

III. PART.

The History of Coorg.



1. THE LEGENDARY PERIOD OF THE KĀVÉRI-PURĀNA.

The ancient annals of Coorg history are the Kāvéri-Purāna which forms an episode in 4 chapters (11—14) of the Skanda- or Kārtikéya-Purāna; but in a brahminical legend we must not look for the simple record of a popular tradition. The Brahmins, the creative minds of the old Indian literature, had it in their power to mould any original tradition into whatever shape they pleased for the furtherance of their own interests.

It has ever been their policy, as gods terrestrial, to lay claim to the whole Indian world, their great champion Pars-hurāma having presented to their Patriarch Kashiyappa as a gift the conquered earth, the Jambudwīpa, after the defeat of the Kshetrias and the destruction of their 18 tribes. The primitive gods of the nations of Jambudwīpa or India were either turned into Avatāras of Vishnu or incorporated as Demons with the host of Siva, the high mountains were peopled with celebrated Rishis or hermits, and the mightiest and most fertilizing rivers brought into relationship with the principal brahminical deities. Ganga and Kāvéri fell to the lot of Siva; Krishna and Gódāveri were sacred to Vishnu.

The Kāvéri-Purāna or Kāvéri-Mahātmya (glorification of Kāvéri) describes the sacred river from its source to its union

with the sea and enumerates the holy bathing places and the temples on its banks. The Purána had naturally to treat also of Coorg, where the Kávéri rises, and accomplished the task as it would best suit brahminical interests. This was no easy matter. We have seen, how ill the tough materials of the wild world of Coorg suited brahminical taste; how these illiterate and untamable hunters seem to have ever had an instinctive antipathy to, and thorough contempt for, the sanctities and pretensions of the smooth and crafty Brahmins and that these were not slow in returning the compliment has been described in former pages.

The author of the Kávéri-Mahátmya, of which a Canarese translation has been made in 1864 by Sríniváseyengar at the desire and expense of the late Head Sheristadar, Biddianda Nanchappa, does not appear to have been very skilful; for anticipating no serious criticism he allowed his fancy to run away with his better judgment.

The story of the invisible river Sujoyóti, joining the Kánake and Kávéri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Sarasvati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the desert sands, but joins the Ganges and the Jumna (Yamuna), unseen, at Prayága. The holy Sarasvati must have an end worthy of its sanctity. But here in the Kávéri-Purána the third, altogether invisible, stream Sujoyóti is an idle fable introduced only to complete a southern trinity of holy rivers. The extraordinary anachronism of Párvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlechas or Turks, who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a Purána; for the Purána belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis, who were long extinct, when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honors

and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Purána seeks to glorify the holy river. Its divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean-churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudre was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purána fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

privilege, when turned into a river, of absolving all people bathing in the holy waters, from every sin they may have committed. Brahma, of course, grants this blessing to his daughter. Now another person appears upon the stage, who is to control the future course of Kávéri Muni's daughter. While Kávéri is still absorbed in her devotions, the great Rishi Agastya espies her, and forthwith asks her to become his wife. Though longing after the fulfilment of her vow, she consents to live with Agastya, under the condition, however, that she shall be at liberty to forsake him, whenever she is left alone. One day Agastya went to bathe in the river Kánake, leaving Kávéri near his own holy tank, guarded by his disciples. Thus deserted by Agastya against his promise, she plunged into the holy tank and flowed forth from it a beautiful river. The disciples tried to stay her course. She went under ground. At Bhágandakshétra she appeared again, and flowed on towards Valamburi. When Agastya, on his return, saw what had happened, he ran after Kávéri, begged her pardon, and entreated her to return and to remain with him. Unwilling to change her mind, yet loth to grieve Agastya, Kávéri divided herself, one half flowing off a river, the other half staying with the Rishi. Agastya then explained to the River-half, which road to take to the eastern sea, enumerating all the holy places lying in the way of the new stream.

Previous to this origin of the Kávéri river, a Brahmin, Suyajna, performed great devotions to Vishnu at Dhátripura, a spot near the fountain of the Kávéri. Vishnu appeared to him. Suyajna asked the god, to give him Mukti, (beatitude i. e. in the Hindu sense, loss of consciousness, even of self; individuality being the source of sin and misery) and to render him a benefactor of the world. Vishnu gave him Sujyóti for a daughter, and told him, "*she* will be a benefactress of the world, and *her* merit shall be thine. Go to the Agni Hill.

Kánake, a servant of Dévéndra, lives there. Into her charge give Sujyóti, and do thou attend to thy devotions". Suyajna fulfilled the command of Vishnu. Sujyóti joined Kánake in her meditations. After a while Dévéndra came on a visit, and asked Sujyóti to become his wife. She promised to obey; but secretly she opened her mind to Kánake and told her, what grief she felt at having to be Dévéndra's wife instead of becoming a river. Both of them set off immediately as two streams, Kánake and Sujyóti. Dévéndra finding himself cheated, cursed Sujyóti, and said: let thy waters disappear. Whereupon Sujyóti begged his forgiveness, when Dévéndra, pitying her, said: when Kávéri will appear, you and Kánake may join her and in her company go to the great sea. This word of Dévéndra was fulfilled, when Kávéri flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastya.

(There are only two streams, let it be remembered, which join at Bhágamandala. The Kávéri runs under ground for some distance, which is accounted for in the Purána by the interference of Agastya's disciples.)

Now follows a glowing description of all the holy country. In the eleventh chapter Sanaka and the other Rishis ask Sútapuránika about the country, in which the sources of the river Kávéri are. What name has it? they inquire; and what is the origin of the name? What are the frontiers of the country, its customs, its tribes?

To these questions Sútapuránika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Dharmavarma by the Rishi Dalbhya. The frontiers of the country are these:— it lies to the west of Rámanáthapura; (thither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Shiva's help against the Rákshasas, who destroyed her; her stony form is still to be seen there, says the bard. There Ráma, to atone for his murder of the Brahma-descended Rávana, consecrated in Shiva's name the holy Linga), to the north of the renowned Parshuráma's

Kshétra (holy land); three gávuda (6 leagues) to the east of the western sea; to the south of Kanva Rishi's habitation. From east to west it measures 6 yójana (72 miles), from north to south 3 yójana (36 miles).

The country has three names: the first, *Brahmakshétra*; the second, *Matsyadésha*; the third, *Kródadésha*. The origin of these names is as follows:—

a. When Brahma performed his pilgrimage over the world, i. e. India, he came to Sahyádri, where he saw a strange sight. A Nelli tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*) stood before him spreading a hundred boughs. As he looked at the tree, he beheld the form of Vishnu with shell, discus and club. The next moment, when he fixed his eye upon it, he saw nothing but a bare tree. Upon this Brahma worshipped Vishnu many days, pouring upon the tree out of his holy vessel water from the Virajá river. (This river is not to be found in modern geography; it runs beyond the seven seas, which surround the world). On this account the country, from which the holy river Kávéri springs, has been named Brahmakshétra.

b. Of the second name two accounts are given. There is a mountain called Halfmoon in this country, the bard says. Near it there is a holy spring. In it Vishnu took the form of a fish and worshipped Shiva. Shiva blessed the fish with immortality, and Vishnu gave the country the name of the Fish-country (*Matsyadésha*). The second account contains the root of Coorg tradition. Siddhártha the king of the renowned Matsyadésha, had four sons. They were learned, heroic, strong in battle. The first of them longed to rule his father's kingdom. The second was addicted to pleasure, and served his elder brother. The third had a turn for philosophy. The fourth, the most talented of the four, gave himself to ascetic exercises and visited all the Tírtas (places of holy water washing away sin), but he felt also a strong desire after dominion, and was fond of worldly pleasure. His name was

Chandravarma. In due time he took leave of his father and set out to seek his fortune. He was accompanied by a goodly army. He visited in turn many of the holy places, Jagannáth, Tirupati, Kanchi (Conjeveram), Chidambara. At Shrífranga he worshipped Ranganátha. At Dhanushkóti he bathed according to the precepts of the Shástras. Thence to Ráméshvara, to Anantashayana (Cochin), at last to Brahmádri. Here he dismissed his army and devoted himself to the worship of Párvati. Pleased with the fervent worshipper, the goddess appeared to him, and permitted him to ask a boon. Chandravarma replied: "I desire a kingdom, better than my father's. I desire a wife of my own caste and a fruitful mother of children. I desire victory over mine enemies, I desire entrance into Shiva's heaven after death." Párvati replied: "all your desires shall be fulfilled, except the second. On account of the sins of a former life, you cannot obtain children born of a wife of your own caste. This wish you must forego in this life, in another life it may be fulfilled. You shall, however, have a wife of your own caste, and be enabled to fulfill every holy rite. But, besides her, you shall have a Shúdra wife." Saying this, she created a Shúdra woman, twelve years old, adorned with every charm, and gave her to Chandravarma. He received her at the hand of Párvati, "but," said he full of sorrow, "what will be the use to me of Shúdra children? I shall not have a real full-born son, and shall be debarred from heaven. What then is a kingdom to me? What is to me enjoyment? What then shall I do with this girl? Take back this woman, O Párvati!" Párvati says: "give up your sorrow, O Chandravarma. Through my grace thou shalt be happy in this life and in the life to come. Hear my word! Eleven sons shall be born unto thee. They will not be Shúdras. Being children of a Kshetriya father and a Shúdra mother, they will be called Ugra (fierce men). They will be valiant men, worshippers of myself and Shiva,

righteous, true and faithful, devoted to the Brahmins, fit to rule, honored by kings, in every respect, except the possession of the four Védas and six Angas, equal to the Kshetriyas. They will be thy joy in this life and in the next. In this holy country I will appear, in due time, a river rich in blessings, the daughter of Brahma, the daughter of Kavéra Muni, the wife of Agastya. From the sacred tank of the Rishi, near the roots of the holy Nelli tree, in the month of Tulá, I will flow forth and give many blessings to thy sons from love to thee. The country is dear to me as mine eye. Mlénchhas have now rule over it, enemies of gods and Brahmins, destroyers of elephants and other living things, subverters of the law, sword-handed, wrathful, of terrific valour, with frightful bodies, a burden of the earth, the offspring of drunkenness. By my grace go forth to conquer them. Do thou become the king of this land, uphold the laws and establish holy Brahmins." Párvati gave him a victorious sword, a white horse, quick as wind, and an army, and sent him against the Mlénchhas (Turks). Upon this Párvati disappeared. Chandravarma, by Párvati's blessing, overcame the Mlénchhas. Then he collected his army, all the Rishis and all the Brahmins, to celebrate his marriage with a woman of his own caste, according to the Shástras. Both the king and the queen were crowned by the Rishis and Brahmins. Chandravarma now gave houses and lands to the Brahmins, and called also other tribes to settle in his kingdom. The country was called Matsyadésha, because a son of the king of Matsyadésha was its first king.

c. The third name of the country is Kródadésha. The following account is given of its origin. Chandravarma was the best of kings. His Kshetriya queen was barren, but his Shúdra wife bore him eleven sons. The first-born of them was Dévakánta. He and all his brothers were brought up according to the word of Párvati. Like Kshetriyas they re-

ceived the name, the holy cord and the tonsure, with due ceremonies. When they arrived at maturity, Chandravarma was anxious to obtain for them wives worthy of such princes. He heard, that the king of Vidarbhadésha had a hundred daughters born of Shúdra mothers. Ambassadors were sent to Vidarbha Ráya, who cheerfully agreed to give his daughters in marriage to the valiant sons of Chandravarma. He himself accompanied them to the mountains of the Matsya country and to the palace of Chandravarma. A great royal marriage-feast ensued. Dévakánta, the first-born of Chandravarma, received twenty of Vidarbha Ráya's daughters in marriage. The second son sixteen, the third twelve, the fourth ten, the fifth and sixth each eight, the seventh and eighth princes received each seven of the princesses, and to each of the three youngest sons of Chandravarma four of the daughters of Vidarbha Ráya were given. When all the festivities were concluded, Vidarbha Ráya returned to his own country, but a good number of his people stayed with his daughters in the country of their adoption. Chandravarma's family multiplied greatly. Vidarbha Ráya's daughters became, by the blessing of Párvati, fruitful mothers. When age came upon Chandravarma, he grew tired of the world and of his kingdom. He called his sons together, placed the crown on Dévakánta's head, exhorted his sons to love and union, and retired with his two wives to the Himálaya, there to spend the rest of his days in the worship of Párvati and self-mortifying exercises. Before his departure, he told his sons and grandsons, that Párvati would soon be born in their country as the holy river Kávéri; "and you will be happy," he added, "as long as you abide in the worship of Brahmins, of Shiva and of Párvati."

Dévakánta was now king. All the houses of Chandravarma's sons abounded in children. Each of them had more than a hundred sons. They were all mighty men of valour, strong of arm and foot. Their nails resembled the fangs of

boars. Ere long there was not room enough for them. The produce of their fields did not suffice to feed them. But they righted themselves soon. They went out to prepare new fields for themselves. With the nails of their strong hands and feet they tore up the ground and levelled the slopes of the hills with the valleys in a circumference of five yójanas. Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the Varáhávatára (the boar-incarnation of Vishnu), the country of Chandrarvarma's sons was henceforth called Kródadésha, and its inhabitants Króda people. This word Króda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Kodagu, which is the present, and probably was the original, name of the country.

From the time of the departure and prophecy of Chandrarvarma, his sons and their people waited for the appearance of the holy river Kávéri. Two days before Tulásankramana (the time of the sun entering the sign of Libra) Párvati appeared in a dream to king Dévakánta, and ordered him to assemble his whole people in a place, called Valamburi. There she would appear to them. Accordingly the whole tribe assembled at Valamburi. The river came rushing down the valley, and the assembled Coorgs bathed in the fresh flood. The violence of the stream turned off the knots of the women's dresses round to their backs, and the Coorg women (says the Purána) wear their gowns in this fashion until this day, in remembrance of the first bathing of the Coorgs in the water of the Kávéri at Valamburi. In the middle of the stream, Párvati appeared in person. "Ask a boon of me," she cried. The Coorgs asked for fecundity, for dominion, for riches and for a priest. Párvati answered: "well; a priest

you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéraráya, who has for three lives worshipped me" ('three lives' does not here mean, father, son and grandson, but three actual lives of the same person, who worshipped Párvati until his death, and, when he was born again according to Hindu theory, spent his second life, and after that his third life, in the service of the goddess.) The Coorgs went and found him at the sources of the Kávéri. He taught them during a whole month, which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year in the month of Tulá (October—November) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri.

2. POPULAR TRADITION.

Disappointed by the extravagant brahminical legends regarding the origin and early history of the Coorgs, we naturally expect, that the Coorg bards, who in their Palamés so graphically and with truthful simplicity depict the domestic and social events of Coorg life, would with equal artlessness have preserved the early pages of their country's history; but Coorg shares in the general fate of primitive Indian history—the dark ages are left with hardly a ray of reassuring light. Coorg tradition has been supplanted by Brahminism and what information one is able to obtain is in most cases but a faint echo of the legends of the Kávéri Purána or some other brahminical imposition. There is, however, one story free from this imputation, and it is of considerable value as it throws light on the origin of some of the Coorg deities, who are not the creations of brahminical fancy, though their shrines are now presided over by Brahmins. The story is taken from oral tradition, and runs thus:—In ancient times there lived in the Malabar country six brothers and a sister.

Five of them, accompanied by their sister, Ponnangálatamma, went to Coorg by the Páditoraghát. While they were on the road, four of them said: "How is it that our sister comes with us; the people will say, that she is our wife?" One of them replied: "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to the Chouripadé-hill near the Kakabé river they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa said to his sister: "Prepare us some food." She replied: "There is no fire nor rice." Iguttappa said: "I will give you rice, but you must boil it without fire." She replied: "I will boil it without fire, but you must eat it without salt." To this the brothers agreed. Then Ponnangálatamma, seeing a cow, which belonged to the Paradandra house went and milked her, letting the milk fall into a chatty full of rice, and while the brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, where it began to boil. Then she called her brothers to eat the rice which she had prepared. When they had eaten enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it up into the air and exclaimed: "See how the hail is descending from the sky." Ponnangálatamma, angry at this, took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow on his back and said: "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." Then the brothers all laughed at him. Afterwards, while they were sitting together and chewing betel, Pálúrappa said: "Let us see whose betel is the reddest." Then they all spat out the betel into their hands, looked at it, and the brothers threw the betel behind their heads, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. The sister, deluded by this, threw the betel into her mouth again, and went on chewing. They now said that she had lost her caste. Their brother in Malabar too, to whom they appealed, confirmed their decision. Ponnangálatamma was excessively grieved, and wept bitterly. Iguttappa afterwards threw an arrow from the Iguttappabetta and ordered his sister to go

with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytúrappa has a temple at Beytur in Malabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Pálúr in Kuyangéri-nád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree.

Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Nayakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon.

3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS.

In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coörg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-

stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

We have seen that the Coorg language and the ante-brahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

rated, as well as Malayálam influence on Coorg superstition, points to a settlement of Malayálam immigrants, and it is not unlikely, that in the days of the formidable Bellála dynasty, which was, or pretended to be, of the Zádu branch of the Rájputs, a military settlement was effected in Coorg, as the Bellála Rájahs held sway over the whole of Karnata together with Malabar, the Tamil country and part of Telingana. When this kingdom was subverted by the Mlénchhas or Mussulmans about A. D. 1310 or 11, under Káfur, the western provinces and Coorg amongst them seem to have escaped the ravages of the conquerors, but ten years later Khusru was sent to complete the work of destruction; it is, however, supposed that the expedition extended only to Coorg (vide Elphinstone's and Marshman's Histories of India). This Mussulman conquest in the Deccan was of short duration. In 1336 already their possessions passed into the hands of the Vijayanagara kingdom and there can be little doubt, but that Coorg was included amongst its dominions, perhaps as an outlying neglected and wild jungle district, at least there are no records whatever in token of an early state of civilization. Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore Vol. II. p. 103 states, that the Coorgs are conjectured "to be descended from the conquering army of the Cadumba kings," whose capital was Banawási, in the southeast corner of the present Soonda or Sóde district of North-Canara. On what evidence this conjecture is based, he does not explain. It points, however, to the same conclusion, that a military settlement of some branch of the neighbouring ruling dynasties was effected in Coorg and this opinion is also supported by the Kávéri-Purána in its account of *Matsyadésha*, the puránic name of Coorg, as already stated. After the battle of Tálícóta in January 1565, the monarchy of Vijayanagara and with it the Hindu power of Southern India were broken and the country fell into the hands of petty princes or of those insurgent officers of

the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembáu, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Náds. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembáu Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri government.

That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. These are most numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years

ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

itself the stronger, the narrower its local limits were confined, and the less it came into civilizing contact with surrounding nations. With the ascendancy of the Ikeri princes in Coorg, who spoke Canarese, this language became the written official medium and counteracted the Malayálam influence; but, however great the latter may have been through the intellectual superiority of the Malayálam people over the savage Coorg mountaineers, who dreaded their supposed supernatural powers, it never laid a beneficial hold on the Coorg mind by imparting the means of acquiring knowledge in the Malayálam tongue. It is true the horoscopes which the Kanyas wrote and still write for the Coorgs are in the Malayálam language, but they are unintelligible to the Coorgs. Thus it was left to the Coorg Rájahs of the Ikeri house to mould or rather to disfigure the Coorg mind into the character in which the English found it on their assumption of the Government in 1834; that it was of the most pitiable description, we have enough evidence to adduce: Lieut. Connor describes thus the condition of the people under ~~Lingaraja~~—and the picture applies equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rájah—: “The chief of Codagu exercises an authority, that knows no restraint. He shares in common with the gods, the homage of the people and a more than ordinary portion of eastern humiliation is observed towards him; he is approached with a reverence due alone to the deity and addressed with all the servility fear could yield, or despotism claim; in his presence, in which no subject dare be seated or indeed within the precincts of his fort, the subject clasps his hands as in the act of prayer—the last sign of slavish vassalage—; and he is accosted in a language quite correspondent with this suppliant attitude; his subjects know no duty more imperious than attending to his mandates, which received with veneration are executed with singular precision, and his projects of whatever nature seconded without enquiry; nor would the

most presumptuous hazard an opinion as to the propriety of his commands or actions; but fear alone produces this instantaneous compliance with his will, however capricious; and obedience is maintained by an exemplary severity that, however it may command submission, cannot create affection.

“The rigorous exercise of such unbounded power will of course be tempered by customs and usages, which having the force of law and sanctity of religion, must challenge some respect, but the real situation of the people is complete slavery; under so arbitrary a sway safety of person and permanency of property must depend on the precarious will of the ruler; political freedom forms no part of the elements of an Asiatic system of government, nor perhaps is it desirable it should; but the inhabitants of this little state are interdicted from almost any share of that practical liberty which their neighbours enjoy.”

Col. Fraser, in his despatches to the Supreme Government dated 7th April 1834 states: “The whole and entire power of the country and almost the very faculty of thinking, seem to be concentrated in the Rájah himself, and we shall continue to know little or nothing of the disposition and wishes of the people of Coorg until the utter and permanent abolition of the power of the Rájah shall emancipate them from their present slavish fear.”

Again under date 12th April 1834: “Their minds are so abject and enslaved, that they (the Coorgs) dare not speak against their late Rájah or they have not a motive for doing so.”

Again in a letter dated 14th July 1834: “If we could succeed in dispelling the moral gloom, that has weighed upon the spirits and faculties of the people, as a consequence of the wretched system of government under which they were placed, an effect that, I am happy to say, is becoming daily more perceptible, I think the small district of Coorg will be

found in its ameliorated condition a year or two hence, to possess many advantages denied to other parts of India.”

4. HISTORY OF THE COORG RĀJAHS
AS DELINEATED IN THE RĀJENDRANĀME AND FROM
OTHER DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

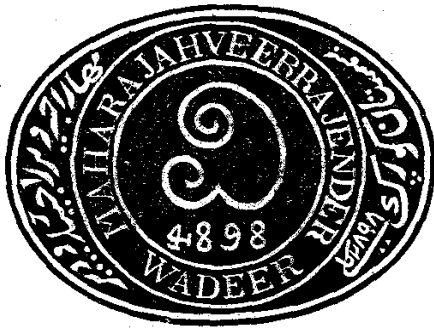
From 1633 to 1807.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

The Rājendranāme (account of Rājendra, the king of heroes) is the work of Dodda-Virājendra Vodeya, the hero of Coorg History and the beau ideal of the Coorgs of a warrior king, and comprises, from 1633 to 1807, a period of 175 years 2 months and 7 days.

A manuscript copy of the Canarese original was found in the Archives at Mercara in 1834, and, with the original English translation obtained from the records of the Chief Commissioner's Office at Bangalore, was edited by Dr. Moegling

and printed for the Madras Government in the Mangalore Mission Press in 1857. The subjoined seal of the Coorg Rājahs ornaments the front page. The names of the Rājah and of his ancestors as well as those of English Governor Generals, Go-



vernors and other high functionaries are written with red ink throughout the book. The chronicle is very well written. It gives the history of Coorg, especially the account of the Rājah's exploits and of his intercourse with the officers of the East India Company in simple language. Not one foolish story, not one improper expression, disfigures this Canarese

book. The language is strongly impregnated with Hindustani words, yet it retains its Canarese character thoroughly, and far surpasses both in composition and idiom the bombastic, would-be classical Canarese translation of the Kávéri-Purána.

The *English translation*, made by Lieut. R. Abercromby in 1808 at Mangalore, renders accurately the contents of Dodda-Virájendra's original, and very likely remained untouched by the Rájah's successors who were unacquainted with the English language. But the *Canarese original* has undoubtedly been destroyed after the preparation of spurious copies one of which remained in the Mercara Archives. A long passage relating to the intrigues of Appájirája, in which the name of Channavíra another relative of the Rájah's is mixed up, does not appear in the English translation by Robert Abercromby, and is probably an interpolation made by the late Rájah after the murder of Channavíra and his family, some time before the year 1825. The two last pages of the English translation, on the other hand, are not to be found in the Canarese original. They were probably expunged by Lingarája or his son, because they contained the last will of Dodda-Virájendra, the suppression of which lay in their interest. The translator, who could have had no motive to deviate from his original, finished the translation almost a year before the death of Virarája. Virarája's guilty successors have dabbled with other documents, forged some and destroyed others. The above conjecture seems, therefore, to be legitimate enough.

As for the trustworthiness of Virarája's history, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of its statements, but it is very far from giving the whole truth. Three principal omissions deserve to be noticed:—

By commencing the history of his family at so late a date, Virarája escapes the disagreeable necessity of disclosing two circumstances, without a knowledge of which Coorg affairs

contain much that is unintelligible, namely the dependence of the Coorg Rájahs on the Ikeri royal family of Shivappanáyaka, from which probably they descended, and the fact, that they belonged, with the Ikeri family, to the sect of the Lingaites, while the Coorgs themselves are unconnected with any of the general religious systems of India. Hyder and Tippu, after having absorbed the kingdom of Ikeri, claimed the allegiance of the Coorg Rájahs as a matter of course, and knew how to enforce their rights of sovereignty as long as their day of prosperity lasted.

