the end of August (1682) had been driven out by the late Curtow's rightful successor. (10) Although the Kolathiri claimed his authority on account of this, the Ali Raja desired to extend his authority over it, which was unsuccessful as he was defeated in his attempt. However by 1683 he had established some authority in Dharmapatam that the English sent their complimentary messages to him when they occupied the French ware-house or Bancassal at Tellicherry. The English had much fear of the Ali Raja and the Dutch that the warehouse at Tellicherry was garrisoned by the Nair soldiers of Kolathiri. (11) When Robert Adams assumed

the office as the "Chief for English affairs of Malabar" he enunciated a policy of appeasement towards the Arakkal House also and established friendly relations with them.

By the beginning of 18th century the House of Arakkal, became practically independent of their sovereign, Kolathiri. Alexander Hamilton, and interloper who visited Malabar in 1703 had given an interesting description of this House. He stated:

"Town (Cannanore) with the circumjacent [*sic*] country is under the government of Adda Rajah Ali Raja a Mahometan Malabar prince, who upon occasion can bring near 20000 men into the field". (12)

As he was a Muslim ruler, perhaps he was given due allegiance by Muslims in this area. However, the respect he commanded as a chieftain was considerable. A peculiarity of his government was also noted by Hamilton. He described:

"His government is not absolute, nor is it hereditary; and instead of giving him the trust of the treasury which comes by taxes and merchandize, they have chests made on purpose with holes made in their lids and their coin being all gold whatever is received by the treasurer is put into those chests by these holes; and each chest has four locks, and their keys are put in the hands of the Rajah, the commissioner of trade, the chief judge, and the treasurer; and when there is occasion for money none can be taken out without all these four be present or their deputies". (13)

The existence of officers like the commissioner of trade, the chief judge, and the treasurer show that the House had an organised government at the turn of 18th century. The affluence of the House had been revealed through 'their coins all gold'. Further, at this time, the House had its control over Dharmapatam. Hamilton stated:

"Adda Rajah's dominions reach but ten miles to the southward of Cannanore to Tellicherry river,

near which he has a harbour called Darmapatam. Its passage inward is deep enough, but embarrassed with rocks in its entrance. It has an island against its mouth called 'Cacca Diva' about half a league from the Shore environed with rocks". (14)

The possession of this strategic small island of Kakkadvipa (15) (crow island) including the Dharmapatam was a definite expansion of this House at the expense of Kolathiri kingdom. Thus the rivalry between these two houses almost prolonged all over the eighteenth century. One of the important causes for the growth of power of Arakkal House was that it had an extensive trade with prominent harbours like Surat, Goa and Cochin on the Indian Coast of Arabian Sea and on the other side with the harbours of Arabia. Its Patamar boats engaged in active foreign trade. (16) Unfortunately we had no statistical data to substantiate their volume of trade. After the fall of the Portuguese fortress and settlement the Portuguese vessels did not enforce so much restriction as did by them in the previous period. The English had not established their power and supremacy in Kolathnad by this time which also helped the growth of Arakkal trade. Thus by the dawn of 17th century, the Arakkal with its possession of Laccadive islands and the inland territories like Dharmapatam had become a prominent ruling House of Kolathnad. For defending his mainland territory, he constructed a fort in Cannanore in 1712. The site and the remains of this fortress are still known by the term 'Khajana Kotta' in Cannanore. A contemporary French writer attested his naval superiority on the Malabar coast from Mangalore to Calicut. The kings of the Maldives recognised him as their sovereign. (17) As the House propagated the Islam religion and Shariyat, the Muslims in Malabar treated them as a symbol of their political unification. The title of 'Thangal' generally used by the Moplahs who claimed descent from the Prophet, was assumed by this House. So in political as well as in religious affairs the role of the House became supreme.

NOTES

- (1) A. Galletti, *Dutch in Malabar*, P. 103.
- (2) Quoted in T. I. Poonen, *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power, 1603 - 1678* (Trichnopoly, 1948) P. 193.
- (3) T. I. Poonen, *Ibid*, P. 194.
- (4) Mackenzie MSS P. 337, and Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. III Document No. 280. quoted in T. I. Poonen, *Ibid*. P. 194.
- (5) *Ibid*. P. 194.
- (6) Mackenzie MSS page 339 and Heeres: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. II, document No. 291. Quoted in T. I. Poonen, *Ibid*, P. 194.
- (7) William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1665-67*. P. 76.
- (8) Charles Fawcett, *The English Factories in India 1670-1677*, Vol. I (New series) (Oxford, 1936) PP. 289-290.
- (9) *Ibid*. P. 341.
- (10) *Ibid*. Vol. III. P. 394.
- (11) *Ibid*. Vol. III. P. 415.
- (12) Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, (2 Vols) Vol. I, (London. 1744) P. 294.
- (13) *Ibid*. P. 294.
- (14) *Ibid*. P. 297.
- (15) Kakkadvipa is a small island in the Arabian sea almost adjoining the territory of Dharmapatanam. It is known as grove island also. As Crows nested in this island, it was named as Kakkadvipa or the island of the crows.
- (16) A Patamar boat is:
 "Sketch a very long boat, very high behind, and very low before composed of innumerable bits of wood tied together with coir, or coconut rope, fitted up with two or three long poles intended as masts which lean forward as if about to sink under the weight of the huge lateen sail. Fill up the out line with a penthouse of cadjans (as the leaves of that eternal coconut tree are called) to protect the bit of deck outside the cabin from the rays of a broiling sun". Richard. F. Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains* (London 1851) PP. 2-3.
- (17) E. Lennet de la Faralle. *Memoires*, (1725). Quoted in Martineau, *Les origines De Mahe* (Paris, 1917) P. 11.

CHAPTER III

TUSSLE WITH THE CANARESE AND THE ENGLISH EXPANSION

The prominence of the Arakkal House at the opening of eighteenth century had been noted by foreign writers. Jacob Visscher a Dutch Chaplain at Cochin in his letters stated:

“The most powerful of all the Moors, who may be regarded almost as an independent prince resides at Cannanore. He is entitled Ali Rajah, king of the islands, being the lawful sovereign of all Laccadives which were ceded to him by colastre... as a testimony of the above mentioned cession to these islands a new Ali Raja must always receive his crown from the reigning Raja of Colastre”. (1)

But the system of receiving the crown from the Kolathiri and paying the tribute for the Jagir of islands was gradually stopped. The rulers of Arakkal became practically independent of Kolathiri. Visscher stated: “Ali Raja has a large and handsome bazaar where most of the Moors in his dominions reside”. (2) The Dutch Company traded with him in Cardamom and turmeric and ambergris. (3) His vessels some times took Dutch passes in their foreign trade. Although the Portuguese ceased to be a naval power in Arabian sea they still continued as a threat to his foreign trade. In 1720, the Portuguese invaded a ship of Ali Raja which brought horses from Mecca, under pretext that no one had the right of importing horses. (4) Ali Raja treated it as an affront and immediately despatched

twenty well manned vessels to pursue the Portuguese as far as Cochin. The Portuguese captain who was overcome with terror requested the mediation of the Dutch. (5) This is a good example of his naval power and his profitable trade with Mecca and other places abroad.

RUPTURE WITH THE KOLATHIRIES

The rise of the Arakkal House created an unbridgeable rupture with Kolathiri. Visscher narrated an incident of 1722 which ended in an open war between the Ali Raja and the people of Kolathiri. It originated in a private dispute. A party of Moplahs slew some Nairs and the latter in revenge killed as many Moplahs as they could lay hands on. In retaliation, the Moplahs insulted a Kolathiri prince at the bazaar of Cannanore. (6) In this war the English assisted the Kolathiri in attacking the bazaar of Cannanore. The understanding was that "if the bazaar was conquered and the Moors expelled, the English should have a factory there". (7) In this war the Dutch company remained neutral, but the Moplahs purchased ammunition and other war materials from them. (8) At the mediation of Robert Adams the English Chief of Tellicherry both parties concluded a treaty which was highly disadvantageous to the Moplahs. A large sum was given to Kolathiri as expenses for war and he was also permitted to maintain a fortified village in Cannanore. (9) The violence between both houses was a constant feature of the history of Kolathnad. Ali Raja desired the possession of the fort of Cadalay and made himself the master of this fortress on 6 June 1727 by force. (10) According to the report sent by the prince Regent Udayavarman, to the English Chief at Tellicherry, 'the Moors entered into the country, broke down Nayar's dwellings, rob'd their women (and) violated their pagodas and tanks.' (11) As requested by the prince Regent, the English sent a few garrison soldiers, but they were not permitted by Ali Raja to pass over his island Darmapatam. (12) However to defend their trading

interests at Agar, (Etakkat) the English deputed 15 soldiers through the territory of Kottayam. (13) As an aftermath of the aggression made by the Ali Raja, the Prince Regent joining with the king of Kottayam, landed on Darmapatam and took one of the forts of Ali Raja. (14) Finally he burnt and destroyed his ships and took possession of the island of Darmapatam, and also captured two of his elephants. (15) As it was a joint effort by the Prince Regent and the king of Kottayam (Cotiota), the Prince Regent had to part with half of Darmapatam to the king of Kottayam. (16) The Prince Regent desired the complete subjugation of the Arakkal House and continued his oppressive measures against the Ali Raja. The Ali Raja sailed for Juddah on a pilgrimage in March 1728. Even in his absence the Moplah subjects continued their skirmishes against Kolathiri. They even requested the assistance of Syddees against the Prince Regent. Some vessels of the Syddees even reached as far as Baliapatam. (17) Meanwhile the vessels from Mecca brought the news that the Ali Raja died at Juddah. (18) Even in this circumstance the war between the Moplahs and Prince Regent became severe than ever. The English at Tellicherry were instructed that 'they may the more plausibly, interpose their mediation for pacification.' (19) Prince Regent Kunhihoma, made two unsuccessful attacks on Cannanore, but was obliged to retire with loss. The main cause for this was that a quarrel was going on between Kunhi Homa and his ally the king of Kottayam. The latter desired the immediate division of Darmapatam island and threatened that he would withdraw his force if his request was not granted. (20) However a temporary truce was arranged between the prince and the Moplahs at the mediation of the English Company. But again hostilities broke out between them. This time, the Moplahs "apprehending the impossibility to withstanding his Prince Regent arms were induced to apply to the king of Cannara bordering on this country for his attacking the same". (21) Although there had been a strict peace for long years between the king of Cannara and the Prince Regent the former's

ambition was so strong that he in April 1730 invaded the frontiers and after some action penetrated to the interior of Kolathnad. (22) The Canarese invasion on Kolathnad had far-fetching result on the course of political and economic history of this area. The Prince Regent finding it very difficult to fight with a domestic enemy and an out side enemy at one and the same time, agreed to a temporary peace with the Moplahs. Through the mediation of one Kallidan Nambiar, Ali Raja obtained the favour of the Prince Regent and gave him one hundred thousand fanams. (23) What persuaded the Ali Raja for a peace agreement was unknown. Writing about the submission of the Moplahs, the Prince Regent wrote to the English that it was "a breathing for four months" and that his purpose was to "compound with them on any terms for the present". (24)

CANARESE INVASION

The Canarese army of Somasekhara Nayak II found it a good chance to over-run the northern territories of Kolathnad and to plunder the rich possessions of Taliparamba temple. The Prince Regent met Zamorin who was one of the protectors of that wealthy place in January 1732, for arranging the defence of that place. He raised an army of forty thousand men whose salary was to be paid out of the treasure of the above temple. (25) But they made no stubborn resistance against the invaders, and the Canarese seized the place and raised there a fortification and then proceeded to Baliapatam. (26) The pirate Cutty Coilem also with his fleet reached at Baliapatam to assist the Canarese army against the Prince Regent. In this circumstance an English detachment proceeded to assist Ali Raja in his fight against the pirates. The main purpose of his fight against the pirates was to safeguard his trade and Moplah navy from the atrocities of the enemies. However the Prince Regent found himself under the necessity of striking up a peace with Raghunath' the Canarese general.

According to this agreement the Prince Regent made them the sovereign masters of the north of the river Baliapatam and made himself a mere tributary of Bednur in that area. It was also agreed upon that they would assist the Prince Regent to suppress the rebellious Moplahs. (27)

According to the agreement made with the Prince Regent the Canarese invaded the fortified peninsula called Matame belonging to the Moplahs situated on the north side of the entrance of the river Baliapatam and took it by force. (28) The occupation of this area by the Canarese was a threat to the English who feared that the Canarese would become entirely the masters of the said river and the country even as far as Tellicherry since no opposition was made against them by the Prince Regent and his treacherous subjects. (29) Now Ali Raja was reaping the fruits of his own evil deeds. He was the man who invited the Canarese to invade the Kolathiri territory and the Canarese now invaded his own territories with the consent of Kolathiri Prince. In this situation, Ali Raja fortified his fort at Cadalay and requested the English for supply of shot and lead. (30) The English feared that such an action would invite the enmity of both the Prince Regent and the Canarese. So they rejected the request of Ali Raja for the supply of military stores. (31) The joint armies of the Prince Regent and the Canarese crossed the river in January 1733 and appeared on the confines of Cannanore with a view to reduce the Moplahs. The Moplahs were desirous to engage a treaty with the canarese excluding the Prince Ragent. (32) But such proposals were not materialised. The English realised that the fall of Cannanore would be detrimental to the trading interests of their company. Their diary stated: "Tis very obvious that Cannanore is the only barrier that can withstand the Canarese; none the other powers of this country have provided in any wise for their defence against so powerful an enemy....." (33) Therefore the English decided to supply great shots to the heiress of Ali Raja to withstand the joint invasion. (34)

However the English had no courage to make an open assistance to Ali Raja. So they sent the military stores on board the ship 'Campton' so that they could make an excuse that the commander spared them without their knowledge. (35)

CONQUEST OF MADAKKARA

The Cannarese were already in possession of a fortress at Madakkara at the mouth of the river Baliapattam and this was used by them as a spring board to invade Cannanore. Ali Raja in a terrible war with the Canarese captured this fortress and occupied it with their people. This was recaptured by the Canarese and nearly five thousand men and women of the Moplahs were put to swords by them. This tragedy at Madakkara did not in any way dismay the Moplahs. Nearly 12000 men, majority of whom lately arrived from Calicut and Ponnani, decided to make a religious war as the Canarese had killed one of their highly revered priests in the recapture of Madakkara. (36) However their attempt did not succeed in recapturing Madakkara. The entire political arena of Kolathnad became a complex of unsolved problems. Each power whether indigenous or foreign was playing one power against the other.

Meanwhile the rivals of Bednur were encroaching on its territory also. One Chikly Cawn with his army insisted that Bednur should raise the seige of Cannanore. (37) But his invasion on Bednur could do nothing in favour of the Moplahs in Cannanore. The major change of the policy in the political affairs of Malabar was introduced by the break-up of the friendship between the Prince Regent and the Canarese.

PROPOSAL OF A CONFEDERACY

Meanwhile, an idea of a confederacy was discussed among the native powers of Kolathnad, the English and the French against the Canarese. To rectify the grievance of Prince

Regent Kunhihomo, it was decided that the fort of Cadalay now possessed by the Moplahs be demolished and neither the Prince Regent nor the Ali Raja would raise again a fort there. But this proposal was not acceptable to the Moplahs. So the confederacy against the Canarese, though talked about, did not materialise. On account of political differences the Prince Regent and the Ali Raja could not make an agreement between them even against a common enemy. As a matter of commercial interests, the Dutch at Cannanore decided to assist the Moplahs. They had a fear that if Cadalay was occupied by the English their trade facilities should be curtailed. So the Dutch desired to support the Ali Raja to keep up his sway over Cadalay. They also arranged a temporary treaty with the Canarese and the Moplahs. The Dutch with great diplomacy settled their dissensions with the Canarese and re-established their factory at Bassilore in Bednur territory. They also realised a reparation of 25000 pagodas from the Canarese being the cost of a ship captured by them. (38) Nevertheless the Dutch soon withdrew their support given to the Moplahs. Cadalay was immediately taken by the Canarese general Raghunath. Although a temporary peace was established by the Moplahs with Canarese it was detrimental to them as the treaty was soon broken and their strategic fortress of Cadalay was again taken by their enemies. (39)

SURRENDER OF DHARMAPATAM

After coming to a settlement with the Moplah, and the Dutch, the Canarese wanted to station their army at Dharmapatam, which was protested by the English who negotiated for the possession of Grove island or Kakkadvipa lying off the point of Dharmapatam. With Beebi's permission, on 5 October 1734, the English admitted a small garrison of 25 there along with the Beebi's men. (40) As early as 1731, the English negotiated with the Prince Regent for the possession of Dharmapatam island. (41) When Ali Raja permitted the English to occupy

the grove island, the Beebi was paving their way to their cherished political ambition on Malabar coast as it was a strategic place in a naval encounter. The English promised the Beebi that they would withdraw the garrison when all apprehensions would cease. (42)

When the English further negotiated for the possession of Dharmapatam, the Beebi simply believed the English and their promises. Domingo Rodrigus, the linguist of the English promised:

“Should we take the place off the hands and power of princes of pallicullothu and Cotiota, we would deliver it over to her that she may keep it as her ancient possession and thus she will have her place and we will be delivered of all possible anxieties and inconveniences”. (43)

On the basis of this discussion by the linguist she permitted the English to occupy Dharmapatam over which she lost her authority on account of the aggression by Prince Regent and the king of Kottayam. (44) Her desire to regain Dharmapatam with the assistance of the English ended in failure as the English themselves were much particular to retain its possession in their own hands and even desired to shift their factory at Tellicherry to this place.

She pressed the English for the restoration of the island as it was “a place held in great veneration by the Mahometans in general”. (45) It was also seen from the factory records that she was not in a position to clear the amount spent by Company on it. (46) But the restoration of the island in favour the Beebi was not at all thought upon by the English. They instructed their higher authority:

“your relinquishing this island may prove exceedingly prejudicial to your affairs, as we shall always dread you will not be free from competitors in the pepper trade, and the Dutch in particular, we may conclude will omit no opportunities of gaining as much of it as they can”. (47)

They even complained about the irregularity of Tellicherry fort, commanded by the adjacent hills, and surrounded with so many defiles and covers. So they requested for erecting a regular fortress at Dharmapatam and leaving Tellicherry with only small work and making former a head settlement". (48) Thus the Beebi was left in utter disgust. She was planning again for the recapture of the island from the English. Contemporary English records revealed: "The Moors of Cannanore have been exceedingly busy in working up all the mischiefs they could for depriving us of it".(49) It was declared by the Beebi that her relinquishment of the island was a matter of deceit played by her minister. Tellicherry records stated:

"... .. declaring we have deceived her, and gained the place by a false grant, through a large sum to her chief Krivan Mussan, and to render this accusation of the more weight, she has taken away his life although he insisted on proving his innocence". (50)

During these years the English were enforcing the Portuguese system of issuing passes for sea faring vessels. Such passes were denied to the ships of the Beebi bound for Surat. (51) On account of her hatred towards the English who desired to expel the Canarese from Malabar, the Beebi assisted the Canarese with 200 Moplahs of her army. (52) Eventhough she gave this assistance to the Canarese, she had to give up her plans since she was threatened by the English. She realised that her stronghold at Cannanore could not resist any joint attack of the Prince Regent and the English for any length of time. Under the pressure of the English in April 1737, the Beebi's husband agreed to take an oath in the chief mosque of Cannanore that she had never attempted anything against the English Company. (53) This sort of oath was taken by her husband 'Elaya' as a matter of political expediency and to heal the rutpure between the English and the principality. A vessel belonging to the Beebi, seized by the English at Angengo was restored to her.

CONTEST AGAINST THE ENGLISH

But the reconciliation between the English and the Ali Raja was soon broken again. Beebi knew that the English as traders and political opportunists were the dead enemies of her principality. Her men made an attempt to land at Mamamcunnu in Dharmapatam, where the English erected a parapet at Maylure to resist such attempts. (54) But those attempts were repulsed by the English. One of the boats of the English was captured by the Ali Raja. She made its crew prisoners and cut off the nose and ears of a Moplah sailor who had been formerly in her service. (55) The Moplahs again made another attempt to invade the fortress at Madakkara, possessed by the English with the assistance of the Prince Regent. The government of the Prince Regent was then passing through a revolution. The young Prince Ockoo was the rebel leader who was even supported by Nair regiments. (56) Prince Regent Kunhihoma requested for the assistance of Kunhi Hamsa Ali Raja against the rebels. But Ali Raja did not give him much help. He himself was placed amidst very complicated political affair. He was made a state prisoner by the Moplah heads of Cannanore. The people of the several bazaars assembled at Cannanore and made some arrangements for the government. According to this the "sovereign is to have eight of principal men to assist him in the administration, with whose approbation he is to govern in the usual manner". The matters of consequence, were to be consulted with a body of 400 persons and decided by the majority. (57) The background of this political drama was unknown. However it was an attempt by the big merchants of Cannanore who had been adversely affected by the animosity of the ruling House towards the English, to check the arbitrary activities of their government.

