

## HISTORY.

### Legendary Period.

The ancient annals of Coorg profess to be given in the Kávéri Purána,\* which forms an episode in four chapters (11—14) of the Skānda or Kartikéya Purána. But in a Brahmanical legend we must not look for the simple records of popular tradition: for the Brahmans, 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 Parasu Rama, after his defeat of the Kshattriyas and destruction of their eighteen tribes, presented the conquered earth to their patriarch Kasyapa as a sacrificial gift. The primitive gods of the nations of Jambu-dwīpa, or India, were either turned into avatārs 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 Brahmanical deities. Ganga and Kávéri fell to the lot of Siva; Krishna and Gódāvari were sacred to Vishnu.

The Kávéri Purána or Kávéri Mahātmya (glorification of Kávéri) 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 Brahmanical interests. This was no easy matter. The tough materials of the wild world of Coorg ill suited Brahmanical taste; her hardy race of 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 Brahmans, and these were not slow in returning the compliment. The author of the Kávéri Mahātmya, however, does not appear to have been

\* A translation of this work into Kannada by Srinivas Aiyangar, made at the desire and expense of the late Head Sneristadar, Biddanda Nanjappa, was published by him in 1864.

very skilful ; for anticipating no serious criticism, he allowed his fancy to run away with his better judgment.

The story that the invisible river Sujoyóti unites with the Kánake and Kávéri, is a lame imitation of the northern tale that the Sarasvati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmans, is not lost, as it seems to be, 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 numerous passages inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs to offer to the Brahmans the honours 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 Sanskrit and old Canarese expressions, that few even understand it.

The Kávéri Purána seeks to glorify the holy river, whose divine origin, its intimate relationship 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 being directed in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure by the Asuras, of the *amrita* or nectar of immortality produced at the churning of the ocean, spread consternation and despair among the hosts of the gods. They invoked great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him emanated the enchanting Móhini, while Lakshmi at the same time sent forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati).\* Mohini, charming the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, rescued the drink of immortality and restored it to the gods. After this she retired to Brahmagiri, the hill at the source of the river Kávéri, 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 being laid—true Purána fashion—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

\* Cf. Vol. II, 243.

his devout rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter, whence she obtained the name Kávéri. In order to procure beatitude for her new father, she 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 Kavéra 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 Bháganda kshétra 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 as 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 Brahman named 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 *nukti* (beatitude in the Hindu sense, involving 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, saying, "*She shall be a benefactress to the world, and her merit shall be thine. Go to the Agni hill. Kánake, a servant of Dévendra, 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 Dévendra

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, saying : "Let thy waters disappear". Whereupon Sujyóti begged his forgiveness, when Dévéndra, pitying her, said : "When Kávéri shall appear, you and Kánake shall join her, and in her company go to the great sea." Accordingly, when Kávéri flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastya, this word of Dévéndra was fulfilled.

There are only two streams, be it remembered—the Kávéri and the Kánake—which unite at Bhágamandala (see p. 8). The Kávéri runs under ground for some distance, which is accounted for in the purāna by the interference of Agastya's disciples.

Next follows a glowing description of all the holy country through which the waters flow. In the eleventh chapter, Sanaka and the other rishis ask Síta puránika 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 Síta puránika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Dharma Varmma by the rishi Dálbhya.

The country lies to the west of Rámanáthpura\*—whither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Siva's help against the Rákshasas who destroyed her, and where her stony form is still to be seen says the bard ; where also Ráma, to atone for his murder of the Brahma-descended Ravana, consecrated in Siva's name a holy linga—to the north of the renowned Parasu Ráma kshétra (Malabar) ; three gávuda (6 leagues) to the east of the Western Ocean ; 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 had three names : the first, *Brahma kshétra* ; the second, *Matsya dēsha* ; the third, *Króda dēsha*. The origin of these names is thus described.

When Brahma performed his pilgrimage over the world, i. e. India, he came to Sahyádrī (the Western Ghats) where he saw a strange sight. A nelli tree (*phyllanthus emblica*) stood before him, spreading out a

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\* In the Arkalgud Taluk, Hassan District. See Vol. II.

hundred boughs. As he looked at the tree, he beheld the form of Vishnu, with conch, 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 Virajā 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, was named Brahma kshétra.