The second point is indicated, indeed, but in the slightest possible manner, that the Coorgs in their plundering expeditions into Mysore, the provinces on the Western Coast and the districts to the north of Coorg, pillaged without mercy the unfortunate towns, villages and farm-houses, which fell into their hands. Remnants of the spoils of the low countries may yet be treasured up among the hoards of the wealthy families of Coorg. Noses, ears and hands were cut off by the Coorg banditti, they deserve no better name, without ceremony, for the sake of the jewels attached to them. The Coorgs became proverbial for wanton cruelty and sensuality in all the surrounding districts, to which they extended their ravages.

Lastly, the Rájah is most careful not even to hint at the system of terror by which he ruled his country. Human life seems to have had very little value indeed in his sight. He had been trained in a bad school. Hyder had cut off one whole branch of the family of the Coorg Rájahs. Vírarája's nearest relatives died in prison at Periapatna, the victims of hunger and disease. At Kurchi, his own wives and children were cut off in one night by the robbers sent from Kóte and led by a traitor, a Brahmin. Amidst bloodshed and rapine he had grown up. No wonder, that he would not spare those who were, or whom he conceived to be, his enemies among

his subjects. But the Rájendranáme is studiously silent on these subjects. The book was written for the use of his friends and patrons. For this purpose the English translation was made, at the request of Vírarája by Mr. Abercromby, and Hindustani translations distributed as remembrances among the higher officers in the Company's service. Vírarája was anxious, more anxious than appears to have been natural in a person of his situation, to bear a fair character in the eyes of the English Sirkar. He seems to have been conscious, that to his own people he was an object of terror, probably of hatred, and that he had no friend on earth, but the English Government, whose gratitude he had indeed fully deserved.

The English translation of the Rájendranáme being available for further particulars, a succinct summary may suffice our present purpose.

A. PRINCES OF COLLATERAL LINES.

1633—1780.

a. Muddurája and his descendants.

The chronicle commences with the reign of Muddurája who is introduced as the son of Appájirája and the grandson of Vírarája. He reigned at Haléri in 1633, but subsequently established himself at Mercara, where he built the Fort and a Palace in 1681. He had three sons: Dodda-Vírappa, Appájirája and Nandarája. After a long reign of 54 years Muddurája died and his eldest son Dodda-Vírappa succeeded him. The second son was settled at Haléri and the third at Horamale.

Dodda-Vírappa, with the harelip, had a son Appájirája who married and had a son, whose name was Chikka-Vírappa Vodeya.

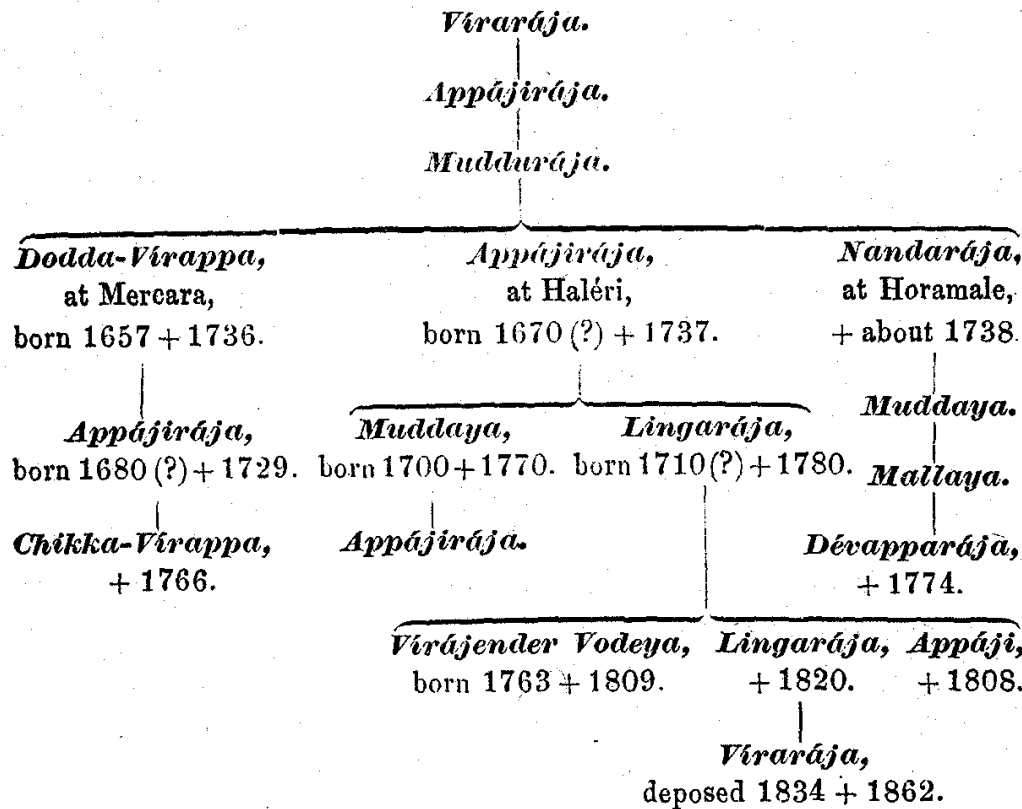
Appáji of Haléri had five sons of whom three died in early life. The eldest Muddaya had a son Appájirája; the second

Lingarāja married Dévambikegama, who bore him a son at the full moon of June 1763, Virarājendra Vodeya, the author and hero of the Rājendranāme. His two brothers were Lingarāja and Appāji.

Of the Horamale branch Nandarāja had a son Muddaya whose son was Mallaya.

The relationship of the descendents of the different lines will appear more clearly from the annexed

Genealogical Tree.



Such was the state of things in Coorg, when Chikkadéva Vodeya of Mysore, Dodda Channamāji, the mother of Sómashékara Náyaka of Ikeri, Dodda-Sadáshivarāja of Sode, Venkatádri Náyaka of Bélur, Viravasurāja of Chirakal lived and ruled their respective principalities. The country of Periapatna and of Coorg were then one. The frontier of

Mysore and Coorg passed between Uddur in Coorg and Kattemálalavádi in Mysore.

b. Dodda-Virappa.

In the reign of Dodda-Virappa of Mercara, Nanjunda, his kinsman, was Rájah of Periapatna. Some of his officials opened a treasonable correspondence with Chikkadéva Vodeya of Mysore whom they invited to come and rule over them. Nanjarája, perceiving the threatened danger, went to Mercara to implore the assistance of his relative, who espousing his cause, marched immediately to support him, but on reaching Siddapur he had the mortification to learn, that Periapatna had fallen and that Vírarája, the son of Nanjunda, who had been entrusted with the command of the capital, seeing his situation desperate, had gallantly fallen in its defence, having previously in compliance with the sanguinary dictates of honor, put to death his wives and children to preserve them from pollution.

(In Col. Wilk's "History of Mysore" this event is placed in the reign of Canty Reva Narsa Rájah in 1644 and Lieut. Connor in his "Memoir of the Codagu Survey" mentions "Immadi" as the Rájah of Mysore who attacked Periapatna, but he was only 20 years old, when in 1637 he succeeded Cham Ráj and as he was poisoned in 1639, it is not likely, that he attempted the conquest about 50 years later!)

Encouraged by his success the Mysore Rájah, Chikkadéva Vodeya, prepared for the conquest of Coorg. His army advanced but a short way beyond Bálele in Coorg and encamped on the plain of Palupáre, when they were met by the Coorgs. Before daybreak Dodda-Virappa attacked them and slew 15,000 men with 77 officers, the rest fled back into Mysore. Immediately after this event the Coorg Rájah marched to Tómará, to oppose an invasion of the Rájah of Kotangadi, who with an army of 5,000 Nairs had ascended

the Ghats and in a fortified camp at Tómará awaited the issue of the Mysorean campaign.

Dodda-Vírappa had previously detached a body of fifteen hundred men in advance, and the decisive victory gained soon enabled him to follow with a larger force. He made a spirited attack, forced the entrenched camp of Víravarma and destroyed the Rájah and his army at one blow.

After some time Chikkadéva Vodeya invaded Bélur, the country of Venkatadri Náyaka. Dodda-Vírappa, desirous of obtaining a share of the spoil for himself, sent a force northward and seized upon the Yélusávira district. The Mysore Rájah, having occupied most of the country, demanded that district as a part of its territory; but little disposed to restore, what he could claim with as good a right as Chikkadéva, he declined compliance and a predatory warfare ensued which, however, after a short time ended in a compromise: Coorg retaining the district in dispute, but Mysore receiving a portion of the revenue arising from it. On this account the Yélusávira district received the name of Harige Shíme i. e. country belonging to two parties.

Dodda-Vírappa had enjoyed but a short repose, when the Rájah of Chirakal implored his aid against the arms of Sómashékara Náyaka of Ikéri who had already made rapid strides towards the conquest of his territory. The Coorg chief exerted his influence to avert the impending fate; the Náyaka, however, refused to listen to his proposals, pleading the expense of the war in money and men. At last he yielded so far, as to agree to evacuate the country on payment of 18 lacs of Rupees, which Víravarma promised to pay and begged Dodda-Vírappa to become security for him. On Sómashékara's return to Ikéri, he halted some days at Subramanya, where the Coorg Rájah paid him a visit of state. Nine lacs of Rupees had been unhesitatingly paid by Víravarma, but when the second deputation from Coorg came and demanded

the balance, he treated them most insolently. Dodda-Vírapa forthwith despatched a force of 5000 Coorgs under his general Jógi Muttana, to ensure a more strict observance of the convention. Payment was delayed, however, from day to day. Muttana at length threatened; whereupon the Malayálam debtor formed a scheme to destroy the whole force, which had come to dun him so disagreeably. Intelligence of this design reaching Muttana, he marched directly to Cannanore, defeating a body of Chirakal troops who opposed his passage, and by means of boats the Coorg force reached Kumbala, a port near Mangalore, and empty handed returned to Coorg through Tulunád. Dodda-Vírapa seems to have taken no revenge on the treacherous Víravarma, but paid the remaining nine lacs to Sómashékara, who presented his kinsman with a number of villages in the Tulu country contiguous to Coorg to supply him with milk (Amrita). Dodda-Vírapa took this opportunity for purchasing the district Sulya with money taken from the Talekávéri temple-treasury, in order to secure a regular supply of cocoanuts for the goddess. The whole district was called Amara-Sulya and became a part of the territory of the Coorg Rájahs.

Dodda-Vírapa evinced throughout his long and vigorous reign an unconquerable spirit and, though surrounded by powerful neighbours, neither the number nor strength of his enemies seem to have relaxed his courage or damped his enterprise. He died in 1736, 78 years old. Two of his wives ascended the funeral pile with the dead body of the Rájah.

c. *Chikka-Vírapa.*

On the death of his grandfather Chikka-Vírapa, who in 1730 already had been anointed successor, assumed authority. His early years were clouded by misfortune; having lived in prison from his childhood, he was sickly and subject to ner-

vous complaints. Appájirája, his father, and the only son of the late Rájah, incurring the suspicion of having caused the destruction of his wife at the instigation of a favourite mistress, had been thrown into prison, where he languished for twelve years until his death, when his son who had shared his misfortunes, was released and, like many oriental despots, quitted a prison to seat himself on a throne.

During his weak reign a change, ominous to the destinies of Southern India, took place in the government of Mysore. The restless ambition of an adventurer had succeeded to the peaceful and indolent rule of a Hindu prince, and Mysore, now under the vigorous government of Hyder Ali threatened destruction to the smaller states in its vicinity. He seems early to have turned his thoughts towards Coorg. When Hyder took Ikéri, which was thenceforth called Hydernagara (Nuggur) and incorporated the kingdom with his growing territory, he considered himself the liege-lord of Coorg and, though foiled for a long while in his assertion of suzerainty, at last he succeeded by dint of fraud and force, in coercing the refractory hill-chiefs into a state of vassalage. As a preliminary step he urged the claim on the Yélusávira district, which had been relinquished by a former government. Chikka-Vírappa, unwilling to provoke so powerful an opponent, yielded to the demand; but Hyder, not satisfied with this concession and fertile in expedients, found soon a pretext for breaking with the prince. In 1765 he sent an army under Fazul Ulla Khan against Coorg. On its north-eastern frontier many battles were fought between the two countries. At last the Mysoreans were defeated and Hyder offered to the Rájah of Coorg eternal peace and the Uchingi district, contiguous to the northern frontier of Coorg, for 300,000 pagodas. Chikka-Vírappa acceded to the proposal. He paid a portion of the sum and sent hostages for the remainder; the stipulations on the part of the Mahomedan commander were as yet unexe-

cuted, when the Rájah died. Having no children, the family of Dodda-Vírapa became extinguished and in its stead the representatives of the Haléri- and Horamale-family, Muddurájah and Muddaya ruled Coorg together in good harmony. They immediately demanded the execution of the treaty, but Hyder, under various pretexts, eluded its fulfilment. After protracted fruitless negotiations, the Rájahs recommenced hostilities. Lingarája, the younger brother of Muddurája, attacked Fyzul Ulla Khan near the Yélusávira district and defeated him. Attempting to retire towards Mangalore by the Bissly Ghaut, his Coorg opponent outmarched and faced him again, and completely routed his army. The whole camp, treasure, guns and ammunition fell into the hands of the Coorgs. Hyder proposed peace. In lieu of the Uchingi country he gave the districts of Panje and Belláre for the sum of 75,000 Rupees already paid to his general and fixed the boundary between Mysore and Coorg at the river Sarve. Thus peace was for a while established in 1768.

d. Dévapparája and Lingarája.

In 1770 both Rájahs died, Muddaya and Muddurája. Lingarája of Haléri wished to see his nephew, Muddurája's son, on the throne. On the part of the Horamale family, Malleya the son of Muddaya proposed his own son Dévapparája as successor to the throne of Coorg. A fatal family dispute arose, that led the way to foreign subjection. Lingarája, being unable to force his claims, fled with his son Vírarája and his nephew Appájirája, to seek the powerful aid of Hyder, who at this period exercised supreme control in Mysore. Wolf Hyder was delighted to be chosen umpire between the quarrelling jungle-sheep of Coorg, and promised every assistance to his new clients, whom he kept as his guests at Seringapatam. The irruption of Triyambaka Máva (uncle or father-in-law to Shrímant Peshwa of Poona) which occurred at this juncture,

(1771) gave full employment to Hyder's arms and obliged him, reluctantly to postpone any attempts at improving a circumstance so congenial to his designs.

After the departure of the Mahrattas, a severe famine prostrated the whole of Mysore. Lingarája suggested an expedition into Coorg, where plenty of grain would be found. Hyder Ali took his advice and in 1773 he marched his army into Coorg by way of Arkalgúdu and Bettikanave, but was repulsed with loss in Yedavanád. Intrigue, however, removed the obstacles which force could not overcome. The seed of discord was sown amongst the adherents of the ruling prince and the Mysore troops on again passing the frontier at Bálele, in Kiggatnád, were joined by a large body of Coorgs and marched without opposition straight to the capital, Mercara. Dévapparája sought refuge with the Rájah of Kóte, but true to the character of his house, Víravarma gave the fugitive Coorg an inhospitable reception saying: "Your ancestor, Dodda-Vírappa, took the life of my ancestor Víravarma at Tómará. Your head shall now atone, unless you redeem yourself with a round sum." The hapless refugee paid to his treacherous friend Rs. 1,666; but feeling still insecure, he fled in disguise with only four attendants; but was seized by Hyder's people at Harihar and carried to Seringapatam, where his family lay already in prison, and was murdered together with them. Thus the Horamale branch of the Coorg family was cut off by the sword of Hyder Ali.

The Nawab now offered to restore Coorg to Lingarája, if he paid the expense of the expedition. But the resources of the country being exhausted, he consented to receive a yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000; he also sanctioned the Coorg family to take possession of a part of Wynád, said to have been wrested from them at some remote period; but, apparently repenting of his moderation, he after a few months demanded and obtained, though with constrained assent, the cession of Amara-

Sulya, Panje, Belláre and Yélusávira. With a force of 3,000 Coorgs Lingarája invaded Wynád and erected a wooden fort at Kalpavati, by means of which and a force of 2000 men he kept the district for five years.

When Appájirája died in 1775, Lingarája himself succeeded to the throne, setting aside the claims of his two nephews, whom, however, he brought up together with his own son Vírarája Vodeya. In 1779 the Wynád garrison was obliged to retire, being short of provisions and closely pressed by the Rájah of Kóte. Upon this disagreeable news, Lingarája despatched a body of 2000 Coorgs, headed by his two nephews. On the way this force was intercepted by the Rájah of Kóte and defeated; amongst the slain was one of the princes and the other, being taken prisoner, was soon after put to death.

B. COORG UNDER DODDA-VÍRARĀJENDRA VODEYA.

1780—1807.

a. Vírarájendra in Mysore captivity.

Lingarája died in the beginning of 1780. His sons, Vírarájendra Vodeya and Lingarája were of tender age, the eldest being only about 16. Hyder, conceiving it a favourable moment to complete the spoliation, he had so successfully begun, assumed entire possession of Coorg, under the pretence of being guardian to the princes until they would come of age. Meanwhile they were to reside in the fort of Garúru. A Brahmin, Subarasaya, formerly Káranika (Treasurer) of the Coorg Rájah was appointed Commissioner of Coorg by the usurper, and a Mussulman garrison held Mercara fort, which Hyder caused to be strengthened.

Enraged at the abduction of their princes from their country and the Brahmin's lording it over them, the Coorgs broke out in open rebellion in June 1782. On hearing that

Hyder had marched for the Carnatic, to oppose the British army under Sir Eyre Coote, they drove the Mussulmans out of the country and proclaimed their independance.

The death of Hyder prevented an immediate retribution; but Tippu Sultan, his son, was fully determined on the reconquest of Coorg. He first sent the family of the Coorg Rájahs to Periapatna and after having treacherously seized General Mathews and his officers at Nuggur and reduced Mangalore in 1784, he marched through Coorg on his way to Seringapatam, when he compounded matters with the insurgents. On this occasion, according to Col. Wilk's account, Tippu is said to have harangued the Coorgs on the subject of their moral and political sins in the following words: "If six brothers dwell together in one house, and the elder brother marries, his wife becomes equally the wife of the other five, and the intercourse so far from being disgraceful, is familiarly considered as a national rite; not a man in the country knows his father, and the ascendancy of women and bastardy of your children, is your common attribute. From the period of my father's conquest of the country, you have rebelled seven times and caused the death of thousands of our troops; I forgive you once more; but if rebellion be ever repeated, I have made a vow to God, to honour every man of the country with Islam; I will make you aliens of your home and establish you in a distant land, and thus at once extinguish rebellion and plurality of husbands and initiate you in the more honorable practice of Islam!" But scarcely had Tippu left, when the Coorgs, stirred by the apprehension of incurring his vengeance, again took up arms, and repossessed themselves of their native hills in 1785.

To suppress this revolt, Tippu despatched a force of 15,000 men under Janulabdin. At Ulagulli, in Múdugeri-nád, the Mussulmans were opposed by a body of 4,000 Coorgs, who after a sharp encounter forced them to retire to Bettada-

pur with the loss of their baggage. The ill success of his general induced Tippu, to take the command in person, and having collected another army, he entered Coorg by the same route and reached Mercara with but little loss, where he effected an amicable settlement. Under pretence of peaceful intentions and conciliatory measures, Tippu allured most of the Coorgs to Talekávéri (in 1785), and when they felt most secure, he seized them suddenly with their families about 85,000 souls, sent them to Seringapatam and, carrying out his former threat, had them forcibly circumcised. On the same auspicious day, when he added so great a number to Islam, he assumed the royal dignity and declared himself independent of Delhi.

Into depopulated Coorg he sent Mussulman landlords and gave to them the lands and slaves of the exiles, besides a supply of labourers from Adwáni in the Bellary district and armed them with a degree of cruel proscription:

“The country is given to you in Jaghir, improve it and be happy; the extermination of those mountaineers being determined on, you are required as an imperious duty, to search for and to slay all who may have escaped our just vengeance; their wives and children will become your slaves.” A Brahmin Nágappaya, a nephew of Subarasaya, was charged with the government of Coorg; but was soon convicted of embezzlement and condemned to the gallows, when he fled to the Kóte Rájah in Malabar.

b. Virarájendra at liberty.

Conflicts with Kóte and Mysore.

Such was the state of affairs, when in December 1788 Virarájendra (also written Virarája) Vodeya, accompanied by his wife and his two brothers, Lingarája and Appáji, the principal survivors of the Coorg family, effected his escape

from Periapatna after a confinement of six years. Leaving his family in a secure retreat at Kurchi in Kiggatnád, Vírarája was inveigled beyond the frontier by Nágappaya and fell into the power of Víravarma, the Kóte Rájah, who availed himself of his misfortunes and obliged him after some detention to cede, as an atonement for the death of his ancestor who was slain at Tómará, the site of a fort at that place and to give up for ever three valuable and extensive districts viz. Kiggatnád, Amatnád and Yedenalknád. Complying under the pressure of circumstances, Vírarája thus purchased his freedom and returned to Coorg. A fortnight after Víravarma ascended the Ghats to take possession of the ceded districts. Now came Vírarája's turn. With a number of Coorgs, who had rallied round their chief, he surrounded the camp of the Kóte Rájah, and forced him, not only to return the document, extorted from him at Arala, but to renounce also on his part every claim to the Wynád country.

Vírarája now sallied forth at the head of his Coorgs to fight the Mussulmans. In a short time he had cleared the country of the usurpers from Bissly Ghat to Manantody. Successful plundering expeditions into the Mysore were carried on at the same time and large supplies of cattle and grain carried away into Coorg, where they were divided among the adherents of the Rájah. During this season, full of daring and successful exploits, the gallant Vírarája once, on his return from an expedition into Mysore, found the residence of his family at Kurchi a heap of ruins and ashes. Every soul of his family had been destroyed and all the old family treasures carried off. The runaway Nágappaya had shown the way to a troop of Nair banditti and Mullukurubas, despatched upon this errand of treachery and blood by the fiendish foe of the Coorg Rájahs, the Kóte Arasu.

Tippu Sultan, irritated by these daring incursions, determined on retribution. He ordered a large force into Coorg

under the command of Golam Ali, who carried fire and sword all over the country.

Vírarája must soon have succumbed to the superiority in numbers and discipline of the Mysoreans, had not a revolt of the Malayálam Rájahs compelled Tippu to order Golam Ali with his army to the Western Coast. The latter was, however, not permitted to leave Coorg unmolested. On his march he was fiercely attacked at the Kodantur-pass and suffered severe losses. Thereupon Tippu sent a considerable reinforcement under four captains, amongst them a Frenchman. Vírarája lay in wait for them at the Heggala-pass. The Mysoreans left 800 men dead on the ground and 400 wounded. Their baggage and stores fell into the hands of the hill-men; the whole force might have been destroyed, had not the Coorgs preferred plundering to fighting. The booty came most seasonable. The prisoners were sent back into Mysore.

Tippu was alarmed, and despatched in 1790 Buran-u-din, his own brother-in-law, with a strong army and large supplies to secure Coorg by strengthening the four forts Kushálnagara (Fraserpet) Mercara, Beppunád and Bhágamandala. On his way to Mercara he was attacked and beaten by Vírarája, but escaped thither with the loss of one-half of his military stores. Without having seen the other forts, Buran-u-din returned to Seringapatam and concerted with Tippu another campaign for the same purpose; but Vírarája anticipated their design by storming and dismantling the several forts. At the head of 1500 Coorgs Vírarája marched in June 1789 against Kushálnagara on the banks of the Kávéri. A sally from it checked his advance guard, but coming up with the main body to their support, after an obstinate encounter, he captured the place having closely followed the enemy as they fled in at the gate. The garrison endeavoured to escape by swimming the river, but was pursued with such success, that 500 out of 700 were killed. The Killadár's head was laid at the feet of the

Rájah, Kushálnagara was sacked and the Fort burnt. In August Vírarája attacked the Fort of Beppunád. The garrison capitulated and obtained a free passage through Coorg. The Fort was destroyed. By dint of extraordinary exertions Buran-u-din, dividing his army into three columns, succeeded in throwing supplies into the Fort of Bhágamandala, but was repeatedly attacked and beaten on the march and had to fall back on Seringapatam. The capture of the Fort, which was of some strength, speedily followed. Vírarája planted his guns on the hill of Mumbáratu and pointed them with his own hand against the Fort which was well defended. After five days the place fell. Three copper-tiles of the temple at Bhágamandala had been destroyed by the Rájah's cannon balls, they were replaced by tiles of silver. After this achievement Vírarája sent a detachment into the Tulu country to take possession of Amara-Sulya which Lingarája had ceded to Hyder. There was now only Mercara left in the hands of the Mussulmans, under Ali Beg, but he was cut off from all communication with Mysore and in fact a harmless prisoner.

A few remarks on the military force of Coorg at that time may prove of interest.