But the animosity of the Raja towards the English still continued. The Austrian succession war in Europe between

the French and the English had its effect on the political affairs of Malabar also. The Ali Raja, wholeheartedly decided to support the French against his bitterest enemy, the English "under his instigation and help the French were able to enlist 1500 Moplahs in their army. The French even "prepared to say mass at Tellicherry". After the capture of Madras when the French fleet arrived Mahe, the Ali Raja visited Mahe with a retinue of 500 men between 27 February 1747 and 1 March 1747. He was however sorely dejected when the fleet sailed away without attacking Tellicherry. (58)

Thus, being disgusted, the Ali Raja again sought the friendship of the English. Steps were being taken by him to settle an outstanding loan refundable to the English. The loan amount obtained by his predecessors including interest was nearly 310556 fanams. He offered that an amount of Rs. 15,000/— should be paid by Poque Moossa Marakkar being the first instalment to the English. He further requested that the rest of the amount be relinquished. This was accepted by the English and they reminded the Ali Raja that the "behaviour in future will be comfortable to that of your predecessors". (59) So peace was established between the Arakkal House and the English for sometime and the grievances related to the non-restoration of Darmapatam were forgotten by the Moplahs.

The relations of the principality with Angrias were very cordial. In the disturbed political affairs of Northern Kerala, the Ali Raja much depended on their friendship. The Dutch feared very much this alliance and reinforced their garrison at Cannanore in expectation of Angrias coming to land there by the connivance of Ali Raja. (60) How far Angrias' attempts were successful against the enemy of the Ali Raja could not be ascertained from the contemporary records. When the poor diplomacy of Dorril, the Chief of Tellicherry, alienated the other Malabar chieftains and started hostilities against the

defacto Prince Regent, Kunhiraman, in 1751, the Ali Raja remained neutral. This policy of neutrality was based solely on his animosity towards the Kolathiries and not by his friendship towards the English.

Persuaded by a keen desire to enhance his economic resources the Ali Raja planned a campaign against the ruler of Maldive islands. In 1753, he tried to seize the Maldives. It was suspected that the ruler of Maldives died in his prison. Even in 1758 his son was a prisoner at Cannanore. (61) In this circumstance the princess of Maldives sent a letter to Pondicherry requesting the French help against the Arakkal House. (62)

During the war between the English and the Kolathiries, the Ali Raja gave up his neutral position and even became an ally of the English with an expectation that he would receive some concessions from the Prince Regent, when the treaty was executed. But soon he was disgusted. The English records stated :

“... .. in the late war with the prince of Cherika, for tho' he was admitted into an alliance and friendship with the Hon'ble Company, yet when they made peace with the said prince he was left out for which thereon the prince received oppression with all imaginable patered [*sic*] as he complained of to the superiors”. (63)

As the English had now become the allies of the Prince Regent, the Ali Raja started aggressions on his territory. Even prior to this he stopped his supply of pepper to the English and started new bargains with the Dutch at Cannanore. In the beginning of the year 1755 he made a contract with Dutch to supply annually 200 to 400 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 83 $\frac{1}{3}$ per candy and also ten candies of Cardamom at the market rate. For this agreement he was to receive an advance of Rs. 12,000/— early in the year. (64) When this was protested by the English the Dutch clarified their position. They stated

“The exclusive authority that the honourable Dutch company have obtained, as well by force of arms as by immovable grants, given them by the palace of Colastria now almost 100 years, gives the noble Dutch Company a right to the whole product of this country yet for all this we show them this especial civility, that often they have let the noble Dutch Company have stated quantity of goods, they have liberty to dispose of the rest in any manner they think proper, particularly the Ali Raja the regent of the Moors, because of his subsistence in a manner depends on trade; except him we don't know of any merchant of consequence here.....”. (65)

Thus a rupture between the English and the Ali Raja once again developed. Ali Raja even declared his will to join anybody against the company. (66) So he joined with the Prince Regent. The English and the Northern Regent or Vadakkellamkur of Kolathiri met in a conference to discuss the plans to be adopted against the Ali Raja and the Prince Regent. The chief revealed :

“Prince of Cherika and Ally Rajah had entered into mutual agreements to assist one another against their enemies; and the former had promised to help Ally Rajah to retake Durmapatam; and that he on his part had actually assisted the prince against the Syrians; also that the prince was friendly attached to the French and Dutch”. (67)

The Syrians were once the friends of the Ali Raja. Now they were given up by him for the friendship of the Prince Regent. So the policy followed by the Ali Raja was always inconsistent.

During this period, the Ali Raja organised a buccaneering campaign against the Canara country with the alliance of Angrias. He sent nearly 3000 men with guns in small country crafts to ravage the area. They attacked Manjeshwar and landed their men to the north of Mangalore and even over-ran up to Kollur. They carried off a booty worth of 40,00,000 pagodas. In the course of this expedition some Brahmans were

killed and that was greatly mourned by the court of Bednur. (68) As a repercussion of this invasion, the rice export from Mangalore was closed to Malabar. This caused so much trouble to the English at Tellicherry that they felt the scarcity of foodstuffs in their settlement. So the Bombay president and council sent a sharp letter of remonstrance to the Ali Raja.

AGREEMENT WITH THE ENGLISH

When hostilities commenced in Europe between England and France in 1756, immediately the French and the English on Malabar coasts also strengthened their own company. Meanwhile the Moplahs invaded the fort of Maylure in Darmapatam belonging to the English. (69) But it was recaptured by the English. The Prince Regent who had now broken his friendship with the Ali Raja adjudged that this aggression on Maylure was made by Arakkal House. But most others felt that it was by the men hired by Candoth Pacquy, the principal pepper merchant to the French at Mahe, who desired to cause a disturbance between the Prince Regent's people and the English. (70) The English expected a war on Malabar coast also against the French and therefore they wanted to make allies among the Malabar chieftains. The financial difficulties now felt by the Ali Raja were exploited by the English. They assisted him with a sum of Rs. 13,000 as advance for which he had to furnish pepper at Tellicherry factory. If it was not fulfilled by him the English were permitted to take his vessels. According to the clauses of this agreement he had to assist the English against the French or any other native incursions on them by 300 armed calliquilones (Moplah soldiers) whose expenditure should be met by the English. (71) This was an unnecessary burden or responsibility imposed by the Ali Raja on himself without any gain or profit. Like so many other treaties executed by the Malabar chieftains. This was also a crowning example of their folly and lack of foresightedness. But for the English this was a master stroke of

diplomacy engineered by T. Hodge, the English Chief at Tellicherry.

Following the fall of Pondicherry the French at Mahe were also persuaded to accept the terms of capitulation in February 1761. They Surrendered their forts in the north except Mount Deli and Ramdilly (Ramanthali) to prince Capu Tamban of Kolathiri. This possession of forts by Kolathiri prince was disliked by the Ali Raja. Immediately, without giving any notice to the English factors of his intention, he surprised the French fort on Ettikolam point at Mount Deli and most cruelly massacred the garrison of 20 men. The fort was then handed over to the English. (72) In 1762, the English withdrew their outposts and handed over Madakkara to the king Regent of Kolathnad. This was also a terrible blow to the ambition of the Ali Raja. Thus, eventhough the war between the French and the English had been settled, fresh cause of dissension was created between the Ali Raja and the Kolathiri. This hatred had far-fetching effects on the course of the history of Kerala.

Throughout the period under discussion, the policy of the Ali Raja was inconsistent. His friendship was always instable. He treated self interest as the best interest. But, this always created fresh troubles for him. On account of this flippant character and the policy of a weather cock, he was always referred to by the English in their documents as 'treacherous'. The consistant policy of this dynasty in this period was the hatred towards the Kolathiries. This was motivated not by religion, but by political ambition, though religion was also not left unexploited. A Jihad against the Canarese was waged to safeguard the political interests of this dynasty. Thus the ruler had no far-reaching policy to execute, especially when the foreigners used to intrude in Kolathnad and to establish their own settlements.

NOTES

- (1) Jacob Visscher. *Letters from Malabar*. (trans) by Heber Drury (Madras. 1862) Letter XIX. P. 119.
- (2) *Ibid*. P. 119.
- (3) Ambergis is a congelation of a species of gum which forms in the sea and procured in Laccadive Islands. It yields good scent.
- (4) *Ibid*. P. 120.
- (5) *Ibid*. P. 120.
- (6) *Ibid*. P. 119
- (7) *Ibid*. P. 119.
- (8) *Ibid*. P. 120.
- (9) *Ibid*. P. 120.
- (10) *Tellicherry consultations*, Vol. II. 1726-27 (Madras, 1932) Diary dated 12 June 1727. P. 114.
- (11) *Ibid*. P. 114.
- (12) *Ibid*. P. 114.
- (13) *Ibid*. P. 114.
- (14) *Tellicherry Consultations* Vol. III 1727-28 (Madras, 1933) diary dated 19 February 1728. P. 61.
- (15) *Ibid*. diary dated 29 Feb. 1728 P. 64.
- (16) *Ibid*. diary dt. 21 June 1728 P. 127.
- (17) Sidis belonged to the group of the Mohamedans of Janjira. It is a corrupt of Syed, the name used for the Abyssinians. D. R. Banagi, *Bombay and the Sidis* (Mangalore, 1932).
- (18) *Letter to Tellicherry, 1726-28*. Letter from Bombay dated 20 Sept. 1721 P. 51.
- (19) *Ibid*. P. 51.
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- [70] *Ibid*. P. 54.
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- [72] *Letters sent*, Vol. XVI. Sl. No. 1588. To Bombay 29 Oct. 1763.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONS WITH MYSORE

When peace was established between the English and the French, the Ali Raja was undertaking a policy of aggression against the territory of Kolathiries. The main disgust of the Ali Raja was that his interest was not properly safeguarded by the English. So he found that war alone would help him to achieve his ambition in Kolathnad. To show disrespect towards the sovereignty of Kolathiri, the Ali Raja against all conventions put a golden spire on the top of one of his mosques in 1761. The Kolathiri felt that this was an affront, and that the golden spire could be put only after getting the royal permission. (1) So the cleavage between these rulers was widened. In this circumstance the war between the king Regent of Kolathiri and the Ali Raja still continued and the prince of Cherrika or Kolathiri approached the English Factors at Tellicherry to solicit supplies. (2) Some of the pepper producing grounds were also annexed with his principality by the Ali Raja.

Meanwhile the Zamorin of Calicut requested the assistance of the Ali Raja in a war against Travancore. He went to assist him. But he committed many acts of violence at Ponany on pretence of the Zamorine's not having sufficiently recompensed him for his services. Then he came to Calicut where he was observing to put the same practices in execution as at Ponany. The Zamorin protested and asked him to desist

from such activities for which he replied that he would set out for Cannanore when the weather admitted. (3) As the Zamorin made a peace treaty with Travancore and agreed to pay the latter an amount of three lakhs, the Ali Raja had no chance of carrying his campaigns at Calicut. (4) So he returned to Cannanore and further engaged in the aggression on Kolathiri territory. The English realised that if the Ali Raja was left for a free play in Kolathnad their trading interests at Randattarra and other places would be severely jeopardised. So in 1765 with the mediation of the English a treaty was agreed upon between the Arakkal House and the English relating to the Kolathiri affairs. According to the provision of this treaty, the territories annexed from the Kolathiri Kingdom by the Ali Raja were to be surrendered. He also agreed to pay the expenses occasioned by his unjustifiable rebellion. (5) This agreement was made by the English with a main intention to curtail the power of the Ali Raja and maintain the integrity of the principality of Kolathiri.

As early as 1763 the Ali Raja was seeking for chances of fulfilling his ambition of becoming the sovereign ruler of the entire Kolathiri kingdom with the help of Haider Ali. He desired the friendship of this ruler of Mysore who by defeating the ruler of Ikkeri or Bednur had extended his authority even to the northern boundaries of Kolathnad. The Ali Raja went to Haider at Mangalore with a presentation of a silver table worth Rs. 400/- and a new vessel he brought from Calicut. Peixoto, a Portuguese commandant of artillery under Haider tells us that the Ali Raja told Haider that he could conquer Malabar with ease and find there great wealth. (6) Finding this a very good opportunity, Haider ordered him to go to Cannanore, gather his troops together and provide adequate ammunition. (7) Haider then sent his envoy Anant Rao to Tellicherry to request the help of the English factors, but they promised to be neutral. (8)

Haidar further instructed the Ali Raja who had a number of well equipped vessels at sea, to organise a fleet also to assist him. He was then appointed High Admiral and his brother Sheikh Ali 'Intendant of the marine, of the ports, and of the maritime commerce' of his dominions. (9) Always, the Ali Raja had an eye on the Maldiv Islands, and in this occasion also he made a campaign towards these islands under the colours of Haidar and made a conquest. He took the king of Maldiv as a prisoner and cruelly put out his eyes. In this state he was presented to Haidar Ali who thoroughly disapproved this barbarity. He further deprived the Ali Raja of the Command of the fleet and gave it to an English man Stanet. He further treated the unhappy prince with the utmost humanity, gave him a palace and settled on him a revenue to supply him with every pleasure he was capable of tasting. (10) On this occasion the poets of Haidar's court added to his title "King of the islands of the sea". (11) A good opportunity for the intervention of Haidar Ali in Kolathnad presented itself in this period. The Prince Regent of Kolathnad was openly thwarted by Capu Tamban, one of the junior members of the family. Ali Raja in accordance with the instruction of Haidar supported Capu Tamban. The joint forces were defeated by the forces of the Prince Regent. (12) In this circumstance, Haidar in 1766 crossed the border to invade Kolathnad. The Ali Raja and his brother served on land, aided by their troops numbering 8000 (or according to a different account 12,000) in the Malabar campaigns of Haidar Ali.

In 1766, the army of Haidar met at Baliapatam, 500 Nairs who defended the fort for one day. But the artillery bombardment against them was successful and the Nairs fled. (13) The Nairs then abandoned the fort which was soon occupied by the Ali Raja. The Moplah army of the Ali Raja committed all possible atrocities against the people of the Kolathiri. They had particularly a vengeance against those

people and the Zamorine of Calicut who had murdered more than six thousand Moplahs in this period in a conspiracy. (14) Thus, the army of the Ali Raja was moved by "desire of vengeance and the hope of recovering their losses at the expense of their enemies". (15)

From the year 1766 onwards the territory of Kolathnad or chirakkal country was entrusted to the Ali Raja by Haidar. (16) The Prince of Chirakkal took refuge in Tellicherry factory. The English records stated that "the prince's situation for some time past has been such that he is actually pensioner to your Honours for his daily subsistence five bales of rice being constantly delivered him for that purpose". (17) In reality the Prince had become ruined with no source to meet his livelihood while his traditional enemy the Ali Raja enjoyed the authority over his territories. So the Prince represented before the English Chief at Tellicherry that he should write a letter to the Ali Raja to surrender his territories in favour of himself. (18) So the English Chief took up the matter before the Ali Raja whose reply was 'evasive and contemptuous'. (19)

The Ali Raja further desired to extend his territory to the South of the Anjarakkandy river and erected a bamboo fort on Nettur point close to the Tellicherry limits on the opposite side of the Koduvally river. (20) The English shelled his people out of this fort and took possession of it in May 1768 and this checked the expansion of the House of Cannanore beyond Anjarakkandy river. Later the English handed over this fort with its stores to the king of Cotiate or Kottayam, its rightful owner, he in return finally waived his claim to some land in the island of Darmapatam. (21) Meanwhile the Ali Raja had consolidated his authority over Irikkur and other pepper yielding areas. Under his instigation the Moplahs trespassed Dharmapatam, occupied by the English, and began to make unauthorised reside there. So the English asked the collector of the area to take particular account of all such

inhabitants by a Paimash whether licenced for their residence or not. (22) As the entire territory of Chirakkal was possessed by the Ali Raja, the trade interests of the English were also exceedingly jeopardised. Thus the English officials at Tellicherry suggested to their home authority to make a contact with Haidar Ali for the restoration of Chirakkal country in favour of the Prince. They further requested :

“..... in case of not succeeding by that means to have recourse to force of arms, but which we humbly offered it as our opinion, we were not in a condition to undertake without being further suitably reinforced considering the number of fighting men.....”. (23)

The English request for such a strong action against Haidar Ali and the Ali Raja was purely motivated by their own commercial interests. The enforcement of trade monopoly of pepper by Haidar Ali in his territories was a great hindrance to the English trade. He had already in April 1769 prohibited, by proclamation, the trade in pepper by his subjects. (24)

Finally the negotiations with Haidar Ali sanctioned the rectification of the grievances of the English. The Tellicherry officials reported:

“They received an order from the Nabob Hyder Ally caun to ally Rajah strictly enjoining him to give every assistance and not to impede our enjoying every grant and privilege allowed the hon’ble Company by the House of Colestria which he the Nabob had formerly confirmed when attended in his camp by Messrs. Parks and Townsend relative to this settlement”. (25)

When that letter was forwarded to the Ali Rajah he replied that all privileges should be allowed. But he was not prepared to restore the island of Maddakarra or Mottamy point in favour of the Prince. (26)

The Nair battalion was carrying out a guerrilla warfare against the Mysorean authority and the entire Kolathnad was going through a state of civil war. The Ali Raja, eventhough backed by Mysorean power could not suppress these insurgents. So he requested again the assistance of Haider. After executing a peace treaty with the Marathas, Haidar Ali rushed to Malabar to suppress these native rebellions. He invaded the coast once more and subdued it. (27) He had been much disgusted by the role of the Ali Raja as an administrator and had been good enough as a matter of diplomacy, to restore the Chirakkal territory by 1777 to the prince along with the Kottayam territory. (28) This was a bolt from the blue on the political designs and ambitions of the Raja. But by this time, he had been able to enhance the status of his House as a powerful principality in Kolathnad. As the governor of Kolathnad, he consolidated the political power of the House in various ways. The entire money appropriated by him was utilised in this direction and the strength of his navy and army was enhanced at the cost of Mysore.

THE ALI RAJA AND THE DUTCH

The disintegration of Kolathnad was already completed by the invasion of the Mysore army which advanced anarchy and created 'a sea of intrigues, conflicting interests and mutual jealousies'. (29) This state of affairs was a great hindrance to the Dutch trade at Cannanore. Eventhough they observed a policy of neutrality at the time of Mysorean invasion, their trading interests were largely put to difficulties on account of the conditions following the war. So within a few years, the Dutch trade at Cannanore was dwindling and finally they decided to withdraw their settlement from that centre. The Ali Raja finding this a suitable occasion for the possession of the Dutch fort St. Angelo negotiated with them. (30)

As a part of their withdrawal, the Dutch intended to dispose this fort. (31) The insignificant amount of produce

collected, the small demand for merchandise at Cannanore and the constant troubles the Dutch had, gave occasion to the proposal to rid themselves of Cannanore and to dispose of the fortress to some one or other for a certain sum of money. This was sanctioned by the Dutch authority in a letter dated 3 August 1770. (32)

Accordingly, the fortress was purchased by the Ali Raja before the departure of Senff, the Dutch Governor of Malabar, for the sum of Rs. 1,00,000. He paid a part of this amount. (33) He had also to pay some amount to the Dutch taken by him as pepper advances. So he gave them a bond for 67494.15 guilders and also pledged one of his vessels. (34) The possession of this strategic fort made him a powerful chieftain of Malabar. (35) As the fortress commanded the Sea, his naval power was also enhanced. In his payment of the debt to the Dutch he was not regular. After much writing and exhortations, the debt was reduced to a balance of 52677: 6 guilders by sending cardamom, rice and other merchandise to the Dutch. (36) Since then to 1779 he did not make any payment to the Dutch. Even the letters from the Dutch demanding the money were not answered by him. So the entire money was realised by the Dutch Company from the inheritance of the late Senff who made these transactions. But they continued the attempt to realise these arrears. In 1778, when the then Ali Raja died, the vessel pledged was ordered for sale. The deceased was succeeded by his niece who also prolonged the payment. The vessel fetched an amount of Rs. 12,450/— which was handed over to the legal heirs of Senff. Besides this, a sum of Rs. 2,436 was paid by the members of the council, who had signed the resolution under which credit was given to the Ali Raja, as per the resolution of the Dutch council of India dated 7 Sept. 1778. (37) The Dutch hoped that they would be able to realise the whole amount from the Ali Raja and that the legal heirs of Senff and Weijerman should not sustain any loss. But writing

in 1781, Adrian Moens, the Dutch Governor of the Malabar coast stated :

“However in the present state of affairs there seems to be hardly a possibility of recovering any portion of that money. I am even of opinion there is no other means of obtaining it than by attaching his vessels, when they enter on our harbour. But even of this there seems very little hope, for his vessels have for some time not put into this harbour or even the roadstead, which is doubtless by his express order, lest they be seized”. (38)

The non-payment of the debt towards the Dutch was a policy deliberately adopted by the Ali Raja. As Malabar was being brought under the ruler of Mysore, and the Ali Raja had maintained his friendship with him, he felt that the Dutch could not make any aggression on him. Further the strategic Dutch fort, a threat hitherto on his principality had now come under his possession. So being confident of his power, he evaded the payment to the Dutch. The poor Dutch officials who once assisted him with money were compelled by the Dutch company to clear those arrears on behalf of the Ali Raja.

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- (21) *Diary of the Tellicherry Factory*, dt. 18 Feb. 1769.
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- (23) *Ibid.* PP. 98-99.
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- (28) *Ibid.* PP. 174-177.
- (29) N. K. Sinha, *Haidar Ali*, (Calcutta, 1959 edn.) P. 146.
- (30) This strategic fort was constructed in A. D. 1505 by the Portuguese with the permission of the Kolathiri. It was inaugurated by the Kolathiri. A contemporary description about this event is recorded:

“The king came from the city to wait there for Afonso Dalboquerque and brought with him Mamalle and the Alguazil of Cannanore and the rulers of the land and many other noble moors and his body guard of 5000 Nairs all armed with swords and daggers” In this ceremony the Kolathiri received the key of the fort as the sovereign of the territory. Finally he returned the key to the Portuguese as entrusting them the fort. Walter De Gray Birch, *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, Vol. II, (London, 1877) PP. 204-205.
- (31) Galletti, *Dutch in Malabar*, P. 148.