Of the second name two accounts are given. There is a mountain called Half-moon (*arddha chandra*) says the bard,† near which there is a holy spring. In it Vishnu took the form of a fish and worshipped Siva. Siva blessed the fish with immortality, and Vishnu gave the country the name of the Fish-country (*Matsya-desha*.) The account of this region contains the root of Coorg tradition.

Siddhārtha, the king of the renowned Matsya-désa;‡ 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 *tirthas* (holy bathing places for washing away sin), but he felt also a strong desire after dominion, and was fond of worldly pleasure. His name was Chandra Varma. 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, Jagannāth, Tirupati, Kanchi (Conjeveram), Chidambara. At Sriranga he worshipped Ranganātha. At Dhanushkōti he bathed according to the precepts of the shāstras. Thence to Rāmesvara, to Anantasayana (Travancore and Cochin), at last to Brahmādrī (Brahmagiri). Here he dismissed his army and devoted himself to the worship of Pārvati.

Pleased with the fervent worshipper, the goddess appeared to him,

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\* The name has been given to the channel drawn from the Balmuri dam on the Kávéri near Belgola, the water of which is the moving power of the machinery in the Ashtagram Sugar Works at Palhalli.—See Vol. II, pp. 222, 241.

† The reference is probably to Chandragutti in Shimoga District, near the ancient Kadamba capital of Banavasi, (see Vol. II, 369), or perhaps to the Chandra Drona mountains, better known as the Baba Budans, which extend in a ridge of horse-shoe or half-moon form enclosing the crater (*drona*) of the Jagur valley (See Vol. II, 428).

‡ Matsya was the name of king Virāta's capital, at which the Pāndus in disguise spent their last year of exile, as described in the *Virāta parva* of the Mahā Bhārata. From Vol. I, 185, it will be seen that there is reason to identify the city with Hānagal in Dharwar, just beyond the north western frontier of the Mysore, where also the Kadambas ruled for a considerable period after their subjection by the Chalukyas. (See Vol. I, 197).

and permitted him to ask a boon. Whereupon Chandra Varmma besought her, saying: "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 Siva's heaven after death." Párvati replied: "All thy desires shall be fulfilled, except the second. On account of the sins of a former life, thou canst not obtain children born of a wife of thine own caste. This wish thou must forego in this life, in another life it may be fulfilled. Yet a wife of thine own caste thou shalt have, and be enabled to fulfil every holy rite. But, besides her, thou shalt have a Súdra wife." Saying this, she created a Súdra virgin, twelve years old, adorned with every charm, and gave her to Chandra Varmma. He received her at the hand of Párvati. "But," said he full of sorrow, "what will be the use to me of Súdra 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 the maiden, O Párvati!"

But Párvati comforted him saying: "Give up thy sorrow, O Chandra Varmma. Through my grace thou shalt be happy in this life and in the life to come. Hear my words! Eleven sons shall be born unto thee. They will not be Súdras. Being children of a Kshattriya father and a Súdra mother, they will be called Ugra (fierce men). They will be valiant men, worshippers of myself and Siva, righteous, true and faithful, devoted to the Brahmans, fit to rule, honoured by kings, equal to Kshattriyas in every respect but the possession of the four védas and six angas. They will be thy joy in this life and in the next. In this holy country will I 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, will I flow forth, and from love to thee give many blessings to thy sons. This country is dear to me as mine eye. Mlénchas have now rule over it, enemies of gods and Brahmans, destroyers of elephants and other living things, subverters of the law, sword-handed, wrathful, of terrific valour, with frightful bodies, a burden to the earth, the offspring of drunkenness. By my grace go forth and conquer them. Become the king of this land, uphold the laws and establish holy Brahmans." With this command Párvati gave him a victorious sword, a white horse fleet as the wind, and an army, and sending him against the Mlénchas, disappeared.

Chandra Varma, by Párvati's blessing, overcame the Mlénchas. Then, assembling his army, and all the rishis and Brahmans, he celebrated his marriage with a bride of his own caste, according to the shástras. Both the king and the queen were crowned by the holy men, and Chandra Varma, giving houses and lands to the Brahmans, invited people of other tribes also to settle in his kingdom. As this its first king was a son of the king of Matsya désa, the country was called Matsya-désa.