The Jamma-Coorgs holding their land by a military tenure in return for the immunities which they enjoyed, all able bodied men of this active and warlike peasantry constituted the Rájahs' military force, which, though irregular in its organization, was kept in constant practice of its duties. These personal services of the Choudigaras or Coorg soldiers as guards for a period of fifteen days at a time, enjoined by the Rájahs and admitted by the ryots, were rendered with cheerful obedience.

Under the chief command of the Rájah, the force, numbering at times from six to ten thousand Coorgs was subdivided into bodies of various strength, the smallest numbering from ten to hundred men under a Jemindar, any larger

and more indefinite number was commanded by the Káriagára, who again acted under a Sarva-káriagára or General; both were distinguished by a gold banded scarlet head-dress, the kombu toppi.

As the Coorg force was not a standing army, it received no pay. Whilst on active duty as guards or during warfare, the soldiers were maintained at the public expense, and being remarkable for their predatory habits, they largely shared with the Rájahs in the spoil. Without discipline and organization, the Coorgs displayed their strength chiefly behind their stockades and Cadangas. In the open field they rarely faced the attacks of regular troops.

c. Vírarája an ally of the East-Indian Company.

Conclusion of the alliance.

About this period the first connection between the English and the Coorgs took place. Desirous of gaining the friendship of so able a partizan and foreseeing the strategical value of Coorg in the impending struggle with Tippu, the Government of the Company eagerly seized the proffered hand of Vírarája who dreaded and hated Tippu, from whom he could expect no mercy and whose assurances and promises, he knew, he could never trust. His hopes depended on his success in gaining the support of a powerful ally. His eyes were directed towards the rising star of the Company. The union with Tippu's enemies was therefore effected without difficulty. After the receipt of orders from Bombay to conclude in the name of the British Government an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rájah of Coorg, Robert Taylor, the English Chief at Tellicherry invited the Rájah to a conference. Accompanied by Capt. Brown, who had been sent to conduct him to the head-quarters of the Company on the Western Coast, Vírarája repaired thither in October 1790.

A formal treaty was concluded with the following stipulations:—

1. While the sun and moon endure, the faith of the contracting parties shall be kept inviolate.
2. Tippu and his allies are to be treated as common enemies. The Rájah will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippu.
3. The Rájah will furnish for fair payment all the supplies his country affords, and have no connection with other "topiwalahs" (viz. the French).
4. The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg, and the maintenance of the Rájah's interests in the case of a peace with Tippu.
5. An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rájah and his family at Tellicherry until the establishment of peace.

God, sun, moon and earth be witnesses!

Signed: *Robert Taylor Esq.* on behalf of the Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal.

Vírarájendra Vodeya, Rájah of Coorg.

When Sir Robert Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay, arrived at the coast, the Rájah was invited to an interview and was escorted by an officer and a company of sepoy. He on this occasion, interceded with his new friend, Sir Robert Abercromby for the poor Bibi of Cannanoré and her son. She had made an attempt at decoying to Cannanore and betray into the hands of the Mussulman army the English detachment at Tellicherry; and Sir Abercromby had resolved on deposing her and sending her with her son to Bombay. Vírarájendra effected a reconciliation and thus requited the service, which the Bibi's ancestor, Ali, had rendered to his ancestor, Dodda-Vírapa with the harelip, by delivering his Captain from the hands of the Chirakal Rájah.

First war of the allies with Tippu.

Meanwhile the Mussulman garrison at Mercara had consumed all its provisions. Tippu, afraid of losing his last stronghold in Coorg, despatched a convoy with a considerable force under Káder Khan. On its reaching Mullusóge (near Fraserpet) Vírarája attacked and repulsed it with a loss of 500 men on the side of the Mysoreans. Encamped upon a little hill near the battle ground, with the provision bags piled up for defence, the beaten troops expected a new attack, for which the Coorgs longed with impatience; but Vírarája forbore. Recognising in the commander of the Mussulmans, Káder Khan, an old acquaintance, who had befriended him during his captivity at Periapatna and protected the honour of his sister, Vírarája resolved to spare his life, and, when subsequently informed by Káder Khan, that unless he could accomplish his object, he was sure to be destroyed with his family by Tippu, the Rájah ordered his men to escort the convoy to Mercara and to invite Jaffar Ali Beg to capitulate, which he did after the new provisions were consumed. These extraordinary proceedings could not fail to raise a suspicion of treachery in the mind of General Abercromby, that the Rájah was leagued with Tippu against the English. Vírarája satisfactorily explained his motives, and however the General might disapprove of his acts, he was equally assured of his sincerity, as struck with his romantic generosity. On the evacuation of the Fort of Mercara, all its guns, ammunition and treasure were delivered to the Coorgs and the Rájah, who had come over from Nalknád, liberally supplied the wants of the captured garrison and permitted them to withdraw in safety across the frontier. He was now for the first time undisturbed master of his ancient patrimony, but the repeated devastations, of which it had been the theatre, left it little better than a vast wild. No wonder, therefore, that Vírarája, who

had undertaken to provision the English force, determined on retaliating by raids into the enemy's country the injuries he had so long experienced and the spoil of 1500 heads of cattle and vast stores of grain evinced the success with which he replenished his resources.

The period had now approached, when Tippu was to encounter the most formidable combination, he had yet met, and the capture of Bangalore gave hope of success. Lord Cornwallis advanced towards the capital from Madras and General Abercromby was to meet him for support. A passage was prepared through Coorg for the Bombay army. The route of the Heggala-pass was chosen. Vírarája waited upon the General and made over to the English Officers a great quantity of grain in addition to upwards of a thousand draught cattle previously supplied. Vírarája accompanied Sir Robert before Seringapatam. Operations had commenced with every prospect of an immediate and successful termination, when the severity of the monsoon of 1791 suspended active military operations and obliged both armies to fall back, Lord Cornwallis to Bangalore, Sir Robert to Bombay. The artillery stores and ammunition, belonging to the Bombay army, were left in charge of the Rájah, who, during the rainy season was engaged in purchasing all the grain he could from his own people and from the Pindári contractors of Tippu. Aware of the great advantages, that would attend the friendship of the Coorg chief at this juncture, Tippu now condescended, to send a confidential officer, Káder Khan, the friend of Vírarája, with an autograph letter from Tippu, and letters from Mír Sáduk, his Prime minister, and Purneah, the minister of Finance, soliciting Vírarája's forgiveness and friendship and offering as the price for his co-operation against the English, to cede the districts on his eastern frontier: Hegganadévana-Kóte, Periapatna, Bettadapur, Konanur and Arkalgudu, and to enlarge his western boundary by the addition of certain dis-

tricts, dependent on Cannanore. Vírarája shewed these letters to Sir Robert, who at the end of the monsoon had returned, and after consulting with him, replied to the Sultan's overtures in these words: "By similar fair speeches and promises you have formerly deceived and ruined Coorg. God has given me one tongue, with which I have pledged fidelity to the English. I have not two tongues like you." Mussulman violence and treachery had now their reward. Vírarája remained faithful to the Company and the Bombay army had a safe road through a friendly territory into the heart of Mysore. Leaving part of his military stores, not immediately required at Heggola in charge of a regiment commanded by Col. Finch, who was to draw his supplies from the Coorgs, Sir Robert marched with the main body of the Bombay troops to Siddapur, where he received large supplies of grain, stored up in Kiggatnád. The success of the first operations by Lord Cornwallis, having driven the Mysore troops during two night attacks to seek shelter under the walls of Seringapatam, about 5,000 Coorgs, who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country. The Coorgs being better adapted to an active guerrilla warfare, than to the tedious operations of a siege, Vírarája was desired to intercept a valuable convoy, proceeding from Nuggur to Seringapatam by the Astáreghat. This service was effected with his usual address, and a warrant to plunder the neighbouring country coming within the limits of his commission, gave a wide license to the predatory habits of his followers. Part of the booty he distributed amongst the returned exiles, whom he had reinstated into their hereditary possessions; he also had houses built for them and provisions supplied for two months.

Lord Cornwallis made peace with Tippu under the walls of Seringapatam, on severe, but still too easy terms. Tippu

had to pay three crores of Rupees and to cede one half of his dominions to the Company and to its allies, the Nizam and Peishwa, "from the countries adjacent, according to their situation." Coorg was in danger of being overlooked and sacrificed. It required the zealous intercession of Sir Robert Abercromby, to induce the Governor General to make an after demand for the cession of Coorg, though not adjacent to the Company's territory, in order to keep faith with Vírarája and to save him from the fangs of Tippu, whose first move after the peace would, no doubt, have been to wreak his vengeance upon his former vassal. The rage of Tippu was unbounded. "To which of the English possessions," he cried, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for the key of Seringapatam?" The treaty was in danger of being broken off; but Lord Cornwallis remained firm. English guns, which had already been sent away, were ordered back, and Tippu began to prepare for defence. At the last moment he gave an unwilling assent to the demand and, admitting the stipulation, which guaranteed the independence of the Coorg principality from Mysore, he transferred his claims of allegiance and the tribute of Rs. 24,000 annually from the Rájah to the English and peace was concluded (March 1792).

An armed peace.

Sir Robert Abercromby on meeting Vírarája at Heggala in April 1792 informed him of the terms of the treaty and requested him to give back the districts, which he had lately wrested from Tippu and informed him, that he was expected in future to pay his tribute to the English Government. Vírarája was indignant at both these propositions, for he had expected some better reward for his important services. Sir Robert did all in his power, to pacify the brave ally, who had served him so well, but, of course, the Mysore territory had to be restored and the Rájah's dream of "an independant

principality of Coorg" could not be realized. Sir Robert appeased, however, Vírarája by promising him an English Engineer to rectify the boundaries, which proved the more desirable, since Tippu extended his claims also to Amara-Sulya, besides the districts of Panje and Belláre. The two latter the Rájah yielded, the former remained in his possession.

At his last meeting with Vírarája at Cannanore in March 1793, when proceeding from Bombay to Calcutta to take up his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of Bengal, Sir Robert honoured the Rájah by drawing up a new agreement, to satisfy the gallant ally and to bind him still closer to the interests of the Company. The terms of the document are these:

1. The Rájah of Coorg has himself recovered his hereditary principality from Tippu Sultan. The Company have in no wise assisted him in this struggle. When hostilities between Tippu and the Company commenced, the Rájah, of his own accord, attached himself to the Company and concluded a treaty, the documents of which are preserved in the archives at Tëllicherry.

2. The Rájah freely opened his country to the Bombay forces, which marched from Tellicherry to Mysore, and was most zealous in providing the Company's troops with every thing he could procure for them in Coorg and Mysore. Without his friendly assistance the Bombay army would have met with great difficulties. Of his own accord, the Rájah refuses to receive payment for his supplies of grain, cattle, etc.

3. Tippu repeatedly tried to shake the fidelity of the Rájah, but the latter never swerved from his allegiance to the Company.

4. In March last, when the treaty was concluded at Seringapatam, Lord Cornwallis, in order to free the Rájah of Coorg entirely from the power of Tippu, desired to take him under the special protection of the Company. Tippu

raised the most violent opposition, but in vain. Upon that he falsely stated, that Coorg had paid him a yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000, which he would transfer to the Company.

5. In opposition to this falsehood the Rájah of Coorg asserts, that he has never paid such a tribute; but he is quite willing to pay of his own free will the sum of 8000 Pagodas (24,000 Rs.) to the Company every year for their friendship and protection.

6. The Company on the other hand, engages, to give no molestation to the Rájah and in no wise to interfere with the government of Coorg; for the Rájah is quite competent, to take care of his own affairs.

Cannanore,
31st March 1793. }

Signed: *Robert Abercromby.*

P. S. The above 8000 Pagodas, 3 Rupees being an equivalent for 1 Pagoda, are to be paid annually at Tellicherry

From this time to the end his life, Vírarája remained the trusty friend of the Company and his affairs prospered.

On the place where he had first met with General Abercromby on his march to Seringapatam in 1791 the Rájah founded the town Vírarájendrapet in 1792. In April 1795 Vírarája took up his residence in the new palace built at Nalknád. Meanwhile Tippu, maddened with revenge against the Chief, who had so long alarmed his fears and so successfully defied his power and resisted his arms, resolved on his destruction by the basest means, gaining over Lingrája, a relative of Vírarájendra, and some Coorgs to undertake the foul plot of shooting the Rájah at a favourable spot in the jungle on his way to Mercara. The first attempt failed; but Tippu, little controlled by feelings of compunction, concerted with Lingarája more effective measures to accomplish his design. Two of his best marksmen were to lie in ambush in

some place belonging to Lingarája, to shoot the Rájah, when he would come from his new palace at Nalknád, to attend the Shivarátri festival at Mercara. The conspiracy, however, was betrayed, the assassins seized, and during the night-scuffle Lingarája and his family were killed. The two would-be-murderers were kept alive at Vírájendrapet as manifest witnesses of Tippu's treachery, but each had one leg cut off to prevent their flight. Letters of congratulation on his providential escape were received by the Rájah from Sir John Shore, the Governor General, and from Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay.

Vírarája having no sons, he resolved to marry a second time in 1796. In front of the palace at Nalknád a fine pavilion, which may still be seen (1870), was erected for the occasion. Honored by a deputation from the English Commissioner at Malabar and a company of sepoy, and amidst a large concourse of people from Coorg and the adjacent provinces, the ceremony took place and Mahádévamma was declared Ráni and her children were to succeed to the throne of Coorg.

To show more clearly the personal character of Vírarája and the tenor of his intercourse with the British Officials, a few hitherto unpublished letters of the Coorg Chief, written in 1798 may find here a convenient place.

He therein apprises his friends of the movements of his arch-enemy, Tippu, whom he constantly watched, and who, since the hurried treaty of Lord Cornwallis, was secretly preparing for a new war with the Company.

To

CHRISTIAN PEILE Esq.

Commissioner of Malabar.

From

VĪRARĀJENDRA

of Haleri in Coorg,

14th February 1798.

Salam!

Until now I am well and hope frequently to hear also of your well-being.

The news from the east are these: Tippu purposes by way of Coorg to come to you, and he has hitherto collected troops in the north, especially cavalry. Several Regiments are stationed in Sakanipuram under Purneah and Mír Sahib. Besides there are 15,000 men at Mangalore and in the Fort of Belláre. On the 16th February he is to leave his capital with his whole army to march upon my country; at least so he gives out. It is said, he also sent word to the Kóte Rájah, that the English at Tellicherry would probably come to the assistance of the Coorg Rájah; he should prevent them from ascending the Ghats. For this purpose, the Rájah should, under pretence of performing some funeral rites, proceed to Tiranelli (in Wynád) and there hold a conference with Tippu. Since the conclusion of the peace in 1792 Tippu never made such vast preparations as now, collecting powder, shot, cannons, provisions and draught cattle, in order to attack three points at once. If he comes this way, I shall give him a warm reception. But this time, it may turn out a more serious matter. I must think of fighting him as well, as of protecting women and children. To send them to Tellicherry during hostilities, may be attended with difficulties, since I cannot trust those Nairs and Parias. Of this I wish to inform you; but I may assure you, that I shall boldly oppose him. I will try to find an asylum for my family with my

friends in Chirakal, for which purpose I should thank you for a Captain with three companies of sepoy, to keep aloof the rebellious Nairs. You will thus have the honor, to be the saviour of my family. Then I shall rush to arms and hope, as a gallant soldier, to secure your approbation. Please let me know, whether I may count upon your assistance. In the event of your inability I shall try my utmost, and in the extreme case kill wife and child and perish in the fight. What I desire in this life is, the mercy of the great God and the favor of the Company. Besides this I seek neither friendship nor help. The Company is my mother, her officers my brothers; therefore their cause and mine are *one*. This is the cause of Tippu's hatred. Pray, send me a speedy reply. Every news I send without delay, be it by day or by night. One thing more. Report says, the French came to Mangalore."

In Mr. Peile's reply the receipt of two letters is announced, but concerning the principal question he has to wait for the decision of the Commissioner; but the Rájah may count upon his own friendship and support.

On the 23rd February 1798 Vírarájendra writes again to Mr. Peile: "I am well and wish often to hear of your welfare. On the 14th I informed you, how Tippu was collecting all his strength. My officials are on the look-out for every news and how could I keep it from my friends? The Tulu men whom I sent into the Tulu country estimate the assembled troops there at four thousand. In Subramanya there are thousand Canarese. Measures are first to be taken against the Rájah of Kumbla (20 miles to the south of Mangalore) who, after his return from Bombay, showed a rebellious spirit. There are also some troops in Békal (36 miles) south of Mangalore and a few Moplas in Mangalore. During the impending monsoon all the forts in the Tulu country are to be thoroughly repaired. My scout from Mysore reports, that Tippu was concentrating his troops, that he had left Walla-

gulla and was then encamped at Pallammurikád, where the Kóte Rájah had met him and was present on horseback at a revue; that Tippu had presented the Rájah with a pálky, two bracelets, two fans and two horses, after which he returned to Wynád with 60 Nairs. These men were unmistakably Nairs, for they wore the forelock and no turbans. The Rájah was called the 'Kóte Rájah'; whether he was the Rájah himself or only a member of his family, or an ambassador, the scout could not say. There arrived also 20 Moplas with loads, which, it was said, contained presents from Cannanore. On the day of the Rájah's departure, 3000 sepoy and 1000 Canarese men proceeded to Nanchanapura, to secure for him Wynád. Some say, Tippu will return to Seringapatam; others, that he will make a raid into Coorg; others that he will descend the Tamarajeri-ghat into Malabar."

To

JAMES STEVENS Esq.

It is already three months, that I ordered my confidential agent at Mahé, to pay the tribute to the Company. As Capt. Mahoney is now with us and the Karanika Subbaya has to travel with him, there will be some delay. Immediately after his return, I shall settle the whole amount, pray send me then a receipt as usual. I am very glad, that you are now first Magistrate in Tellicherry. May you be on as friendly terms with me as Mr. Taylor was and look upon my weal and woe as upon yours."

Second war with Tippu.

Tippu, whom no treaty could bind, nor any ties of faith or morality control, was preparing amidst the most amicable professions, to violate those treaties, which he pretended so much to respect. The English Government, apprised of the offensive alliance which he had entered into with the French,

adopted the means of early crushing so formidable a confederacy. Actuated by a still stronger resentment Vírarája hastened to their standard and in all the warmth of sincerity declared, "that his exertions should be increased tenfold." A depot was immediately formed at Vírájendrapet, and measures taken, to accumulate whatever his little state could afford. In conformity to the military preparations determined on, Generals Stuart and Hartly at the head of the Bombay army ascended the Heggala-ghat (20th February 1799) and experienced the most prompt and effectual assistance with coolies, draught cattle, elephants, grain and sheep, an aid the more grateful, as proving the fidelity of the Chief. His first exploit was in saving a large portion of the baggage, which had been seized by a body of Moplas at the foot of the pass. Instigated by Tippu and incited by the prospect of plunder, a body of Nairs was to invade Coorg, as soon as the army proceeded to the eastward. To repel such an attack, and to secure the rear, especially the hospital which was erected at Vírájendrapet for the sick of the Bombay army, whom General Stuart left in Coorg, when he marched against Seringapatam, Vírarája, who had offered to accompany the English army into Mysore, was politely requested to stay behind with his Coorgs, who were rather troublesome auxiliaries to a regular army, as bad as the Mahrattas, if not worse. Capt. Mahoney, who had been appointed Resident of Vírarája a short time previous to the commencement of the last war with Tippu, communicated to the Rájah the Earl of Mornington's proclamation of war, dated Fort St. George 22nd February 1799, and asked him in the name of the Company's Government, to exert himself to the utmost of his power, as he would necessarily share the fate of the English, if Tippu were victorious.

In the early part of March Tippu moved with a large force towards the frontier of Coorg, to oppose the Bombay army. He encamped near Pariapatna. The battle of Sidde-

shwara ensued, when three native battalions under Colonel Montresor and Major Disney held their ground from 9 A. M. until 2 P. M. against the whole army of Tippu, and the two flank companies of His Majesty's 75th and the whole of the 77th under Lieut. Colonel Dunlop, led by General Stuart to their assistance, broke Tippu's line within half an hour and obtained a complete victory at a comparatively small loss, whilst that of Tippu was severe, numbering amongst the slain, the famous Benki-Navab—or "Fire-prince," one of Tippu's best generals.

The Rájah of Coorg personally accompanied General Stuart and witnessed for the first time the conduct of European troops in the presence of an enemy. There is a chivalrous air in all that proceeded from this extraordinary man, and some passages of his letter to the Governor General, giving an account of the operations of this day are tinged with his peculiar character.

"General Stuart," he writes, "marched with two regiments of Europeans, keeping the remainder of the army in the plain of Kanidygúdu; on approaching, he ordered the two regiments to attack the enemy. A severe action ensued, in which I was present. To describe the battle, which General Stuart fought with these two regiments of Europeans, the discipline, valour, strength and magnanimity of the troops, the courageous attack upon the army of Tippu, surpasses all example in this world. In our Shástras and Puránas, the battles fought by Allaret and Maharut have been much celebrated; but they are unequal to this battle; it exceeds my ability to describe this action at length to your Lordship."

While Seringapatam was besieged, Vírarája sent an expedition of Coorgs under Subbaya and Bopu into the Tulu country, the greater part of which was wrested from the Musulmans and plundered in Coorg style. His efforts in Mysore were not less vigorous or less successful. Baswanpatam, Arkalgúdu and other smaller towns were captured and the

Coorgs indulged themselves in the full gratification of every military appetite.

On the 4th of May Seringapatam was stormed and Tippu himself killed in the fray. On the 23rd of May General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, sent a letter of thanks to Vírarája, accompanied by a present of one of Tippu's own horses, one of his pálkis and one of his howdas. The promise was also given, that the country of Coorg would be restored to the Rájah.

Vírarája's relation to the Company after the war.

Purneah, the Brahman minister of Finance under Tippu, was placed at the head of the government of Mysore, which the Company restored to a descendant, then a child of six years, of the ancient Rájahs. The Governor General informed the Coorg Rájah of the new order of things and begged him to refer in future any difference, that might arise between himself and the Mysore Government, to the decision of the Company. Vírarájender had a mean opinion of the new Rájah, who was "a mere orphan child" and thought, names only had been changed. The Brahmins, his old foes had held power under Tippu and they held it now. They would not fail to do their utmost to embroil him with the Company's Government. Vírarája had to restore to Mysore the districts he had occupied during the season of hostilities and Karanika Subbaya had to evacuate the Tulu country. Vírarája had expected to be put in possession of Periapatna and the contiguous districts, but he was not to have any part of the Mysore country for political reasons, connected with the relation of the recently established government of Mysore to the government of the Company. Suggesting this course of action in a letter to Lord Clive (Governor of Madras and son of the great Clive), dated Seringapatam 1st January 1803 (v. Dispatches Vol. I. p. 320, 321) the Duke of Wellington further states:

“The services of the Rájah of Coorg still deserve remuneration. It appears by Capt. Mahoney’s accounts, that he expended sums of money and furnished supplies of cattle and provisions, in the late war against Tippu Sultan, of a value amounting on the whole to about four lacs of Rupees. If he had consented to be reimbursed this expenditure, he would have received bonds of the Bombay Government for this sum of money, bearing interest at 12 per cent. per annum, in the beginning of the year 1799 and in this manner could have added nearly two lacs of Rupees to the sum above mentioned. It may therefore be fairly concluded, that, by the liberality of the Rájah, the Company’s treasury is richer at this moment no less than six lacs of Rupees, than it would have been, if he had taken payment of the money expended and for the supplies furnished by him. In this view of the question, I do not take into consideration the nature of his services or the time at which they were rendered, but I have stated particularly, what the supplies, furnished by him, would have cost the Company, if they had been furnished by any other person, as I found thereon the amount of remuneration which I intend to recommend to your Lordship to grant him.

“When the arrangements of the territory of the late Tippu Sultan were made, in the year 1799, the Rájah of Coorg was desirous, to have the districts of Panje and Belláre, to which he conceived he had a right, as they had belonged heretofore to his family and were connected with Marka and Subra in the same province. It is supposed, that these districts are worth about 6000 canterai pagodas per annum and they might form part of the proposed remuneration to the Rájah of Coorg.

“The districts in Mysore, to which the Rájah of Coorg in like manner stated a claim, are Periapatna, Bettadapur and Arkalgúdu, the value of which by the schedule appears to be 17,500 canterai pagodas. It will not be proper, to give the Rájah those districts, and I recommend to your Lordship, that

others, of equal value, connected with Panje, Belláre and the Bantwál river, in the province of Canara, be ceded to him.

“Under this arrangement, he will have nearly 24,000 canterai pagodas per annum, which is about the value of the sum which the Company have annually saved by his frobearing to demand payment of the money due to him: he will have two districts in Canara to which he conceived he had a claim and certain other districts in the same province, connecting him with the Bantwál river, of the same value with districts in Mysore, which he is desirous to possess, but which, under existing circumstances, it is not possible to grant him.”