- (32) *Ibid.* P. 148.
- (33) The contemporary English Records revealed that he purchased the fort for two lacks of Rupees and except 22 thousand, the whole amount paid to them. *Letters sent.* S. No. 1591. 4. January to 30 December 1771, Tellicherry to Bombay, letter dt. 26 Feb. 1771, P. 17.
- (34) Galletti, *Dutch in Malabar*, P. 148.
- (35) The English General Macleod in 1784 after pillaging this fortress wrote to Macartney, The Governor of Madras as follows:
 "This is the strongest fort I have seen in India excepting our own capital. It is much more valuable to us than Mangalore, because no enemy can step between it and the sea". Madras Records, *Sundry Book*, Macleod to Macartney, 17 Jan. 1784. Vol. 61. PP. 766-767.
- (36) Galletti, *Dutch in Malabar*, P. 148.
- (37) *Ibid.* P. 149. Even then the balance due to the company remained Rs. 31447 $\frac{3}{4}$ or 37737-6 guilders. His former debt or money advanced on the pepper contract was 14400 guilders. Besides this, as a private debt to Weijerman he had to pay 14852-17 guilders. *Ibid.* P. 149.
- (38) His report dated 18th April 1781. *Ibid.* P. 149.

CHAPTER V

THE DAYS OF ADVERSITY

The Mysorean authority over Malabar was once again consolidated by Haider after the suppression of the Nair rebellions. Simultaneously new political situations were developing in Malabar which were detrimental to the interests of Mysore as well as of Arakkal House. The war of the American colonies had started in January 1778. The French extended recognition to the United states of America which was responsible for hostilities between the French and the English in Indian sub-continent also. By reason of his conquests on the Malabar coast, Haider claimed full sovereignty over the whole area including the European settlements also in Malabar. The English rejected this, and in defiance of his warning that the French factory of Mahe was lying under his protection, despatched an expedition under colonel Braithwaite to occupy Mahe in December 1778. (1) Haider sent orders to Sardar Cawn, his governor and general in Malabar, to assist the French at Mahe against the English. His forces kept possession of Mahe though they had not hoisted his colour there and built a small redoubt where fort Mahe stood. (2) The king of Kolathiri was also ordered by Haider to assist the French, besieged at Mahe. The Kolathiri first obeyed his sovereign's order. But gradually being influenced by his English Dalvay (officer) he followed a policy of dilatory tactics. So Sardar Cawn sent a small body of Nabob's troops to Cannanore with orders to the Beebi of Cannanore to send two hundred Moplahs with them to Balliapatam to seize Domingo Rodrigus, the

Dalvay, and to carry him as a prisoner to Calicut. (3) So the Beebi of Cannanore was also brought into these conflicts between the English and the French as an ally of Mysore who supported the French. The Beebi rendered all possible assistance to the forces of her sovereign. She herself along with her husband went to Mahe to meet Sardar Cawn and took an active part to supply them with guns, ammunitions and very large body of men. (4) Her army invaded one of the forts of Kolathiri. The Kolathiri Prince requested English assistance against such invasion which was readily complied with. (5)

The colonial struggle between the English and the French, dragged the Beebi of Cannanore also into an active war. She had no alternative. Contemporary English records stated that:

“.....the Beebi of Cannanore who is entirely governed by her husband so far from observing the conduct of Ally Rajah, her predecessor towards the hon’ble Company does all that lays in her power to distress this settlement by preventing our being supplied with provisions and carrying into Cannanore Manchuas of rice bound hither”.(6)

The English settlement at Tellicherry was also besieged by Sardar Cawn. As the Beebi was a strong ally of the Mysore force on the Malabar coast, the English took all possible steps to reduce her power in land as well as in the sea. In this circumstance the Beebi sent a diplomatic mission to Constantinople to request the Caliph to put pressure on the English through the English Ambassador at his court, to treat her favourably by the English in Malabar. The mission was cordially received by the Caliph who sent a very cordial letter to her. (7) However, it is doubtful whether such diplomatic attempts had any effect on the English relations with the Beebi. The second Anglo-Mysore war at this time was in progress. The war continued even after the demise of Haider and Mangalore became one of the active theatres of encounter on the western coast. During the war an English boat ‘Superb’

wrecked near Cannanore and about a hundred men of the boat were imprisoned and put in irons by the Beebi. Both Beebi and Tippu refused to release them. (8)

PILLAGE OF CANNANORE

In this circumstance, the fort and settlement of Cannanore was pillaged by the English Brigadier, Macleod. The campaigns lasted for six days from 9 December to 14 December 1783. In a letter to Macartney, the Governor of Madras, Macleod wrote:

“Finding my army at leisure I seized the opportunity of reducing the Mopla settlement which has been a most inveterate enemy with Tellicherry.....This is one of the finest settlements in India and an acquisition of great value to Bombay”. (9)

The fort was defended by the Beebi and her force with considerable courage, but finally fell before the superior force of the English. The English force looted her palace and she was threatened with deportation. (10) She was released, only after the payment of a ransom of Rs. 2 lakhs to Macleod and he in his turn executed a treaty of peace and friendship with the Beebi. (11) On behalf of the company, he guaranteed the repossession by the Beebi of the territories held prior to the capture of Cannanore and protection against her enemies, the Nairs. A portion of those territories included the dominions of the Kolathiri also. Besides this, the Beebi had to give an indemnity of Rs. One and half lakhs to the company and an annual tribute of Rs. One lakh. All the forts were to be retained with the English and the Beebi had to make her first offer of pepper to the company on a reasonable price. To conciliate the Beebi, Macleod allowed her to occupy some territories possessed by the Kolathiri. Actually during these years the Kolathiri was actively assisting the English. So this treaty was a betrayal of Kolathiri also.

For executing such a treaty Macleod also took gratifications from the Beebi. (12) The Select committee of the Bombay government resolved to disavow and annul this treaty as having been concluded without authority. But the Madras Government approved the same treaty as a temporary measure prior to the armistice with Tippoo. (13) The Beebi was forced to pay Rs. Two Lakhs and sixty thousand to Macleod as indemnity for her release and the execution of the treaty. But only Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs was shown in the treaty clause. In the records of Pamer and Page, the Agents appointed to Malabar, a copy of her complaint about this black mail without date was included in the proceedings of 13th October 1792. The Beebi swore on oath before A. W. Hardly, the Superintendent and Joint Magistrate, of Malabar that she had paid Rs. 2 lakhs and 60 thousand to Macleod and the copy of the letter in the Commissioners records showing one lakh and sixty thousand was not correct and in evidence produced the copy of her original letter. (14) The appearance of a judicial enquiry was maintained to this matter, but nothing came out of this to rectify her grievances. This incident bears a striking parallel to the spoliation of the Begums of Oudh by Warren Hastings. What was done against the Begums of Oudh was shamelessly repeated and a grave wrong was perpetrated against a petty ruler of Malabar who had to submit her life and property before a superior military power. Her offence was that she was in friendship with Mysore, which was an enemy of the company. It also reveals how corrupt were the company's officials. In the opinion of an eminent scholar, "the authorities of the East India Company at Home became synonym for corruption and faction. (15) This corruption in its cruel form extended to Malabar also. The war served as a good opportunity to fulfil the selfish motives of those corrupt officials. In the general treaty concluded between the English and Tippu at Mangalore on 11 March 1784, it was included that the fort and district of Cannanore should be evacuated and restored to the Beebi. (16) In this treaty the English Commissioners insisted

that the Rajas of Coorg, Chirakkal, (Kolathiri) Kottayam, and Kadathanad, who had been deposed for having sided with the English, should be reinstated in their respective countries and should not be molested for having helped the English against Mysore. But Tippu objected the reinstatement of the Malabar Rajas as an interference in his internal affairs. Finally the terms relating to Malabar were modified as Tippu granted commercial privileges to the English in Malabar. (17)

By executing such an agreement, the company surrendered their Malabar friends who had substantially assisted and financed them in their war with Tippu. The native politics and the financial difficulty of the Beebi had their impact on Laccadive Islands also. In 1786, the Islands of Amini, Kiltan, Kadamat and Chetalat revolted as a protest against the harshness with which coir monopoly was worked under the Arakkal administration, tendered their allegiance to Tippu, notwithstanding the Ali Raja Beebi's friendship and affinity with him. Taking into consideration the strategic position of the Islands in the Arabian sea, he did not restore them to the Beebi. Neither religion nor friendship influenced him to restore those Islands to Arakkal. But he compensated her with a Jagir including Chalat and Kunnot worth Rs. 7380 in the former Kolathnadu (renamed by 'Kushanabad' by Tippu). (18)

The restoration of Malabar to Tippu by the company came as a terrible shock to the chieftains of Malabar. Once again they had to hold up the banner of rebellion against the Mysore power. To restore and consolidate his authority in Malabar, Tippu desired to conciliate the Moplahs of Malabar. As a token of this friendship, he proposed a marriage between his son Abdul Kaliq and the daughter of the Beebi of Cannanore in 1789. (19) But on account of the outbreak of third Mysore war and his military preoccupations the proposed marriage was not solemnised. (20)

Conquest of Cannanore:

The danger of third Mysore war was hanging on the horizon and Tippu's attempts to invade Travancore, a subsidiary ally of the English, soon brought it down to the soil. The spirit of the Pitt's India Act was violated by the company's officials in India, who interfered more and more in native politics. In external matters Cornwallis was forced in defiance of the spirit of the Pitt's India Act to go to war in an attempt to counteract the anarchy surrounding the native states. (21) Influenced by this policy of war and in an effort to effect a combination of southern powers against Tippu, the company requested the assistance of the different Malabar chieftains against the authority of Mysore. Thus a proclamation was issued by the Chief of Tellicherry factory, on behalf of the Governor General of Bengal and Governor of Bombay, by which the company threatened to regard any of the neighbouring powers that did not contest against Tippu as enemy of the company. (22) The rulers of Malabar found in this a good occasion to become independent of the yoke of Mysore. They executed necessary agreements of friendship with the Chief of Tellicherry.

The Beebi of Cannanore, however, was on the horns of dilemma; She could alienate neither Tippu nor the English. But religious sympathy, political interest and the tie of matrimonial alliance weighed with the Beebi in secretly working against the English. Beebi's soldiers fired at the force under Major Dow in the vicinity of Cannanore. The English messenger deputed by the Chief of Tellicherry was also turned back by the Beebi. In this situation, "Drake", the company's armed vessel moved towards Cannanore to test the water depth for a naval attack against Cannanore. It was fired at by the Beebi's force stationed in the fort. But the English force at Tellicherry was not strong enough to deal with the Beebi, and her animosity towards the English was reported to Bombay. However the tide turned against the Beebi soon. The success of General

Meadows in Coimbatore over the forces of Tippu, and the triple alliance of the English with Marathas and Nizam, compelled the Beebi to seek the friendship of the English. The English Lieutenants Lewis and Munro proceeded secretly in the night by sea to Cannanore and obtained the Beebi's signature for a future treaty of firm alliance and friendship with the English. In this agreement it was admitted that she would make an alliance with the company against Tippu. It was also agreed upon to admit the company's troops as a garrison to Cannanore fort, to act against Tippu and to trade in pepper with the English. (22)

The Beebi acted according to the provisions of this friendly agreement and expelled Tippu's force at Rhandatarra which once again passed into the hands of the company. But no further progress was made in her endeavours to support the English. Taylor, the English Chief at Tellicherry despatched a battalion to take possession of the Cannanore fort. But the British Soldiers were refused entry and they took their post at Agar (Etakkad). Tippu's force also now marched to Cannanore with an intention to occupy the fortress. The English chief reported to Bombay that the Beebi was hostile to the company and requested sanction to besiege Cannanore. On 5th November the Bombay Government "Justly incensed at her prevaricating if not treacherous conduct" decided to prosecute the siege with vigour.

The Bombay Governor Major Abercromby himself arrived at Tellicherry to conduct operations against Cannanore. His Majesty's ship "Phoenix" with captain Byron was appointed the flagship in the naval operations against Cannanore. On 14th December the siege was begun and the Beebi wisely submitted to an unconditional surrender to the "Superior Authority" of the English. (24) So the political power was handed over to the English who permitted the Beebi to continue to exercise justice to the inhabitants agreeable to their customs

in all cases. (25) On 14 Feb. 1791, an assurance was granted by Major Abercromby and Taylor to the Beebi, of her personal protection from the power of Tippu. (26) In return for this assurance the Beebi consented to do everything in her power to reconcile and attach the Moplahs of the Malabar coast to the English interests and to enlist their support to the English in their war against Tippu. (27) This was another diplomatic achievement of the English in their way to conciliate the religious feelings of the native Moplahs towards them.

These political developments in Malabar reveal that the native rulers like Arakkal and Mysore were neither united by religious affinity nor by a loyal friendship against a common enemy. Self interest was treated as the best interest by each one and this political myopia led to their final collapse before a nation which was united, politically farsighted, and superior in military power. Tippu had no prickings of conscience while sequestering the islands possessed by the Arakkal House. The same was the case with the Arakkal Rajas in their friendship with Tippu. They became the friend of the English against their previous master. However, it must be stated that this was not sheer opportunism, but it was done out of consideration of self-existence before a superior power.

During the third Mysore war, the Board of Trade instructed the company for a 'honourable' peace with Tippu and to avert hostilities. But the authorities in India continued the war and in the treaty of Srirangapatam, gained more territories. "This settlement", in the words of C. H. Philips, "emphasised the futility of attempting to conduct the company's external policy from London." (28) By the treaty of Srirangapatam, Tippu ceded the whole Malabar (Calicut, 63 Talooks and Palghaticherry) in favour of the English. (29) The company, who had so far cherished the trade monopoly of spices in Malabar now became the masters of the land. The native chieftains of Malabar who actively assisted the English in their war efforts now thought that they had been liberated from the Mysorean yoke to breathe the air of freedom. But now

they were mistaken; the political authority of the company replaced the sovereignty of Mysore; it was only a change of masters.

Settlement with the Beebi

The Government of Bombay appointed Joint Commissioners to settle the affairs of Malabar and to make out facilities for the revenue collection of Malabar. Temporary settlements were made by these commissioners for the administration and the collection of land revenue in their respective areas. The chief source of revenue in Cannanore being the commerce carried on by the Beebi with Arabia and the produce of the Laccadive islands, the commission asked her for a statement of the produce and value of her territories. Her declaration was not found genuine by the commissioners. So an agreement to abide by the declaration was obtained by them from the officers of the Beebi. (30) The company was not prepared to "relinquish or to sacrifice any of the rights of conquest acquired over her and her estate.....". (31) So on 9 April, 1793, it was resolved to demand of her the revenues of 1790 and 1791 where as all other engagements with the chiefs of Malabar were supposed to start only from 1792. (32) In her pitiable political situation she accepted this unjustifiable demand of the company and agreed to pay without plea or excuse a sum of Rs. 28,680/75 as her revenue dues including the arrears. (33)

The commissioners who now coveted half of the annual profit of the Beebi's trade with Laccadive islands, pressed her for another agreement. The Beebi, Bulea who witnessed all these misfortunes of her ancient royal house executed such an agreement also in favour of the company. She admitted by this to pay a moiety of the produce of the country and half of the annual profits of the trade with Laccadives, even acquiescing in the proposal of sequestering all the produce of the islands if so ordered by the Governor General-in-council. (34) This was an absolute surrender of her sovereignty over the

islands in favour of the company. The financial burden imposed by the company affected her trade adversely and she failed to clear the revenue dues. On account of this default on 4 December 1795, one Chovakkaran Moossa, a merchant at Tellicherry executed a bond to the company to pay Rs. 10,000/- on behalf of the Beebi, as a part of her dues for 1794—'95. (35) Even though she executed such an agreement, she tried to prove before the commissioners that her profit from the trade with the islands was meagre. To substantiate her stand she produced a mortgage deed dated 25 December 1784 in favour of Chovakkaran Moossa by which the coir produce of her islands was pledged to him. She also pleaded that the lumpsum received from him was utilised to give the indemnity to Macleod. Commissioners reported:

“She mortgaged to him her several Laccadive islands and doth further promise to let him have annually all the coir therein produced at the rate of Rs. 50/- per candy.the said islands are to remain in pledge till the principal and interest of his debt be liquidated”. (36)

A sum of Rs. 45,000/- was also seen by the Commissioners as adjusted during the years 1787-88 in the loan of Rs. 2 lakhs taken by her. However the commissioners doubted about the validity of this mortgage deed and requested the government to decide whether the transaction was valid or not. Finally, such transactions of the Beebi, were not accepted by the government. There were possibilities of her pledging the islands and obtaining a loan from Moossa in her acute financial difficulties caused by the pillage of Cannanore.

As the Beebi failed miserably to clear her revenue arrears like other chieftains of Chirakal, Kadathnad, and Beypoor the company obtained from her an agreement promising instalmental payments with a maximum penal interest of 36% per annum in the event of failure. (37) Such an exorbitant penalty

interest on revenue arrears could not be seen elsewhere in the history of taxation.

As a permanent revision of her revenue assessment was desired by the company's officials in Malabar, new terms of agreement were discussed. The Beebi was forced to sign those terms which were much detrimental to the interests of the Arakkal House. She admitted that she would pay Rs. 1500 per annum as the Jumma (revenue demand) on her properties in Cannanore and the islands. She also agreed to pay the customs on all her articles of merchandise imported or exported except upon the coir imports from the islands. She also surrendered the claim for one fifth share of the revenue collections including the right and title over the Jagir conferred by Tippu in exchange of Amini group islands. (38) She had been compelled to execute such terms because the Governor General in his instructions dt. 27 July 1795, had already directed the abolition of her monopoly of trade with the islands.

The Beebi's claim over the Jagir conferred by Tippu, was not accepted by the commission. They treated it as a temporary possession by the Beebi. The stand taken by them was certainly indefensible, because according to the principles of natural justice, it should have been restored to the Kolathiri who was the real owner of those fiefs. But in the agreement with the Beebi on 28-10-1796, a strange clause was incorporated by which she wanted that it must not be restored to the Kolathiri. The company's motivation behind this policy was to deny the said territory to both parties and to feed their own territorial ambition under the coverage of a legal consent.

Conflict after the treaty:

Instead of settling the affairs of the Beebi, the treaty of 1796 brought forward new issues of rupture between the company and herself. Although the coir imports of the islands were permitted to her without payment of custom duties, the

Court of Directors were anxious to relieve "the inhabitants of Laccadive islands from the oppressions" of the Beebi and allow "therein the same freedom of trades as is enjoyed by our subjects in the province of Malabar". (39) The Beebi finally consented to the company Government appointing anybody to administer justice in the islands and to ascertain the revenue. (40) But the government was not ready to take the responsibility of the administration of the Islands. They permitted her monopoly to continue for sometime, because they wanted to avoid an expensive establishment for the company.

After the fall of Seringapatam, the Amini group islands were annexed with the Canara district of the company. As these islands previously belonged to the Arakkal House and its possession by Tippu was for a short period, the Beebi claimed for the restoration of those islands to herself. But the Board of Revenue of "Madras decided:.....the Beebi of Cannanore had no right to the Laccadive islands, as she can have no claim to be placed in any other situation by the conquest of Mysore than she would have been, if no such event had taken place". (41) Against this decision, she represented again the matter before the Court of Directors. They also supported the views of Madras Government. But they expressed their willingness to grant some financial concession to the Beebi. They instructed:

"If when we permitted the Rajah of Chirakkal to resume from the Beebi the equivalent she had received in lands taken from his territory, these islands had been then under our authority, we should probably have thought it right to restore them to her. Their coming into our hands by conquest some years afterwards raised indeed the law of the case, but does not we conceive altogether answer her claim upon the company, because it was no doubt the protection we gave to the Rajah of Chirakkal which enabled him to resume and keep without a struggle the grants made to her by Tippu, so that our government was in effect somewhat more than passive in this business It may not be advisable to restore the possessions of those islands to her, some consideration

in money should be allowed her on account of them". (42)

In the light of the above instructions, the government ascertained the average net collections from the Amini islands during the Fasli 1209 to 1216. In the case of Beebi's islands the Governor General had even instructed to abolish her monopoly of trade as cited previously. But the same company government enforced strict monopoly of trade with the Amini islands. The Principal Collector of Canara in his letter dated 17th January 1807 while furnishing the average net collections from the islands intimated the characteristic of monopoly also. He reported: "The inhabitants are bound to deliver the whole of their coir produce to government at 25 Rupees per Mangalore Candy of 560 Lbs. The Government agrees to pay $\frac{3}{4}$ in rice at the rate of 2 Rupees per Mooda of 42 seers and the remainder in money". (43) He reported the average net collection for a Fasli was 3004-4-64 Pagodas. (44) But the Beebi was not desirous of getting a mere financial concession in favour of the Amini islands. She continuously submitted memorials for restoration of the Amini islands to Arakkal House. (45) As usual, they were rejected by the Government. Finally in 1822 the Government of Madras granted a compensation for Amini islands in the form of a remission of Rs. 5250 per annum from her dues to the Government with effect from 27th December 1822. (46)

In this case the stand of the secretary of Government of Madras was also interesting. He found that as "the Beebi was in alliance with Tippu Sultan, the enemy of the British, and as Tippu took the islands from her and gave her a compensation for them by the grant of a part of the Chirakkal Raja's land which he recovered on the downfall of the Sultan's power, the Governor in council considers her claim to consist entirely of the liberal disposition, evinced toward her by the hon'ble Court of Directors and in no degree to be founded on right". (47) The statement of the secretary was a blatant distortion of truth,

for there was no occasion for the recovery or restoration of the said Jagir by the Chirakkal Raja. Not only the Jagir, but the entire territory of Chirakkal was removed to the Company's possession. The Ali Raja had no other way before him except the acceptance of the financial concession. As instructed by the government it was given in writing:

"I do hereby make a formal renunciation of all my right, title and claim to the said islands and accordingly hereby declare that the transaction is closed and set at rest for ever". (48)

An analysis of the foregoing events reveals that the period under discussion brought great misfortune to the Arakkal House. The pillage of Cannanore by the English army brought a severe financial strain on the economic stability of the House. The huge amount of ransom and other gratifications were actually paid by the House, considering its own existence. But by the third Mysore war she even lost her fortress which was confiscated by the company as a matter of conquest. Further the agreement executed by her relating to the Laccadive islands surrendered her sovereignty in favour of the company. In these dealings the company had not maintained always an honest role. Chicanery of a meanest sort had been adopted by them as a matter of political strategy. Under the Juggernaut of the Company's 'Superior Authority' in its colonial expansion, the small native powers like the Arakkal, and even the bigger powers like the Mysore were crumbled or displaced.