The third name of the country is Króda désa. The following account is given of its origin. Chandra Varma was the best of kings. His Kshattriya queen was barren, but his Súdra 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 Kshattriyas they received the name, the holy cord and the tonsure, with due ceremonies. When they arrived at maturity, Chandra Varma was anxious to obtain for them wives worthy of such princes. He heard that the king of Vidarbha-désa (Berar) had a hundred daughters born of Súdra mothers. Ambassadors were sent to Vidarbha Ráya, who cheerfully agreed to give his daughters in marriage to the valiant sons of Chandra Varma. He himself accompanied them to the mountains of the Matsya country and to the palace of Chandra Varma. A great royal marriage feast ensued. Dévakánta, the first-born of Chandra Varma, 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 Chandra Varma 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. Chandra Varma's family multiplied greatly. Vidarbha Ráya's daughters became, by the blessing of Párvati, fruitful mothers.

When age came upon Chandra Varma, he grew tired of the world and of his kingdom. Calling his sons together, he 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 Brahmans, of Siva and of Párvati."

Dévakánta was now king. All the houses of Chandra Varmma'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 soon righted themselves. 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 Brahmans and other castes. Because this renovation of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the Varáha or Kroḍa (the boarincarnation of Vishnu), the country of Chandra Varmma's sons was thenceforth called Króḍa-désha, and its inhabitants the Króḍa people. This word Króḍa is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Koḍagu, which is the present, and probably was the original, name of the country.

From the time of the departure of Chandra Varmma, his sons and their people waited for the fulfilment of his prophecy and the appearance of the holy river Kávéri. Two days before Tulá sankramana (the time of the sun's entering the sign of Libra) Párvati appeared in a dream to king Dévakánta, and ordered him to assemble his whole people in the 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 twisted the knots of the women's cloths round to their backs, and the Coorg women wear them in that fashion until this day, in remembrance (says the Purána) of the first bathing of the Coorgs in the waters 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: "It is well; a priest you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéra Raja, who has worshipped me for three lives\*" The Coorgs went to the sources of

\* 'Three lives' does not 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 Kávéri and there found him. He taught them during a whole month which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and perform other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year, in the month of Tulā (Oct.—Nov.) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri.

### Historical Period.

**Kadambas.**—The Coorgs, according to the foregoing traditions, are of the Ugra race and descendants of a prince named Chandra Varmma. These statements point to the Kadamba kingdom in the north-west of Mysore as the seat whence the first colonists of Coorg migrated, a conclusion as well consistent with what is known of the early Kadamba history as corroborated by the modern annals of Coorg and the fact that every dynasty of its Rajas derived their origin from the same region.

A reference to the history of the Kadambas \* will shew that the name of Chandra Varmma was a familiar one among the first princes of that line, and also that their possessions embraced all the countries contiguous to Coorg, except perhaps on its southern side, where the Chera dominions lay. The probabilities are thus entirely in favour of the conjecture contained in Colonel Wilks' *History* that the Coorgs are 'descended from the conquering army of the Kadamba kings.'

There are other traditions which lend support to the same view, contained in the tales of the adventures of Chitrasekhara and Soma-sekhara. † These two princes were the twin sons of Vajra Makuta Raya, king of Ratnapuri, which is identified with Halasur near Lakvalli in the Kadur District of Mysore, immediately to the north of the Baba Budan mountains. In addition to acquiring the ordinary accomplishments of princes, they became expert jugglers and thieves. The following is the summary of their adventures, nearly as given by professor H. H. Wilson, ‡ comprising, as he remarks, 'a number of amusing incidents, several of which are familiar in western story telling.'

Having heard of the beauty of Rūpavati or Ratnavati, the daughter of Vikrama, king of Nilavati, and being desirous of humiliating his pride, the princes, in opposition to the wishes of their father, proceeded

\* See Vol. I. p. 193 ff.

† See Vol. II. p. 499.—They form the subject of the Chora Kathe or Robbers' Tales, written about A. D. 1100, by Mallikarjuna, the father of Kesava, author of the Kannada Grammar called *Sabda Marī Darpana*. (See Vol. I. p. 401.)