Vírarája did not consider himself well treated and was mortified by the withdrawal of the Resident, Capt. Mahoney, and the request addressed to him, that he should for the future put himself in correspondence with Col. Close, the Resident at Seringapatam, who does not seem to have ingratiated himself with the Rájah, as may be seen from the following letters:

Seringapatam, 16th November 1799.

Col. WARREN CLOSE

To

THE RÁJAH OF COORG.

“Lord Mornington has transferred me to Seringapatam as Commissioner of Mysore, of which *you** may be aware. A report reaches me from the Manjerabad frontier, that five days after the fall of Seringapatam your people have made a predatory incursion into the Maharájadurga district and plundered of 17 villages women and children, cows and calves, gold and silver, rice and seed grain, and carried the spoil beyond the frontier. I enclose a list of the plundered articles.

* The word used for “you” in the original, is the uncourteous Canarese form, in which no person of rank is addressed. This was very likely intentionally done by the Brahman writer, but unknown to Col. Close.

From the day of the capture of the capital Mysore belongs to the Company, but Maharájadurga belongs to Mysore; there is therefore no difference between Mysore and the Company. But you are an ally of the Company. You are therefore requested, without delay to return every article contained in the list.

“I am told, you wish to see Seringapatam; as the army will return to this town within a few days, you should inform me of your resolution.”

List of articles, plundered by the Coorgs in the Maharájadurg district:—“67 women, 34 men, 11 boys, 10 girls, 1383 cows, 574 buffaloes, 834 oxen, 121 calves; 729 canterai pagodas, 82 silver ornaments, 36 silver bracelets, 27 coral-necklaces, 63 silver girdles, 54 pairs of golden earrings, 215 brass plates, 93 copper vessels, 67 guns, 6 horses, 155 sheep, 95 knives, 96 sickles, 90 axes, 5 brass pans, 7 iron chains, 72 bundles of clothes.”

This affair seems to have been settled not without considerable difficulties in which the Rájah implored the good services of his personal friends amongst the English, as we gather from the following letter, dated 16th December 1799:—

To

JAMES STEVENS Esq.

“Since the English have commenced war with Tippu, I have twice assisted the Bombay army, first under General Sir R. Abercromby and then under Generals Stuart and Hartley; I have tried my utmost to carry out the orders of the British Government and served the Company with my own body, as you well know. What I have accomplished, I did with no view to self-interest—honor excepted.

“As to Purneah, he is and remains a Brahmin. His and my caste dislike each other. In the time of Tippu he has blackened my name and persecuted me and now he is master

in the country; therefore he distributes the offices in the districts amongst his friends and relations, calumniates me through his district-officers and other caste-fellows with the English Government and even submits a complaint against me, with a list of booty which my people are accused of having made in the north. Upon this Col. Close wrote to me, enclosing the list, and demanded that I should accordingly pay compensation.

“This Col. Close has never seen me and does not know my history, nor does he understand Canarese. Thus he wrote me a letter through a Brahmin as if addressed to a slave. I enclose the letter of Col. Close and a copy of the list of booty. Upon the perusal of these papers you will understand all.

“Convinced in my mind, that all the enemies of the English would succumb, that the English Government would be victorious, and that the British flag would float triumphantly in all the four quarters of the world, I served the Company from the beginning of the war in the hope to have to deal with friends like you and to be treated honorably. According to my wishes, the enemy has been defeated and the power of the Company has risen greatly. This I saw with my own eyes and greatly rejoiced, as I believed to obtain the more honor myself. But this Purneah lodges a complaint against me as if I had offended against the Company. Being thus dishonored, I have no wish to live any longer. You know all my acts. I write to you with deep sorrow, that all my services have been requited with such dishonor from the Company.

“The facts of the case are these: On the 6th March, when Tippu advanced upon Siddeshwara, to commence the war, Generals Stuart and Hartley and Capt. Mahoney told me: ‘Peace is at an end; now fall upon Tippu’s people.’ Ten days after the fall of Seringapatam, on the 14th May Capt. Mahoney told me: ‘Now give orders to stop fighting. What hitherto has been done during the war, is done.’

“If after this time my people have anywhere plundered or committed damages, I will give compensation. Upon enquiry, my people said: ‘when according to your orders we commenced war, the Mysoreans seemed to have carried away all their goods into safety. From those who fell, we took their arms and other valuables; but of other booty there was little, except perhaps bullocks, goats and sheep, as your Highness well knows.’ When the Coorgs enter upon a campaign, no care is taken for provisions, as with the Company; but their women and children pound rice and bring it to the camp; this you know. As many sheep as my men could plunder, they brought to me and I gave them to the Company. All the wants of my 6000 or 7000 Coorgs, their provisions, clothes, powder and lead I provided myself, and cared for the wounded and the relatives of the dead.

“The territory of Mangalore I have conquered, but surrendered it to Col. Wiseman whom the General sent. Is it then not the duty of Government to treat me honorably? But the complaint with the list of booty is the reward for what I have done amiss towards the Government!

“If I am desired to pay, the question is, whence to take the money? What my ancestors and myself accumulated, was spent, when I twice faithfully supported the Bombay army. What after the peace of 1792 I obtained from my country, I annually made over to the Company. If anything remained, I expended it on the assistance to General Stuart. But in case I should have to pay according to this list, I must earnestly request, that, as a compensation for my services, at least my honor remains intact. However, I am quite unable to pay. In Bombay I have one lac of Rupees deposited with the Company; this money I will send for and pay. If it does not suffice, I beg you and the officers of the Bombay army to be my brothers. My honor is yours. If matters reach extremities, I come to you and all the officers together will

perhaps give me the rest of the sum and leave to me only my honor. What you do for me, I will certainly repay. If you cannot help me, I must turn elsewhere to save my honor.

“Take these matters into due consideration, and kindly let me know what more I have to do.”

Regarding the alleged poverty of Vírarája, it should be observed, that on his death in 1809 he left in the treasury forty lacs of Rupees including his deposits with the English Government. He was in the habit of laying aside annually a large sum of money and the booty of his plunderous expedition before the fall of Seringapatam greatly replenished his exchequer!

General Stuart, who sailed for Madras and Europe, promised the Rájah on parting, to send him from Europe a sword with the arms of the East-Indian Company and a portrait of Lord Mornington and himself. After the departure of the General from Cannanore Vírarája returned to Coorg.

Soon after he received a letter from the Governor General in which his services rendered to the British Government during the last and in former wars were gratefully acknowledged, and as a compensation of the same the tribute which the Rájah hitherto paid, was remitted. Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, was to inform the Rájah, what annual present in lieu of the tribute would be acceptable to the British Government.

Before Capt. Mahoney left, it was settled that the Rájah of Coorg should every year send an elephant to the Company in lieu of the former tribute of Rs. 24,000. A paper to this effect was given to the Rájah by Capt. Mahoney at Virájpet on the 13th October 1799.

Another certificate also, dated 12th October 1799, was given by Capt. Mahoney. It was as follows:

1. The Rájah has exerted himself to the utmost in the service of the Company.

2. He has collected large supplies of rice and forwarded them to Seringapatam, thus saving the troops from famine.

3. He has furnished 1,000 coolies to the army and for the conveyance of the ammunition to Seringapatam 2000 men without receiving remuneration.

4. He has furnished the Bombay army with more than 3000 bullocks, 5 elephants, 3000 sheep and 40,000 batties of rice.

5. For all this trouble and expense he has accepted of no payment or reward.

6. The Rájah's conduct has afforded great satisfaction to the men and officers of the Bombay army, many of whom have experienced his friendship".

In 1801 Vírarája contracted a matrimonial alliance between his daughter Rájammáji, by his first Ráni, and Basavalinga the Rájah of Sóde, who resided in the Goa territories. Vírarája wrote to the Governor General, to apprise him of the intended marriage and to procure for the Sóde Rájah three months' leave from the Portuguese Government. He also wished to settle one lac of Rupees of the property, held by him in the Bombay Government paper, upon the Sóde Rájah who was poor, as Rájammáji's portion. The wedding took place in December 1801 at Nalknád in the presence of Capt. Marriot from Mysore, and Capts. D. Foulis and Ashbournier from Malabar, and before the monsoon 1802 the Sóde Rájah returned home.

In 1804, Capt. Mahoney arrived at Mercara with a letter from the Governor General, informing Vírarája, that six Máganes of the province of Canara would be transferred to him by Mr. Ravenshaw, the Collector of Mangalore, in return for the supplies, he had furnished, and the services he had rendered to the British Government during the late wars. The districts, thus added to Coorg on the western frontier, yielded 24,897 pagodas.

In the same year, at the suggestion of Major Mark Wilks, then Acting Resident at the Mysore Durbar, the boundary between Coorg and Mysore on the Subramanya side was finally adjusted by Mr. Peile and Major Mackenzie to the Rájah's entire satisfaction. 190 stones were ordered to be erected with the Company's mark on the top, that of Mysore on one side and that of Coorg on the other.

Before the end of 1805 Rájammáji, the Ráni of Sóde was delivered of a son, who received the name of Sadáshivarája.

Vírarája was now left in the free and full possession of his principality; he lived on the most friendly terms with the Mysore Residents, the Madras Governors, Sir George Barlow and Lord William Bentinck, and the Governor General, the Marquis of Wellesley, from whom he received a splendid sword of honor. About the time his first grandson was born to him at Sóde he was fondly attached to his new wife, Mahadévaráni, who had born him two daughters, and might have lived and died a happy man, if he had had a son and heir, if he had not distrusted his nearest relatives and if his violent temper had not often carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He lived in constant dread of poison and it is difficult to say, whether the frenzy which seemed at times to seize him was not caused by drugs administered to him in spite of all his caution.

The Rájendranáme, in its conclusion affords a glimpse of the alternations of hope and fear, which agitated the poor Rájah's heart.

Vírarájendra's last will.

The English translation by Lieut. Abercromby, made from the Canarese original of the Rájendranáme in 1808, at Mangalore brings in two additional pages the last will of Vírarájendra, which is not contained in the extant copy, that was found in the Mercara archives in 1834, and the suspicion lies

near, that the Canarese original was destroyed and the Testament omitted in the copy by Vírarájender's successors.

His last words are:—"On the 7th of the Pushya month (Dec.—Jan.) Ractáxi year (1805) Capt. Mahoney brought the sword, sent by Marquis Wellesley from Bengal and fastened it round the Rájah's waist. In the Mággha month (Jan.—Feb.) 1806 Vírarája told Capt. Mahoney for the information of the Governor General, that on the day of his second marriage when he sat on the throne with his Ráni, he had determined that any son of his by this wife should be his successor; that his wife had born him two daughters. If any son be hereafter born of her, he would be the heir; but if it was the will of God, that she should bear no son, then the three sons of his concubine, called Rájashékarappa, Shishushékappa and Chandrashékarappa should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been born by Mahadévaráni who died at 3 o'clock on Sunday the 7th day of the month Jészta (May—June) 4909 Prabhava year (1807). As by her death the Rájah's hopes of having a son by her were blunted, and he was afraid, lest, if the succession devolved on the sons of another mother, they would create trouble to the four daughters of his lawful queen, the Rájah determined, that of the four daughters, who are named: Dévammáji, Muddammáji, Rájammáji and Mahádéammáji, the eldest should be married and whatever son she might have, he should be named Vírájendra, receive the Rájah's seal and the sword which was presented to him by Marquis Wellesley and be the successor to the throne. If she should, however, have no son, the son of either of her younger sisters according to seniority should be the successor and so long as the line of any of his four above named daughters continued, none of the heirs of the other mother should succeed to the throne; but, upon the family of his four daughters being extinct, the fittest of the above three sons or their posterity should suc-

ceed. The Rájah, sensible of the instability of human life and all other things, has thought proper now to determine and record this matter, in order that no wrong may hereafter occur; and he requests, that the English Sirkar will be the guardian of his family and see the execution of the above written will attended to.

“In order that the Rájah’s heirs may be acquainted with his resolution, he has written a copy thereof, to which he has affixed his seal and signature and which is lodged in the palace treasury.”

Here ends the Rájendranáme.

5. THE LAST YEARS OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF COORG

1807—1834.

A. DODDA-VĪRĀJENDRA’S MELANCHOLY END.

1807—1809.

With the death of Mahádévaráni commenced the last act, full of blood and horrors of the drama of poor Vírājendra’s life. With her his hopes of a son and heir were buried. He had loved her, it appears, passionately. She may have turned and softened the savage nature of the wild Border-Chief. Her loss almost drove him mad. When the paroxysm of his grief had passed, he was alone in the world. There was no one to love him, no one in whom he could confide.

Mahádévaráni had left him four daughters, the eldest of whom was eight years old, when the mother died. They succeeded to whatever remained of human affection and sympathy in the breast of the woe stricken father. He had formerly intended to choose for his successor one of his sons by another wife, if Mahádévaráni had no male issue. Now he changed his mind. One of Mahádévaráni’s daughters, if they lived to woman’s state, might have a son. That son was to succeed him. The eldest of them, Dévammáji, was betrothed

to a Coorg, of the name of Mallappa, when she was about nine years old. The Rájah, who was possessed of immense wealth, gave to her one lac of pagodas in gold and jewels, and costly shawls and dresses in profusion. The death of his favourite wife had not only rendered him unhappy, but had soured his temper, and, to judge from Coorg analogy, he could scarcely avoid the cruel suspicion, that some traitors had conspired against the life of Mahádévaráni and destroyed her by charms and incantations. He himself began to live in dread of secret enemies. No doubt, but he had such, for he detested Hindus in general and Coorgs in particular. He had killed hundreds of his own people on some idle suspicion or malicious denunciation, or on the mere impulse of a sudden gust of passion. But now his cruelty and his dark fears rose higher and higher. At last matters came to a crisis.

The Rájah had surrounded himself with an African body-guard, and eunuchs from Mysore had charge of his Harem. But the guards of the palace and all the military officers with very few exceptions were Coorgs. No longer able to bear the iron yoke, they conspired against the Rájah's life. The day and the hour were fixed. All the Coorg guards, who held the gates of the fort and the entrances of the palace, being of one accord, his destruction seemed to be certain. But a few minutes before the signal was given, the secret was betrayed to Vírarája. He was roused by the impending danger. With great presence of mind he imitated Hyder Ali, who had in similar circumstances gained time, by placing a bundle of clothes on his bed covered with a blanket. The Coorgs rushed in and cut the form, which they mistook for the sleeping Rájah, in pieces. Next moment they discovered, that the Rájah had fled, that he had, at the last moment, been warned. They were paralyzed. Vírarája in the mean time had run out and summoned his Africans. The Fort gates were shut. Some three hundred Coorgs had assembled

in the palace yard. The Africans received orders to cut them down to a man. The Rájah himself took his post at a window and fired upon the terror stricken conspirators. They allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep. Vírarája himself boasted of having shot twenty-five of them. The rest fell without resistance, under the swords of the Siddis, who waded ankle deep in blood. An old Jemadar, who had been eyewitness of the dreadful scene, said, that the blood ran out of the palace yard as the rain in a heavy monsoon day. Three-hundred Coorgs, by his account, fell that morning in front of the palace. Coorg tradition says eight-hundred. Both accounts are probably correct, for Vírarája would, as a matter of course, destroy many of the families of the fallen conspirators, ordering the men to be killed and distributing the women among the slaves. Such was Coorg Rájah fashion. This massacre took place in the end of 1807 or early in 1808. The Rájah reported his suppression of a dangerous conspiracy to the Governor of Madras and the Governor General. The Rájah's account was not credited at Madras. It was rather thought, that he had acted on some sudden impulse of passion; for his cruelty and sanguinary temper were sufficiently known. Yet the Government did not consider it their duty to interfere, partly from regard to their faithful ally, partly from ignorance of the extent of the fearful slaughter.

On the 7th October 1807 Vírarájendra addressed a long letter to the Governor General, Lord Minto. He informed him of the death of his principal Ráni, who had left him four daughters and of his will regarding the succession after his death, as already stated. Vírarájendra appears to have expected, perhaps longed for, his own death, after the loss of his beloved wife. A deep melancholy settled upon him, from which he was roused from time to time by rumours of conspiracies and dreams of rebellion among his treacherous subjects, when he would start like a lion from his lair and kill

and tear whatever objects first met his fury, until he was satiated with blood and his paroxysm subsided. Dr. Ingledeu, who was sent early in 1809 by Mr. Cole, the Resident in Mysore, to attend upon the Rájah, heard some vague rumours of several thousand people having been destroyed "after the late disturbances," that is, the conspiracy above related. Vírarájendra had long to wait for an answer from the Governor General to his petition of October 1807. He had requested, that the concurrence of the Governor General with his settlement of the succession might be registered in the books of the Supreme Government and a copy sent him of the registry, which he would wear about his body as an amulet.

During the year 1808 fits of madness seized the unfortunate Rájah. They rarely passed without some victims of his incontrollable fury, falling by his bullet or under the knives of his African executioners. Some time in October or November 1808 Vírarája was seized with forebodings of his own death and terrible fears for the safety of his daughters in case of his decease before the Governor General had concurred in his plan of securing to Dévammáji the throne of Coorg, and before his sanction insured her succession and, it might be, the preservation of her life. His melancholy warned him of his approaching death. And if he was carried off on a sudden, who would be the friend and guardian of his daughter? Appáji, his proud brother, who had never loved him, and who had long kept sullenly at a distance, or even the dull mean-spirited Lingarája might covet the wealth and power of the throne, murder the helpless children and seize the great prize. But no! He was yet alive and omnipotent in Coorg, he could yet defend his beloved Dévammáji and her sisters. The executioners are called. A party is despatched to Appagalla, a second party to Háleri, to bring the heads of the brothers, Appáji and Lingarája. They prostrate themselves and depart

on their dark errand. Vírarája is left alone. Now at last the dear children will be safe. There will be none alive to molest them. The Governor General will sanction the last will of the faithful friend of the Company. Dévammáji will sit on the throne of Coorg like the former Ráni of Ikkeri. She will have a son. The grandson will bear the grandfather's name and inherit his wealth and his glory. Such dreams must have floated on the mind of the unfortunate prince, when he had hurried away the ministers of his wrath, to slay his brothers. Within an hour, however, the excitement subsided, reason and humanity gained the mastery and suddenly messengers of grace were sent after the murderers. They were bid to run as for their lives. The decree of death was revoked. The brothers were to live. Alas, the messengers who ran down to Appagalla, were met by the executioners carrying Appáji's head. The distance to Háleri was greater, and perhaps Lingarája had had a friendly warning. He had not been found by the executioners on their first arrival, and, before he was discovered, his pardon arrived. Appáji's head was brought before Vírarája according to his orders. The men dared not deviate from the command of the Rájah, though they knew, that he had changed his mind.

Vírarája was horror struck at his own deed. The dead could not be restored to life. What was done could not be undone. But Vírarája would do what he could to make amends. Lingarája was ordered to take charge of his brother's family and of their property. The Jaghir of Appáji, worth 600 kanterai pagodas, was added to the Háleri Jaghir of Lingarája, valued at 200 kanterai pagodas per annum. Still Lingarája remained confined to his village, as he had been for the last ten years. Vírarája utterly despised him as a stupid spiritless farmer. It was the conviction of his perfect insignificance and harmlessness that gave him security, not brotherly affection.

In the beginning of the year 1809 Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore, received a message from Mercara, that the Rájah was insane, and that the assistance of an English physician might be granted. Dr. Ingledew was despatched without a moment's delay. He found the Rájah in a dangerous state. His madness came upon him in fits, which were succeeded by the darkest melancholy. The presence of an English gentleman was a relief to him. There was one man now near him, whom he could trust. On the other hand he was distracted by fears, lest Dr. Ingledew might learn the true state of the country, and receive information of the atrocities he had committed, especially during the last year. If he reported the truth to the Company's Government, Vírarája dreaded loss of character, deposition and ignominy. He took all possible care to keep the Doctor in ignorance. But towards the end of February the black clouds again gathered around him; the evil spirit prevailed. His passion rose one day against four of his principal officers. He ordered them to be assassinated. The executioners went and cut them down. Next morning he sent for one of them. He was dead, it was reported. He called for another, and the third, and the fourth. His attendants trembling declared, that they had been killed according to the orders of the Rájah. Vírarája was seized with an agony of remorse and despair. He bit his arm, that the blood gushed out, and went into his chamber, where he shut himself up, refusing to see any one, or to taste food. He was not fit to live. He would die. His torments were increased by dreadful pains in his shoulder, which he had dislocated by a fall, sometime before the Doctor's arrival, and which had been unskilfully treated by a native quack.

The mind of the man was unhinged under circumstances such as these. Yet even now, the Coorg did not forget his cunning. The murder of the four chief officers could not be hid from Dr. Ingledew. He would surely report to Mr. Cole,

and Mr. Cole would report to the Governor General, (Mr. Cole, indeed did report on the 4th of March) and he would be disgraced for ever in the eyes of the Company. There was one way of escape. If it appeared undoubtedly, that his acts of atrocity had been committed in moments of insanity, if, on recovering his consciousness, he felt such utter despair, as to find life intolerable, the English authorities must hold him excused and feel inclined, rather to pity than to degrade him. As for his distress of mind and the stings of conscience, driving him almost to despair, he did not require to simulate. He felt as wretched as man could feel, but words would not satisfy the Company. Appearances of deepest grief might be suspected. He resolved, therefore, to make some attempt at suicide sufficient to convince Dr. Ingledew of the reality of his despair. Accordingly he cut his throat sufficiently deep, to inflict a serious wound, but not deep enough to endanger life. The Doctor was called in. He stayed the blood and bandaged the throat. On enquiring into the motives for such an act of despondency, he was informed by the Rájah, that he had no desire to live. The murder of his trusty servants, ordered in a fit of insanity and executed by slavish dependents, preyed upon his mind. He could not bear the thought of having disgraced himself for ever in the eyes of the Governor General and all his English friends. Dr. Ingledew tried to reassure him and to soothe his apprehensions, declaring, that acts committed in a state of insanity, and so much grieved for afterwards, would not be laid to his charge. But the Rájah would not be comforted. Shortly after, Doctor Ingledew was called again. The Rájah had swallowed a large dose of corrosive sublimate dissolved in water, which he had been advised to use as a lotion. He had called his eldest daughter, Dévamáji, and desired her to give him the deadly draught. The poor girl did not understand what she was doing. Doctor Ingledew instantly administered an emetic, but had no hope

of the Rájah's recovery, though his medicine acted freely. However, to his astonishment he was soon enabled to report to Mr. Cole, with whom he was in daily communication, that Vírarája was in a convalescent state. The scheme was completely successful. Dr. Ingledeu had not the slightest suspicion of Vírarája's acting a part before him. Mr. Cole, the Resident, on Dr. Ingledeu's report, hastened in person to Mercara. He found the Rájah oppressed by the darkest melancholy, full of sad forebodings of the displeasure of the Governor General, but improving in health. He assured him of his own sympathy, and begged him to confide in the continuance of the friendship and regard of the British Government. Acts committed during a state of insanity would be considered as a misfortune worthy of commiseration, not as crimes deserving of blame or punishment. He would, on his own responsibility, promise the Rájah amnesty for all that had passed. These assurances had the desired effect. Vírarája recovered. Favorable letters arrived from the Governor of Madras, congratulating him on his recovery. A despatch from the Governor General, in answer to the Rájah's letter of 1807, concurred in the wishes of the Company's faithful ally, though not as perfectly as Vírarája had hoped. The bequest of the large legacy of money to his favorite daughter was sanctioned, and the Resident of Mysore was directed to take charge of the treasure, to be invested in the name of Dévamáji, Vírarájendra's daughter, in the Company's funds at Madras. As to the succession, the reply was couched in general terms and the Rájah was desired to confer with Mr. Cole, who had private instructions to make due investigation as to the consistency with Coorg law and custom of the succession in the female line, before he gave the sanction of the British Government to the arrangement proposed by Vírarája. Another letter from the Governor General soon followed full of kindness and regard. The Rájah was most affection-

ately assured of the uninterrupted friendship of the British Government and of the Governor General's undiminished regard. Whatever the Rájah might have done in moments, when his reason was clouded,—and his subsequent deep contrition expressed, that he had not been guilty of deliberate cruelties,—should be forgiven and forgotten. Whereupon Vírarája wrote his last letter to the Governor General. He offered his thanks for the sanction, accorded by the Supreme Government to his testamentary disposal of his hereditary principality, “settling the succession in favor of the male child, which may hereafter be born of one of my daughters by my principal Ráni, to the throne of my dominions, conformably to the mode prescribed by me in my letter to your Lordship. I consider the line of succession to be now settled under the sanction of the British Government, which circumstance has conferred honour upon me, and is beneficent to the interests of my Government. I desire to show forth the daily increasing ardour of my devotion to the service of the British Government, and that my children after me may successfully emulate the example of their father.”