REFERENCE

- (1) (A Staff Officer) *Historical Record of the Honourable East India Company's First Madras European Regiment* (London, 1843) PP. 270.271.
- (2) *Letters sent*, S No 1592, 1 January 1780 to 28 December 1786. Transmitted to Bombay, dt. 6 May 1780. P. 24.
- (3) *Ibid.* dt. 6 May 1780. P. 24.
- (4) *Ibid.* Letter dated 6 August 1781. P. 75.
- (5) *Ibid.* Letter dt. 18 August 1783. P. 151.

- (6) *Ibid.* Letter dt. 6 May 1780. P. 24.
- (7) K. K. N. Kurup. "A Letter from the Ottoman Emperor to the Beebi of Arakkal". *Journal of Kerala Studies*. (Trivandrum) Vol. 1, July 1973.
- (8) National Archives. Secret Proceedings. May 13, 1784. Macleod to Macartney, 1 January.
- (9) Madras Archives. *Military Sundry Book*, Vol. 61. Macleod to Macartney, 17 January 1784. PP. 766-67.
- (10) Later she complained about this pillage before the company authority. As directed by the Court of Directors an enquiry was instituted into the atrocities committed by Macleod and his army. The booties were enlisted by the Beebi as follows in her statement before A. W. Handley, Joint Magistrate. dt. 14 April 1795. Articles valued Rs. 2 lakhs were plundered from New Arakkal palace which consisted elephant's gold chains, one silver umbrella, two silver kettle drums adorned with gold, one silk umbrella adorned with gold, silver clarions, 16 muskets adorned with gold, gold trumpet, one silver table, and one silver palanquin. Her three vessels loaded with sugar, rice and sandal wood valued at Rs. 30,000/- were also taken away by them. 25 country crafts in the harbour loaded with sixty thousand candies of koir were also sold by the English. The other commodities plundered were 150 candies coffee, 50 candies black pepper, and 20 candies cardamom. The treasury in the Moideen Mosque was also looted by captain Lighten who took away the gold plates intended for the Minarat.
- (11) Bombay Commissioners Diary dt. 7th December 1792. The agreement was executed on 8th January 1784. C. U. Aitchison. *A collection of Treaties, Engagements and sounds*, Vol. X. (KRAUS reprint, 1973) No. XXXIX, p. 124. See Appendix VIII
- (12) He was given a gold gilded sword mounted with precious stones, studded with diamonds and rubies. Other items were a pair of pearl necklace, a pair of diamond rings, a gold Hukah-bottam, a pair of silver chains, four Damascus muskets and four gold gilded swords. Vide: *Arakkal Records*.
- (13) Madras Archives. *Military Sundry Book*, Vol. 61. Madras to Macleod, dt. 6 Feb. 1784. P. 798.
- (14) *Arakkal Records*, Op. Cit. Also see, K. K. N. Kurup, "Ali Rajas of Cannanore, English East India Company and Laccadive Islands". Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 32 Session (1970) Op. Cit. P. 48.
- (15) C. H. Philips. *The East India Company 1784 to 1834*, (London, 1861) P. 23.

- (16) Clause IV "As soon as all the prisoners are released and delivered, the fort and district of Cannanore, shall be evacuated and restored to Ali Raja Beebi, the Queen of that country, in the presence of any one person, without troops, whom the Nawab Tippoo Sultan Bahadoor, may appoint for that purpose———"
- C. U. Aitchison. *A Collection of Treaties. Engagements and Sanads*, Vol X, (KRAUS reprint. 1973) Mysore No. VI, P. 230.
- (17) Tamilnadu Archives, *Military Sundry Book*. Vol. 61, PP.1205-1209.
- (18) Sunnud from Tippu in favour of Ali Raja. See appendix. IX
- (19) K. M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala*. (1498-1801) Annamalai, 1960 P. 362.
- (20) The present Adiraja Sultan Amina Beebi of Arakkal revealed to this writer that her family tradition was that the said marriage was never solemnised on account of his immediate absence from Malabar.
- (21) Michael Edwards, *British India*, (London 1967) PP. 25-26.
- (22) Publication dt. 24 April, 1970. Diary of the Tellicherry Factory dt. 24th April 1790. See Appendix X
- (23) Diary of the Tellicherry Factory dt. 9th August 1790. See appendix XI
- (24) Diary of the Malabar Expedition dt.17 December 1790.
- (25) *Ibid*. See appendix XII
- (26) Supravisor's Diary dt. 30 June 1794. See appendix XIII
- (27) Diary of Tellicherry Factory, dt. 31 March 1791. See appendix XIV
- (28) C. H. Philips, *The East India Company*, Op. Cit. P. 69.
- (29) Aitchison, *Treaties*, Op. Cit. Vol. IX. Mysore No. VII. P. 234.
- (30) Executed on 26th February 1793. Vide Diary of the Malabar joint Commissioners, dt. 25 March 1793. See appendix XV
- (31) Diary of the Malabar Joint Commissioners. dt. 11 April 1793.
- (32) *Ibid*, dt. 11 April 1793. Diary of the Malabar Joint Commissioners.
- (33) Diary of the Malabar Joint Commissioners. dt. 13 April, 1793. See Aitchison, *Treaties*, Op. Cit. Vol. X, No. XLII, P. 138. See appendix XVI
- (34) Diary of the Malabar Joint Commissioners dt. 13 April 1793. Aitchison, *Treaties*, Op. Cit. Vol. X. No. XLII, P. 131. See Appendix XVII
- (35) Malabar Supravisor's Diary dt. 16 March 1796.
- (36) Report of the Joint Commissioners (Printed) Para 236, P. 158.
- (37) Malabar Supravisor's Diary, dt. 14. Dec. 1795. See appendix XVIII
- (38) Diary of the Second Malabar Commission dt. 1. Nov. 1796. The agreement was executed on 28, Oct. 1796, Aitchison, *Treaties*, Vol. X, Op. Cit. No.LV. PP. 166-67. See appendix XIX

- (39) Letter dated 1 March 1797, Tamilnadu Archives, *Correspondence Regarding the Laccadive islands and the Beebi's property at Cannanore*. Sl. No. 4052. (From October 1796 to November 1829).
- (40) Government Committee Diaries, dt. 20 November 1797.
- (41) Extract from the Minutes of the Board of Revenue. dt. 5 Feb. 1804, *Correspondence regarding the Laccadive Islands and the Beebi's properties in Cannanore* (1796-1829) P. 230.
- (42) *Ibid.* Extract from the Court of Directors. Letter dt. 6 Nov. 1805. Para 124. PP. 49-50.
- (43) *Ibid.* Letter from the Principal Collector, Canara, to the Principal collector, Malabar dt. 17 January 1807. PP. 66-67.
- (44) *Ibid.* P. 65.
- (45) *Ibid.* She submitted a last memorial dt. 15 January 1820. PP. 161-167.
- (46) *Ibid.* Letter from D. Hill, Secretary to Government dt. 13 Dec. 1822. See appendix XX
- (47) *Ibid.* Letter dt. 13 Dec. 1822.
- (48) *Ibid.* Letter from the Ali Raja dt. 15 March 1824. P. 27.

CHAPTER VI

DISPUTE OVER KARAR LANDS

After the relinquishment of the claims over Amini islands by the Arakkal House, the prolonged disputes between this principality and the company were reconciled for a short period. However disputes were again taking place in the background. The undefined and unsurveyed lands in the mainland included in the Karar or agreement were the main causes for such disputes. The strong economic and political motives of the Company and crown behind them, reveal how the imperialistic policy of the company worked for its ultimate aim in Malabar under a formal coverage of legalism.

The inhabitants of Canatoor and Canotemchala in Cannanore territory never paid revenue either to the Beebi or to the Company. (1) The villagers cultivated the waste lands of these villages which belonged to the Beebi. But the local officials of the Company treated it as an encroachment on the plea that Canotemchala was not included in the "Purams of Cannanore" although the Beebi claimed it to be in her jurisdiction. In 1827 the local Tahsildar of Chirakkal reported this 'encroachment' by the Beebi to the collector of Malabar and enforced revenue collections in these areas and kept the collections in deposit pending final settlement. (2) This high-handed and arbitrary action of the company's officials was protested against by the Beebi. Clementson, the then collector of Malabar deputed the Sheristadar, one Karunakara Menon to conduct local enquiries in this matter. The Sheristadar

found that although Kotakapuram literally was the ground outside the fort, but originally the part of Canatoor, in 1796 it had been considered as Beebi's village according to the Karar in as much as it was one of the 'Purams situated at and near Cannanore'. So he found that all the lands under dispute must be held as belonging to the Beebi as they formed part of Kotakapuram. (3) Macleon, the sub-Collector of Tellicherry also conducted local enquiries into this. The persons belonging to different traditional occupational groups like Peruvannan, Kanisan, washerman and Malayan who enjoyed "Cheru Janmam Avakasam" were examined as witnesses to determine the boundaries in dispute. (4) Finally the collector accepted the subordinates' report and recommended that Cannanore, Cannoorkary, Koorwa, Tottada, Canjalairy, Kotakapuram, Awara and cadalayee be included in the 'Purams' of the Beebi. To substantiate his view he pointed out that, the encroachment of the wasteland by the Beebi could not be possible as the Jamabandy records of 1801, showed no waste land existed in Canotemchala. So he recommended that he might be authorised to restore the lands under dispute to the Beebi and also to hand over the collections held in deposit. (5) The Board of Revenue agreed with the collector and ordered to hand over the collections in deposit in favour of the Beebi. (6)

When the Board and the Government ratified the recommendations of the collector, these decisions had some far-reaching implications adverse to the interests of the Company. In 1835-38, while granting these concessions to the Beebi, the Board and the government thought that they were granting only some paddy fields in Canotemchalla, which were already enjoyed by the Beebi for quite a long time.

But when such a favourable order was received by the Beebi, she collected ground rent from some of the properties situated in the Cantonment area of Cannanore also. There upon the military authorities came up to the Government on

the question of the ownership of the lands within the cantonment and requested to be furnished with a plan showing what lands were the government's and what land the Beebi's. (7) When some of the trees belonging to the Beebi on cantonment ground had to be cut down, it was resolved to make a reduction in her tribute to the company. (8) Considering this previous claim of ownership by the Beebi when the plan requested by the military authorities was prepared, the Board of Revenue confirmed the Paimash and survey made by the Sheristadar. (9)

This granting of some special recognition to her right in the cantonment was to create so many complex problems to the company in its dealings with the Beebi. Therefore, both the collector and the Board decided later not to give any special recognition to her right to collect ground rent. (10) The position of the Board and the government was that it could not be said to have declared that the cantonment was situated on the Beebi's land. If they were permitting her to collect the ground rent in certain cases as previously consented by the government, it would be a declaration that the cantonment situated on the Beebi's land. The further complication of the problem was that such a declaration would amount to an admittance by them that the fort and its land was possessed by them not as a matter of conquest. But throughout the period after the final treaty of 1796 with the Beebi the company claimed and interpreted that their possession of the fort and its land of Cannanore was a matter of conquest which was a historical requirement for absolute possession. (11)

As the right for the collection of ground rent was denied to her, she moved the court. The principal Sadr Amin decreed in her favour. In this decree she was permitted to collect quit rent on each house at the rate of Rupees $3\frac{1}{2}$ with retrospective effect from 1844. (12) Thus the government appealed before the civil judge. The civil judge R. Chatfield upheld the judgement of the Sadr Amin and granted her Jenmam or

proprietary right over the properties under dispute. (13) In the light of the court's judgment the government was compelled to recognise her right over the properties under dispute. It was ordered:

“Governor General in council fully recognises the right of the Cannanore Rajah in common with all other landed proprietors to levy quit rent on the house sites of which he possesses the janman or proprietary right. (14) This settlement continued for some decades, without any noteworthy events. But by the end of 19th century, fresh disputes again started between the Arakkal House and the British government. It was now the intention of the government to introduce direct revenue settlement in the Karar lands of the Beebi. As a prior attempt to this introduction of ryotwari system, the government had to modify some of its former decisions. In 1901, it was decided:

“—— the government cannot be deemed to have intended to acknowledge the proprietary right of the Beebi over the whole of the lands in Kottakapuram including those held by the Government itself”. (15) A main question related to this new policy was whether “the money paid to the Rajah (Ali) by the holders of land within these limits was ‘Nigudi or Pattam’. The view of the Board was that it was Nigudi and not Pattam. (16) There were practically no lease deeds to support the claim of Pattam. So it recommended: “As matter of history it seems probable that the Jumma of Karar lands of 1796 was assessed not on the private lands of the Rajah as a revenue farm in the same way as other divisions of Malabar were based to the Chief Hindu Rajahs in 1795. In the event of a detailed enquiry into the ownership of each field it seems very probable that the present holders will admit the payment of ‘Nigudi’ to the Rajah but at the same time claim the land a Janman property”. The Board further recommended:

“The admission of payment of ‘Nigudi’ to the Rajah should be taken as *prima facie* evidence of Raja’s Janmam right as he can have no claim to any payment from land holders except as a Janmi”. (17) Such a resolution was greatly infringing the interests of the Arakkal House. The main intention of the Government was to break up the so called Karar of 1796 and to annex the Laccadive Islands and to introduce ryotwari in Karar lands. It emphasised its wishes.

“As the Karar is to be terminated, the Karar property on the mainland will be assessed in accordance with the principles adopted in the settlement of the rest of the District”. (18) It was further decided that there was no necessity of determining, what were his Karar lands. His Janmam claims were left to be decided by the settlement officer. It was also decided that the liability of the Rajah to the payment of Rs. 3617/- would cease and he would be liable only to pay the settlement assessment on the lands registered as his private Janmam property. (19) According to this decision the entire Karar lands were surveyed as a preliminary step to introduce ryotwari. (20) Against the abolition of the Karar and the introduction of ryotwari settlement to those lands, a suit was filed by some of the members of the family. (21) As early as 1854 the Government was making a distinction between the “arrears of tribute for the islands” and the “arrears of land revenue for Cannanore”. (22) In another decision of the Government it was stated: “On the mainland and within what are known as the Karar limits, the Cannanore family occupies the position of an ordinary land holder”. (23) The Government of India also supported this view: “Lands in Cannanore are held by the Raja in ordinary revenue tenure from the British Government”. (24) But even then, the legal stand of the Government in its abolition of the Karar, was not a sound one. When the abolition of the Karar was challenged in the District Court of Tellicherry by the Arakkal family, the Acting Advocate General gave the following legal opinion:-

“I do not understand exactly the line of defence proposed to be adopted in answer to the suit.what-ever property of the Cannanore family or the Beebi covered by such description cannot now be dealt with as ordinary ryotwari land of which the assessment may be revised from time to time by the Government In my opinion the government will have a valid defence to the suit only on the footing that the lands mentioned in the plaint do not belong to the family of Ali Rajah or that it is not of the description of property mentioned in the Karar, though it may belong to the family”. (25) Finally these complicated affairs between the Arakkal House and the British Government were settled by mutual agreement. (26) Under this agreement the lands in the mainland under the Karar were bestowed on the Arakkal House as inamland free of assessment.

Even after this final relinquishment of her quasi-sovereign right the Ali Raja claimed Kotakapuram desam as an undisputed property of Arakkal House. But these claims were treated as unreal and rejected by the Government. (27) After independence of India Beebi requested to the Government of India for the restoration of buildings and land in the cantonment in favour of her family. (28) The Government also rejected her claims probably with the same view that the fort and its land were possessed by the company as a matter of conquest.

These disputes between the English and the Arakkal House reveal some interesting characteristics of the company's Government as well as of the crown government. The treaty or the Karar between the English and the Arakkal House in 1796 had not defined the boundaries of the Beebi's territory in the mainland. But it simply stated 'the houses, Purams etc. situated at and near Cannanore'. While executing this treaty, the company was feeling an air of superiority and treated the agreement or the Karar which recognised some of her proprietary rights in the mainland was not ratified by the government.

When it was executed, the English authority found it convenient and workable. But when the whole of Malabar was brought under the direct administration of the Company the clauses of this agreement seemed to ridicule the company's claims over Arakkal as a possession by conquest. So the government later interpreted that the treaty was not a ratified one, but only a "proposed agreement". The Malabar commissioners also qualified it as a "Provisional engagement and obligation executed by the Beebi". (29) Finally this Karar was also repealed by the Government. But this was not the stand taken by the government in 1834 or 1838. When the disputes arose over some of the properties as described previously, the Board and the government were in favour of granting these properties and their revenue to the Beebi and this action was primarily based on local enquiries and evidences of possession. When these rights were granted on the same legal position her claims over properties in Kotakapuram land were also substantial. These claims were included in the area of cantonment. However the government had to accept the survey records and paimash made by the Sheristadar which recognised some of her properties in the cantonment. But gradually the government had to reject her claim since, it related to a cantonment area. Then her rights were upheld by the courts. Generally the English courts of this time served the wishes and the purposes of the Executive. But in this case her rights were granted by the courts against the interests of the company's government. Now the English found that the Karar and the idea of conquest would not go hand in hand. So they stressed the idea of conquest instead of the treaty of 1796 in further dealings with the Aarkkal House. Actually on the eve of the Mysore war in 1790, the Beebi was in a treaty of friendship with the English. So with a motive to reinforce their concept of conquest they developed the idea that her affinity towards them was 'prevaricating if not treacherous'. (30)

Thus the principle of conquest enunciated by the government depended more on its convenience and not on its legal status. The company had no such complications in the dealings with other Malabar chieftains as in the case of Arakkal. Throughout the 19th century the Arakkal House was struggling for its proprietary rights over the properties in the mainland. But its interests were suppressed by the imperial policy of expansion and exploitation. To give it a legal status it upheld the so called agreement for sometime and when it became inconvenient, it stressed the theory of conquest to substantiate its absolute authority.

The case of Arakkal House is a good example of the British policy in Malabar, especially to show how it converted a ruling chieftain to a mere land holder or jenmi in course of time. About the landholders in Malabar, this characteristic had been recognised even by the British writers. "They were at first" stated Baden powell "local chieftains and then, on the break up of their power, members of the caste took or retained possession in what they could coming down under the stress of circumstances, from the position of rulers to that of landlords of smaller or larger holdings" (31) Through out these contests, the Arakkal family was not claiming for mere proprietorship of the Karar lands. They were claiming the quasi sovereign rights over these properties as they claimed over the Laccadive Islands. While these rights over the Laccadive Islands were granted, they were denied in the case of the Karar lands. However, finally allowing the House a stipulated compensation of Malikhana, the entire vestige of its sovereignty were liquidated by the English.

REFERENCE

- (1) *Board of Revenue consultations*, Sl. No. 1432 (1804) P. 2946.
- (2) *Ibid*, PP. 2946 (19) 2946 (75)
- (3) *Ibid*. PP. 2946 (76) 2946 (95)

- (4) The Cheru Janmam Avakasam is a sub-proriatory right enjoyed by several occupational groups for their specific occupations in a definite area. In a particular area no other group of the same occupation has right to serve the villagers and to get remuneration from them. The boundary of the area allotted to each group is based on tradition.
- (5) *Board's consultations*, Sl. No. 1402 (1834) PP. 2945-46 (18)
- (6) *Ibid*. Sl. No. 1449 (1835) PP. 4080-82.
- (7) *Extract Minutes of consultations*, (Military Dept.) No. 1187 dt. 3 April 1838.
- (8) *Board's consultations*, No. 1802 (1834) PP. 2945-46 (18)
- (9) *Ibid*, No 48-49 dt. 16 August 1838 and No. 48 dt. 20 August 1838.
- (10) *Board's consultations*, Nos. 36-37 dt. 22 March 1849 PP. 9-12. (22)
- (11) Logan. W. *Malabar*, Vol. I, P. 471-474.
- (12) G. O. Madras, 280 (Political) 5 July 1873 PP. 2-3.
- (13) O. S. No. 241/1855 judgment dt. 4 August 1857. Vide G. O. Madras 280 (Political) cited above.
- (14) G. O. Madras 280 (Political) 5th July 1873.
- (15) G. O. Madras 628 (Confidential) Revenue, dt. 25 July 1901.
- (16) Board's confidential No. 45, Misc. 4611. Vide G. O. Madras 56/57 (Political) 26 January 1904.
- (17) *Ibid*.
- (18) G. O. Madras (confidential), 370 (Political) dt. 14 July 1904.
- (19) G. O. Madras. 816 (Confidential 107) Revenue dt. 29 July, 1904.
- (20) The report by the Spl. Asst. Settlement Officer, Calicut to the Secretary of Government. The total extent of the Cannanore Karar lands was 3070 acres. The details were as follows:
- | | |
|----------------------|------------|
| Govt. Janmam land | = 22 acres |
| Arakkal Janmam land | = 1409 " |
| Other Jenmis' land | = 1030 " |
| Poramboke unassessed | = 603 " |
| Total | 3070 |
- Vide G. O. Madras 146 (Confidential) Revenue dt. 16 February 1905.
- (21) O. S. 17/1906 was filed in the District Court of Tellicherry by Ady Raja Imbichi Beebi, Ady Raja Ahmed Ali Raja and members of the family. G. O. Madras 1957 (Confidential) Revenue 5 August 1907.
- (22) *Extract from the Minutes of consultation*, dt. 11th January 1854. Vide G. O. Madras 1957 (Confid. Rev. 5 August 1907.
- (23) G. O. Madras 405 (Political) 20th December 1871 (Madras).