‡ *McK. Coll.* II, 51.—For a slightly different version, see *Nirgunda*, Vol. II p. 499. Also *Ind. Ant.* III, 264.

to that capital in disguise, determined to secure the hand of Rúpavati for one of them. Notwithstanding that the city was guarded by ten thousand giants, who had baffled and destroyed the emissaries employed by Indra to bring him a description of the charms of the princess, they effected their entrance. They next obtained admission into the palace by night, and in spite of every precaution plundered the king and queen and princess of their jewels, and stripped their majesties and all the maids of honour of their garments—leaving a written paper, stating they would not cease from their depredations until the king consented to give his daughter in marriage to one of them, and threatening if he withheld his consent to carry off the princess. The king, compelled to yield to the demand of the unknown suitors, issued a proclamation that the pretender to his daughter's hand must first kill a fierce lion that guarded one of the gates of the palace. The princes next night attacked and slew the lion (who turned out to be a prince metamorphosed), and carried off the tail as a trophy. The washerman of the palace, on going out in the morning, found the lion dead, and carried off its head, which he produced as evidence that he had killed the lion, and claimed the princess! Preparations were being unwillingly made for the wedding, when the princes discovered themselves, and the washerman was put to death. The princess was married to the younger brother, Chitrasekhara, (who eventually succeeded his father-in-law on the throne).

After a time, a bird catcher brought a curious parrot from Cashmir, which was purchased by the princes, and told them that it alone had escaped the destruction of all living things at Hemavati, which were devoured by a giant in resentment of the king Virasena's refusing to give him the hand of the princess Snavarna Devi. The princess was kept captive by the giant. Somasekhara undertook to set her at liberty, and departed alone, giving his brother a flower, the withering of which would indicate his falling into some calamity, when his brother Chitrasekhara might come to aid or revenge him. On arriving at Hemavati he made himself known to the princess, married her, slew the giant, and induced people to return to the country over which he ruled as king.

On one occasion Snavarna Devi having dropped her slipper in a reservoir, it was found by a fisherman of Kusumakesari, who sold it to a shopkeeper, by whom it was presented to the king Ugra-báhu. The prince, on seeing the beauty of the slipper, fell in love with the wearer, and offered large rewards to any person who should find and bring her

to him. An old woman undertook the task, and succeeded in tracing the shoe to its owner, to whom she introduced herself, and made herself agreeable. Finding out that Somasekhara owed his personal immunity from danger to a charmed ear-ring, she contrived to steal it from him whilst asleep, defaced the impression of Siva which it bore, and threw it into the fire, on which Somasekhara became as dead.

Suvarna Devi would have slain herself, but was prevented by the crone, who to console her, promised to get her another husband in Ugra-báhu, and this proposal, as holding out the prospect of revenge, was seemingly assented to by the widow. She set out for the capital of Ugra-báhu, shutting up her husband's corpse in a chamber, and leaving with it a written note to Chitrasekhara, informing him what had chanced, and whither she was gone, and promising to wait a month for his arrival, at the end of which term she would put an end to her life.

The wife of Chitrasekhara, at the time of her brother-in-law's decease, was apprised of the event by the decay and death of the flower. As soon as this was known to her husband, he set off for Hemavati. On his way he met a monkey, who in his gambols plunged into a pool and came out a man, and a little further on leaped into another pool and issued a monkey as before. Some of the water productive of these changes was taken by Chitrasekhara, and carried with him.

On arriving at the place where his dead brother lay, and reading the note which Suvarna Devi had left, Chitrasekhara searched for the charmed ear-ring, which he found defaced and injured, but not wholly destroyed, on which account the body of Somasekhara had so long resisted decay. Chitrasekhara set himself to work to repair the ear-ring, and as soon as it was restored to its former condition, Somasekhara revived. The brothers, after communicating to each other what had passed, proceeded to Kusumakesari to release Suvarna Devi and punish Ugra-báhu. For the readier accomplishment of these ends, Chitrasekhara assumed the garb of a religious mendicant, and changed his brother to a monkey with some of the water of the pool that produced this metamorphosis.

The brothers, thus disguised, appeared before the king, to whom Chitrasekhara represented himself as a magician, and at whose request he undertook to win the consent of Suvarna Devi to become his bride without delay. Having then made himself known to Suvarna Devi, and restored his brother to the human form, they devised the plan to be adopted, and Suvarna Devi gave a seeming assent to be married to Ugra-báhu.

A new mansion was prepared for the purpose, to which Ugra-báhu repaired to be wedded by the supposed ascetic to the princess—but on his entering the private chamber, Chitrasekhara sprinkled him with the magic water, and he was changed to a monkey. Chitrasekhara, going forth, produced a written order from the king, that he should be his deputy for some months in the administration of the kingdom, in which the officers of the court acquiesced. The princes then wrote to their father-in-law Vikrama, to come to their aid with a sufficient force, with which he complied, and their authority was thus established over the kingdom of Ugrabáhu, who in his form of a monkey was sold to a beggar, and compelled to perform tricks for his master's benefit. After settling their new acquisitions, Somasekhara and Chitrasekhara, with their wives Suvarna Devi and Rupavati, and the father of the latter, paid their own parents a visit, much to their astonishment and delight. After a due period of power and prosperity, the different princes were admitted to the heaven of Siva.