Under the 16th March Mr. Cole had already reported to Government, that “the Rájah had despatched to the Presidency Treasury the sum of about 170,000 pagodas, which was invested in the Company's funds under the name of his eldest daughter. I have had the honour to be introduced to this Princess and her sisters, whom his Highness recommended through me, in a very affecting manner to the protection of Honorable Government.” In fact the Rájah under the idea of obtaining a kind of adoption by the Honorable the East India Company for his daughters, begged the Hon. Mr. Cole to embrace the four girls in the name of the Governor General. Mr. Cole was deeply moved, and returned a most cordial answer to the hapless Prince. A receipt was given to the Rájah soon after for Star-pagodas 186,000, to be in-

vested in the Company's funds as the property of Dévammáji, his eldest daughter.

This was the state of affairs in April 1809. Mr. Cole had returned to Mysore. Dr. Ingledew soon followed. His place was supplied by Mr. Clarke, a physician recommended by Dr. Ingledew. The Rájah had passed through the worst dangers. The confidence of the British Government had been only more firmly re-established. He believed that the Governor General had sanctioned, and thereby guaranteed the succession to Dévammáji and her future son and heir. The Company had taken charge of her rich legacy, to which he had added with the sanction of the Supreme Government other three lacs of Rupees in the Bombay funds. His daughter had been, as it were, adopted by the Company. All his wishes were realized. He might now set his soul at rest. Alas, no. He had buried his very life in the grave of Mahádévaráni. The dead, the victims of his suspicious cruelty, troubled him. He knew himself to be hated by the living, and believed, that traitors had administered to him maddening drugs. Appáji his brother was slain, his most faithful servants were slain. Wherever he went some memorial of a dark deed of cruelty met him. His sleep was disturbed. The blood of thousands was upon him.

Under the 24th May 1809 Mr. Cole reported to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George, that the Rájah of Coorg was again labouring under insanity, and showed a most sanguinary disposition; that the people of Mercara were in constant terror; that Dr. Clarke also entertained fears for his own personal safety, and that he himself would probably find it difficult to deal with him, as his ancient jealousy and hatred of Mysore and every person connected with the Government had been reawakened. Dr. Ingledew, who possessed the confidence of Vírarája, was again sent to Mercara. In the mean time, Mr. Clarke was enjoined

to prevent, as far as it lay in his power, any re-enactment of former scenes of sanguinary violence. It was proposed that Captain Mahoney, the former Resident, should return, take charge, if necessary, of the administration of affairs, and settle the question of the succession in case of the decease of the Rájah. Mr. Cole himself offered to proceed in person to Mercara. When Dr. Ingledew arrived, the end of Vírarája was at hand. It does not appear from the records, that Dr. Ingledew had an interview, or, if he had, that he was recognized by the dying Rájah. During his last days he seems to have been more favorably inclined, than formerly, towards the Sóde Rájah, who was appointed to transact business for him, and whom he desired, it was said, to act as Devan during the minority of Dévammáji. On the 9th June 1809 the unhappy prince called his beloved daughter to his bedside, gave his seal into her hands, and shortly afterwards breathed his last. He lies buried in one of the Mausoleums, which grace the hill overlooking the town of Mercara.

A sad spectaclé! A noble vessel, after having gallantly weathered the storms of Mussulman domination and conquest, is torn from its moorings by the swell of wild grief and passion, and drifts into the breakers of sanguinary phrensy and suicidal despair, to perish there a miserable wreck, with many to look on, but none to help!

And how awfully has the Righteous Ruler of the whole earth executed judgment upon the guilty prince and the objects of his love and hope! The forlorn Rájah lived ages of anguish from the day of the death of his beloved wife, 17th May 1807, to the date of his own decease, 9th June 1809. His idolized daughter was married and had four children, two sons and two daughters. She was deprived of the throne and of her father's legacy, and lived in obscurity. Before the end of 1833 her husband was murdered in the palace, she herself carried a prisoner to Mercara, her property seized by her

cousin, the late Rájah, (one lac of pagodas at one sweep,) and shortly after she herself was murdered at Mercara, and her three children (one boy appears to have died a natural death), at Nalknád, by orders of her relative, and their corpses thrown into pits.

B. LINGARÁJENDRA.

1809—1820.

1. *Lingarájendra's Intrigues.*

Dr. Ingledeu, on the sudden death of Vírarája, had to fulfil the duties of a British Agent quite ex-improviso. He acted, it is true, with considerable tact and prudence and with perfect honesty; but he was not equal to the deep play of the Coorg parties, and was not sharp sighted enough to discern the principal mover in the scenes acted before him. Thus he failed in the task, devolved upon him by a most unforeseen combination of circumstances and persons upon a ground he had scarcely explored. He ought to have carried out the wishes of the late Rájah, as far as they had received the approbation and sanction of the British Government. But it happened otherwise.

When Vírarájendra died, there seemed to be a good prospect of peace and prosperity for Coorg. A short time before his decease, Vírarája permitted the Sóde Rájah to act for him as principal Devan, and expressed a desire, that his son-in-law should have the regency of Coorg, during the minority of Dévammáji, in conjunction with an Agent of the East India Company to be appointed by the Governor General. He had once given to Dr. Ingledeu a testamentary document, expressive of these wishes, but had afterwards recalled and never returned it. As soon as the Rájah had expired, his daughter Dévammáji was acknowledged as Ráni of Coorg, by the assembled chiefs. The Sóde Rájah continued to perform the

duties of principal Devan, or rather of Regent, and all people seemed to be happy and contented. Dr. Ingledeu wrote to Mr. Cole, the Mysore Resident; "owing to the many acts of cruelty, committed by the late Rájah, the Coorg people would be satisfied with any tolerable Government, but more particularly with one like the present promises to be, where the life of the subject is more secure and more regarded, than it has been for the last two years, or, I believe, at almost any period of the late reign." Some of the eunuchs gave themselves airs, and commenced to intrigue with different parties. But upon the complaint of Umbala Náyaka, one of the Devans, who threatened to resign, unless these men were removed, they were ordered to retire to their villages, and placed under surveillance. The first serious disturbance was occasioned by a rumour, that the Sóde Rájah had forged the last will of the Rájah. Dr. Ingledeu inquired into the charge, and found, that the copy of the will, produced by the Sóde Rájah, had a signature not attached to it by Vírarája himself, but by a farrier, who had been in his favour. However, the alterations in the will itself were of no great consequence, and were in perfect harmony with Vírarájendra's wishes shortly before his death. Yet, to quiet the minds of the Coorg chiefs the spurious, though honest, document was cancelled. The Sóde Rájah retained his position. But soon affairs began to take a new turn.

Lingarája, then 34 years old, appears to have had many interviews with Dr. Ingledeu, and impressed him with a strong conviction of his honesty, simplicity and humility. Lingarája confessed, indeed, that he was somewhat disappointed at being entirely superseded. But his elder brother, he said, having recovered the country by force of arms, had a perfect right to dispose of the succession. He had therefore no cause, nor any inclination to complain. He would ever cheerfully submit to whatever arrangements were sanctioned by the

Governor General. Dr. Ingledeu was quite charmed with the man, and recommended him strongly to the favour of Government, as he had well deserved of the country. He had asked for an increase of his pension, which now consisted of two hundred kanterai pagodas for himself and six hundred pagodas a year for the family of his brother Appáji, who had been murdered eight months ago, and the Doctor zealously pleaded for the good, peaceable man. This recommendation is dated 4th July 1809. The peaceable Lingarája, however, was not quite as unworldly minded as he appeared to the honest Doctor. He was much at the palace, and was busy among the principal Coorgs. They certainly did not much approve of the rule of a foreigner, like the Sóde Rájah, but they seem to have had no particular predilection for the late Rájah's brother. One day there had been a large gathering of the chiefs, of which Dr. Ingledeu knew nothing, at the palace. It was proposed to displace the Sóde Rájah by Lingarája, but the proposition was thrown out. Lingarája mounted his horse and rode away, in the direction of Háleri, his own residence. As he rode through the market street of Mercara, in deep despondency and actually weeping like a child, Kshauryakere Appanna, one of the Devans, met him, on his way to the palace. "Why do you cry, Lingarája?" he inquired. "I have been rejected by the Coorg Panchayat. All is lost," was the reply. "Come with me, Lingarája," said Appanna, "I will set you on the throne of Coorg." With these words he seized the bridle of Lingarája's poney, and set off with him to the Fort. He pleaded there for his helpless client before the assembled chiefs. Being a man of known integrity and considerable influence, he prevailed. The Coorgs changed their minds and Lingarája was preferred to the Rájah of Sóde.

Dr. Ingledeu knew nothing of all these things, and was therefore not a little astonished, when on the 9th July, five

weeks after the death of Vírarájendra, during which period his reports had been full of Lingarája's praises, the little Ráni sent for him, and told him, that she had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rájah of Sóde, and wished to have Lingarája, her uncle, for her guardian. Immediately afterwards, the Sóde Rájah came to him and asked his leave to return to his own country, as he had convinced himself, that he had to deal with a formidable opposition, and considered it prudent to withdraw from a situation of imminent danger. Dr. Ingledew objected strongly to so hasty a step. He was waiting for orders from Government, and before the Governor General had signified his will, he wished, that no change should be made in the arrangements, which had been in operation before Vírarájendra's death. But the Sóde Rájah informed him, that Lingarája had already taken possession of the government of the principality. A similar announcement was made by Lingarája himself. Dr. Ingledew now saw, that he had been duped. He protested against Lingarája's usurpation and resolved on withdrawing immediately from Coorg. However, the little Ráni interposed and begged him to stay, whereupon he consented to remain at Mercara, until the arrival of orders from Government, but refused to transact business with Lingarája. The worthy Doctor had now the unpleasant task of reporting to the Resident of Mysore, that he had been made a fool of by the peaceable, humble, simple-minded Coorg; but he acquitted himself of it very honestly. He had been outwitted, he wrote on the 13th July, in an extraordinary manner, and would offer no other excuse but the fact, that he had followed in the footsteps of the late Vírarájendra, who had possessed a good discernment of character, and yet spared the life of Lingarája, his only surviving brother, because he considered him a perfectly harmless creature. No wonder, if the deep cunning, which had succeeded in baffling the keen eye of a tyrant brother, and the vigilancy of Coorg

espionage, got the better of a stranger like himself. Mr. Cole forwarded Dr. Ingledew's reports to Madras and Calcutta. He had, before the death of Vírarájendra, in anticipation of the approaching difficulties, under the 7th of June fully entered upon the Coorg question in a paper, which reported the temporary assumption of the government of Coorg by the Rájah of Sóde. His idea was, that Lingarája was successor to the throne of Coorg de jure, or as Mr. Cole expresses himself, by the doctrine of the shástras (as if the Coorgs had any shástra, or had any thing to do with Hindu Shástras; as if there had been any law in Coorg, different from the will and whim of the Rájah). After Lingarája, his son, it appeared to the Resident, had a right to succeed. If Lingarája had no son, a son of the Rájah of Sóde would be the next heir. Female succession was excluded altogether. However, Mr. Cole acknowledged, that he could not speak positively as to local usage. (Female succession was law in the Ikkeri family, from which the Coorg Rájahs had sprung, of which circumstance Mr. Cole seems to have been ignorant). He wished to receive instructions from Government, how the Agent at Mercara ought to be directed to act. Was he to adhere to the doctrine of the Shástras? or to local usage? or to the personal wishes of the Rájah? Opposition, in the three cases mentioned, was to be expected from the Sóde Rájah, who was now the actual ruler, but had no right to the succession.

On the 15th June Mr. Cole reported to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, as an amendment to his last despatch, that the principal men among the Coorgs seemed unanimously well inclined to the Sóde Rájah, wherefore he would rather purpose, that Government should acknowledge him. On the 16th June he writes to the same authority again, that all Coorg was in favour of the Sóde Rájah, and that it would, therefore, be expedient to acknowledge him without delay. On the 18th June he sent the additional

intelligence, that Lingarája also had declared himself in favour of the Sóde Rájah, and on the 4th July he reported fully on the excellent conduct of the brother of the late Rájah, Lingarája, and recommended, that a decent, yea liberal provision should be made for him in consideration of his meritorious exertions during the critical period succeeding the death of his brother. Mr. Cole relied most fully on the reports sent almost daily by Dr. Ingledew. When this last letter arrived at Madras, Lingarája had seized the reins. Dr. Ingledew was indignant. But nothing could disturb the tranquillity of Mr. Cole. Since Lingarája was now actually in possession of Coorg, he advised Government to countenance him as long as he would respect the rights of the little Ráni. In his innocency he thought, that such a declaration of Government was sufficient to secure the safety and happiness of the princess, whose guardianship he had solemnly undertaken in the name of the paramount power during his last visit to Vírarájendra. The Governor of Madras, under the 10th July, informed Mr. Cole, that he reprobated the conduct of Lingarája, yet he did not see, why the Company should, and how they could, interfere in the internal affairs of a country so inaccessible, and that therefore Lingarája, if he had made himself guardian of the little Ráni and regent of Coorg, must be acknowledged. Even if he should aspire to absolute power, it was not for the Company's Government, to thwart his plans. This was a very easy way of keeping faith with the faithful ally of the English Government, poor Vírarájendra. But he was now dead. In the course of July a bracelet arrived from the Governor General for Vírarájendra, in token of his sympathy with his grievous affliction and of his undiminished regard and friendship. The Governor of Madras directed Mr. Cole to present the bracelet, intended for her father, to the little Ráni. This was done accordingly.

In October Mr. Cole had some disagreeable correspond-

ence with Lingarája about the seizure of a British subject, Parsi Byramji, who had been cast into prison under a fictitious charge of having forged papers for the Rájah of Sóde. In the same month the Resident reported to Madras, that he had presented the bracelet to the little Ráni; that Lingarája was not likely to give up the reins; that the Sóde Rájah claimed one lac of Rupees of the money in the Bombay funds and a Jaghir of the value of 4000 or 5000 pagodas according to a promise made him by Vírarájendra; that Lingarája objected to this demand, and that Mr. Cole wished to know how he should act. The Rájah of Sóde afterwards consented to receive one lac of Rupees in specie, and four thousand Rupees for travelling expenses, in full for all his claims, when the money was paid him and he retired to his own country. Lingarája sent a deputation to Madras, consisting of Ayya Ponnappa, Muttanna, and Hírji, a Parsi, who had to deliver to the Governor a picture of the late Vírarájendra. The present was graciously received, the deputation dismissed with suitable gifts, and a letter written to Lingarája, which was calculated to satisfy him fully. He was thanked for the picture, praised for having taken under his immediate care the children of his late brother, commended for having taken the guardianship of Dévammáji and the regency of Coorg at the desire of his niece, and for having made a liberal provision for the Sóde Rájah, and, lastly, his professions of fidelity and attachment to the British Government were acknowledged and reciprocated with expressions of favour and friendship. The letter was addressed to Lingarájendra Vodeya, Regent of Coorg, and bore the date of 28th February 1810. Under the same date a letter was addressed by the Governor General, the Marquis of Hastings, to Dévammáji, Ráni of Coorg. The Governor General said, that he had received the acknowledgement of his letter of 3rd April 1809 to Vírarájendra, which had unfortunately come too late; and that he wished

the daughter to keep the Amulet (sic!!) of favour and protection, which had been intended for her lamented father. "The arrangement which has been made for the administration of the country during your minority, has my entire approbation. As your uncle and guardian, Lingarájendra Vodeya was justly the object of your choice, while from his respectable character he possesses in a great degree the confidence and affections of the people, I am satisfied, that an administration conducted by his virtues and abilities, is calculated to promote the prosperity of your country and the happiness of your subjects, and that in his parental care and guardianship you will experience the utmost attainable compensation for the loss of your respected father."

Lingarája was now acknowledged guardian of the young Ráni and regent of Coorg. The next step was, to make his helpless ward sign a paper, in which she abdicated her sovereignty in favour of her excellent and loving uncle. The document was duly transmitted to Mr. Cole, who was requested to forward it to the Governor of Madras and to the Supreme Government. This was done in the summer of 1810. On the 14th December the Marquis of Hastings signed a despatch to the Government of Fort St. George on the subject of Coorg. The document of abdication, signed by the little Ráni, appeared to him to be of no value whatever. Being a child, she could not be considered as capable of judging correctly and acting for herself. It was no doubt altogether a scheme and a fraud of Lingarája. However, the Governor General was of opinion, that it was unnecessary to take any steps now. It would be time enough, when the young Ráni attained her majority, to inquire, if she was really resolved on abandoning her claim to the throne of Coorg. In the beginning of 1811 Lingarája announced to the Government of Fort St. George, that he had permanently assumed the Government of Coorg, whereupon the Governor in Council

addressed a letter to the Resident, desiring him to make inquiry into the claims of Lingarája to the sovereignty of Coorg according to Coorg law and usage, and suggesting, that the end might be best attained by a personal visit to Coorg. This plan, however, was not executed, nor would it have been of the slightest use to conduct an inquiry in Coorg, where no one, who cared for his life, could speak the truth in an affair connected with the Rájah.

One thing remained to be accomplished. Lingarája had taken possession of Coorg, supplanted his niece and obtained the sanction or at least the connivance of the Government of the East India Company, but there were three lacs of Rupees in the Bombay funds and upwards of five and an half lacs of Rupees in the Madras funds, both sums standing in the name of Dévammáji. His heart was fully set on the money, and throughout the year 1811 he was busy in smoothing the way for the appropriation of the treasure. Some deputies were sent to Madras with instructions from the Rájah of Coorg, to demand the interest of the sum deposited in the Company's treasury by Vírarájendra. The Accountant General first demurred to the payment of interest into the hands of any other person but an accredited agent of the owner of the bonds, Dévammáji, the daughter of Vírarájendra. Lingarája represented, that Vírarája had left this large legacy to his daughter, because he intended her to succeed to the sovereignty. But since he himself was now charged with the government of the country, he must protest against any private member of the family being considered proprietor of so considerable a portion of the public funds. At the same time an attempt was made to appropriate the three lacs in the Bombay funds. The Company at that period reduced the interest on the public loan. Creditors, disinclined to submit to the contemplated reduction, were to receive payment for their bonds. Lingarája took the opportunity of selling the

three lacs of Vírarájendra to Messrs. Forbes and Co., who demanded cash payment from Government. Here also the treasury objected, because the bonds were not in Lingarája's name. References were made from Bombay and Madras to the Supreme Government on the subject of the Coorg bonds. Instructions were requested.

The Governor General, however, declared, that he reserved the settlement of the question for the future. It was not absolutely necessary now to solve the difficulty. When Dévam-máji attained her majority, it would be time enough to see, whose the property in the Madras funds was. In the mean time Lingarája might draw the interest as guardian of Dévam-máji and regent of Coorg. As to the Bombay bonds, it was Lingarája's business to prove in a court of law, that he was the proprietor, when the principal should without any demur be placed in the hands of his agents. Lingarája disliked the idea of a judicial investigation, but succeeded afterwards in appropriating the bonds to himself. At Madras, Messrs. Binny & Co. drew the interest every year for the Rájah of Coorg, first in Dévammáji's name, and afterwards in the name of Lingarája and his son, Vírarája, themselves. How the change in the wording of the bonds was effected cannot now be discovered.

Before the end of 1812 Lingarája had succeeded to his full satisfaction in all his plans. He had taken possession of the inheritance of his brother Vírarájendra, Coorg was his, and he was almost formally acknowledged as Rájah by the paramount power. The large legacy, left to Dévammáji by her father, was as good as his own, because the Company, who had taken charge of the money from Vírarájendra for his daughter, permitted him to draw the interest, although not recognizing the claim, which he had endeavoured to set up, saying, that there could not be a transfer from a Rájah of Coorg of large property, by way of bequest, to a private

member of his family, since the property of the Rájahs was always considered as state property. It was, indeed, of no great consequence, whether Lingarája's plea was allowed, or disallowed, by the Supreme Government, as long as they winked at his robbing his niece of the interest of her bonds. Yet Lingarája felt uneasy from time to time. He distrusted the disposition of the English Government, though it was perfectly friendly to a fault. He had a higher opinion of the good faith of the Company to Vírarájendra and his daughter, than they had themselves of their duty to keep their word pledged to the fulfilment of their devoted ally's last will.

It may be seen from the following extracts, that the Coorg Rájah as early as 1811 was subject to fits of fear, lest the Company should execute judgment upon him, which induced him secretly to fortify his country.

2. General Welsh's visits to Lingarája.

The extracts, embodied in the following pages, are taken from a work, entitled "Military Reminiscences extracted from a journal of nearly forty years' active service in the East Indies, by Colonel (now General) James Welsh." General Welsh's somewhat loosely connected, but truthful, though now and then romance-like, sketches give a perfectly correct account of Lingarája, and show also to very life the character of the relations then existing between the Government of the East India Company and the Rájah of Coorg. The Rájah was on friendly terms with the Company's Government, yet dreaded it. He was dependent upon them, yet affected a semblance of independence. He courted the favour of English Officers and invited them frequently into his country, yet guarded with the greatest jealousy their intercourse with his people. He prided himself on his European manners and character, and pretended to be adored by his subjects, while he kept them in the most abject bondage and crushed their spirit by a system

of savage cruelty. He was permitted to do what he liked with his own people. The Company's Government took their responsibilities as the paramount power of India easy, and forgot, that they had pledged themselves to the fulfilment of Vírarájendra's last will.

The 10th chapter of the Reminiscences treats on Coorg; we read there:—"In the days of Hyder's successful usurpation of the Musnud of Mysore, the reigning Rájah of Coorg was defeated and taken prisoner by this Mussulman Prince and carried to Mysore, where he was kindly treated from policy, and persuaded the usurper, that if he would send him back to his own country, he would prevail on all his subjects to submit to the Mussulman yoke; they having previously betaken themselves to their hills and fastnesses, from whence he could neither drive nor recall them. He proved himself an able statesman, if such a term be applicable to a mountain chief, since he improved the natural fortifications of his kingdom, built towns, formed an armed militia, and successfully defied his former conqueror. He was succeeded by the boy, whom his blindness had spared, and left him immense wealth, as well as most absolute power over all his subjects and every kind of property in his little kingdom, indeed, I blush to write it, the absolute deity of his ignorant and misguided people. Such, in March 1811, was Lingarájendra Vodeyaru, to whom I carried an introduction from the Honorable Arthur Cole, Resident in Mysore, who was also nominal Resident in Coorg."

In the above extract General Welsh, though no doubt unintentionally, makes several mis-statements. Amongst the English Officers and Officials, then stationed in Mysore, such may have been the current talk about the Rájah of Coorg. But, as already shown in a former part of the history, it is a fact, that Lingarája, the father of Vírarája was allured to Mysore by Hyder Ali and there detained, ostensibly as a

guest, but in reality as a prisoner, until by stratagem he returned to Coorg. Vírarája, however, lived for several years as a prisoner in the Fort of Periapatna, until he escaped over the frontier into his mountain home and asserted his independence. General Welsh confounds father and son. Again Lingarája was no longer a "boy" when his brother Vírarája died, but a man of 34 years of age. Finally the Coorgs as little worshipped their Rájahs as Gods, as did the Romans their Cæsars, when they burnt incense before their images!

"On the 19th of the same month, having heard much in praise of the sport in Coorg, and being at leisure for such a trip, I set out from Bangalore, in company with Lieut. W. Williamson, a young man of my own corps, both a keen and hardy sportsman as well as a very agreeable companion. We travelled post, in palanquin, to Vírarájendrapet, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. On the 22nd of March after a hearty breakfast, provided for us by the Rájah's people, *gratis*, we mounted two large elephants, at daybreak, and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zigzag, now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till, at last, after eight hours' fagging, we reached the palace built for the accommodation of Europeans outside the stonefort of Mercara, the capital.

"This place is delightfully situated on an eminence, near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains. The pass up these mountains being fortified and defended, however, would make it a very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at twenty-four miles. The Rájah's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside on the slope of the glacis. The town is remarkably clean and well built, about half a mile off by an excellent high road, and at the farther extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering which, you come upon

a small plain with a magnificent tomb, erected by the present Rájah to the memory of his late brother and his wife. It is much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, being a wide square with a handsome dome in the centre and four turrets at the angles. On the top of the dome is a gold ball, with a weathercock above it, and all the window bars are made of solid brass.