- (24) Govt. of India to Home Govt. No. 33 (internal) 27 February 1895
Vide G. O. 1957 dt. 5 August 1907.
 - (25) Letter from V. Bhashyam Aiyangar, Acting Advocate General. dt.
10. June 1907. Vide G. O. 1957 confi. Revenue 5th August 1907.
P. 9. But the final draft written by C. Sankaran Nair, Advocate
General was approved by the Government in its G. O. cited.
 - (26) G. O. 124 (Political) 2nd March 1909. PP. 3-8.
 - (27) G. O. Madras 2307 (Revenue) dt. 13th October 1915.
 - (28) *Arakkal Records*. Her petition dt. 9 Feb. 1948.
 - (29) Quoted in G. O. Madras, 816 (confidential 107) Revenue 29 July
1904. P. 13.
 - (30) G. O. Madras 816, Revenue confidential 107, dt. 29 July 1904.
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CHAPTER VII

SEQUESTRATION OF THE LACCADIVES

As discussed in the previous chapter, the dispute over Karar lands in the mainland between the company and Arakkal House continued throughout the nineteenth century. Simultaneously its possession of Laccadives was also put to precarious situation. In the history of this principality the year 1847 witnessed the opening of another tragic chapter. A disastrous gale passed through the Arabian sea, causing considerable damage to the Laccadive islands under Arakkal administration. The islands of Androth and Kalpeni were completely submerged by flood created by the hurricane. The number of probable casualty was 549. Nearly 744 habitations large and small were washed off and a large portion of the coconut gardens was destroyed. The dreadful calamity entailed upon the principality an average annual loss of Rs. 13,000. (1)

Following this natural calamity, a considerable drain in the revenue affected adversely the Arakkal ruler, which finally gave a convenient occasion to the English authority to bring the remaining islands also under their direct rule. Immediate steps for famine relief were taken by the principality and an expenditure of Rs. 7,000 was incurred under this item. As the country vessels failed to import rice at Androth island, the vizier of the principality requested the collector of Malabar to engage an English steamer for the purpose. The English not only imported rice but other food stuffs also like salt, fish, dal, ghee and sugar. These articles were also distributed in two more islands. The local Government charged an amount of

Rs. 9,300 including freight charges and this was added to the principality's revenue dues to the Company. The Beebi considered this as an unwarranted action and exploitation as her request was only to help her by importing a quantity of 700 maunds of rice in Androth.

Whatever may have been the objective of the local English officers behind this humanitarian action, their policy was based on political self-interest. Probably they had realised that a big amount by way of famine relief on a small principality whose economic structure based on trade monopoly with the islands with economic structure based on trade monopoly with the islands which had considerably collapsed on account of the natural calamity, would persuade her to surrender her sovereignty to the English. Actually a tribute of Rs. 15,000 was realised every year by the English since 1796 from the Arakkal ruler for their trade monopoly in the island and the possession of properties in main land. Therefore the English also had a moral and political responsibility to help the Beebi in her effective measures of famine relief in these islands. But they evaded this responsibility as it would incur expenditure to the Company and also hinder their political ambition of sequestration of the islands.

The Company Government deputed Robinson, the local Head Assistant Collector of Malabar for a personal inspection of the damages in the islands and to conduct a local inquiry into certain allegations against the Beebi. According to his report nearly 780 people of Androth and Kalpeni were rehabilitated in the islands of Agathi and Cavarathy. The flood-affected inhabitants of the islands submitted an appeal to the English officer to grant them a loan of Rs. 10,000. Treating this a suitable occasion to interfere in the affairs of the islands, the officer persuaded the Beebi and her Vizier to place these two submerged island under Company's administration for a stipulated period. But the Beebi could not accept this proposal which created a cleavage between herself and the Company officers.

Following a disastrous fall in her revenue sources on account of this natural calamity, the Beebi was constrained to apply for a remission of Rs. 7, 500 from the Peishcash payable by her to the Company for a period of 15 years. As a reply to this in 1849, the Company Government put forward a proposal of remission of Rs. 3,333-75 for a period of 10 years if she would condescend to make certain fiscal concession and redress the grievances of her subjects in the islands. These concessions would entail an annual loss of Rs. 8,000 to the principality and thus the Beebi could not accept that proposal of remission. (2)

In the circumstances, the local Government enforced different financial pressures on the principality. By an agreement with the English Company dated 26-10-1804 the Beebi had annually to sell 500 candies of coir to the Company on a minimized price of Rs. 60 to 70 per candy even if the market price exceeded Rs. 100. (3) As an immediate action the Company cancelled this contract with the Beebi which adversely affected the price and demand of the coir and the price fell down to Rs. 12 per candy. (4) Actually the mere freight of the commodity per candy exceeded this diminished market price of Rs. 12. The protest of the Beebi against these economic oppressions became a cry in the wilderness.

In the above situation, the islanders agitated against the coir monopoly of the Beebi. Their commodities were taken to the port of Mangalore and Calicut instead of Cannanore and were accepted by the English officers. (5) This was an infringement of the English treaty of 1796 with the Beebi of Cannanore. According to this treaty the English had to safeguard the trade monopoly of the principality with the islands. The Collector of Malabar referred this treaty, which was observed for about 60 years especially in the case of the trade monopoly of the Beebi, to the Board of Revenue. Their decision, on 19th May 1852 was as follows:

“The Board having noticed the ambiguous terms of treaty as applying to the Laccadive; but as according to the Collector’s view it gives the Beebi a monopoly of the trade from the Laccadive islands, they think that this objection forms an additional reason for dissolving said treaty”. (6) Thus the Government withdrew the protection of the trade monopoly of the Beebi on 29th June 1852 and permitted the islanders to sell their commodities elsewhere. (7)

Simultaneously the local authorities took coercive steps to realise the revenue arrears due from the Beebi. The representation by the Beebi against these proceedings before them became fruitless. They believed that they had every right to sequester the islands according to the treaty of 1796 entered upon between them. F. C. Brown, who held the cinnamon plantation of Randattara and a First class Honorary Magistrate of Cannanore commented on this treaty as follows: “It was once notorious throughout Malabar [*sic*] the second or third treaty was extorted from the then Beebi under circumstances derogatory to the character of the negotiator who dictated it”. (8) The irony was that the Company Government while they accepted a few clauses of a treaty convenient to them, did not forget to reject the inconvenient clauses of the same treaty in later years.

Writing to the Beebi on the possibility of the representation of her grievance to the Honourable Court of Directors at London, F. C. Brown revealed the policy of the Supreme Government towards her. “It is the settled determination of the Government to relieve you from the charge of ruling over your portion of the Laccadives”. (9) Considering this predetermined policy of the Supreme Government, Brown advised her to come to terms with the Government by surrendering her right and title over the islands and receive a pension from the Company’s Government. But she knew that the surrendering of the islands would be a suicidal act and therefore she insisted upon an appeal to the

Court of Directors. Even though she knew that it would be fruitless, she wrote to F. C. Brown: "I shall still have gained one point, namely to make it apparent to the whole world, that I have not compromised interest and dignity of my House and voluntarily submitted to gross injustice and wrong". (10)

However, as expected by the Beebi, the Court of Directors on her appeal directed her to take the advantage in favour of her House in the negotiation of the surrender of her right and title over the island to the English. (11) As these proceedings were going on for the liquidation of her sovereignty over the islands, the local English officers removed her royal title hitherto followed in the correspondence with her and addressed her the "Beebi of Cannanore" without proper salutation. The gun salutation and guard of honour granted to Her Highness by the English Company were also suspended by them. These encroachments on her royal title caused her great indignity. In 1854, the islands including Minikkoy and other properties of the principality at Cannanore on which the revenue dues had been already paid, were kept under attachment for revenue arrears on the island trade. (12) When officials were deputed for administration of Minikkoy, the inhabitants of the island protested against them violently and they were forced to return. In this situation, the Government ordered to depute the sub-Collector with necessary sepoy to the island. It was also ordered that the expenses in this item should be debited to the account of the Beebi. An attempt for mediation was made by the Collector of Malabar, between the Government and the Beebi. It was insisted that she would write to her tenants to restore peace and that the Government would send only one Amin to the island. (13) The Beebi was forced to accept this, as her dues to the English exceeded Rs. 50,000 at that time.

The possession and control of the islands was a strategic necessity for the English, especially during the contemporary period as hostilities had begun between the Persian and the

English empire. The Governor-General of India, as a part of the war operations issued a proclamation instructing the whole Persian merchant vessels to return to their native land from the Indian harbours within a period of one month. (14) The English knew that in a war with Persia, the active theatre of operation would be the Arabian Sea and that the Laccadive islands lying far off from the western coast could be utilised as a convenient naval base with the help of country boats. The Beebi, though only the ruler of a small principality, had a great reputation as the head of an international trading agency, especially in the trading centres of West Asia. (15) The sequestration of the islands by the Company made her helpless and left the House economically in ruin. The continuous recurrence of Moplah outrages in Malabar in the 19th century also influenced the English to take such drastic measures against the power of Arakkal House which was the only Muslim principality of Malabar. The English also suspected that an alliance of these rebellious groups with the House would create further troubles against their authority. So the liquidation of the power of Arakkal was a political necessity also to the English.

However the government decided: "The islands should be restored to her paying up the full amount due for arrears of Peshkash interest and charges of management". (16) After much difficulty the Beebi arranged for the payment of the arrears. But now the Board of Revenue decided to enforce many other conditions on the principality in relation to the islands and stated that "the great object in assuming the management of the sequestered islands was to introduce a better system of administration and relieve the people from the Beebis misgovernment". (17) But even then in another proceedings the Board recommended: "However desirable the permanent acquisition of the islands may be, such an agreement cannot be effected without the free consent of the Beebi". (18)

During the sequestration of the islands, the profit derived from them was adjusted to the Eebbi's debt. For the Fasli of 1269, a sum of Rs. 17,100/- was adjusted towards her account. (19) To encourage disloyalty against the Beebi, the English had even granted financial assistance to some persons in Minicoy island. For example one Hussain Malikhan was given a sum of Rs. 2000/- "in consideration of his loyalty to government and consequent losses during the disturbance as compensation and gratuity". (20) The adjustment of such expenditure was a question whether it "should be charged to the Beebi's account or should be borne by the government". (21) Finally it was decided that "as it was through her fault that the necessity for the payment arose, she must bear the cost of it as it represents compensation for losses" and half of the amount was met by the government and the other half was adjusted towards the Beebi's account. (22)

On one side, the Beebi pressed for the restoration of the islands and, on the other side, the officials desired to delay it as much as possible putting forward the question of administrative reforms. In respect to administrative reforms, collector of Malabar recommended his detailed proposals. He reported: "The people are generally speaking quiet and inoffensive and their affairs have hitherto been satisfactorily managed by the Amin in revenue and police in charge of them. Most cases that came before him were amicably settled by arbitration or failing this were reported to my office for adjudication many of the islanders are in favour of the Beebi, the richer portion especially; but the poor I have reason to believe deprecate the change, as tending to bring back oppression.....without the protection of a police, I fear the poorer inhabitants of the islands will be subjected to great and increasing annoyance and injustice". (23) Finally he requested for the appointment of two sub-Magistrates originally proposed for islands.

But following the change of the Government of India from company to crown, there was a natural tendency to

rectify the errors of the past and to placate the native chieftains of India. As this was the expressed will of the crown for some years on this period, the government desired to reconsider such reforms in the case of Laccadives. They asked the collector "to reconsider his present recommendation with reference to the peculiar circumstances of the islands and the Beebi's tenure and rights". (24) Accordingly the collector revised his proposals and replied: "———that the presence of the new police would be distasteful to the Beebi, would render her management of the Islands more difficult; and would probably throw her into arrears of peshkash". So he recommended that "after the restoration of the islands the introduction of the police arrangements should be delayed for a year at least as an experiment". (25) So the "Government agreed to this and the introduction of the new police into the islands deferred for the present". (26)

Regarding the restoration of the islands, the final consent was given by the secretary of state for India in his order No. 2 dated 16 January 1861. He stated:

".....I think it is consistent neither with our sense of justice, nor with our dignity to avail ourselves of a rigid application of the Revenue law for the attainment of that object. ———on the Beebi liquidating the amount which may be shown to be due on account of Peshkash and charges of management, excluding interest, direct the islands to be restored to her revenue management. ———If she should still refuse to introduce into her administration such reforms as you may consider necessary she must be strictly informed that in the event of any acts of oppression or extortion being hereafter proved against her Agents, Government will not hesitate to place the islands under sequestration, in order to compel the introduction of good government". (27)

In this situation orders were passed for the restoration of the islands in favour of the Beebi after liquidation of the arrears. (28)

Non interference in the native politics was one of the pious desires of the queen's proclamation of 1 November 1858. But even after the extinct of the company's Government, in several respects, the policy of the previous period was followed by the crown government. For example misgovernment was the strong reason for the annexation of Oudh under Lord Dalhousie. The report sent by W. H. Sleeman (*Diary of a journey through Oudh*) was the basis of that annexation. In the case of the Beebi of Cannanore, the Report on Laccadive Islands sent by Robinson (1848) seems to be important in moulding the policy of the government towards the Beebi. When the restoration of the islands was sanctioned, the Secretary of the State gave a warning to the Beebi, "that the government will not hesitate to place the islands under sequestration in order to compel the introduction of good government". So the crown government also threatened the Beebi by proposal of sequestration and continued the same policy of the company government.

However the Secretary of State for India in the changed circumstance of the government appreciated the restoration of the islands and the reduction of her arrears. In his letter to the government dated 8 August 1861 he stated:

"It is gratifying to find that you consider the report satisfactory, and that the balance to be liquidated by the Beebi had been reduced to Rs. 6334. Her Majesty's government approve of your having sanctioned the postponement for the present at least, of the introduction of the new police into these islands. You will of course continue this course until it is evident that the evils anticipated by the collector will not result from the introduction of the measure". (29)

But ultimately the annexation, on pretext of misgovernment was still cherished by the crown government also.

The rupture between the Arakkal House and British government, was not completely reconciled. The government policy as discussed previously was to abolish the quasi-soveriegnity

of the Beebi over the islands and to bring them into direct administration. The salute of seven guns had been sanctioned to the Ali Rajas by the government to honour them as a "salute state". But in 1866, this privilege was discontinued. (30)

On account of the arrears in payment peshkash and misgovernment, the islands were again sequestered by the British in 1875. Owing to the financial difficulties of the Arakkal House and the persistent policy of the government intended for the liquidation of its quasi-sovereign power, the sequestration continued till the end of the nineteenth century. The dispute over Karar lands in Cannanore was also a cause of fresh hostility. A sum of Rs. 1,03,639/- was pending as arrears to be recovered from the Arakkal House. In this situation the Government of India made an offer to the Ali Raja to relinquish his right over the islands on a compensation. (31) At first he was reluctant to accept such proposal. The collector of Malabar reminded the sub collector:

"Please make him understand that there is no question about his being eaten. He is only to be consulted as to the sauce with which he should be eaten". (32)

Under the pressure of the economic distress due to the arrears in payment and other difficulties, the Ali Raja decided to "accept unconditionally, the alternative terms proposed by Government, namely those relating to the Malikhana being at Rs. 20,000/-per annum. (33) By accepting those proposals, he put forward his own terms also. The Government of India reminded the Government of Madras and instructed:

"Govt. of India decline to entertain any suggestion for the introduction of new terms and have no intention of modifying in any way whatever the offer which they made in 1900..... if Ali Raja does not accept that offer within six months from the date of receipt of these orders, the Governor General in council will take steps to resume the islands, and will consider the question of compensation as

one to be decided on the meeting of the case without any reference to Ali Raja". (34)

It was an ultimatum to a small chieftain. Relating to the cession of these islands a contemporary official report revealed:

"Recent study of our administration of the Canara islands confirms me in the opinion that the government has nothing whatever to gain (or the islands either) by obtaining from the Raja, a ceding of his rights——". (35)

But the introduction of ryotwari in Karar lands, the termination of the Karar and the sequestration of the islands were closely interlinked. Thus the liquidation of the quasi sovereign rights of the Arakkal House was absolutely essential for the government to satisfy the legal formality. This policy of liquidation was clearly revealed by the Government of India in these words.

"The Govt. of India are unable to allow any territorial addition to the title or to permit the restoration of the salute of seven guns which was previously accorded to the head of the House". (36)

Finally, Beebi Imbichi who succeeded Mohammed Ali Raja, surrendered the "phantom sovereignty" of the Arakkal House by an agreement in favour of the Imperial Government. This was executed on 15 November 1908, and was ratified by the Government of India in 1909. (37) According to this agreement all arrears regarding the Peshkash were remitted and the compensation regarding the Amini islands was ceased. The Beebi was awarded the title of Sultan, as a hereditary distinction and exempted from the personal appearance in civil courts under section 641 of the civil procedure code. The principality was allowed to possess 1419½ acres in mainland free of all peshkash or assessment and a Malikhana (38) of Rs. 23,000/- per annum was also allowed.

The power and prestige of Arakkal House mainly depended upon its possession of the islands. When they were taken

away, the royal power of the House also diminished and the principality became a mere landed aristocracy with the title of Sultan. According to the principle of natural justice, the English had no claim over the islands as such because they were not ceded to them alongwith Malabar by Tippu Sultan. The islands as a separate political entity under Arakkal House had a native system of administration also. Its traditional system of administration was treated by the English as something of misgovernment. But they were more interested in their own political and economic interests than the good government of the islands. Their policy was to exploit the profits from the islands through the Beebi without taking responsibility of its administration. After the provisional Karar of 1796 nearly for a period of 60 years the administrative responsibility of the islands was shouldered by Arakkal House and its trade monopoly was left uninterrupted. But when the payment of tribute fell in arrears or became irregular the English adopted the policy of sequestration. Breaking all the previous treaties with the House and exploiting its financial difficulties the company projected its policy of imperialism on this small principality. The crown government also followed the same policy. But it adopted a new sophisticated concept of "good government" to substantiate its imperial policy of territorial aggrandisement.

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- (7) *Ibid.*
- (8) *Ibid.* Letter to the Beebi from F. C. Brown. London dt. 18 Oct. 1841

- (9) His letter continued. "On going to the Examiner's department at the India House and there asking to learn the opinion of the officer who is most familiar with the case. I was told without any circumlocution that it is two years ago since the Court of Directors came to this determination and conveyed it to the Governor-in-Council of Madras, although not a word on the subject has been mentioned in the answers returned by the letter to your representations. On next repairing to the Board of Control and making the same enquiry there, I not only frankly received the same answer, but was told it was the intention of the Board, when they returned the papers to the Court of Directors to desire that the previous instructions should be repeated to the Governor-in-Council in still more pointed language than on the previous occasion". He concluded: "if it be not made voluntarily by yourself, it will as I believe, be extorted compulsorily. Arakkal Records, Letter to the Beebi from F. C. Brown. dt. 19 May 1852. See K. K. N. Kurup, "Sequestration of Laccadive Islands" *Journal of Indian History*, (Trivandrum) April 1972.
- (10) Arakkal Records, Op. Cit. Letter to F. C. Brown from the Beebi, dt. 3 July 1852.
- (11) Arakkal Records, Op. Cit. Copy of the Govt. Letter citing the decision of the Court of Directors, on 1 July 1853.
- (12) Arakkal Records. Op. Cit.
- (13) *Ibid.* Book No. 21.
- (14) *Ibid.* Proclamation of G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government of India dt. 1 Nov. 1856.
- (15) K. K. N. Kurup, "Azhí dynasty and Foreign trade" Mathrubhumi Week end Magazine (Malayalam) dt. 22 Nov. 1970
- (16) G. O. Madras, 1669 (Revenue) dt. 10 Dec. 1859.
- (17) *Board's consultations*, No. 343 dt. 23 Jan. 1860, Vide G. O. Madras 257 (Revenue) dt. 12 Feb. 1860.
- (18) Board's letter, dt. 8. Feb. 1860, Vide G. O. Madras 412 (Revenue) 21 Feb. 1861.
- (19) Report of the collector of Malabar, No. 176, 1 Sept. 1860 Vide G. O. Madras 29 Revenue 7 Jan. 1861.
- (20) *Extract Minutes consultations* No. 922 Revenue dt. 3 July 1858.
- (21) G. O. Madras, 28, (Revenue) 7. Jan. 1861.
- (22) *Ibid.*
- (23) Report of the Malabar collector, vide G. O. Madras. 381. 18 Feb. 1861.
- (24) Order No. 44 dt. 8 Jan. 1861 vide G. O. Madras No. 381. Dt. 18 Feb. 1861.