The known situation of Ratnapuri near Lakvalli (Kadur District), and of Nílávati at Nirgunda near Hosdurga (Chitaldroog District), together with the mention of Hemavati as the scene of one of the principal exploits, and of Ugra báhu as the neighbouring king who became enamoured of this Cinderella's fairy slipper, lead me to the belief that the Ugra king of Coorg, and the Manjarabad country north of it, especially the wild and romantic country of Mēlbangádi in which the Hemavati rises, may be intended.\* This view is strengthened by finding that the kings of Hombucha (Humcha, near Nagart) in inscriptions dated S. S. 847 and 899 are styled *uditogra vamsa tilakam* and *mahogra vamsa talámam*, both meaning 'ornament of the Ugra race'. It follows therefore that the kings of Hombucha and of Coorg were of a common race, and this name Ugra, which is explained as meaning in vedic Sanskrit 'very strong', may possibly account for the name Balam, having the same signification in Kannada, applied to the more modern principality which formerly existed in Manjarabad.†

But the time of which we are writing long precedes the formation

\* The reference to Cashmir may be credibly explained as meaning Sringeri in Kadur District, for whose connection with Cashmir, see Vol. I, 378, & II, 444.

† See Vol. II, 353 & 373.

‡ The Humcha kings, whose progenitor was Jinadatta Raya, a prince of the solá race (see Vol. II, 353, 373), also claim to be *uttara Madhurádhivara*, lords of the northern Madhura (now Muttra) and therefore of common origin with the Pándyas of Madhura in the south (see Vol. II, 297). If the Ugra kings of Coorg had similar pretensions, it may account for some traditions of their descent from the Pándus, which are supported by reference to the custom of polyandry.

of the pályam of Balam. It carries us back to near the period when the Kadambas, being subdued by the Chalukyas, which occurred in the 6th century, had been deprived of their territory in Mysore and confined to the government of Hânagal and other districts in Dharwar. The northern parts of their ancestral dominions in Mysore were formed into the Chalukya province of the Banavase Twelve Thousand, while the southern parts, being perhaps too remote for direct control, were settled upon Jinadatta Ráya, the founder of the kingdom of Hombucha or Pom-burchchha, and his successors, as feudatories of the Chalukyas. These Humcha kings were Jains, and they gradually, as related in Vol. II, extended their possessions southwards, removing their capital first to Sisila or Sisukali on the Manjarabad and Canara frontier, 20 miles north of Subrahmanya, and thence, after overrunning all the maritime districts of Canara, establishing the seat of their government at Karkala.

Cheras.—What portion of the extreme south of the Kadamba kingdom was not included in the conquests of the Humcha kings, was absorbed into the empire of the Cheras. That south Coorg was ruled by the latter, we have evidence in three stone inscriptions in Kiggat-nad—one in Peggadur or Heggalur, one in Biliur or Baliur, and one in Kotur.\* The first is a grant to a Jain basti, made in the year Isvara (probably A. D. 857), by Satya Vákya Kongini Varmma Dharmma Mahárájádhirája, whose name was Ráchamalla Permmnadi. He also had the titles lord of Kolálapura (Kolar) and of Nandagiri (Nandidroog), and is specially described as the sovereign of Sripura, as if that city, wherever it was, were his residence.† The second grant is dated S. S. 809 (A. D. 887), and also made to a Jain temple‡ by a king bearing the same titles, substituting Konguni for Kongini, but whose name was Permmnadi. He came to the throne in A. D. 869. This same king makes the third grant, which is without date, remitting, on condition of service § and to enable him to keep up his position, the payment of certain dues from the son of Jedala Ereyanga gámunḍa, whose estate seems to have been in Kalnáḍu.

\* See *Ind. Ant.* VI, 99; II. 155. A much earlier inscription of this line, on copper plates, dated A. D. 466, was found in the Mercara Treasury, but does not relate to Coorg. *Ind. Ant.* I. 360.

† Sripura is also mentioned as if a royal residence in the time of Kongani III, A. D. 777, and as if connected with the Nirgunda kingdom. See Nagamangala plates, *Ind. Ant.* II., 161.