“On this spot, by appointment, we met the Mahá Swámi, at half past three in the evening. He was dressed in a Major-general’s uniform, appeared to be about thirty years of age, with very handsome features, and a person in which were joined both activity and strength. He immediately shook hands with us, and desired us to be seated, after a short conversation in Hindustáni, which he at first addressed to an interpreter, until he found that I could speak and understand him in that language; he then produced several rifles, ready loaded, ordered cocoanuts to be hoisted on the tops of spears, fifty yards off, and then desired us to fire. Suffice it to say, he beat us both most completely, splitting every nut he fired at in the centre, while we either struck the sides or missed entirely. After this, he asked us to take a ride with him; a beautiful English horse was brought to me, an Arabian to Lieutenant Williamson, and he himself also rode a very fine Arabian. We rattled about in the square for half an hour, when he desired us to alight and rest ourselves; and taking a long spear, performed several feats with it still on horseback, with great grace and dexterity. Our horses being brought again, we remounted, and proceeded with him to the fort; the Rájah insisting on our riding one on each side of him all the way. On entering his palace, we were amused by a set of dancing girls, keeping time to reels and country dances, played on two fiddles; and the Mahá Swámi shewed us various portraits of himself, the King, the Prince of Wales, General Wellesley, &c. He then took us into another apartment, and

shewed us a dozen of highly finished single and double rifles, by Manton and Jover; fowling-pieces, pistols, &c., then an air gun, which he desired us to try. It was now seven p. m., and torchlight had succeeded the daylight in his courtyard; we took aim out of the window, at various things, and hit them, and I even knocked down a lime, a species of small lemon, off the top of a cocoanut, so uncommonly true did it carry. His son and several relations were next introduced to us, all fine looking boys; and the heir apparent, being about seven or eight years old, dressed in a General's uniform, with a sword by his side, put me in mind of some old French prints, in which the girls are dressed in hoops and farthingales, and the boys with bag wigs and small swords. Ram-fights, &c. were going on all this time in the yard, as it were to amuse the attendants; and two of the rams had four horns each. Then a lion made his appearance, led by a dozen men, with a strong rope. He appeared very tame, played with his leaders, and suffered me to go up to him and pat him on the back. Next came a large royal tiger and two panthers, the former having his claws pared, but very savage, trying every instant to break loose. We took leave at half past seven, quite pleased with the kind and affable treatment of this Prince, who, I am inclined to believe, is adored by his people.

“I must now describe our own habitation, built on a small island, surrounded by paddy ground, now dry, for the sole accommodation of Europeans. It is a large square, having a hall in the centre, a large covered-in verandah all round it, and four bed-rooms projecting at the angles of the verandah, all on an upper story, the lower rooms serving for the guard, attendants, store-rooms, etc. It stands on a square of seventy feet, the verandah having thirty-eight glass windows, with Venetian blinds outside. The bed-rooms have sixteen windows, and the hall eight glass doors; every part being neatly

furnished, in the English style, with beds, tables, card-tables, writing boxes, chairs, chandeliers, settees, etc. etc. And there is an old butler of my early Vellore friend, Colonel Ridgway Mealay, and a dozen active servants, who very speedily produce an English breakfast or dinner, served up on handsome Queen's ware, with every kind of European liquor; and what is even still more extraordinary, the cook bakes good bread!

“After all our exertions of this day, it may readily be supposed we slept soundly; and on the morning of the 23rd rose betimes an usual, a custom which I most strenuously recommend to all young men doomed to spend any time in the East, and went to visit the Rájah's stud and elephants; and amongst the latter found a young white one, about two years old, most perfectly formed, with flaxen hair, light eyes, and fair skin. Of these animals, as his country abounds in them, he has great abundance. After breakfast, we were astonished by a visit from the Mahá Swámi, in state. No longer disguised in an European dress, he appeared in his native robes, richly decorated with jewels; and *certes*, in my eyes, he appeared a much handsomer man. He sat a few minutes, and then told us that he had received intelligence of a wild elephant, and would, if we pleased, accompany us to go and shoot him. To us, this was the most acceptable offer he could have made. We retired to prepare ourselves, and our shooting apparatus; and, on our return from our own rooms, found his Highness ready, with elephants and attendants. Away we set, the Rájah himself driving the one I rode, sitting across its neck, with a hook in the right hand and a knife in the other, to cut down any small branches of trees likely to incommode me in the excursion. ‘Such a man,’ thought I, ‘at the head of his followers, must be invincible.’ So perfectly different from the effeminate grandeur of most eastern

potentates.* Arrived at the spot, which was only about a mile off, we dismounted, and, while the people were preparing seats on trees for our reception, amused ourselves shooting arrows at a mark, in which, as usual, the Rájah beat us hollow. When all was ready, each climbed his own tree, the Rájah between us, and sat in a snug little wicker-box with three guns of the Rájah's each, and two of his eunuchs to load our pieces. The Rájah had a single rifle carrying a twelve ounce ball, and two double ones, of one ounce each....The creature rolled over instantaneously, carrying away several small trees, as he extended his enormous bulk upon the ground....It stood ten feet high, and was in excellent condition; the tusks were two feet outside, and nearly three feet long when extracted; and the length of the body was very nearly the same as its height....Here, supposing our day's work was concluded, we proposed to take leave, but we were yet to learn something further of the kind attentions of this excellent Prince. He told us, that having kept us so long from our own tiffin, it being then three o'clock, he had ordered a dinner to be brought out for us; and, to our surprise, we found a small house built of leaves, a table and chairs, a dinner, consisting of pillawe, mutton cutlets, curry, &c. all ready for us. Nor was this all: the Rájah followed us in, and begged us to excuse him, as he was not very well; but left his servants with guns, powder, shot, &c. and four elephants, desiring us to amuse ourselves after dinner as we pleased. We accordingly dined, and then beat a thick jungle for game, though without success, it being the dry season, when they retire into the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. At five p. m., we returned to our palace, well satisfied with the adventures of the day....On the 25th of March, we

* Sorry shall I be, in the sequel, to reverse this most delightful, though airy vision; but truth, with me, is the first maxim, and it will force me to dispel the delightful romance which was here intruded on us by the most plausible appearances.

paid our parting visit to the Mahá Swámi, and received from him the following presents: two gold-handled Coorg knives, two panther-skin caps, two sandalwood sticks, one royal tiger and two panther-skins, and parted from him with mutual expressions of esteem and regard. The Rájah informed us, that the present indifferent state of his health, and not being certain of finding game immediately, had alone prevented his taking us into the country to shoot, but promised, if we would return at the same season next year, we should be amply gratified with field sports. Thus ended my first trip to Coorg.... I shall anticipate a period of my Journal, and extract the next trip at once. Accompanied by Lieutenant Meredith, I set out on the 17th of October 1812, and reached Siddheshvara, the first village in his country; after which my Diary regularly proceeds as follows:—

“Here we were regaled with curry and rice, by the Coorg Rájah’s guards, who refused any pecuniary remuneration. The stockade seems newly finished. We had some very unpleasant heavy rain in the evening, and saw many wild fowl in the tank. The whole road from Periapatna is extremely bad, and would require much repair to fit it for the passage of guns. There was more rain in the night, succeeded by a fog.

“On the 18th of October we set forward, still in our palanquins, in a dense fog....The road the whole way was very bad. The last four miles, in particular, through swamps and paddy ground, intersected by deep water-courses.

612 “We arrived at Vírarájendrapett at twenty minutes past three P.M., and took a walk to look at a Christian church building at the western extremity of the village; it is about half finished, and will be a grand edifice for the Romish Christians to erect in a Pagan country. It is built from the foundation of a porous stone, called soap-stone on the Malabar Coast, cemented with light clay, very thick; and from a dis-

tance resembles on old Gothic ruin in England. The Rájah's Subadar gave us a curry, rice, fruit, vegetables, &c. and even sent us two China plates and one copper spoon. He had previously furnished us with a table and two chairs. On the 19th we set out at three A. M., and proceeded to the Kávéri, which we reached at seven A. M., and crossed in boats, the stream being about six feet deep. The banks are exceedingly high and steep, and a strong barrier is placed on the left bank, called Angree.....We found the fort of Mercara completely repaired, and, passing it, took up our abode in the old place, at a quarter-past twelve, having been nine hours and a quarter on the road; the last five on elephants. We then had our breakfast and took a sleep, after which mounted two fine horses, and paid our respects to the Mahá Swámi. He received us in his usual manner, in his palace, having sent off his camp equipage, &c. to give us a shooting party in the interior. No general officer's uniform this time; but he looked well, and was very kind and attentive. He shewed us two lions, two tigers, two wild buffaloes, and a royal tiger-cub; then a gun, completely made, and highly finished, by his own smith; and I really never saw a more elegant fowling-piece. After sitting nearly two hours with him we took our leave; and when our dinner was served up, two of his fiddlers made their appearance and regaled us with English tunes! In short, every thing apes England in this most extraordinary place. We, two plain soldiers, sat down to a roasted goose, and twenty other dishes, and drank a bottle of English claret between us; rejecting, to the amazement of the beholders, Madeira, beer, hock, &c. all of which they expected us to swallow.

“On the 20th of October we rose with the lark, and took a walk, first to the Mausoleum, and afterwards to the horse and elephant stables. The little white elephant had grown considerably, but his skin was getting darker, and he appeared to be in bad health. Lieutenant Davies joined us here from

Mysore, at half-past ten; and having to start early, we dined at noon. At one P.M., the Rájah arrived in his military uniform, on horseback. He dismounted and sat with us some time, shewing us some of his guns, and then inviting us to mount our horses and proceed, he accompanied us to the top of the hill, when, wishing us good sport, he returned, and we pursued our journey. We found six tents pitched in a clean compound, about five miles off....On the 21st of October, after breakfast, we mounted our elephants, at seven A.M., and proceeded over nullahs, swamps, hills, &c. about five miles further, where we found our trees prepared, and all the jungle beset by some thousands of beaters; when we forthwith climbed our respective ladders, to wicker litters, in the centre of a deep jungle....

“On the 22nd we set out a little after six A.M.; it was impossible to tell the direction, but through rivers, jungles, &c. and latterly, ascending a steep and very high mountain covered with wood, our elephants groping and kneeling, while our empty palanquins could not even be carried up from the bottom, we gained a beautiful plain on the summit, covered with trees and deep jungle all round it; the distance about eight miles: it is called Perumboo Kaud, on a range designated Pannimatta Kundu....And here, at nine A.M., we set to work in the old way. I saw six elks, and fired at three; Lieuts. Davies and Meredith saw only three, the former did not fire, the latter fired twice....On the 23rd we started at half-past six. I have remarked that all the Coorg pike-men, instead of trailing or sloping their pike, when they come to trees and other obstacles, always carry it in the left hand, and advancing the right to support it, ‘charge pikes,’ and push on. This is evidently discipline, and may be taught for their own safety, in advancing among wild beasts. We passed the mountain we were on yesterday, and dismounting at the bottom of one a mile further, ascended on foot to the summit. Our

sport did not commence till eleven A. M., the jungle being amazingly thick and game rather scarce. I fired and wounded an elk, which Meredith killed, and I killed a jungle buckrah, or wood-goat, with a single ball, while running like the wind; it was a very curious animal, with a body the same colour and size of a deer, having exceedingly short legs, and therefore its swiftness must proceed from the length and strength of its body; it had short branching antlers, and was so extraordinary an animal altogether, that I preserved the head and antlers....It was the only animal of the kind, I ever saw in my life. A panther was started, but he escaped, from the density of the jungle. We got into our palanquins at sunset, and moving in great state, with every one of our three thousand beaters carrying a lighted fire-stick, arrived at our pavilion at half-past eight P. M., actually illuminating all the country through which we passed. Our total game killed this day was one wild hog, seven elks, and one jungle buckrah. It matters not to what distance we ramble, the Rájah's attention and kindness extend all over his dominions. We never sit down to a meal, but in pops a large basket of fruit, or some sweetmeats from his own table, and his people are the most orderly, obliging, willing creatures I have ever met in my life. And all this without the slightest hope of reward, which in general will go a great way with the natives of India; but these people reject, with apparent horror, every proffered present, even when alone. There is certainly something very uncommon, indeed unfathomable, in this.

“On the 24th of October we tried another spot, a little out of our way to Mercara, but had no sport, killing one elk only and returned home in the evening. I have observed, that every square league, or mile occasionally, is marked out into a kind of fortification; having a high bank, deep ditch, hedge, and barrier. This renders the country extremely strong in a military point of view, every man being a good marksman,

and famous for sporting; because two thousand men can do more in such enclosures, than ten, or even twenty thousand, in equally thick jungle, without these advantages. I remarked also, this evening, from my bed-room window, an immense concourse of people, seemingly labourers, winding through a distant road, and mentioning the circumstance at dinner, I observed it threw a damp on the countenances of the attendants, amongst whom, in spite of all my entreaties to the contrary, I saw the native officer of our honorary guard. No one would satisfy my curiosity. I therefore changed the subject, and speaking to my old friend the butler, asked him how he came to be so sickly since I last saw him, and what had become of four fat Bengalees, who amused me with their civilities, when I was last there? A part of their duty being to run after us, if we only went into the garden for a moment; one carrying a chair, another a juglet of water, a third a bottle and tumbler, as if an European could not exist a minute without such accompaniments. He turned pale, and trembled; told me he had had a fever, but was now better, and that the other men were gone away. I rallied him on his grave appearance, and inquired if he was not happy. He immediately replied, "Happy! he must be happy in such a service; that every one, under the Mahá Swámi, enjoyed happiness." I immediately launched forth in his praise, and I observed this gave Mahomed pleasure; little did I dream, that every word he or I uttered, would be instantly repeated to the Rájah; yet, fortunately every thing I then had to say, was favourable. On retiring to rest, and sitting down to bring up my Journal, the occurrences of the day passing in review, I began to ruminate particularly on the workmen I had seen, and all the repairs I had witnessed in the fort and barriers. It immediately struck me that the Rájah, mistaking a late prohibition of Europeans passing through his country, issued in consequence of the gross misconduct of two

officers, both since dismissed from the King's and Company's service, had imagined the British were going to declare war against him, and was consequently fortifying his country; and I supposed the work-people were employed on some strong place in the neighbourhood. Having obtained special permission for myself and companions, I determined that I would immediately undeceive him, as an act of kindness to both parties.

Rising very early on the 25th, we took a quiet walk in the garden, and returning up-stairs, were followed by Mahomed Sahib, the butler, who entreated to speak with me in private, and to request Lieutenant Meredith to remain in the verandah, to prevent any one from listening. This we acquiesced in; and no sooner were we alone in the bed-chamber, than he threw himself at my feet, and entreated me, by the memory of his old master, to save his life. I was perfectly thunderstruck; raised him up, and desired him to explain himself; when he told me a tale which harrowed my soul. The four Bengalees, whom I had left fat and happy, had become dissatisfied with promises, and wages protracted and never paid; they had demanded their dismissal, and had, in consequence, been inhumanly murdered. He himself had applied for leave, and was immediately mulcted of all he had, and his thumbs squeezed in screws, made on purpose, and used in native courts; his body flagellated, and a threat held out, that the next offence would be punished with death. That the Rájah being acknowledged as the God of the country, exercised the supposed right without remorse and without control. That, for instance, if a poor fellow, standing in his presence, with both hands joined in adoration as of the Supreme, incessantly calling out Mahá Swámi! or Great God! should be suddenly bit by a musquito, and loosen his hands to scratch; a sign too well known, would instantly be made by this *soidisant* Deity, and the poor wretch be a head shorter

in a twinkling. This, he told me, had been the fate of the fine-looking Parsee interpreter, whom I had seen at my last visit, who, having built a house, and amassed some wealth, was beheaded, and his property seized for the state; and this, he also assured me, was the fate of every man who entered the country, if he ever attempted to quit it again: and the Rájah, admitting his troops to a share in the plunder, bound them to his interests by chains of adamant. He entreated me to take him with me out of the country, which, he said could be easily accomplished, because he must accompany me to the barrier; but I could not listen to such a proposal, and at once told him so. To connive at the escape of one of the Rájah's servants, while I was his guest, would have been a direct breach of hospitality, which I could not consent to practice. But learning on some further conversation, that the native officer, under the appearance of an honorary guard was placed there as a spy over every word and action of every gentleman who lived in that palace, I proposed to enter into such conversation with him, in Hindustáni as being reported, might induce the Rájah to grant him leave. He also told me, that the Rájah fearing some attack from the English, was building new forts, and repairing all the old ones, and then retired, I believe, unobserved. The signal being made for breakfast, we sat down, attended as usual. I entered into conversation with Mahomed Sahib, talked of his mistress now at Madras, and his late master's will, and asked him if he had received the thousand pagoda legacy his master had left him. He replied, it was the first he had heard of it. I had, however, actually heard something of the kind, and advised him to get four months' leave of absence, to go and see his old mistress, before she embarked for England. He told me, he certainly should like to go and see her, but he could not bear to leave so good, so kind a master as the Mahá Swámi; to which I replied, that I was sure the Rájah

would allow him to go with pleasure, and said, I would immediately ask his Highness; but he begged me not, as he was sure the Rájah would allow him to go, if it were really for his advantage; here the conversation dropped, and being reported, it had a capital effect.

This forenoon we took our leave of the Rájah, who received us in his palace, where he was amusing himself shooting blunt, but very heavy headed arrows, at different men, armed with spear and shield; whose business was to guard themselves, and receive the blow on their shields. He afterwards fired at marks, rode several horses in a ring, and lastly, managed two elephants, one of which he requested me to mount, and drove me about for a short time, and then dismounted. I had been informed, that in consequence of my increased rank, since I was last there, he had prepared an elephant as a present. I then imagined this was the one, but I was mistaken. He gave Meredith a bird's head, called Malliárapah, a gold-mounted Coorg knife, and sandalwood stick; and to me, two spears, a gold-mounted knife, sandalstick, and bird's head, and wished us a pleasant journey. With all this kindness, I could not help remarking, that his Highness had lost some of his affability, so easily are we led by circumstances, or by previous opinion, to fancy what, perhaps, has no existence. His conduct to us throughout had been kind and condescending, beyond that of any native Prince I ever knew, and was never equalled, in after times, but by the Rájah of Népaunee. He was particularly fond of the flower of the Calderah, called in Hindustáni, Kewrah, the odour of which is generally too strong for English organs, but sweet beyond any flower in the East. No man in his dominions dare use it, all being the property of the Mahá Swámi; as the finest flowers of their gardens are appropriated solely to the decoration of their temples, by all the other natives of India.

The sequel may as well be anticipated here, to connect the whole in one. A few months after, when in my own house at Bangalore, I was surprised by the sudden appearance of Mahomed Sahib, extremely emaciated, ill-dressed, and with a picture in his hand. He threw himself at my feet, and told me I have saved his life, that the Rájah had given him four months' leave, and desired him to carry his picture to me, in proof thereof. I refused it, however, when he told me he had returned a beggar, being stripped of every thing at the last barrier; but that he never would return. I saw him in a good place, shortly afterwards, well and happy. The Rájah, Lingrájender Wodeer died in the year 1820, and was succeeded on the Musnud by his son, whom I had seen an infant in 1810. I have heard of no cruelties committed by the present Mahá Swámi, who is described as a mild, inoffensive young man. The English have had, however, little or no intercourse with that country, since 1811, a road being opened through Wynád to the Malabar coast, and a capital ghaut made by our own pioneers. I have omitted to mention, that as this country abounds with royal tigers, it is absolutely necessary that they should be hunted every season, and the former Rájah seldom killed fewer than there were days in the year; and invariably gave a gold bangle to the first man who should touch the tiger, after he had fired, which must make brave soldiers."

The above extracts give a tolerably correct idea of Lingarájah's character and of the state of Coorg from the death of Vírarájendra to the deposition of the present ex-rájah in 1834. Vírarájendra was impelled to deeds of blood by a naturally savage temperament, hardened by habits of internecine warfare in which he was engaged almost throughout life, and inflamed towards the end of his career by paroxysms of the darkest suspicions, and a melancholy ever hovering on the brink of insanity. His brother, Lingarája, had none of his redeeming qualities. His cruelty was without excuse. He

had some ambition to shine as a poet. Some of his pieces, addressed to one of his wives, are still preserved. They have no merit, and were perhaps made for him. However, he may have been a Nero in a small way. Cruelty seems to have been his sport. He liked to kill his victims with his own hand, with gun, bow or knife. For small offences people had their ears cropped, their noses cut, or their tongues clipped. For an impertinent answer men or women had their mouths rinsed, that was the phrase, i. e. their lips were cut off all round their mouths, and they were left to perish without food or drink. Others were thrown down a precipice on the hill side, near the "Rájah's seat" in Mercara. Many seem to have been destroyed merely for the purpose of confiscating their property, for Lingarája had as great a passion for gold as for blood.

During the first years of his reign he was restrained from giving full vent to his atrocious propensities by the influence of his Devan, Kshauryakere Appanna, who seems to have been a man of character and independence, bold enough to lecture the tyrant whom he had placed on the throne in preference to the rule of a stranger, the Rájah of Sóde. But by degrees Lingarája became impatient of the control of a subject. Appanna, relying on the Rájah's gratitude, continued to exhort, to warn and, at times, to resist his master. He had mistaken his man. One day the Devan was seized and carried before the Rájah. He was charged with treason. He knew, that he was doomed. The Rájah himself conducted the investigation. "Confess your guilt," he cried. "I am guilty indeed," replied the intrepid minister, "of one crime, of having made a wretch like you, Rájah of Coorg." Lingarája was mad with rage. Appanna, with several other so called accomplices, was carried out into the jungle to a distance of some miles. There they were nailed to some large trees, the Rájah feasting his eyes on the torments of his help-

less victims, who died with curses on their lips. A large number of people, the families, relations and friends of the condemned men, were slaughtered on the occasion. Some say, that the Devan had entered into a conspiracy against the Rájah's life, and that on a hunting excursion a shot, aimed at Lingarája, passed close by him, whereupon he seized the traitors and exterminated them and their party; but this may only be an invention of the Rájah, calculated to throw a veil over a crime of a dye too dark even for Coorg. In 1820 the miserable tyrant died. He believed that he was destroyed through magic arts and demoniac influences employed by secret enemies. He had held possession of Coorg for eleven long years. The complete ignorance of his subjects, whom he managed to isolate entirely from the surrounding countries, subject to the East India Company, combined with the terror of his arm, kept up by frequent executions, and a system of treacherous espionage, fostered by the Rájah among his terrified slaves, laid the Coorgs prostrate at the feet of their rapacious and blood-thirsty master. He died forty-five years of age amidst the gloom of dread superstitions. His queen, who preferred death to the fate which, she thought, awaited her from the hatred of the young Rájah, swallowed diamond powder, and was buried with Lingarája in a splendid sepulchre near the tomb of Vírarájendra.

3. Lingarája's character.

Of Lingarája's personal character, Lieut. Connor who made his acquaintance gives us the following graphic picture:—

“The late Chief, anxious to prevent his brothers from acquiring any influence, retained them in a species of exile; Appáji Sáib, the elder, is represented as having been of a violent temper and impatient of control; this turbulent spirit hurried him to a premature end, and Lingarája had nearly shared the same fate, but seems to have owed his safety to

his insignificance. Having passed the early part of his life in occupations but little removed from those of the ordinary husbandman, his abilities are not above mediocrity, nor does he possess docility to compensate for the absence of genius. Weak, frivolous, and puerile, he is naturally swayed by those around him, but overbearing, irascible and sometimes cruel, he is represented as being controlled by no compunctions of morality or conscience in quieting those apprehensions to which a jealous and distrustful disposition give birth; but a suspicion easy to be provoked and difficult to be appeased, suggests the belief, that he feels all those terrors which he inspires. Authority in Codagu would seem always to have been maintained by the sword, and though circumstances will not allow of a proof of what they indicate, they warrant the conclusion, that he is at least equal to any of his predecessors in the liberal use of it. He is said to be disliked by his subjects, many of whom have fallen victims to his caprices. Of his acquirements but little can be said; his means of observation have been too limited, to admit of an extended knowledge of other countries, indeed both his ideas and information are confined within the narrow limits of his own little territory.

“A courteous dissimulation disguises under a polite deportment, a temper naturally imperious and relentless, and a suspicious and vindictive disposition is concealed by a mild and specious address; to Europeans he is remarkable for a prepossessing affability and condescension; feeling only the servility of others, and in a situation where none can resist, few dissuade, our wonder should be more excited by the suavity of manners for which he is remarkable, than the severity of disposition that characterises him.

“The nature of his education has given him a propensity to active exercises, much of his time is occupied in field sports; they are on an extensive scale and embrace a wide circle of

slaughter, game without distinction or number being killed on these occasions. He is a good marksman, uses his spear with dexterity, is an excellent mahout and skilful rider; it is difficult to say, whether he takes an active personal share in the administration of his affairs—I am led to think not—nor is it easy to state what are his usual occupations or the ordinary distribution of his time, when not exposed to public view; much of it, however, is devoted to frivolous and childish pursuits.

“Lingarāja is now in his forty-fourth year, about the middle size and actively formed, but in no way remarkable for any particular symmetry of features; he is rather dark complexioned and the general expression of his countenance is not disagreeable, though not indicating the habit of peremptory authority and acknowledged command; he is plain in his dress, being usually habited in a loose gown, reaching to his ancles; to this is added a black silk cape, and a cap of similar materials substitutes the place of a turban; on great occasions, however, this simplicity of dress gives way to the splendour of an English general’s uniform; a string of pearls to which some jewels are affixed suspended round his neck forms the only ornament of his person, a Codagu sword is always placed on the table before him (it appears one of the ensigns of his authority) or carried with him, when he moves.

“The forms of his court exhibit but little pagentry, presenting nothing of that cumbrous and barbaric pomp in which Native Princes of whatsoever rank so much delight; indeed it is remarkable that he seems always surrounded by menials rather than men of rank. There is, however, an appearance of permanent regularity and economy, the reverse of that gorgeous improvidence for which they are remarkable. About 90 elephants and half as many horses together with some troops of dancing girls—without which Hindu greatness would be incomplete—serve to maintain the rustic splendour

of his court; the few troops that garrison his town are also his guards.”