- (25) G. O. Madras. No. 381. (Rev.) 18 Feb, 1861.
- (26) *Ibid.*
- (27) Vide G. O. Madras. (Rev.) 412. dt. 21 Feb. 1861.
- (28) *Ibid.*
- (29) G. O. 1823, Madras (Rev.) dt. 13 Sept. 1861.
- (30) G. O. 234 (Madras) (Judicial) dt. 15 Feb. 1866.
- (31) This offer was made as per I.A. 2056/ 11 May 1900 (Foreign Dept.)
- (32) Letter dt. 18 August 1900. Vide GOs Madras 56-57 (Political) (confidential) dt, 26 Jan. 1904.
- (33) His statement dt. 1 March 1903. Vide G. O. Ibid. P. 3.
- (34) Govt. of India, (Foreign Dept.) I. A. 2288/18 June 1904. Vide G. O. Madras 370/Political/ 14 July 1904.
- (35) Letter from Collector of South Kanara dt. 10 April 1903. Vide G. O's 56-57/ Political / 26 January 1904. P. 6.
- (36) Secretary, Govt. of India (Foreign Dept.) to Govt. of Madras Vide G. O. Madras 146. Revenue (Confidential) 16 February. 1905.
- (37) G. O. Madras 124 (Political) 2 March 1909. See Aitchison, *Treaties* Op. Cit. Vol, X, No. LXI P. 179-181. See Appendix XXI
- (38) Malikhana is meant what relates or belongs to a person as Master of Headman. W. K. Firminger (Ed) *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. III* (Calcutta, 1918) Glossary P. 29.

CHAPTER VIII

ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLANDS

The Laccadive Islands formed the most important part of the administration of the Arakral principality. They were kept as 'colonies' by the principality with a fundamental aim of financial exploitation. The entire administration of the islands was guided by a strong motivation of economic exploitation. Fish, coconut, coir, jaggery, cowry, and ambergris were the major sources of income from the islands. Thus the administration of these islands was much related to the tapping of these resources.

The principality appointed the native officer, 'Karyakkar' in important islands like Agathi, Kalpeni, Androth and Minicoy. He was the executive authority in all civil and criminal matters but responsible to the Ali Raja. Policing was also his responsibility. Sometimes members of important families of the islands were appointed as Karyakkar but, generally, they were deputed from the main land. (1) He was assisted by an accountant. In civil and criminal matters and other important affairs of the islands, Karyakkar was advised by the council of elders known as Karanavar (uncle) and the Mooppar (elders) from each cheri or subdivision of an island. Thus the traditional system of the participation elders in administration was retained by the Arakkal House also. The Karyakkar controlled the entire administration and day to day life of the people in the islands. He maintained the land records showing the extent of each tenant and acted as a

settlement officer.(2) The encroachments on the properties of Arakkal were brought under strict 'paimash'. The usufructs of the Arakkal properties were given in auction by the Karyakkar. Generally fishing licences were also granted by him. But in all affairs, an appeal can be brought before the Ali Raja. Sometimes the Karyakkars were dismissed on account of their oppression of the people. The properties in the direct possession of the Arakkal House known as Pandaram property including the fishing boats and nets were managed by this officer.

The salary of the Karyakkar was Rs. 12/-per month. When the Islands were sequestered by the East India Company, they also retained these traditional offices, and introduced another office known as Amir.(3) The role of the Arakkal ruler in the island administration was later taken by the district collector of Malabar and he acted like a pivot of the whole administrative structure.

TRADE

Trade was mainly based on barter. The produce of the islands was given to the Karyakkar who supplied essential food stuffs to the islanders. The patamar boats of Arakkal actively shipped the island products to the mainland and food stuffs and other articles from the mainland to the islands in return. Salt was generally shipped from Goa. The exchange rate of rice towards other commodities of the island was fixed each year by the Arakkal House. One mooda of rice was equal to four cart loads of coir.(4) The commodities were exchanged on money rate also at mainland. For thousand coconuts the usual rate during 1859-1863 was Rs. 20 (twenty only) in the mainland. One seer of cowry was given two fanams. The fixation of the price was not based on any concept of demand and supply but always arbitrary. This was possible as the islanders could not purchase other than from the port of Cannanore or export their commodities to any other port than this. This monopoly

worked for several decades. The articles are purchased from people at rates far below their value and sold by the Beebi in the best market. (5) The rate of purchase was fixed by the Beebi's agent. But when the English East India Company projected their sovereignty over these islands through their treaty agreement, the English always desired to abolish the trade monopoly of Arakkal. Actually, although the monopoly continued for some decades, virtually it became impractical on account of the complicated political affairs on the Malabar coast. Finally the trade monopoly guaranteed to the Arakkal House was withdrawn by the government of Madras.. (6)

When the principality stocked rice in the islands, before the monsoon, it had always given instructions to the Karyakkar to safeguard the interests of the poor who had always very little quantity of coir for exchange. (7) As the Karyakkar was a powerful official, malpractices were made so often that a few persons who had large stock of coir could generally build up sufficient rice stock by corrupting the officials.

JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS:

The criminal offences were very few among the islanders. Minor thefts were tried by the Karyakkar and penalty was strictly realised from the offenders. For example, for the theft of one coconut, Rupees ten was realised. (8) All civil and criminal suits were to be filed before the Karyakkar who was assisted by the Council of elders or Mooppas. The suits can be filed directly before the Ali Raja also. In such cases, the detailed enquiry reports were ascertained from the Karyakkar. If any delay was found on any trial by the Karyakkar, he along with his accountant and the council was responsible for the same. In all cases the decisions of the Council were also recorded along with the judgement. (9) The islands had two kinds of properties known as Velliyaycha Swathu (Friday property) and Tingalaycha Swathu (Monday property.) Monday property is a personal acquisition or purchase

whereas the Friday property is an inheritance by birth in a Tarawad. In the first category of properties the law of the shariyat is applied, whereas in the latter the law of matriliney is observed. The three major divisions of the islanders namely the land owning class-Koyas, the sailors-Mali, and the toddy tappers and other artisans-Melacheri were all governed by these laws related to property and its inheritance. If the decision of the Karyakkar and his Council was found not satisfactory, the plaintiff as well as the defendant could file an appeal before the Arakkal House. Cattle trespasses were strictly controlled by enacting certain laws. If coconut seedlings were destroyed by cows and suits were brought related to this, generally the cows were sold in auction and the damages were repaired to the plaintiff. The balance amount was divided and shared by the owner of the cow and Arakkal principality on equity. (10) With such severity the property encroachments were also forbidden. If a person removed a coconut seedling with intention from another's property, he had to pay a penalty of 51 varahan (11) to the Arakkal House. The suits were filed orally also. In some cases of encroachments, the property was restored in favour of the owner and the encroacher was fined Rs. five which was remitted towards the Pandaram income of the principality.

RELIGION

In all instructions issued by the Arakkal House, the propagation of Islam had been incessantly stressed. The mosques were supervised by the religious officer, Khazi. Under him there was another official, Muaddin. They were appointed and removed by the Ali Raja. When appointment was made, definite statements were obtained from them that they would request the assistance of Karyakkar and accountant of the Arakkal House even in quasi-religious disputes. (12) In these cases also, an appeal was liable before Arakkal. This gave the ruler some kind of supreme authority even in religious affairs. Generally Khazi officiated the Nikah or marriage ceremony and

the Mauddin next to Khazi officiated the funeral. (13) The verdicts of the Khazi in religious of Shariyat were given due respect by the ruler and his official. But often tradition and custom had also played a predominant role in judicial proceedings.

REVENUE

Commodities were also realised as revenue towards the ruler. When the pandaram coconut tree was leased to a tenant, he had to remit $7\frac{1}{2}$ pounds coir per year as revenue. When the tree was once planted by the tenant, he had to pay only $3\frac{3}{4}$ pounds coir per year. (14) A tax on tiled houses was realised at the rate of Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ per year. (15) Generally, 'no profit, no loss' policy was adopted in supplying of food stuffs to the islands which was a monopoly of the ruler. Actually the rate of exchange was fixed by him and always he obtained a considerable profit. A coir tax was realised from those persons who were employed in this cottage industry. It was estimated at about one Rupee per head, by the Arakkal ruler. The properties were converted as Pandaram assests on the basis of escheat. Unlawful deductions were made when the coir was purchased at Cannanore by the ruler. Logan reported: "When being paid for their coir, a deduction of 10 or 15 percent is made on account of some old debt which they know nothing. The Head Karyastan admitted that this was the practice formerly". (17)

Tobacco was a dearest item for the islanders. So it was often smuggled by the islanders from the mainland infringing the trade monopoly of the Arakkal ruler. Thus he introduced the compulsory imports of tobacco and supplied it to the chiefs of the people for compulsory distribution. (18) A boat tax was also levied by the ruler on sea faring vessels including fishing vessels. A survey of these sources of income reveals that the taxation was not based on scientific principles of public finance. It was feudal in character much depending on convenience. Assessment, and collection were entrusted to the arbitrary

hands of the Karyakkar. No public services were introduced in these islands. Only internal law and order were maintained by the ruler and for this the entire economic resources were exploited by him. Thus the islands were made completely as the colonies of the Arakkal House. No sufficient statistical data are available from the Arakkal records relating to the income from the islands. (19) When it was sequestered, the English had a net annual profit of not less than Rs. 15,000 per year. Thus, under Arakkal rule with 'Morton's fork' in realising the income, and stringency in expenditure it would have obtained a larger profit than the English obtained in their possession of the islands. But the income was utilised for the ruler's pomp and glory like many other medieval rulers of Kerala. His costly wars in the mainland, and the naval expeditions in the Arabian Sea incurred huge expenditure. Always the islands remained as a good milch cow for him. Finally even this milch cow was taken away by the English who put forward a claim of sovereignty. Until the dawn of the 20th century, this medievalism remained as such in every walk of life in the islands. Life was stagnant, and modernity was never applied and the technique of production was never changed. When all other parts of India were infused with modernism, the islands remained isolated, and undeveloped.

REFERENCES

- (1) Arakkal Records, One Haidros Haji of Androth was appointed as Karyakkar in 1860 in Androth. see appendix XXII.
- (2) *Ibid.* Book No. 29 for Malayalam era 1034-1038 (1859-1863)
- (3) G. O. 29 (Revenue) dated 7 Jan. 1861 (Madras). The Amin was given a payment of Rs. 35 per month. His gomasta or accountant was given the sum of Rs. 8/- per month and the peon was given Rs. 5/- per month. Instead of Karyakkar, Adigaries were appointed at Agatti, Kavarathi, Androth, and Kalpeni with a pay of Rs. 5/- each per month. They were also provided with 2 peons for each office with a pay of Rs. 3/- each per month. Minicoy was put under the charge of one Amin with a pay of Rs. 10/- per month. He had

a Gomasta with a pay of Rs. 4/- per month, There were also one Havildar and a peon with a pay of Rs. 10/- and Rs. 7/- respectively. All these officials were responsible to and supervised by the District Collector of Malabar.

- (4) Arakkal Records. Book No. 29 for 1034-1038. The exchange rate of Coir was later enhanced to three cart loads for one mooda of rice. When the Islands were under sequestration by the company the market rate of some commodities enforced by the English were as follows:

Coir per candy of 520 lbs	- Rs. 26/- to Rs. 49/-
Cowries per candy " "	- Rs. 108 to Rs. 113/-
Coconuts 1000 ..	- Rs. 6/- to Rs. 22/-
Tortoise shell per pound	- Rs. 5/- to Rs. 7/-

Government order 29/ 7-1-1861 (Revenue), Madras.

- (5) Madras Govt. order, Revenue, 381. Back Nos. 245 and 246 dt. 13 Feb. 1861.

(6) *Madras government order dt. 29 June 1852.*

- (7) *Arakkal Records.* Book No. 29 OP. Cit.

- (8) *Arakkal Records.* Book No. 29. OP. Cit.

- (9) *Arakkal Records.* Book No. 29 Op. Cit.

- (10) *Arakkal Records.* Book No. 29. OP. Cit.

- (11) A silver coin.

- (12) *Arakkal Records.* Book 29 OP. Cit.

- (13) Leela Dube. *Matriliny and Islam.* (Delhi, 1969) P. 23.

- (14) *Arakkal Records,* Book No. 29. OP. Cit.

- (15) *Ibid.*

- (16) *Ibid.* P. 11.

- (17) R. H. Ellis, *A Short Account of the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy,* (Madras, 1924) P. 25.

- (18) *Preceding two Faslis of 1861, the income and expenditure statements related to the Arakkal islands under British rule were as follows:*

Fasli	Income			Expenditure			Surplus		
	Rs.	Anna.	Pai	Rs.	Anna.	Pai.	Rs.	Anna.	Pai
1268	40113	3	11	21922	1	1	18191	2	10
1269	40400	0	11	24785	7	7	15614	9	4

Vide G. O. (Madras) 29 (Revenue) dated 7 Jan. 1861.

CHAPTER IX

IN RETROSPECT.

The foregoing study is an attempt to bring out the political history of the Ali Rajas of Cannanore, the only Muslim-principality of Kerala. Although the House claims its descent, from the last Cera ruler, no authentic documents or contemporary evidences are available to prove this claim. But even after its conversion it preserved several Hindu customs as reminiscences of the past.

The possession of the Jagir of Laccadives made the House a significant principality. The political rivalries between this House and the Kolathiries continued, in general till the British annexation of Malabar. Eventhough in the early period, the House respected the sovereignty of the Kolathiries, gradually it was refuted and even the payment of tribute was denied. The House had issued its own silver and gold coins. (1) It has its decorated and wood carved throne and great seal and royal emblem. But it never possessed a crown of any kind which leaves another enigma for the historian. A few customs continue till the present time which reveal the vassalage of the House towards the Kolathiries. On the demise of the ruler of this House the funeral shroud is brought from the Kolathiri as a gift. When coronation and other functions are celebrated by the principality the ornaments for elephants are also brought from the Kolathiries as a temporary loan. (2)

Throughout the period, the House supported the spread of Islam. The Malabar Joint Commission reported.

The law of the Kuran must be prevalent one, excepting in commercial and similar cases, Beebi's ministers or her son-in-law appointed chief justice assisted by three or four of the best informed of the profession to guide the better decision. The fees on the trial very moderate not exceeding 2% equally divided between principal mosque and half Beeby and her officers. (3)

The House initiated the construction of several mosques in North Malabar. Beebi Imbichi was mainly responsible for the construction of Mohiyuddin masjid of Cannanore. In the palace itself a new mosque was constructed. The House is the

managing trustee for several mosques including the mosques like, Isinka. (Cannanore) Puyislam (Mattul) and Madayi. Even at present the Khatib of Matayi mosque and Dharmadam mosque are appointed by the Beebi. In all religious affairs of Cannanore Mahal, the House enjoys supreme authority in the capacity of Naibkhasi. The khasi in this Mahal officiates under the direct control of Arakkal House. It has made liberal donations to other Islamic Institutions in distant places also. (4)

The House has a very good collection of religious and philosophic works on Islam. Several works in Calligraphy are still maintained. Their trading vessels brought books in calligraphy from Islamic kingdoms like Arabia and Egypt. The books like "Kitab-ul-Futuh-I-A-l Masunath" by Zaffiyuddin Ahammed Bin Alavan, copied in calligraphy are some of the famous books in this collection. (5) The members of the family were given education on subjects like Arabic and theology. Some of the Beebis were well versed in Hindustani and Persian languages also. Later, English was also taught by special tutors.

Its offices were thrown open to Hindus also. Generally the Dewan and other officers were Hindus. But one of the political policies of Arakkal had far reaching repercussion on the history of Malabar. The mutual sympathy and tolerance prevailed among Hindus and Muslims were described on account of the Mysorean invasion, in which Arakkal supported the invaders as a matter of political ambition and religious affinity.

Even after the relinquishment of quasi sovereignty, the House, played a predominant role in the history of Malabar. The Moplahs clustered round the Arakkal House and manifested their loyalty towards the British during their rebellion of 1921 in south Malabar. They stood by the British government through thick and thin and braved all difficulties and appealed to the Moplahs by issuing pamphlets and notices requesting them not to participate in any out-break. If the rebellion had not extended to the northern parts of Malabar, it was mainly due to the pacification of the Moplahs under leadership of Arakkal. In 1934 when a riot occurred among the Tiyyas and Moplahs in Cannanore the House played a prominent role for reconciliation which was appreciated by the district officials.

Many of the Malabar chieftains, generally lacked liquid, money and financial stability. But this was not the case with the Arakkal. Its income mainly depended upon its foreign

trade. Joint commissioners testified to the "foreign trade carried on by the Beebi in her seven vessels which navigate and trade principally under her own flag from Bengal to the gulfs in all the productions of the intermediate countries", (6) Even in 1850's the House had two ships named Hydross and Samadani. But the intermittent wars in the mainland and the mismanagement of the House and finally the English conquest were mainly responsible for its financial collapse.

The properties of the House were generally found under three categories ie. Arakkal Pandaram, Puthiya Pandikasala and Valiyapandikasala. It is supposed that the Pandaram property is the traditional possession of the Family. Valiya Pandikasala may be a later addition through the profits of trade. Puthiya Pandikasala also may be a later development. The huge place buildings situated on the southern bank opposite the Fort St. Angelo with a picturesque mosque close by have majestic and significant appearance from the fort Maidan. There was a spacious hall called "Mahal" attached to the place, built under the orders of Tippu, which demolished only a decade ago. (7) The "Sultan's Canal" about two miles length was constructed by this House when it managed the Kolathiri domains under Haider Ali. This canal adjoins the Pazhayangadi railway station and has an importance as a linking water channel for coastal navigation.

The political leadership of the Moplahs of Malabar was enjoyed by the Arakkal House in 20th century also. When Sultan Abdu Rahiman Adi Raja attended the government and returned to Cannanore, he was given a grand reception by all communities. Another ruler of this House Khan Bahadur Sultan Addtrahiman Adi Raja was an elected member from Chirakkal Taluk in the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1940, and for a short period he was the vice-president of the Madras State Muslim League. He was also a member of the Malabar Tenancy Committee of the Legislature. He had been the Head of Several Islamic institutions in Malabar.

After formation of the state of Kerala in 1956 the Inam lands of Arakkal under the agreement of 1908, were also assessed. But the Malikhana of the House has not been stopped. It is still continued, and that payment brings to the memory of the students of Kerala history, a long political tussle of a small principality for its existence.

An analysis of the history of this House clearly brings to light the devious ways by which the English company acquired

territories in India, particularly in the south. Even the petty powers like the dynasty of the Ali Rajas, which would never have become dangerous rivals to the English, were not spared. Their mutual jealousies increased their defencelessness. In the case of Arakkal their alliance with any native power in the south would not have made considerable difference in their political power. It was an inevitable historical circumstance in which neither treaty nor diplomacy could save this small principality. Its territories were sequestered by a superior power and reduced to the status of a mere land holder. Its "phantom sovereignty" over the islands was finally liquidated by a consent treaty.

The Arakkal royal house rendered Yeoman service for the spread of Islam in Kerala. Islamic institutions flourished under the principality and even now it extends its helping hand to those institutions. It maintained friendly relations with the ottoman empire and in return the Caliph even ratified its traditional custom of matrilineal succession. To conclude, the growth of Islam in Northern Kerala can be well identified with the origin and growth of this House.

REFERENCES

- (1) A list of the coins forwarded from this House to Lord Elgin as testimonials to their sovereignty is given below:
 - (1) An Octangular gold coin of the year 1176 Higira
 - (2) A gold ditto of 1199. (3) One small ditto 1104.
 - (4) Ditto Ditto of 1149. (5) A silver coin of 1199.*Arakkal Records* dt. 8 June 1862. In 1729, a few fanams issued by the Ali Raja were sent to Bombay Government by the English chief for knowing their intrinsic value. *Letters from Tellicherry*, Vol. I, 1729-31. P. 17. Letter from Tellicherry to Bombay. dt. 26. Nov. 1729.
- (2) These traditions were narrated to me by the present Beebi of Cannanore.
- (3) Report of Malabar Joint Commission. Para 247. P. 165.
- (4) In 1916 one elephant was given as gift by Sultan Ahmad Ali Raja for Kandoory festival at Nagore Durgah,
- (5) This book on theology was copied by a person of Morocco in Higira year 916 and preserved now in the Archives, Dept. of History, Calicut University.
- (6) Report of the Malabar Joint Commission. (printed) para. 150.
- (7) *Arakkal Records*. Op. Cit.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

NAMES OF THE SOVEREIGNS (*Sic*) WHO HAD FILLED THE CANNANORE MUSNAD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Date of ascension to the Musnad. (Malabar year)</i>	<i>Date (Christian of era) demise.</i>	<i>Period of reign</i>
1	Muhamud Allee Adee Rajah ¹ Hegera	64		
2	Hoossain Allee Adee Rajah			
3	Allee Moossa Adee Rajah			
4	Coonhy Moossa Adee Rajah			
5	Allee Moossa Adee Rajah	359	380 (1184-1205)	21
6	Allee Buppen Adee Rajah	380	459 (1205-1284)	79
7	Issa Aboobucker Adee Rajah	459	540 (1284-1365)	81
8	Muhamud Allee Adee Rajah	540	627 (1365-1452)	87
9	Aboobucker Allee Adee Rajah	627	720 (1452-1545)	93
10	Allee Adee Rajah	720	766 (1545-1591)	46
11	Aboobucker Adee Rajah	766	782 (1591-1607)	16
12	Aboobucker Adee Rajah	782	785 (1607-1610)	3
13	Muhamud Allee Adee Rajah	785	822 (1610-1647)	37
14	Muhamud Allee Adee Rajah	822	830 (1647-1655)	8
15	Kamal Adee Rajah	830	831 (1655-1691)	1
16	Muhamud Allee Rajah	831	866 (1656-1656)	35
17	Allee Adee Rajah	866	879 (1691-1704)	13
18	Coonhy Amsa Adee Rajah	879	895 (1704-1720)	16
19	Muhamud Allee Adee Rajah	895	903 (1720-1728)	8

1 The chronicle of the Kings of Cannanore records the date of succession to the Musnad, of the first Mussalman ruler of our family; but it does not show the period of his death, nor the number of the sovereigns by whom our House was represented from Hegera 64 up to the Malabar year 358, The names of three princes are merely mentioned without the dates of their succession and demise Hence the omission of the names in this register.