Dr. Moegling pithily characterises Lingarája thus: “He was the incarnation of the worst elements of the Coorg spirit. Greediness after gold, no matter how obtained, a bottomless depth of cunning, the most brazen hypocrisy, cowardice as abject as cruel and a strong dosé of sensuality were united in his character.”

In a Shásana-stone deposited in the Mercara Onkáreshvara dévastána, which was built by him, he is however, by his native admirer praised as:—“The illustrious Lingarája Wadeer, son of Lingarája and grandson of Appájirája, of the Lunar race, pure as the milky sea, worshipped with the fragrance of the Párijáta flower, of the family of Bháradwája, follower of the Ashwaláyana Sútra of Rig Véda, a zealous and learned worshipper of Shiva, sitting on the illustrious throne of Coorg in the centre of the milky city, adorned with precious jewels, of unequalled beauty and bravery, smiling like the sun in unparalleled glory, famous to the end of the world, generous and brave.—”

C. VĪRARĀJA.

1820—1834.

1. Virarája's tyranny.

With the death of Lingarája affairs in Coorg did not improve. The unfortunate people had only changed masters. As soon as the young Vīrarája, who was about 20 years old, had taken possession of his father's throne and treasure, he destroyed the people, who had displeased or thwarted him during the life of his father. Many members of the family of the Coorg Rájahs seem to have fallen at that time. One, Channa Vīra, escaped with his family across the Mysore frontier. But to no purpose; his relative knew how to turn

to account his connection with the British Government. Letters and messages were despatched to Mr. Cole, the Resident in Mysore, requesting him to order the seizure of a refractory farmer, who had made his escape from Coorg after having committed a crime, and the delivery of the criminal to the servants of the Rájah. Mr. Cole had the man apprehended near Periapatna, and sent him back to Coorg with a letter to the Rájah, requesting information as to the guilt of and the punishment awarded to the refugee. No answer was given to the Resident. Channa Vira was carried to Kántamúrnád, where he was massacred with his whole family, twenty-two souls on one day. In 1826 Mr. Casamajor, the successor of Mr. Cole, despatched a Captain Monk to Mercara and charged him, among other things, to enquire after the fate of Channa Vira. Captain Monk was told by Vírarája, that there had been much sickness in the country during the last season, and that Channa Vira with his whole family had been swept away by cholera. After this inaugural bloodshed, the new Rájah seems to have shown less cruelty than his father or uncle. An intelligent Brahman, who is intimately acquainted with Coorg affairs, told me one day, that he estimated the victims of Dodda-Vírarája's reign at about five thousand; Lingarája, he thought, had not killed more than three thousand, or perhaps three thousand five hundred; and the late Rájah had not destroyed more than fifteen hundred lives, if so many. Still, the last man was a greater curse upon Coorg, than his predecessors. Less cruel he appears to have been. (The above estimate of Coorg murders is no doubt greatly exaggerated, but the proportion assigned to the three Rájahs agrees perfectly with the general tradition of the country.) But, if less cruel, Vírarája, young as he was at his accession to the government of Coorg, became a monster of sensuality. He kept the youngest of his father's wives for his use and increased his establishment of concubines to

about one hundred. A number of other women, of the best families, were summoned to Mercara after accouchements, and kept in a house near the palace during the period when they gave milk to their babes. Part of their milk was daily taken for the Rájah, to be used as a medicinal ingredient of his food which according to some superstitious notion became thereby more wholesome and nourishing. To refuse compliance with the demands of the master of Coorg was certain death, not to the recusant party only, but probably to the whole family. The wretch was free to riot as he pleased. He actually demanded to have the choice of all unmarried girls in the country. When hearing of this outrageous resolution, the Coorgs at once—it is said in one night—married all their grown up daughters. The Rájah was furious. Many of the unfortunate parents, who thus saved the honor of their children, were dreadfully flogged or had their ears cropped, or were thrown into prison. Rumours of these doings reached Mr. Casamajor. He reported to Government. But no reliable information was procurable. Coorg was kept hermetically sealed. Only a few passes were open. These were guarded by strong posts. Travellers were often detained. Without a passport no one could enter the country. On slight pretences persons were fined, maltreated, imprisoned. Some, who had gone to Coorg, disappeared altogether. Manuel Pereira, a British subject, was kept in custody by the Rájah; so was a Jew of the name of Samuel Joseph. Apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Dévammáji, the daughter and heiress of Dodda-Vírarája.

Mr. Casamajor went in person to Mercara, about the middle of November 1826, to make inquiries on the spot. He was too polite, and was completely baffled by the Rájah. The representative of the British Government was surrounded by guards and spies. No inhabitant of Coorg dared to answer his questions. The Rájah met his interrogations and admo-

nitions with the most barefaced lies. Mr. Casamajor had to report: "I have not been able to obtain any satisfactory information from the Rájah respecting his family. Having heard, that he had a brother, eight years of age, a son five years old, and a daughter a year and an half old, I mentioned to him, that I had heard so. He said, it was a mistake; that he was quite alone, and the only male of the family." "I am the only male, the rest are females. I have said so." "Dévammáji and Mahádévammáji, Dodda-Vírarájendra's daughters, were not, he said, in the palace, but in distant villages." Mr. Casamajor did not even succeed in obtaining a sight of Manuel Pereira. He returned to Mysore little satisfied; still his account of the Rájah was, on the whole, rather favorable. "He appeared anxious to please the British Government, was inquisitive, showed a good deal of intelligence, and there was some hope of improvement, as he was a young man."

Rumours of frequent executions continued to reach Mysore, and Mr. Casamajor received instructions to demand of the Rájah a regular report of every case of capital punishment ordered by him. Some correspondence ensued; Vírarája protested against this demand, but his protest was of no avail: the order was repeated. However, the Rájah never complied with it, and matters went asleep again. News came, that Vírarája had raised a regiment of female cavalry, who accompanied the Rájah on his rides, and who were drilled like soldiers. Mr. Casamajor thought, that the Rájah must be mad. He was confirmed in his opinion by the report that a Coorg, of the name of Nága, having fled the country, had been shot in effigy at Mercara. This took place in 1832.

2. *Channa Basava and Dévammáji's flight.*

Muddaya's murder.

1832.

On the 17th September 1832, I. A. Casamajor, Resident in Mysore, reported to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, that a Coorg of the name of Channa Basava and his wife, Dévammáji, sister to the Rájah of Coorg, had taken refuge at the Residency. They had fled their country to save their honor and their lives, and implored the protection of the British Government. Dévammáji had long been kept from her husband. After an engagement of eight years, she had been permitted to join him. Of late the Rájah had made incestuous proposals to her through an old woman-servant, and had threatened to kill her husband, if she refused compliance, on the following Shivarátri festival. In this extremity they had drugged the guard of honor, who watched them, and set off from Appagalla, their residence, at nightfall. During the night they reached Beppunád, passed Amadnád in the morning and were drawing near the Mysore frontier, when they were stopped by the Coorg frontier guard. Being fired at, their party returned fire. Channa Basava placed his wife behind him on his horse, and made his way into Mysore, followed by a few of his attendants. The rest fell into the hands of the Coorgs and were carried to Mercara. Also the child of Channa Basava, a boy of a year and a half, was seized and delivered to the Rájah, his uncle. This is the substance of the reports of the Resident. That Channa Basava would have been murdered, if he had not run for his life, is probable enough. He was a schéming fellow and had drawn upon himself the Rájah's suspicions. But the charge made against Vírarája by his sister may have been unfounded, and only brought forward in order to strengthen their claim on British sympathy and protection.

The Rájah demanded, that the fugitives should be delivered to him. Mr. Casamajor demurred and referred the matter to Government. The Supreme Government decided under the 18th January 1833, that the Coorg refugees should not be restored to Vírarája. In the mean time the Rájah formed mad schemes for the recovery of his relatives. They all came to nothing. Channa Basava and his wife were removed to Bangalore. There they were to have been assassinated. But every thing failed. The fugitives had dreadful stories to tell. Accusations accumulated against the Rájah of Coorg. A Parsee from Bombay had been killed at Mercara. Probably Manuel Pereira also had been destroyed. A man from the north of Coorg deposed: that he saw Vírarája, on a hunting excursion, shooting at Náráyana Náyaka, Hoblidára, first with blunt arrows, then with a sharp arrow which killed him, in presence of all his retinue. Besides, numbers of people, men and women, Coorgs and slaves, relatives of the Rájah's family and others, who were believed to have been privy to the plans of Channa Basava, or to have assisted him in his escape, were killed, or mutilated, or starved to death, or thrown into prison.

Among the first victims of the Rájah's wrath was Muddaya, a brother of Channa Basava, Munshi to the Rájah, and a favourite. Vírarája himself beat him cruelly; afterwards he was executed by Kunta Basava, an upstart favourite of Lingarája, who having been both the tool and the prompter of the father, kept his position and influence with the son. He was first dog-boy, then soldier, then Jemadar; then he rose to the post of Commander; at last he became principal Devan. He was a vicious, overbearing, slavish, unprincipled man. By killing Muddaya, he got rid of a rival. Muddaya had been a clever and respectable man, and was perfectly ignorant of Channa Basava's plans. Every body knew, that the poor man had been destroyed without cause. The Rájah himself, hardened as he was, had terrible fits of remorse. Muddaya

would not let him sleep. As soon as he sunk into slumber, Muddaya would stand over him with a drawn sword, and Vírarája awake, crying: murder! Muddaya! seize him! After some days a conjurer showed the Rájah how to obtain rest. If he had a picture of the dead man painted on a fresh wall, and looked at it every twenty-four minutes during the day, his nightly frights would abate. The Rájah took the wise man's advice, had a likeness of Muddaya painted on a new wall, and walked up to it every now and then, saying: I slew him, because he was a traitor. By degrees his sleep returned.

3. Complications with the British Government.

These cruelties of Vírarája accelerated his downfall. On the 18th January 1833, Sir Fred. Adam, Governor of Madras, addressed a long letter to the Rájah of Coorg, giving him a sound lecture on the principles of good Government, warning him most earnestly and positively demanding compliance, in future, with the order of Government, communicated to the Rájah in 1827, to report all capital punishments taking place in Coorg. Sir Fred. Adam informed the Rájah, that Mr. Casamajor was desired to proceed to Coorg in order to have a personal conference with the Rájah, and that Government demanded free passage for any person, who might desire to accompany Mr. Casamajor on his return out of Coorg. The interview between the Rájah and Mr. Casamajor took place before the end of January 1833, at Mercara. Seven years, Mr. Casamajor observed, had produced a marked change in the Rájah. The Resident wondered; for he had not, could not have, an idea of the extreme profligacy of the man, nor of the strength of his murderous propensities, that had steeped him deep in blood during the interval between 1826 and 1833. The Rájah looked uneasy, seemed to be subject to sudden alarms and very unsteady of purpose. The presence of an English gentleman

and a representative of the great Sirkár, to which he owed allegiance, must have been very distressing to the abandoned, guilty man, whom folly, passion and a maddened conscience were now hurrying onward to ruin.

While Mr. Casamajor was at Mercara, Vírarája was deep in intrigues. He had lately entertained the bedmaker of the Rájah of Mysore, who had come on a secret mission of treason against the Company. He had endeavoured to engage the services of a merchant of Mysore, Nun Lál Barti, for the murder of Channa Basava, and for opening a communication with Ranjit Sing, whom he was led to believe to be a secret enemy of the English. He succeeded in finding out a Sikh man, a native of Lahore, called Lahore Sing, and persuaded him to go on an embassy to the Sikh-ruler, undeterred by the shrewd remark of the stranger, that Lahore being so far from Mercara, it would be difficult for Ranjit Sing to avail himself of the friendly offices of the Mahárájah of Coorg. He had secretly encouraged a rebellious Polygar of Nagar, of the name of Súryappa, who had given considerable trouble to the English authorities. And now he had to confront Mr. Casamajor. He could not but look embarrassed, alarmed, unsteady. The Resident solemnly warned the Rájah to abstain in future from his cruelties, and advised him to relax the rigour with which he had shut up his people from communication with their neighbours under the rule of the Company. Vírarája contended, that he could not do away with, nor even relax, ancient observances without losing his authority. When Mr. Casamajor hinted, that he knew more, than he chose to say, of the Rájah's disaffection, and that further disobedience might be punished with deposition, the Rájah used the language of calumniated innocence, and made the strongest professions of obedience to the Company. Formerly, when very young, he might have been too severe, he admitted; but now he was more considerate. As for a change

of system, however, he was most reluctant, and when Mr. Casamajor pressed the point, he turned round and asserted, that he would do as he pleased, Coorg was an independent country, etc. Mr. Casamajor replied, that Coorg had been subject to Tippu, and was now subject to the Company, as was proved by the annual tribute of an elephant, in lieu of the former payment of Rs. 24,000. When the Resident requested the Rájah, to treat Dévammáji and the other members of his family kindly, he answered, that he required no such admonitions; but as for Dévammáji and her family, they were all dead, long since. This was the most barefaced lie. Dévammáji indeed, and her sister Mahádévammáji had been murdered, probably before the end of 1832, a month or two before Mr. Casamajor's visit, but her three children were still alive, and were murdered at Nalkanád, when the British troops crossed the frontiers of Coorg.

4. Assassination of the Rájah's family.

The end of the two daughters of Dodda-Vírarájender was most miserable and surpasses in horror all the other abominations of this monster tyrant. Shortly after the flight of Channa Basava and his wife, Dévammáji, her sister Mahádévammáji and their children, were taken by the Rájah's orders and by his sepoy's to the Appagalla Panya, one of the private farms belonging to the Rájah, about four miles distant from Mercara. After some days, the Devan Basava and an eunuch, named Mandaya, a Jemadar of the palace, came there one morning early, conveyed Dévammáji and her sister Mahádévammáji, to the fort at Mercara, and confined them in the store-room in rear of the palace, placing a strong guard over them. The same morning, before noon, the Devan with the same eunuch came to the store-room, and in presence of some of the guard, compelled the prisoners to put their hands into boiling ghee. They left them shut up till about 2 o'clock P. M.,

when the Devan and the eunuch came again, and ordered one of the Jemadars on guard to bring two ropes. When brought, the Devan himself adjusted them round Dévammáji's neck, who made great resistance and implored to be taken before the Rájah, whilst the Jemadar and some of the guards held her hands, and pulled at the rope, which was thrown over a beam in the roof. In this manner both sisters then and there were put to death. As soon as life was extinct, they were taken down, wrapped up in matting and placed just outside the store-room beneath a small plantation of sugarcane. In the meantime orders had been sent by the Devan to the guard of Válekárs, Pariahs, at the Kumblagiri barrier, about a mile from the fort, to dig a hole for two bodies in a secluded part of the jungle, and for some of the said guard, to be in attendance in the evening at the Sallyport, (a secret passage, leading under the ramparts) by 7 P. M. Several of them attended and, with the help of some of the men from the store-room-guard, conveyed the two bodies to the hole already prepared; the Devan accompanying the party and witnessing the interment.

Perhaps Dévammáji had revealed the place, where she had deposited her wealth, on a promise that her life would be spared, and therefore, in her anguish, desired to be brought before the Rájah. Certain it is, that the Rájah learned from her the exact spot, where her jewels had been immured; for he despatched a Munshi of his, a Yedavanád man, of the name of Kálingaya, in company with the Devan Basava to Dévammáji's house, some time after her removal from it, and instructed the Devan to break the wall of the room adjoining Dévammáji's bedroom, a little above the floor, where he would find the treasure. "On our digging," Kálingaya says, "a brass vessel of a size holding one and an half seer of water, with the mouth properly closed, was discovered. It could have been lifted with one hand. We did not open the mouth of

the vessel, but brought it to Mercara, and the Devan Basava delivered it to the Rájah. It was not opened in my presence. I am not aware, what description of coins or jewelry or precious stones it contained. The vessel was not full, as on taking it up in the hands the contents were shaking about." Dévammáji probably had given her treasure to the Rájah as a ransom for her life; but by this very surrender of her wealth she sealed her doom. Dévammáji is described as a person of a commanding figure, fair complexion and round face. Her sister Mahádévammáji was short and slender, but also fair. Thus ended two daughters of Dodda-Vírarájendra and of his beloved Ráni.

The grand-children of Dodda-Vírarája and the remaining members of Appáji's and Lingarája's families, the nearest relatives of the Rájah, were carried to Nalkanád palace, when he himself retired to that secluded spot, in March 1834. Their removal to Nalkanád boded no good. They were kept in a couple of garden houses, under strict watch. General Fraser states:—

"One day subsequent to our troops entering the country, orders were given in the morning by the Devan, to dig a pit for a dozen persons, and in the dusk of the evening five women were put into one house and seven children into another, and the Kaplas (a jungle-tribe residing in the Nalkanád forest) and some of the Yedavanád men (Kunta Basava's especial followers), who had assisted in the murder of Dévammáji and Mahádévammáji, were sent into both houses with ropes, and then and there strangled every one of them, and afterwards tied them up in mats, the Devan Basavappa standing outside and accompanying the party, when the bodies were interred. The Rájah, also on this occasion, was close by the scene of murder, though not present. On the following morning, when walking with the Devan in front of the Nalkanád palace, on observing the Kaplas, he said to the Devan, that as they, the

Kaplas, had executed the murders, they had better be put to death also. But the Devan interceded for them. They are old servants, he said, who have come from a foreign country (the Malayalam). He suggested, that they might be sent out of the country, and a present given to them, which was done accordingly. But instead of quitting the country, they proceeded with their families some miles distance into the jungle, where they remained about a month; and when all was quiet, they returned to Nalkanád.”

This account shows that, sometimes at least, the Devan was more humane than his master.

5. The war and the Rájah's surrender.

The personal conference of Mr. Casamajor with the Rájah in the beginning of 1833 having proved fruitless, the Resident returned to Mysore. The accounts from Coorg continued as bad as ever. The Rájah harboured rebels, intrigued with Mysore and scarcely cared for appearances. Mr. Casamajor recommended the quartering of a native Regiment in the neighbourhood of Mercara, to keep the Rájah in check and to protect his subjects, but the Government were still loath to go to extremities. Since the Rájah had taken a personal dislike to Mr. Casamajor, Mr. Graeme, the Resident at Nagpore, then residing for the benefit of his health at Bangalore, was requested to proceed to Coorg and charged to make a last attempt at an amicable settlement. However, the Rájah was unwilling again to meet an English representative, seized and kept in durance two native envoys of Mr. Graeme viz. Daraset, a Parsee merchant of Tellicherry and Kulputty Karnikára Manoon, a Sheristadar of the Collector of Malabar, who had gone to Coorg furnished with passports from Mr. Graeme. The former the Rájah allowed to return to Tellicherry, but the latter he refused to set at liberty until the Rájah's relatives were given up to him by the Government. Having an extraordinary

idea of his power and the strength of his country, he resolved on war. He addressed the most insolent letters to Sir Fr. Adam, Governor of Madras, and to Lord W. Bentinck, the Governor General. Now the patience of the most peace-loving Governor General was at an end, and a British force was organised to march into Coorg and depose the Rájah. As it drew near his frontiers the Rájah published the following outrageous proclamation:

Proclamation of Vérarája.

Proclamation published for the information and guidance of the Hindoos, Mussulmans, Poligars, public servants, Ryots, Chetty Merchants, and people of other castes in Hindoostan.

1. It is well known that the Kaffers, Nasara (Christians), low Pheringhies, with the view of converting people of other religions to their dirty faith, have, ill intentionally, polluted the Dévastánams, Muszeeds, and other temples at Bangalore, Cuddapah, Mussulibunder, Nagpoor, Rameepet and several other countries, sent out their Padres and ruined them. This circumstance being certainly too well impressed on the mind of every one, what more need be said?

2. Those who have from time to time strenuously attempted to convert, by force, people of other religions to their faith, have by the commands of God, perished—but set this aside, an instance in proof of this may be given. Tippoo Sultan attempted to force all the other religions, to embrace his religion; and with this view ruined a great number of people, destroyed the Hindoo temples and committed various sorts of oppressions; which acts not being acceptable to God, he was destroyed. This fact is well known to all of you. Now, the Kaffers, Nasara, low Pheringhies have in like manner commenced to destroy the religion observed by people of different castes, and to introduce their own religion. When evil comes, people lose their senses. When death comes, medicine avails naught; thus then their end is fast approaching. There is no doubt of it. The Hindoos and Mussulmans having respectively consulted their Shásters have found, that, if for the protection of their religions, these Kaffer, Nasara, Pheringhies be now fought with, God will help us, and make us successful. There is no doubt of this, so let all be fully convinced of it.

3. These Kaffers, Nasara, low Pheringhies have now wickedly determined to wage war with the Halery Samsthánam, and have accordingly

collected some black people of Hindoostan, whom they are going to send in front, that they may all be cut down, and the race thus annihilated in some degree, thinking that by these means they will be able easily to convert the rest to their faith. It is, therefore, to protect people of all castes against such invasion, the Halery Samsthánam have determined to meet with arms those Kaffers, Pheringhies, Nasaras. Accordingly, if all of you will join the army of the Halery Samsthánam, you will not only be defended, but you will also render the devastation of those Kaffers, Pheringhies, quite easy; after this is done, you will be protected and enabled to live happy and contented, following the religion of your respective castes unmolested. Do not think, that another such opportunity will offer itself again.

4. To avert the evil which threatens you now, we have taken all this trouble and published this proclamation. Should any of you pay no attention to it, but keep yourself neutral, you will at last find yourselves under the yoke of the Pheringhies, lose your caste, and experience the greatest misery to the end of your lives, and after death you will not be admitted before God, for having thus sinned against him. Do not doubt this. Therefore, if ye, people of all countries, join the Halery Samsthán and help it, you will meet with every kind of protection from it, and be able to live happy. Accordingly it is expected, that all of you will come forward and help the Halery Samsthánam.

5. P. S. It is further hereby commanded. Those Nasaras, Kaffers, Pheringhies will, in order to get possession of the Halery Samsthán, spare no pains to gain you over. They will even give ten, where one would be enough. Let not this allure you and make you swerve from your real intention or lead you to entangle yourselves; for, after they attain their object, they will oppress you, and violate your religion. Be sure of this.

(True Copy and Translation.)

(Signed:) F. CLEMENTSON,

Pl. Collector.

(Abstract translation of the proclamation published by the Coorg Rájau, received from the Officer commanding in Wynaad with his letter of the 31st March 1834.)

The Governor General through his Political Agent Col. Fraser issued the following proclamation:—

The conduct of the Rájah of Coorg has, for a long time past, been of such a nature as to render him unworthy of the friendship and protection of the British Government.

Unmindful of his duty as a ruler, and regardless of his obligations as a dependent ally of the East India Company, he has been guilty of the greatest oppression and cruelty towards the people subject to his government, and he has evinced the most wanton disrespect of the authority of, and the most hostile disposition towards the former, from whom he and his ancestors have invariably received every degree of kindness and protection.

It would be needless to enumerate the several instances of his misconduct, but it is sufficient to state that, in consequence of an asylum having been afforded in the British Territories to his own sister Dévammáji and her husband, Channa Basavappa, who to preserve their lives had fled from his oppression, the Rájah has presumed, to address letters replete with the most insulting expressions to the Governor of Fort St. George and the Governor General of India, that he has assumed an attitude of hostility and defiance towards the British Government, that he has received and encouraged the proclaimed enemies of that Government, and that he has unjustifiably placed under restraint an old and faithful servant of the Company, named Kulputty Karnikára Manoon, who had been formally deputed by the British representative for the purpose of opening a friendly negotiation, thus committing a gross outrage, not only upon the authority by whom the above named individual was deputed, but upon the established rules of all civilized nations, by whom the persons of accredited agents are invariably held sacred.

The ancient alliance and the firm friendship, which had so happily subsisted between the predecessors of the present Rájah and the Honorable Company, have caused his errors to be treated uniformly with indulgence. The most earnest remonstrances have been in vain tried, to bring him to a sense of his obligations, and it is not until further forbearance would be culpable, that His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General, at the suggestion and with the concurrence of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, has resolved on employing the only means left of vindicating the dignity of the sovereign state and of securing to the inhabitants of Coorg the blessings of a just and equitable Government.

It is accordingly hereby notified, that a British army is about to invade the Coorg territory, that Virarájendra Vodeyar is no longer to be considered as Rájah of Coorg, that the persons and property of all those who conduct

themselves peaceably or in aid of the operations of the British troops, shall be respected, and that such a system of Government shall be established, as may seem best calculated to secure the happiness of the people.

It is also hereby made known to all British subjects, who may have entered the service of Vírarájendra Vodeyar, that they are required to place themselves under the protection of the British authorities, by whom they will be kindly received, and their rights and privileges respected, and that such of them, as may in any way render assistance to the enemy, will be considered as traitors and punished accordingly.