No.	Names.	Date of ascension to the Musnad (Malabar year)	Date of demise	(Christian era)	Period of reign
20	Harrabichee Kadavoobe Adee Rajah Bebee	903	907	(1728-1732)	4
21	Joonoomabe Adee Rajah Bebee	907	920	(1732-1745)	13
22	Coonhy Amsa Adee Rajah	920	952	(1745-1777)	32
23	Joonoomabbe Adee Rajah Bebee ²	952	994	(1777-1819)	42
24	Mariambe Adee Rajah Bebee	994	1013	(1819-1838)	19
25	Hayashabe Adee Rajah Bebee ^{3,4}	1013	1037	(1838-1862)	24
26	Abdu Rahiman Ali Adi Rajah ⁵	1037	1045	(1862-1870)	8
27	Moossa Ali Adi Rajah	1045	1074	(1870-1899)	29
28	Muhammad Ali Adi Rajah	1074	1082	(1899-1907)	8
29	Sultan Imbichi Beebe Adi Rajah	1082	1086	(1907-1911)	4
30	Sultan Ahammed Ali Adi Rajah	1086	1096	(1911-1921)	10
31	Sultan Ayisha Beebi Adi Rajah	1096	1106	(1921-1931)	10
32	Sultan Abdurahiman Ali Adi Rajah	1106	1121	(1931-1946)	15
33	Sultan Mariyumma Beebi Adi Rajah	1121	1132	(1946-1957)	11
34	Sultan Amina Beebi Tangal Adi Rajah	1132	Present	(1957-present)	

2 This is the Bebee who had entered into Treaty with the British government.

3 Cannanore 19 November 1861.

4 (1-25) Copies of this register were forwarded to P. Grant Esquire, Collector of Malabar on the 19th Nov. 1861 and to the local Government on the 13th January 1862.

(True copy from the Arakkal Records; the Christian era is calculated and entered in bracket by the present writer.)

5 (26-34) This genealogy of the laterr rulers was reconstructed by the present writer from contemporary records. The early part of the chronology including serial number 9 is based on legend and tradition. Here the chronology is mixed with legend and history with false prestige. This ambiguity was created in the genealogical table of the rulers on account of the assumption that the House originated from the last Cera emperor who embraced Islam and went to Mecca. So the chronology of the rulers including serial No. 9 given in the list is not accurate.

APPENDIX , II

DOCUMENT ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ARAKKAL HOUSE

Cheraman Perumal-The Kali year 3739 -Rice ceremoney (on succession) was performed at the age of 16 years. Cheraman was 50 years old when he went to Ezhi mala for hunting.

He resided in Kuyyalli Kovilagom at Ezhimala. The inhabitants there came and paid their homage to him. He ordered them to fetch the women who had come from paradeshom (foreign parts). They were fetched, four women-, a mother and three daughters. Their beauty and comeliness were seen. They were taken and lodged in the Baliapatam Fort. Perumal did not marry them. After some days while the time for going to Mecca was drawing nigh, he called his ministers and gave them instructions for the preservation of the country. In his 32nd year he proceeded from the Baliapatam Fort to Dharmapatnam and stayed in Dharma Kulangara, There he deliberated, wrote out deed, revealed his object to his sister and thence proceeded to Vell illath Kotta. He went to Veisarangath Thalyil where he gave instructions to the thousand. Thence he proceeded to Loganarkavu and gave instructions to the people there. He proceeded in this way as far as Cape Comerin giving instructios. He returned to Kodungalur and gave orders in connection with the vessel in which he was to sail. He then returned to Dhatmapatanam and went to Araseru-kulangara (Royal palace). He gave instructions to his sister Sri Devi and proceeded to Baliapatnam Fort. He gave orders to the minister of the Southern Division that until his return from Mecca they should go monthly to Dharmapatnam and follow the instructions given there. He told them "I shall return within 12 years; if I don't, you are to go to Dharmapatnam and obey the orders given there. You will be given the Royal Insignia." He returned to Dharmapatnam and went to Arasarukulangara and spoke kindly to his sister.

He spoke to both the Rajhas. He told them that he was going to see a just person and that he would come back after knowing about that affair. He called his sister and told her "you

issues will not become extinct, both your children should be made to reign according to their seniority; the name MAHABALI, of Adi Rajah shall become MAMMALI. Don't tell your husband anything of the matters we have talked about. This is the best thing to do. If he knows about it he will be before hand in becoming a convert. On account of your goodness I ruled the country. I give the Royal Insignia and all my ornaments into your hands and take leave of you." He then spoke kindly to the people and left the Baliapatam Fort. He spoke to the four sworupams two Edams, thirty six Paradavadas, nine hundred and forty four Illoms, three hundred and fifty thousand Nairs, two ministers and the natu kanakapillay as follows:- "The gold crown, sacred, thread, gold dagger, gold cane, all these insignia I have given into the hands of my sister Sri Devi. I am going to take ship. If I do not return within 12 years you are to do as you are ordered from Kulamakara. You will get from there all the Royal Insignia." So saying he went to Dharmadom, got into a boat, proceeded to Kodungallur and took ship. On that date Cheraman Perumal was 40 years old. He went to Mecca, saw Muhammed Nabi (Prophet Muhamed) and embraced the faith. At Mecca they got him to marry in the family of Malikdinar. Cheraman Perumal was given the name Sultan Tajuddin, Muhammed nabi sent him with Malikdinar with orders to convert every one in Malabar. When both of them reached Sheher Cheraman Perumal died there. Afterwards Muhammed bin Malik came to Malabar, landed at Kodungalur and made converts. He came to Dharmapatanam to the taravad of Cheraman Perumal and made conversions there. He gave the name Sultan Muhammed Ali to the boy Mahabali, the son of Perumal's sister. This was in Hejira 64.

In the presence of God.

Wynaad.

The author's account as written in the year 689, in Paya-
ayingooara Kottaittha Rajah's account. (Kept in the Archives)

APPENDIX III

TRANSLATION OF AN ARABIC LETTER FORWARDED
FROM THE EMPEROR OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE
QUEEN BEEBE OF CANNANORE

(Hijira 1194)

In the name of the most-merciful God

Praise be to the Almighty, who made us an asylum to the kings of the earth, defender of the laws of his chosen prophet by whom he proclaimed the title of monarchy by this verse of the Quran, "Inna jaalnakka Khalifattan fil Arzi" and spread the shadow of our justice over the world from latitude to longitude.

May the blessing of God be upon his chosen friend who has been created for dispensing mercy to the universe as well as on his descendants and companions who have illumined the surface of the world by the splendour of their swords and removed therefrom the darkness of paganism.

We commence this our condescending letter with royal compliments showing kindness and courtesy towards one who has covered herself with the sheet of modesty, who is adorned with the ornaments of truth and justice, venerated in pedigree, viz Bebee Sultan the Queen of Malabar May God preserve her in her country to defend the pillars of faith and Islamism.

When the almighty opened the doors of our kingdom on the face of Moslems, and turned the blackness of the shadow of our victorious colours condensed into frightful clouds upon the heads of the infidels, it became incumbent upon us to protect Mahomedanism, and take care of the Muslems who are far off from us, and escort our utmost power on the face of the earth for the tranquillity of the people who may be submissive to us or opposed to our rule. We have received your letter from your two envoys who have surpassed their predecessors in all respects, and venerated amongst their contemporaries viz Sheik Aboo Bakur, the brother of your Vizier, and the second his companion, Hajee

1. Translation from Portuguese manuscripts in the Huzzur Records. Vide Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements etc.* No. XXIV, PP. 22-23.

Ally Jasoss honoured and revered by us opened it and it imparted to us the knowledge of the demise of your uncle the Sultan of Malabar viz Ally Rajah who was steady in the way of god—may god preserve him in paradise—and of your having succeeded him according to the custom of your country by the co-operation of the inhabitants thereof and of your courtesy towards our delightful threshold and requesting our powerful assistance for yourself as well as for your subjects through our kindness and civility. Accordingly we informed, consul, the English Ambassador, who is present in the capital, of your being regarded and revered by us and the necessity of our assisting yourself and your subjects, in consequence of which it was requested of the king of England that orders ought be forwarded to the authorities in India directing them to treat you favourably. The said Ambassador being satisfied, pledged his word of promise, and the aforesaid envoys being favourably received by us, have started hence by our permission. I conclude this letter with reverence for yourself amongst your friends and shall never fail to protect Mahomedans either by word or deed as far as possible.

Dated the 1st Shaival 1194
Mahomedan Era
Constantinople.

(Kept in the Archives)

APPENDIX IV

REPORT TO STEPHEN LAW, CHIEF OF THE COUNCIL
BOARD OF TELLICHERRY, OF THE DISCUSSION WITH
THE BEEBI OF CANNANORE,

BY DOMINGO RODRIGUES (1734)

Conferring about Darmapatam, as we were apprehensive that the French were coming to the place, as they were in treaty with the King of Cotiote, and also that the Canarese were coming before-hand to encamp there, either of which case being injurious to the interests of the Honourable Company, I was charged to see the interests of the Honourable Company, I was charged to see

the said heiress at Cannanore to remedy the evil, as she may listen in good part to our taking possession of it, since, in other times, it was the place of the Moors (Moplas). That she may not suspect that we have great interest in taking that place, and not disturb her with any such idea, I proposed first of the perils which threaten, should that place fall into the hands of others, as she had herself informed us, with all certainty, and if falling in the hands of the French or Canara, it would be of great danger to the Honourable Company, and to her very Cannanore; that should we take the place off the hands and power of Princes of Pallicullotu and Coiote, we would deliver it over to her that she may keep it, as it was her ancient possession, and thus she will have her place and we will be delivered of all possible anxieties and inconveniences. It appeared to her, supposing she took possession of the place, as it was sought after by the French, and desired by Canara, she was not able to guard it as she was helpless. I answered, quickly, that she should not give up the place' it having so many pretenders, and that certainly the French seek much to get it, and seeing this, it was good that the English Company took possession of it at once. She replied that it appears to her now, that it would be very desirable the English Company should take the place; but that it might be for views other than those appearing at present. But I said: "I advise, lady, that if the English Company take the place, they will protect it with strong buildings and people, and should God help in time, to clear these clouds, which overhand, it might be you would desire to possess it," and I also advised regarding the difficulties which would then ensue, and she may not get it, but as a favour, as the Company would wish to have their expenses paid, and to possess it, as the expenses on account of the fortification and European garrison will be heavy, and which she may be unable to pay. She replied to me, in the presence of her Counsellors, that however it might be, if it could not be taken, she would be more glad it would remain in the power of the English, as the place is, at all events, lost to her, and, being in the hands of the Nairs, it ran the risk of falling into the hands of the French. But knowing her disposition, and fearing that should I accept it, without further question, it would appear that the offering

of the place to her was only an ostensible, and not our real intention, I hinted that she may take it, and to serve her, "we would take possession of the place and keep it for one month, and after this she may send her people to take charge, and for greater security, the English Company may make a fort and place her flag in the said place, for which she can determine the amount of subsidy, as expenses, and if she could keep it without our forces, she can also so determine." At this proposal she thought over, and told me that this can be done, but still it must be better considered, and will be briefly replied to, by letter. With this, I returned to Tellicherry and imparted the whole to the Chief.

Three or four days after I met Mussa, Writer, who came with letters from the heiress to you, Chief, and to me which are translated, and Mussa told me that in any case they could not, nor did they wish to, take Darmapatam, which the Honourable Company may take, but also advised that the place was very extensive, and would be difficult to keep, and for which reason had better see, consider and take.

APPENDIX V

SURRENDER OF DARMAPATAM: THE BEEBI'S LETTER TO THE ENGLISH CHIEF

Regarding Darmapatam, after the conference with, and return of, the Linguist, and having considered it does not appear convenient to us to take it, as one taking possession of the place, in case the the ships of Canara should come, it might bring about cause for disunion-with the Company and displeasure of yourself, both of which we wish to guard against ever happening. Considering all the circumstances, we conceive that we cannot hold possession of, or remain in that place. It is best that you take possession of it, regarding which the Linguist has been written to, more distinctly, and sent by the Writer. The Linguist will signify every thing to you better, and with greater clearness. Recommending ourselves to your good friendship.

Letter dated 3 December 1734. From Portuguese Manuscripts.
Logan. *A Collection of Treaties etc.*, No. XXV, P. 24.

APPENDIX VI

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ALI RAJA AND T. HODGE
THE ENGLISH CHIEF AGAINST THE FRENCH (1759)

Proposals made by Ali Raja to T. Hodge, Esq., Chief of
Tellicherry, making God witness for remaining in good union with
the Honourable English Company, 7th March $\frac{934 \text{ M. S.}}{1759 \text{ E. S.}}$

At any time, if the French or any country Powers of Malabar shall design to come against the Honourable English Company, or the said Honourable English Company shall propose going against any of the above mentioned, I oblige myself, by this writing, to act entirely on the part of the Honourable English Company, and to assist them readily with 300 men armed with my fire arms, at all times that the Chief of Tellicherry shall advise or ask me, and in no respect will I take part with them, who may be the Honourable Company's enemies. The Company shall pay these people that I send as they do their own Calliquilones and give to the family of any that may die in battle in like manner. Besides this assistance, if the Company shall have occasion for more of my Musketeers, I will assemble as many as I can, and supply the Company with them in the above mentioned terms.

2. I have this day borrowed from the Chief, Thomas Hodge, Esq., on the Honourable Company's account, 13,000 rupees, for this money I oblige myself to deliver, weighed in Tellicherry, pepper to the amount of the said 13,000 rupees from the beginning of January to the end of March 1760, at the price that the Honourable Company shall contract for it with their merchants in Tellicherry,, and in case the above written is not fulfilled, and the time limited exceeded, I hereby give the Honourable Company free to take my vessels to the amount of what I may be indebted on this account, and to confirm what I declare I have passed this with my sign.

From the Diary of the Tellicherry Factory dated 7th March 1759.

APPENDIX VII

AGREEMENT WITH THE ENGLISH ON KOLATHIRI
AFFAIRS (1765)¹

1. That Ally Raja abandon and relinquish all further pretensions to what he has unjustly taken and seized upon, belonging to the Palliquilote Palace, and forthwith retire into his own district, there to enjoy in peace and quietness, the possessions derived to him from his ancestors.

2. That he enter into a most solemn engagement not to usurp again, an authority in the Government of this Kingdom, nor over any of the subjects thereof.

3. That he will not interfere in any affairs that may prove prejudicial to the interest of the Palliquilote Palace, neither to that of the Honourable English East India Company nor their exclusive rights and privileges of trade in this kingdom granted to them by your Royal Ancestors.

4. That he pay the expenses occasioned by this, his unjustifiable rebellion.

APPENDIX VIII

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH
BRIGADIER GENERAL MACLEOD (1784)²

Treaty of Alliance and Friendship entered into, and agreed upon, by Brigadier-General McLeod, Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty and the Honourable English East India Company's Forces, on behalf of the said Company on the one part, and the Beebe or Queen of Cannanore and Alli Rajah, her husband, on the other part.

1. There shall be firm peace and friendship between the aforesaid parties.

2. The Queen shall possess all the countries of which she stood possessed before the English Army marched into her country.

1. (Diary of the Tellicherry Factory dt. 13 August 1765)

2. (Malabar Commissioner's Diary dt. 7 December 1792)

3. The Queen shall pay to the Honourable the Presidency of Bombay, within the space of one twelve month, one Lac and one half Lac of Bombay rupees as an indemnification for the expense of the war and she will also pay an annual tribute of one Lac of rupees to the said Presidency.

4. The said Presidency will protect her in the possession of the said country against the Nairs, her natural enemies, otherwise she cannot pay the above sums.

5. All the forts are to remain in possession, and at the disposal of the English.

6. The Queen engages annually to make the first offer of her pepper to the Honourable Company to be bought at a reasonable price. Given and exchanged under our hands and seals at Cannanore this 8th January 1784 in the presence of us.

(Signed) Thomas Lighton. (Signed) Norman McLeod,
Brigadier-General.

(„) Abdulla. („) Bebee.
(„) Moossa. („) Alli.

APPENDIX IX

SUNNUD RELATING TO CHALAT AND KUNNOT¹

Translation of a Sunnud from Tippoo Sultan to the Beeby of Cannanore.

Be it known to the present and future Aumuls and to the Maccadums and husbandmen of the Talook of Kushanabad, alias Cherical, dependent on the Turrukee Cutcherry under the Sircar of Puttan, the capital or seat of empire.

Whereas the sum of 7,380 rupees for the Country Chalat-turra, etc., hath been granted from the said Talook, in exchange for the Island of Ameni, the Juma of the last being Rs. 6,500, which Island hath been transferred by the Ali Raja to the Government, which hath thereon bestowed to that Raja the land of Chalatarra in question.

↓. (Diary of the Malabar Committee dt- 21 October 1797)

It is necessary that according to the undermentioned particulars, you do, from the 1st of Ahmedy of the Sraab year 1217 of Mahomed (agreeing with the 1st of Chetter Swami Sunntcher,) have the territory in question to the possession and occupancy of the said Raja to the end that having appropriated its produce to the support of his exigence he may night and day be attentive to, and occupied in the concerns of Government. A new sunnud is not to be demanded yearly, and, a copy only being taken, the original is to be returned.

Particulars of the Tarrahs.

Chalatarra 1 terra	1, 199	3 12
Tuloobterra 1 do	154	5 2
Chooeeya	do.	.. 1 do	396	0 9
Kannotchaul	do.	.. 1 do	59	9 7
Mundicaut	do.	. 1 do	190	9 14
Koonatoor	do.	.. 1 do	213	3 12
			<hr/>	
			2, 214	2 8
			<hr/>	
@ 3 fanams per Rupee			7, 380	0 0

APPENDIX X

A PUBLICATION (1790)¹

Whereas a detachment of the Honourable Company's Troops is now sent out from the garrison of Tellicherry with a view of giving every encouragement and protection to the Malabar Princes, Moplah inhabitants, etc., and to act hostilely against the troops of the Nabob Tippoo Sultan. This is to give notice to the Malabar Princes, Moplah inhabitants, etc., etc., that any of them who will join this detachment and act against the Nabob Tippoo Sultan during the present war may rely on the Honourable Company's protection and being included as allies of the Honourable Company in any future treaty they may enter into with the Nabob, which assurances the Chief of Tellicherry now gives in the name of the Honourable Company, his own, that of the Governor-General of Bengal and Governor of Bombay by their express authority. And any of the neighbouring powers, who may not join in the present

1. (From the Diary of the Tellicherry Factory dt. 24 April 1790)

contest will be considered as enemies of the Honourable Company and acted against accordingly. Any of the powers, who may be willing to accede to the terms proposed may obtain from the Chief written agreements in the names of the abovementioned. Tellicherry. 24th April 1790.

APPENDIX XI

PRELIMINARIES TO A FUTURE TREATY OF ALLIANCE WITH THE ENGLISH AGAINST TIPPUR¹ (1790)

The Honourable United English East India Company being animated with a sincere desire of relieving the different Malabar Powers from the oppressions they have so long endured by the usurpation of Tippoo Sultan, and to render the totally independent of his authority have agreed with the Bebee of Cannanore on the following terms, as the preliminaries to a future treaty of firm alliance and friendship to be entered into between the parties:—

Firstly The Beebee solemnly agrees whenever called upon to admit the Company's troops to garrison her fortress of Cannanore during the present war between the English and Tippoo Sultan, and to give Ellia, the husband of her eldest daughter, and one of her ministers, as hostages one day before the march of our troops as a Security for their admission into the fort. She also solemnly agrees to act with her forces in conjunction with those of the Company against Tippoo Sultan as the common enemy of both, and to do everything in her power in the present contest to bring the war to as speedy a conclusion as possible.

Secondly—During the continuance of the present war between the English and Tipoo Sultan, the Beebee agrees in order to convince the Honourable English East India Company of her sincerity, to admit their troops to garrison her fortress of Cannanore, the Company paying the expense of their own troops, and to remove them from Cannanore at the conclusion of the war. Ellia and the minister, who shall be sent as hostages, will be returned to Cannanore as soon as the Company's troops shall have been admitted

(1 From the Diary of the Tellicherry Factory, dated 9th August 1790)

into the garrison, and whenever peace takes place between the English and Tippoo Sultan, the Bebee shall be considered as an ally of the English East India Company in the same manner as the other Malabar Princes, their allies.

Thirdly. The Beebee agrees to admit of a free and uninterrupted trade to the English East India Company with her port and country, and to supply the company at a favourable price with such an annual quantity of pepper, or such other articles of merchandise as her country may produce, or she be able to procure, as shall be hereafter agreed upon.

Fourthly. The Beebee agrees that this alliance shall be lasting, and permanent after the war with Tipoo Sultan shall have terminated for the due performance of which, the Beebee will give such security as shall be agreeable to the English.