This proclamation will be carefully made known in Chittledroog, Raidroog, Mysore, Bellary, Malabar, Canara, in order that the relatives of such persons as have taken service in Coorg from those places or adjoining districts, may adopt the earliest means of communicating its purport to the parties in whose safety they are interested.

Issued at Bangalore this
15th day of March 1834.

(Signed:) J. S. FRASER, *Leut. Col. and*
Political Agent of H. E. the Right
Hon. the Governor General.

Upon this Vírarája published the following:

Counter Proclamation.

The explanation of a proclamation, issued for the knowledge of the bad English people, who are mean slaves and servants of the auspicious feet of the Halery Samsthán Mahárája.

In answer to a proclamation of the bad Englishman, son of a whore, who in a state of forgetting Mahádéva (God) and through pride had written on a paper whatever occurred to his mind, for the purpose of giving information to the inhabitants of Halery Samsthán, and fastened the same near the boundary, I, the slave of my Master's Majesty, let you know as follows, that the proclamation (containing the evil subjects) which was fastened in the boundary by the wicked Englishman, the son of a slave, is not at all possible even to be seen with our eyes or hear with our ears, and in the very time of tying the said proclamations, which are replete with indecent subjects, the hearts of all of us, who are the servants of the king's feet, were inflamed as the fire through wind. The wicked Christian European, the son of a slave, who resolved to prepare this, should be beheaded, and his head thrown out, the hands, mouth and head of the person, who wrote this, should be cut off, and the generation of the low caste, blasphemer and bad European should be burnt down. These

hopes are to be soon effected. All the above subjects are certain. All the wicked Europeans, the sons of whores, have evil intentions. Very well, very well, we will fill up all your bellies according to your wishes. Be this known to you, written on Sunday, 6th decreasing Moon of the month of Phálguna, of the year Vijaya, corresponding with 30th March 1834.

The invading force numbered six thousand men and was placed under Brigadier Lindsay in whom was vested the supreme command of the expedition, whilst Col. Fraser was to accompany him in the capacity of Political Agent of the Governor General for Coorg affairs.

The force was divided into four columns which operated in the following manner:—

The *Eastern Column* under Col. Lindsay and composed of one Company of Foot Artillery from Bangalore—three 12 Pr. Howitzers, two 5½ inch heavy Howitzers, two do. mortars, one 6 Pr. gun—400 Rank and File and Head-Quarters of H. M. 39th Regiment of Foot, 4th, 35th, 36th, 48th Regiment, and the Rifle Company of the 5th Regiment Native Infantry and 300 Sappers and Miners with Head-Quarters, marched on the 2nd April from Bettadapur upon Sulacottu and reached the Káyéri opposite Hebbale, where on the Coorg side a barrier was thrown up, consisting of a rude wall of mud and stone with a range of loopholes near its upper part and defended by a few men armed in various ways. Before the force was ordered to advance, Col. Fraser with a white handkerchief in his hand attempted to cross the Káyéri as a messenger of peace, when a Ginjal was fired from the opposite side, followed by two more in quick succession. It was then necessary to reply in kind, and two Howitzers fired a few rounds of grape and ball, under cover of which the advanced guard crossed with Cols. Lindsay and Fraser; but before they reached the opposite bank, the enemy was seen retiring towards Rámaswámy Kanave. Commanded by a Coorg Káryagár, it numbered but 100 Mussulmans, of whom

about 60 were armed with matchlocks and the remainder with swords, a very few Coorgs provided with firearms and having also the management of the Ginjals, and about 50 ryots armed with bows and arrows. The strong position at the fortified Pagoda near Rámaswámy Kanave offered but a feeble resistance and was carried in about a quarter of an hour and likewise a rough breastwork and barrier near Haringi, at the sacrifice of a few men wounded and on the side of the enemy, who mustered 350 men, chiefly Coorgs, half a dozen killed. On the 4th April the force advanced only five miles on account of the difficulty of the road which had been obstructed by large trees felled across it. But a flag of truce having been sent into camp from the Rájah, accompanied by one of his four Deváns, named Laksminaráyana, another person, Mahomed Taker Khan, who called himself the Rájah's friend and four of their attendants, there was no further resistance to the advancing force except by the obstacles of the road. Of the two preliminary conditions for an armistice, one had been complied with. Kulputty Karnikára Manoon had been delivered by the Rájah to the British camp, but the Rájah had not yet placed himself at the unconditional disposal of the British Government. On the 5th April another Deván, Apparanda Bopu, with a party of 400 Coorgs, went to meet Col. Fraser, surrendered to him and offered to conduct the Company's troops to the capital. At 4 p. m. on the 6th April they entered the Fort of Mercara; the Rájah's flag, which was flying in one of the bastions, was lowered and the British colours hoisted in its stead under a salute of twenty-one guns. A company of the M. 39th Regiment remained within the Fort, the remainder of the troops encamped on the heights around.

AD m

On the 11th Col. Fraser published the following Proclamation:—

Whereas the rule and dominion of Rájah Vírarájender Vodeya over the country of Coorg have now definitively and for ever ceased, it is hereby proclaimed and directed, that the whole civil administration of the country shall be conducted as heretofore by the Gaudas, Shánabhogas, Hoblidárs, Parpadigárs, Subadars, Deváns and Karnik, as at present employed in their respective stations, with the privilege of immediate and direct appeal from every native of Coorg of whatever rank or degree to Lieut. Col. Fraser, the Political Agent of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General, until the permanent establishment of a form of Government which will be determined under the authority of the Governor General and upon the model best calculated to secure the future wellbeing and happiness of the people of the country.

It is hereby further distinctly explained, that the administration of justice will be exercised by the authorities above enumerated only to that extent and degree with which they have been hitherto individually charged to the entire exclusion of that superior power and jurisdiction which have been heretofore exercised by the Rájah Vírarájender Vodeya alone. No punishment therefore extending to life or limb or more severe than simple imprisonment will on any account whatever take place without a reference to Col. Fraser and the sanction of the British Government.

(Signed:) J. S. FRASER,

Mercara, 11th April 1834.

Lieut. Col. and Political Agent.

Vírarája, at the commencement of the war, had removed to his palace at Nalkanád, a place almost inaccessible to an army. He had taken with him his women, his band, his treasures and what remained of the Coorg Rájah's families. that he might destroy them all, if necessary, in order to render it impossible for the English Government to transfer the principality, or the property of the murdered Dévammáji to any other heir of Dodda-Vírarájendra, and thus secure his wealth and his country to himself.

The leaders of the Coorgs who in their ignorance had boasted before the Rájah, that they would sally forth and exterminate the English, were true enough to their words and

took up their posts at the different passes, where they might have defended themselves most effectually and caused great loss to the Company's troops, had the Rájah like his great uncle, Dodda-Vírarájendra, headed his Coorgs and vigorously directed the defence. But his spirit showed no spark of heroic courage. Incited partly by hope, that a reconciliation was yet possible, partly by fear, that he might lose all, if matters went to extremities, he sent orders, prohibiting his Coorgs from encountering the troops of the Company, hence the easy advance of the latter.

A *subdivision of the Eastern Column* under Col. Stewart advanced on the 2nd April from Periapatna towards the Kávéri, opposite Rangasamudram, where the enemy was stationed in considerable force, but being plied with a few cannon shot, he left his entrenched position and retired across country, leaving six men dead. Col. Stewart crossed the Kávéri at Kondanghery and proceeded to Vírájpet, where he was to co-operate with the Western Column and open up communication with Mysore by way of Siddápur.

The *Northern Column* under the command of Col. G. Waugh, was composed of one Brigade 6 Pr. guns from Bellary, 300 Rank and File and Head-Quarters H. M. 55th Regt., 9th Regt. N. I., 31st Regt. Light Infantry, Rifle Company of 24th Regt. N. I., and 200 Sappers and Miners.

It marched on the 1st April from Hosacotta to Shanivársante. On passing the Coorg boundary river, Hémávati, the enemy's advanced posts had retreated and no molestation was offered until the force reached Codlipet, where an armed body of 200 men occupied an entrenched high ground, but on their flanks being turned, they speedily fell back and the advanced guard of the English encountered only one more slight opposition at Mudravalli, which was as speedily overcome. A far different resistance the troops met on the following day, when they were to join the Eastern Column at

Haringi. They had scarcely proceeded a few hundred yards beyond their encamping ground, when they found the road blockaded with felled trees, which rendered their progress exceedingly difficult and slow. As the column approached a village situated in a wood near the base of the pass in which the enemy's principal position was situated, a feeble fire was opened, but readily silenced. The stockade, known as the Buck-stockade, was exceedingly strong; outside protected by thick bamboos and trees and surrounded with a deep ditch and inside built of mud walls, faced with stones, and pierced with innumerable loopholes which commanded the approaches in every direction. The intrepid Coorgs who held it, were commanded by the present (1870) Head Sheristadar Madanta Appachu, a fine old Coorg, of tall stature and martial bearing, but ever since the British accession a most loyal and devoted servant of Government.

Determined to carry it by assault, as the stockade barred their advance, the troops under Major Bird of the 31st Light Infantry as Field-Officer of the day attempted every means of attack for four hours and a half, during which they were exposed to a most severe and raking fire; but in vain. A misdirected flank-movement of H. M. 55th Regt. under Col. Mill proved equally unsuccessful. Col. Mill was shot dead on the spot, likewise Ensigns Robertson of the 9th N. I. and Babington of the 31st N. I. Major Bird determined to withdraw the column and, with little additional loss, brought it under cover, and on account of the heavy list of wounded and for the sake of supplies and a more convenient camp he retreated several miles to the rear. In this most unfortunate affair about forty-eight were killed, including the three officers, and 118 wounded.

The *Western Column* marched from Cannanore on the 31st March and was under the command of Col. David Fowles. It consisted of the following arms: Half a Company of Golun-

dauze—four 6 Pr. guns—300 Rank and File and Head-Quarters H. M. 48th Regt.—20th and 32nd Regts. N. I. and 200 Sappers and Miners.

It was to reach Mercara after forcing the Heggala-Ghat and occupying Vírájpet. The Light Company of H. M. 48th Regt. and the Grenadier Company of the 20th Regt. N. I. proceeded on the 2nd April in advance beyond the Stony River into Coorg; their progress was checked by a party of Coorgs posted near the river, and Lieut. Erskine, a most promising young officer of the M. 48th, was killed. At six the following morning the main body broke ground and had to fight its way up the Pass every inch. The Coorgs had fortified it with three successive stockades, as well as with breast-works and felled trees at every hundred yards. The first stockade was taken with trifling loss; but from that time till four in the afternoon a series of hard conflicts was maintained in carrying the successive barriers which the enemy defended with bravery, maintaining at the same time a continued skirmishing from the wood. The last stockade was only captured by attacking it in reverse as well as in flank. In these achievements Capts. Butterworth and Macdonald greatly distinguished themselves. Also a volunteer, Thomas Bell, son of Col. Bell of H. M. 48th Regt. excited the admiration of the Commanding Officer for his "conspicuous bravery in every attack and skirmish with the enemy."

Next day, on the 4th April, as Col. Fowlis marched in advance and within a quarter of a mile of his camp, a flag of truce appeared, bearing a proposal from the Rájah for a suspension of arms. He replied, that, if the Coorgs did not fire, his troops would also abstain from firing; but as his orders were to go up the Ghat, go he would. He accordingly effected this march without opposition and in the afternoon at two he passed through the East-Ukudu (guard-house) at Heggala, where he halted and was supplied with grain by the Coorgs.

His service was now completed with the loss of twelve killed and thirty-six wounded. On the 13th April a detachment of this column under Major Tweedie marched without opposition to Nalkanád and took possession of the Palace. It is rumoured, that part of the Rájah's hidden treasure there got wings after the arrival of the troops; but they did not find the Deván Kunta Basava, who was to be sent a prisoner to Mercara.

Thirty men of H. M. 48th Regt., two Companies of the 48th Regt. N. I., two Companies 20th Regt. N. I. and one 12 Pr. Howitzer with a detachment of Artillery men, were left at Virájpet under the command of Col. Brock of the 48th Regt. The main body of Col. Fowlis' Column marched on towards Mercara and remained encamped near the Mud-daramudy river 7 miles south of Mercara. Col. Stewart's force which was to co-operate with and had joined the Western Column at Virájpet, was directed to proceed to open the Sid-dapur Pass into Mysore.

The *Western Auxiliary Column* under the command of Lieut. Colonel George Jackson and with the present Commander-in-Chief of Madras, then Capt. McCleverty H. M. 48th, as Brigade Major, consisted only of 150 Rank and File H. M. 48th Foot, the 40th Regt. N. I. (400 Rank and File) and 50 Sappers and Miners, who never joined but were retained at Cannanore and had not a single gun.

This column was intended to occupy the lower Taluqs of the Coorg dominions for the purpose of covering the Company's country and giving protection and confidence to such of the inhabitants as might be well disposed to the British Government. If possible it was to take up its position at the ruined fort of Sulya, at the foot of the Ghat, but was strictly enjoined, not to divide itself into small parties.

Col. Jackson advanced from Kumbbla, a small town on the sea-coast south of Mangalore, on the morning of the 29th March at 3 o'clock 9 miles towards the east on an extremely

difficult road, and his advanced guard fell in with the enemy's advanced piquet about half a mile distant from their stockade, where three prisoners were made, who said their piquet was under orders from the Rájah, not to fire unless first fired at. As, however, the Coorgs would not quit their post, unless force was employed and as they assembled at the gateway of the stockade, the Company's troops made an assault and carried it without difficulty or loss. On the 30th they marched to Uppanangalla, on the 31st to a Pagoda near Bellur, on the 1st April they reached the Ishvaramangala Pagoda, where Col. Jackson learnt, that a strong stockade obstructed the road on a hill in the midst of a thick jungle near Madhur and Bollary. A reconnoitering party, consisting of 4 officers, 40 European and 80 Native Infantry was sent to ascertain its locality. This duty was completed on the 3rd April, but the party was attacked on the spot, when it had received orders to retire and it reached the camp 5 miles distant at Ishvaramangala with the loss of 2 officers killed and wounded and more than half of the men, the greater proportion killed, Col. Jackson, after considering this loss and the reported strength of the position, thought it impossible to attempt carrying the stockade without further reinforcements and fell back towards Kumbala, but on learning that his retreat would be cut off by the Coorgs who outmarched him, he turned across country to Kásergóde, which place he reached on the 6th April with the remainder of his disorganized and disheartened force. His retreat was greatly harassed by crowds of skirmishers. The coolies and bearers decamped as well as they could; and at every favourable interval the enemy fell upon the followers, the sick and wounded, and massacred them with the most horrid barbarity. Part of the ammunition and public stores, the officers' tents and equipments fell into the hands of the Coorgs, while several of the officers' horses were shot. The casualties of this

column amounted to thirty killed and thirty-six wounded. Col. Jackson was so overcome by the mortifying failure of his expedition, that he himself applied for an enquiry by a Court Martial into the cause of his failure.

In a General Order, dated Ootacamund 9th September 1834 the Commander-in-Chief concurred in the opinion expressed by the Committee of Enquiry respecting the conduct of Col. Jackson, viz. "The Court do not see reason to ascribe any blame to the Lieut. Colonel, and they would be doing him less than justice if they omitted to record their conviction, arising from the concurrent testimony of all the witnesses who have been examined, that he most zealously and most unremittingly exerted himself for the good of the service on which he was engaged, and that on every occasion, when his column came in contact with the enemy, he was to be found at the point, where danger pressed and where his presence was most required." It is very probable, that if the Court had been desired, to express an opinion on the wisdom of the authorities who sent a force so inadequate to the task imposed, its verdict would have been less favourable!

The issue of the war had already been decided by the success of the Eastern Column in occupying Mercara, the capital. Life and honorable treatment being offered him by Col. Fraser, if he would surrender, the Rájah availed himself of so favourable terms and returned within the stipulated time of three days from Nalkanád to Mercara after a vain attempt of gaining at least 15 days' time, to march in proper princely style with his women and baggage. He entered Mercara Fort at noon of the 10th April, accompanied by his unarmed attendants (Pahara Chowkee) and his women, and was received with due respect at the outer gate by the officer commanding the Fort. Col. Fraser thus reports to the Governor General his first interview with the Rájah on the evening of the 11th April:—

*
“The Rájah of Coorg having sent me a message yesterday morning, that he wished to see me, I called upon him at five in the evening and he detained me until past seven. When I first went in, I found the whole palace almost entirely dark, in consequence of the windows being closed and blinds let down all round it, for the purpose of preventing the inner of the palace being overlooked or its inmates seen by the officers and men of the Company of H. M. 39th Regiment doing duty in the Fort. The Rájah himself came out a moment afterwards from behind a veil which separated an inner apartment from the front verandah. He took me by the hand which he continued to hold, but seemed for some minutes so frightened and agitated, as not to know what to do or say. I addressed him in Hindustáni and enquired after his health, to which he replied in the usual terms. At length one of his attendants suggested to him to go to the upper part of the palace. To this he silently assented, and while he still held me by the hand, we proceeded through one or two passages and ascended a flight of steps, where all was so perfectly dark, that I was obliged to feel my way along the walls with my disengaged hand. Arrived in an apartment in the upper part of the building, where the windows were entirely closed, and where there was no light whatever but from a common lamp set upon the ground, he seated me by him on a sofa. It is impossible to repeat the desultory remarks which he continued to make to me for about two hours and he himself repeatedly observed, that he was weary and unwell, that his head was confused and he knew not what he was saying. The principal object he seemed to have in view was to justify his first proceedings in regard to his demand for the surrender of Channa Basava, founded, as he said it was, upon previously understood agreements, and the letter to him from the Resident in Mysore under date the 1st August 1828. He said, that he detained Kulputty Karnikára Manoon only because

this person had promised to procure for him the surrender of the fugitives and that he thought, he would be a useful mediator between him and the British Government. To some remark I made upon this subject, the Rájah replied, that he was an ignorant man, and knew not, that he was doing wrong, or acting in a manner contrary to the usage of other countries. He spoke repeatedly and earnestly of the friendship which he and his ancestors had ever entertained for the English, and prayed for my intercession with the Governor General, that he might not be removed from his Fort, but allowed to remain and judged by the tenor of his future conduct. He often repeated, that he was young, that he was ignorant and unacquainted with the customs of the world, that he had never benefitted by the advantages of society and that in all his late proceedings he had been misled by evil councillors such as Abbas Ali and others, whom he plainly designated as villains. I am led to believe, that this account of himself is just, that he is a weak and ignorant person, spoiled by the possession of early power and that the feelings and superstition which nature gave him, instead of being perverted to evil purposes as they have been, might have taken a different and far better direction, had he been guided by judicious advisers and had a more frequent intercourse been maintained between him and the officers of the British Government....

“In the course of my conversation I acquainted the Rájah, that the future determination of his fate depended not on the least on myself, but entirely on the pleasure of the Governor General; but in order to prevent his entertaining any hope of which the disappointment hereafter might in consequence be more painful, I acquainted him, that I had not the least hope, that under any circumstances whatever would he be permitted to remain in the Fort of his country.”

Finding out that his deposition and removal were deter-

mined upon, he felt uneasy at the thought, that Kunta Basava, the accomplice of all his atrocities, was likely to be delivered or to give himself up to Col. Fraser, who had fixed a prize of one thousand Rupees upon his apprehension, for he looked upon him as "the worst and most dangerous character in the whole country." In all his enquiries about the Rájah's doings, Col. Fraser was constantly referred to Deván Basava for information, as if he was alone possessed of the secret of all the acts of murder that may have been committed, and as if the Rájah himself had been little else, than a young man devoted to his own idle or sensual pursuits, leaving to his Deván the exclusive charge and direction of any species of cruelty and convenient crime. Basava had betaken himself to the jungles and went to live with a Kuruba family in an inaccessible part of the western mountains, not far from Nalkanád; but he was apprehended and a Coorg man escorted him in the evening of the 14th April, to the Kagodlenád Kachery at the fort of the Mercara hill. A message was received there at nightfall from the Rájah. Basava was strangled by the men in the Kachery and hung up on a tree close by. Next morning the Coorg, who had delivered Basava, was sent about his business and a report made to Col. Fraser, that Basava had committed suicide, and had been found in the jungle at a distance of a mile and a half from Mercara. Dr. Grant of the 35th Regt. N. I. and the Provost Martial of the camp were sent down "to investigate as far as possible the circumstances of the Deván's death and especially to ascertain, whether it seemed likely, that he had died by his own hand or had been put to death by other persons." The Doctor duly reported, that he had no doubt but that the Deván committed suicide.—His determination must have been very firm, for the Doctor found him suspended by two ropes, and a third rope, a spare one, it must be supposed, was found at the foot of the tree!—The Rájah's scheme succeeded well

enough. Col. Fraser fully believed in the suicide of Basava; all the Coorgs *seemed* to believe it—but those who knew, afterwards confessed the truth—and the Rájah was at liberty to shift all blame from himself upon the dead man! Kunta Basava was a Badaga of the lowest extraction, who had risen from a dog-boy to the Devánship under Lingarája and having ingratiated himself with Vírarája by pampering to his vicious propensities, he retained his post. He hated the Coorgs as much as he was hated by them and maltreated them, whenever he had an opportunity. Shortly before the outbreak of the war Kunta Basava assaulted the Deván Chepudira Ponappa in the presence of the Rájah, whom he dissuaded from fighting against the Company. With his clenched iron fist Basava gave him a blow on the temple, which sent him to the ground for dead. The accomplice of the Rájah's crimes perished with ignominy; Chepudira Ponappa became the principal man in the country under the British Government and was much respected both by his superiors and the people! His grandson Ch. Soobiah is now Assistant Superintendent of Coorg.

The object of the expedition having been attained, and no disturbance of the tranquillity of the country being anticipated, the Coorg Field-Force was broken up and only a body of troops kept in Mercara sufficient for any emergency. The prize-money distributed amongst the troops amounted to over ten lacs of rupees. Regarding the services of the Field-Force the following is the

“General Order, by His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief in India.”

Head Quarters,

Ootacamund 17th May 1834.

The Governor General and Commander-in-Chief has much pleasure in expressing to Brigadier Lindsay C. B. his entire approbation of the manner in which the military operations under his general control against the Rájah of Coorg have been brought to a speedy and successful termination. His

Lordship had confidently anticipated this result from the Brigadier's long experience and established reputation.

To Lieut. Col. Stewart, who commanded a detachment from the main Column under Brigadier Lindsay the expression of His Lordship's satisfaction is also due for having successfully overcome all the obstacles opposed by the enemy to his progress and for having effected in obedience to his orders a junction with the Column under Col. Fowlis' command.

The Column under the command of Col. Waugh met with complete failure, the loss of many brave men is to be deplored and of none more than of the gallant Lieut. Col. Mill. The determined valour, displayed by the Officers and troops and more especially by His Majesty's 55th is the best consolation for this misfortune. (? !) His Lordship has carefully examined the detailed reports which he had required of the operations of this Column and is happy in generally concurring in the opinion of Brigadier Lindsay, that Col. Waugh is not justly chargeable with blame; that all his orders and arrangements appear to have been made with sound discretion and a due observance of correct military principles, and that the disaster may be ascribed to the extreme difficulty of the country and to those accidents, to which the best concerted schemes will occasionally be liable.

It may perhaps be regretted, that the attack was so long persevered in, but the good order in which the retreat was made to the ground occupied before the attack, proves that the arrangements were ably made, while the perseverance with which the main object of the operations of this Column was followed up, reflects the greatest credit upon Col. Waugh.

The good disposition made by Col. Fowlis in command of the *South-Western Column* for the attack of the Heggala Ghat and the gallantry with which it was carried, reflect the greatest credit upon that Officer and the Officers and men under his command.

Col. Fowlis' name will be brought to the particular notice of the Honorable Court.

To all the Officers and men, composing the several columns, above enumerated, His Lordship expresses his thanks for their zealous and gallant conduct, although the troops have had to engage an enemy much inferior to themselves, yet the excessive strength of the mountainous and densely jungle-country constituted a resistance which the greatest perseverance and courage could alone have surmounted. The army have the satisfaction of knowing that a sanguinary tyrant has been subdued and a valuable acquisition been made to the Company's territories.

To the excellent order and discipline of the troops may in part be as-

cribed the general desire expressed by the inhabitants, to become the subjects of the British Government.

The conduct of Lieut. Col. Jackson in command of the North-Western Column, being under investigation, His Lordship refrains for the present from making any remark upon the operations of that part of the Force. (Vide page 341.)

The Governor General cannot omit to mention in this place the eminent services of Lieut. Col. J. S. Fraser, to whom was entrusted the conduct of our negotiations with the enemy. By the judicious arrangement which that Officer adopted, the successes of the troops were ably seconded, while his subsequent measures in administering the affairs of the Coorg country have been so discreet and conciliatory as to gain for him the confidence of the inhabitants and to secure their entire and willing obedience.

By Command of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General.

(Signed:) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

As a mark of the King's approval Brigadier Lindsay's services, he nominated that Officer "to be Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order."