Upon these conditions, I, Robert Taylor, Chief for all affairs of the British nation at Tellicherry, authorized by His Excellency Earl Cornwallis, Governor-General, and by the Honourable Colonel Robert Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, do in their names hereby promise and engage that the English East India Company shall use their utmost endeavour to render the Beebee of Cannanore independent of Tippoo Sultan, and that in any treaty of peace that may hereafter take place, the interest of the Beebee shall be attended to, and she shall be considered as an ally of the English East India Company and no way subject to the authority or control of Tipoo Sultan. In witness whereof I, the said Robert Taylor, have hereunto put my name, and annexed the seal of the English East India Company, at Tellicherry, on this 8th day of August 1790, and have sent this paper of assurance to Cannanore by two English Officers, who will see the Bebee sign and seal the counterpart of this Agreement and bring it to me at Tellicherry.

APPENDIX XII

SURRENDER OF CANNANORE TO GENERAL ABERCROMBY (1790)

The town and Fortress of Cannanore having surrendered without conditions, the inhabitants and their property are at the mercy of the Army. The Commander-in-chief is disposed, however, to treat them with all the lenity in his power and to quiet their apprehensions, makes known to them that:-

First.-He grants protection to the Beebi, her family and the inhabitants and assures them that no insults whatever shall be offered them

Second.-He grants them their personal and household furniture, nor will he permit any search to be made in their houses, unless he has reason to believe that the following articles have been evaded.

Third.-All Military stores, Naval stores, vessels, grains and provisions in warehouses, timbers and merchandise of every kind either afloat in the Fort or in the Town are the property of the Captors and must without evasion be surrendered to-morrow morning. The Military stores to Major Jones, Commanding the Artillery- the vessels, Naval stores and timbers to Lieutenant Beaty, Boat Master, the grain and provisions to Mr. Wensley, the Commissary, and the Merchandize to the Commandant of the Town.

Fourth.-As to the political situation of Cannanore and the power the Beeby is to possess, it must depend on a Superior Authority, but the General is disposed to recommend mild measures; he invites the inhabitants to return quietly to their habitations and directs that the Beeby continue to exercise justice to the inhabitants agreeable to their customs in all cases where the Commandant of the Fort and Town does not interfere.

17th December 1790.

(Signed) Auchmuty. M.T.

(From the Diary of the Malabar Expedition dt. 17 December 1690)

APPENDIX XIII

ASSURANCE OF PERSONAL PROTECTION (1791)

By the Honourable Major-General Robert Abercromby
Governor of Bombay, and Commander-in Chief of the English
Troops on the Western side of India.

The Beebee of Cannanore having expressed the strongest apprehensions that on a Treaty of Peace taking place between the English and Tippoo Sultan, she may be claimed by the latter as an ally, and being further apprehensive that in the event of such a claim being admitted her life, as well as the lives of her family would be exposed to the most imminent danger, and well knowing the clemency and mild government of the English nation, she has most earnestly entreated General Abercromby will give her the most direct and positive assurance that she shall never be subjected to the power of Tipoo Sultan by the English, nor ever through their means exposed to his authority. The Beebee trusting entirely to the clemency of the English, submits the future situation of herself and family solely to them, and is willing to reside wherever they direct her, provided she is not exposed to Tippoo's authority. In order to quiet this apprehensions of the Beebee, I Robert Abercromby, aforesaid, do hereby in the name of the English nation and East India Company assure the Bebee that the English never will deliver her into the hands or power of Tippoo Sultan, and that she and her family shall continue in perfect security as far as regards her and their personal safety, that this shall be made known as soon as possible to the Honourable the Governor-General. The Beebee having requested that the chief of Tellicherry should also sign the assurance, he has accordingly put his name thereto. Signed and sealed at Camp near Balliapatnam, that 14th day of February 1791.

(Signed) Robert Abercromby.

(") Robert Taylor,
Chief of Tellicherry,

(From the Suprevisor's Diary daten 30th June 1974)

APPENDIX XIV

AGREEMENT FOR THE CONCILIATION OF THE MOPLAHS (1791)¹

I, Adiraja, Bibbee of Cannanore, having received assurances of protection from the Honourable Major-General Robert Abercromby in the name of English nation and the English East India Company, and being duly sensible of the obligation conferred upon me, in order to evince my attachment to the English, do hereby voluntarily engage to do everything in my power to conciliate and attach the Moplas on the Malabar Coast to the English interests and to do their utmost to assist the English in their present war against Tippo Sultan. As far as my immediate influence extends at Cannanore, I do also engage to give every assistance in my power to the English whenever I may be called upon, and trusting to their good faith I do in general pledge myself to adhere firmly to this, my voluntary engagement.

Signed and sealed at Cannanore this day of March 1791.

Signed and sealed the day and year above written in the presence of us.

APPENDIX XV

AGREEMENT BY THE OFFICERS OF THE BEEBI 1793²

We, the Dewan Koonje Mucky and Ahmed Kooty, Officers of the Beebee of Cannanore (*sic*)

Whereas we have set forth to the gentlemen the valuation of our country, which valuation has not been admitted by them to be near the truth, we do therefore agree and give in writing to abide by the declaration on oath of Moosa (who is an inhabitant of Telli-cherry and a man of credit and to be depended on) as to the value of all the said Beebe's territories, as well those on the Continent as her Islands; agreeing (as we hereby do on her part) to pay whatever shall, on enquiry, be otherwise ascertained to be their value.

Wherefore we have entered into these few lines of engagement to remain as a voucher, this 26th of February 1793.

¹ From the Diary of the Tellicherry Factory dt. 31 March 1791

² From the Diary of the Malabar Joint Commissioners, dt. 25 March 1793

APPENDIX XVI

CONVENANT FOR PAYMENT OF ARREARS (1793)¹

Translation of an Agreement entered into by the Beebee of Cannanore.

1, Bulia, (*sic*) the owner or Lady of Cannanore and of the Laccadive Islands do give in writing as follows:-

Whereas the sum of Rs. 28,680-12-3 is in arrear on account of the revenue due by me for the Malabar years 966 and 967, I do therefore covenant and give in writing that I will, without plea or excuse, pay the same in the following instalments:-

On the 4th of Rumzan, 1207 of the Hegira, agreeing with the 15th April 1790, Rs. 8,000 and the remaining Rs. 20,680-12-3 in two kists or instalments; the one on the 24th of Rumzan or 4th of May, and the other on the 14th of Shawul, which agrees with the 24th May, and herein I shall use neither delay nor evasion: wherefore I have entered into this agreement.

Dated 29th of Shabaum 1207 Hegira, agreeing with the 11th of April 1793.

APPENDIX XVII

AGREEMENT ON REVENUE PAYMENT OF LACCADIVES²
(1793)

I, Beebee Bulea, the Princess of Cannanore and of the Laccadives Islands, etc; do acknowledge and given in writing that I will pay to the Government of the English East India Company the moiety of what ever is the produce of my country according to the funds thereof, and out of the Rs. 20,000 annual profit which I reap from my trade with the Laccadives, I am also to pay the half to Government, besides of which I do stipulate to pay in like manner the half of whatever further income or profit from the said lands or trade shall be hereafter ascertained to accrue to me by the enquiries of the officers of Government.

1 From the Joint Commissioner's Diary dt. 13 April 1793

2 From the Diary of the Malabar Joint Commissioners dt.

And as it has been signified to me that after the rains a gentleman is to proceed to the Laccadives to sequester them for the advantage of the Honourable company's Government and to appropriate to the use of the said Government all the produce thereof, I do therefore engage to submit also to this, if it shall be ordered by the Governor-General in Council neither shall I in any shape object there to or otherwise if it be so ordered, I shall be ready to account for the true income and produce and pay the same to Government, where fore I have written these few lines as a Mochulka for the revenue of Government.

APPENDIX XVIII

AGREEMENT ON REVENUE PAYMENT (1795)

Draft of Agreement taken from the Beebi of Cannanore binding herself to regularity in the future payment of her kists.

I.-Whereras on account of the lateness in the conclusion of the five years settlement from 970 to 974, Malabar style, undue postponements have occurred beyond the period of the three fixed instalments in the payment of the last year's negudi, I do therefore hereby stipulate that I will not on any account be guilty of similar delays during the four following years on pain of incurring the Honourable Company's high displeasure and if (which God forbid) any arrear shall contrary to my present engagement remain due after the expiration of the period fixed in the paper of instalments for each year, interest shall be charged thereon by the Honourable Company and paid by me on the following proportion:-

For the first eight days after the expiration of the kist at the rate of 12 per cent per annum on the amount of such arrear.

For the next twenty days at the rate of 24 per cent per annum.

For the next thirty days at the rate of 36 per cent per annum or 3 per cent per month, and so on, with the enhancement of 1 per cent, per month until such arrear including principal and interest shall be liquidated, in failure whereof beyond the first twentycight

(From the Malabar supervisor's Diary dt 14 December 1795)

days, the Company may, without objection on my part, enter into my talook, collect the negudi from the ryots till such time as I shall have given undoubted bankers' 'or creditable merchants' security for the future punctuality of my payments

(True copy.)

(Signed) R. Rickards.

APPENDIX XIX

REVISED AGREEMENT ON LACCADIVES (1796)¹

1, Beeby Bulea, Lady of Cannanore, do agree and give this writing to witness that I will pay to the Government of the Honorable English East India Company 15,000 rupees per annum being the jumma on the houses, prams, etc., situated at and near Cannanore, on my trade to the Laccadive Islands and on my jelm property on the said islands, and I do further agree to pay the amount of 15,000 rupees at three different kists, the first or 5,000 rupees on the 15th of Danoo, the second or 5,000 rupees on the 15th of Medom, the third or 5,000 rupees at the end of Chengem. This article of agreement is not to do away, nor is it meant to do away in any shape the rights which the Government have to the Laccadive Islands, as is set forth in my machulka, dated 9th April 1793, or 27th Shalam 1207, Hejera

2nd-I do agree to pay the customs on all articles of merchandise whether imported or exported by me, in the same manner, and at the same rates, as the merchants of Malabar save upon the coir imports from the Laccadives.

3rd.-I give up my pretensions to the one-fifth share of the collections, which is granted by Government to the Rajas of Malabar being convinced that I have no right to insist on the said allowance.

4th.-I give up all my right and title unto the Honourable Company which I have claimed to the Tarrahs of Canatoor and Canotchalley, and do agree that the Company shall make the collections in any manner they may think proper, except through

¹ From the Diary of the Second Malabar Commission dated 1st November 1796.

the medium of the Cheral Raja which I most earnestly solicit may not be granted to him.

5th.- And I do agree to pay all arrears on account of customs, except upon the coir which I may have imported from the Laccadives.

Cannanore,

(Signed) Beeby Balea.

28th October 1796. or

M. S. Toolam, 972.

Witnesses.

Ballajee Row Dewan,

Ram Row Pescar.

Govind Wiswanathjee.

APPENDIX XX

COMPENSATION FOR AMINI ISLANDS (182)¹

To

The President and Members of the Board of Revenue,
Madras.

Gentlemen,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter of the 3rd October (494) reporting on the claim of the Beebee of Cannanore to compensation for the loss of the Amendeve Islands. As the Beebee was in alliance with Tippu Sultan, the enemy of the British, and as Tippu took the Islands from her and gave her a compensation for them by the grant of a part of the Cheral Rajah's lands which he recovered on the downfall of the Sultan's power, the Governor in Council considers her claim to consist entirely of the liberal disposition evinced towards her by the Honourable the Court of Directors and in no degree to be founded on right. As she declined to avail herself of the proposal made to her in consequence of the Honourable Court's instructions upto the 27th of June last, the Governor in Council is of opinion that it is only from that date that she should be allowed to reap the benefit of it. You will accordingly instruct the Principal Collector to propose to her from that date to abate the revenue payable by her to the Company in the sum of fifteen hundred

¹ From the correspondence regarding the Laccadive Islands and the Beebi's properties in Cannanore (1796-1829.)

(1,500) Pagodas per annum if she will be willing to accept of that compensation for the Amendevi Islands.

D. Hill,
Secretary to Government.

(True copies.)

Fort St. George,
13th December 1822.

H. V. Macarthy,
Deputy Secretary.

APPENDIX XXI

SURRENDER OF LACCADIVES

Articles of Agreement entered into between Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi of Cannanore, Malabar District in the Presidency of Madras in the Empire of India of the one part and the Governor in Council of Fort Saint George acting in pursuance of express orders from the Governor-General of India in Council of the other part,—1908.

Whereas in pursuance of an order of the Government of Madras No.417-Political, dated the 18th July 1905, the Collector of Malabar by his letter dated the 18th October 1905 made the following offer on behalf of the Government of India to M. R. Ry. Adi Raja Muhammad Ali Raja Avergal of Cannanore, Malabar District, viz., that on condition that the said Muhammad Ali Raja ceded absolutely on behalf of himself his heirs and successors all claims and right whatsoever whether as sovereign or jenmi in and over the Laccadive Islands:—

- (i) all arrears of peshkash due by the Adi Raja under the Karar referred to in Article 3 (a) below would be remitted;
- (ii) the payment of the Amindivi compensation referred to in Article 2 below would cease;
- (iii) the Government would pay to Adi Raja and to his heirs and successorss a malikhana of Rs. 23,000 per annum in equal monthly instalments—one half being paid to him during his life and after his death to the head of the family for the time being as a personal grant for the

maintenance of his position and dignity and the other half being paid to him and to his heirs and successors as heads of the family;

- (iv) the Adi Raja and his heirs and successors would be allowed to hold free of all peshkash or assessment those lands on the mainland at Cannanore which were then held under the Karar and in respect of which the Adi Raja had been registered as jenmi during the settlement operations being in the area about 1,419½ acres;
- (v) the title of "Sultan" without any territorial addition would be conferred on the Raja and his heirs and successors as a hereditary distinction;
- (vi) the Raja and his heirs and successors would be exempted under section 641 of the Civil procedure Code from personal attendance in Court.

And whereas the above offer was accepted by Adi Raja by his letter to the Collector of Malabar, dated the 17th November 1905, in the following words "in reply to your letter No. Ref. on C. 29, Confidential 1905, dated the 18th October 1905, informing me of the recent offer of the Government of India in re Laccadive Islands, I have the honour to inform you that I am willing to accept the offer contained in your letter and to cede absolutely on behalf of myself, my heirs and successors all claims and rights whatsoever as sovereign or as jenmi in and over the Laccadive Islands subject to the terms and conditions contained in your letter under reply"; And Whereas the said Muhammad Ali Raja died on the 5th September 1907, before a formal deed of cession could be executed by him in pursuance of the agreement concluded by the offer and acceptance herein before recited; And whereas the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi succeeded the said Muhammad Ali Raja Imbichi Bibi as the head of the family of the Raja of Cannanore; and whereas the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi recognizes the validity of the agreement concluded between the late Muhammad Ali Raja and the Government of India and her obligation to carry out the

same by the execution of a formal deed of cession and is desirous of doing so and there by securing for herself, her heirs and successors, the benefits of the said agreement:

Now it is hereby agreed and declared as follows:—

ARTICLE 1.

The said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi on behalf of herself, her heirs and successors hereby cedes and makes over in full sovereignty and in perpetuity to His Majesty the Emperor of India to form part of His Majesty's Indian dominions as from the first day of July 1905, the lands and territories inclusive of Pandaram lands comprising the Lacadive Island and Minicoy Island more particularly described in Schedule A hereunder written and all claims therein possessed by or belonging to the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi as sovereign of the said Islands.

ARTICLE 2.

The said Adi Raja Imbichi on behalf of herself, her heirs and successors hereby waives and surrenders all past present and future claims if any in respect of the abatement which as a matter of grace was made in the revenue payable to the British Government by the predecessor of the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi as compensation for the renunciation by such predecessor of any claim to "the Amini group" of Islands.

ARTICLE 3.

In consideration of the cession and surrender contained in the above articles the Governor in Council of Fort Saint George makes the following concessions in favour of Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi, her heirs and successors: —

- (a) That all arrears of peshkash now due under the Karar dated 28th October 1796 executed by Beebe Bulia, a predecessor of the said Adi Raja Imbichi in favour of the Hon'ble the East India Company are hereby remitted.
- (b) That the lands situated at and near Cannanore referred to in such Karar which now stand registered in

the name of the said M. R. Ry. Muhammad Ali Raja Avergal as the jenmi the roof and which lands are more particularly described in Schedule B* hereunder written shall so long as such lands are held by the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi or by the Karanavan for the time being of the family of the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi be free from any land revenue payable to the British Government. But shall not be free from liability to pay any cess that may be payable therefor under any enactment for the time being in force

(c) That the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi or other the Karanavan for the time being of the family of the said Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi shall be paid from the public treasury a pension of Rs. 23,000 per annum commencing from the 1st day of July 1905 and payable by equal monthly instalments of Rs. 1, 916-12-0 on the fifteenth day of every month of which monthly payments one half shall be considered a personal grant to such Karanavan for the maintenance of his or her position and dignity and the half shall be received by such Karanavan for the use and benefit of such family.

ARTICLE 4

The foregoing articles of agreement shall be subject to the ratification or rejection of the Governor-General of India in Council.

Signed this 15th day of November 1908 by Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi.

Adi Raja Imbichi Bibi,
Tangal Avergal, Cahnanore.

In the presence of—
W. Francis,

Acting Collector of Malabar.
J. C. Nunyanakeng,
Government Pleader, N. Malabar.
TOH. Malihui,
Acting Tahsildar or Chirakkal.

Not reproduced.

Signed by Charles James Weir, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, this 5th day of December 1908.
C. J. Weir.

Ratified by the Governor-General of India in Council at Fort William in Bengal this 5th day of February 1909.

S. H. Butler,
Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Foreign Department.

SCHEDULE A

Name of Island.	Approximate area in square miles.	Dependant islets.
Androth ..	1 2/3	Nil
Kalpeni ..	1	(1) Cheriya, (2) Tilakkamand, (3) Pitti.
Kavarathi ..	1 1/3	(1) Pitti, (2) Subelipar consisting of Valiyakara and Cheriyaakara.
Agathi ..	1 7/8	(1) Kalpitti, (2) Bangaram, (3) Tinnakara and (4) Parali.
Minicoy- ..	2	Virinjili.

W. Francis,
Acting Collector.

*Schedule B not reproduced
(Vide G.O. 124 (Madras) Political dt. 2. March 1909.)

APPENDIX XXII

COPY OF APPOINTMENT ORDER OF THE KARYAKKAR:—¹

Letter from Adi Raja Beebi of Cannanore to Androth: the Elders of the four divisions, the Thousand of the country and the Mussaliyar of the mosque may bring this to their notice. On this 3rd of Makaram, the year 1038 (1862 A. D.) the management of affairs is entrusted to Puthiya Illath Apporayil Ayidros Haji of

¹ (Translated from Arakkal Records, Book No. 29, Malayalam era) 1034-1038.)

Androth. He may prove himself as the fittest person for which purpose he was sent, by observing loyalty, sincerity and authority in all affairs. He may observe the Islamic religion in its true spirits.

APPENDIX XXIV

COPY OF THE AGREEMENT OBTAINED FROM THE KHAZI OF AGATHI:-¹

Should any dispute of religious character arise or should any rupture caused among by the women who have husbands lead to the divorce being effected by the Karanavar and brought before me as supposedly under the jurisdiction of Shariyat. I will try such complaints jointly with the Karyakkar of Arakkal, the Elders and the accountant; I, the Khazi, would dispense justice according to Shariyat with regard to acts in violation of the injunctions of Shariyat. My judgment should be carried into effect by the Karyakkar and the Elders jointly. I will not act individually or according to my wishes in settling these matters,

Kunhamad Khazi
Agathi.

APPENDIX XXIV

INSTRUCTION ON JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS:-²

The complaints should be registered in their order and for conducting the trial a peon should be sent to the elders (Mooppas) so as to inform them the matter. The elders who will attend the place, may also participate in the trial. The elders should give their written opinion based on evidence and the Karyakkar should also give his verdict in support of their judgment. The entire proceedings should be recorded by the accountant in the file and he would carry out the execution of the judgment also..... The copies of the judgment should be sent to this place (Arakkal) if there is any appeal. Information about all events should be conveyed to his place and reports should reach here by every vessel coming to this shore.

¹ Translated from Arakkal Records, Book No.29 1034-1038 Malayalam era

² Translated from Arakkal Records, Book No.29, 1034-1038 Malayalam era

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GLOSSARY

- Dalawa** : One of the ministers of state.
- Elaya** : The husband of the Ali Raja Beebi is known by this title.
- Fasli** : A harvest year originated with the emperor Akbar. According to his instructions the Hijira year 953 (A D. 1555) was declared as the Fasli year 963. This starting point was further recognised by the British Government also in their reveuue assessment and collection.
- Janmam** : Absolute right over land property.
- Jamaḥandi** : Settlement of the amount of revenue assessed upon an estate, a village or district.
- Jumma** : Jama; total amount of revenue payable by a cultivator or Zamindar.
- Karar** : Written agreement or engagement.
- Karyakkar** : A manager or Agent.
- Malikhana** : A share or portion of income to the proprietor.
- Moplah** : Mappila; descendant of the Arabs who first settled in Malabar; the followers of Islam.
- Nigadi** : Corruptly Nikuti; periodical payment of the government assessment,
- Nikah** : Marriage.
- Paimash** : Paimaish; measurement; survey.
- Pandaram** : Corrupt from of Bhandagaram; Government; financial department.
- Pattam** : Stipulated portion of the produce from the land.
- Peshkash** : A present to the ruling power on receving an appointment or assignment of revenue; a Government demand of the land revenue.
- Tarawad** : A united family whose affairs are managed by one or more elder or chief members.

1Refer H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, (London, (855)).

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