‡ *Satya Vákya Jindaya*, the Jain temple of the Word of Truth.

§ The tenure is called *gaṭṭibide*, no doubt the same as the modern *kaffubadi*.

**Hoysala Ballalas.**—To the Chera and Chalukya dominions in Mysore, the Hoysala Ballala kings succeeded, whose origin seems also traceable to the neighbourhood of Humcha, one of the gurus of which claims to have been the Yati at whose exclamation of *Hoyi, Sale!* the founder of the line killed the tiger which was adopted as their crest, and from which incident they took the name Hoysala.\* Their dynasty first rose to power in the 10th century, and as the Karkala rulers are known to have been subject to them, as well as the Malabar country, there is little doubt that Coorg too came under their sway. When the Ballala dominion was overthrown by the Muhammadans under Káfur in 1310, the western provinces, and Coorg amongst them, seem to have escaped the ravages of the conquerors, for the Ballala king retired to Tondanur (Tonnur, near Seringapatam). But ten years later, when Mubárák Khilji made his expedition into the Dekhan and put an end to the Yádava dynasty of Devagiri, he sent a force under his favourite, Khusru Khan, to conquer Malabar, which the latter effected in the course of a year and brought a great treasure to Delhi. In this conquest it is supposed that Coorg was included.

**Vijayanagar.**—In 1336 was founded the city of Vijayanagar, whose princes, also said to have derived their origin from the Kadambas, were the paramount sovereigns in the south of India until 1565. Their interest in the neighbouring province of Balam, and efforts to colonize it have been already described (Vol. II. 298). Ferishta, at the end of the 16th century, casually mentions that Coorg was governed by its own princes, and it seems that under the Vijayanagar empire Coorg was subdivided into a number of small districts called Kómbus, ruled by chiefs styled Náýaks, who, like the Pálegars of Mysore, were doubtless tributary to the supreme power but exercised such rights of sovereignty within their own domains as their remote and secluded situation gave abundant opportunities for.

According to tradition the country was divided into 12 Kómbus and 35 náds. The Náýaks guarded their respective territories by the boundary and defensive ditches called *kadangas* still existing,† but were engaged in constant feuds among themselves, until they finally succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háléri Pálegars.

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\* See Vol. I, 213 and 273.

† From the Eilur inscription above mentioned it is evident that these *kadangas* not only existed as far back as a thousand years ago, but bore particular names, as the one therein called the *Fenne gadanga*.

The number of principalities governed by separate Náyaks is not known, there may have been one to each Kómhu. The *kazmatta* or ancestral monument of the Achu Náyaka of Anjigeri-nad in Kiggatnad taluk is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppu-nad chiefs, the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinálknád the name of Karanembáu, the chief of Bhágamaudala, is mentioned with veneration. There may have been others, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

**The Coorg Rajas.**—Among the Palegars who on the decline of the Vijayanagar empire assumed independence, was the Nayak of Keladi, Ikkéri or Bednur (Nagar in Shimoga District). The founder of the line had been endowed with a government comprising Gutti (Chandragutti), Barakúru, and Mangalúru, and his name was changed into Sadásiva Náyaka. He and his descendants possessed the government for 203 years, from 1560 to 1763.

It appears that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty, an Ikkéri prince came to Coorg and settled in Háléri nád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingayat 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 offering of *dhūli batta* (the dusty grain of the threshing floor), 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 require alternate parties of the people to guard his dwelling on the Háléri farm. These watchmen were called *chaudigúra*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájá's troops.

Having at length openly declared himself, and being acknowledged by his adherents as ruler of Háléri and of the surrounding náds, Karanembáu, Náyak of Padinalknád, 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 Háléri chief. But his increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyaks, who at last were put to death, and the whole country brought under the Háléri government.

The following is the succession of the line of Coorg Rajas thus established, so far as it has been traced :—

			Period A. D.
Vira Raja	...	...	...
Appáji Raja	...	...	...
Moddu Raja	...	...	1633—1687
Dodda Virappa	...	...	1637—1736
Chikka Virappa	...	...	1736—1766
Moddu Raja	}	...	1766—1770
Muddaya			
Devappa Raja	...	...	1770—1774
Linga Raja	...	...	1775—1780
Dodda Vira Rajendra	...	...	1780—1809
Linga Raja	...	...	1809—1820
Vira Raja	...	...	1820—1834 deposed (died 1862)

That the Coorg Rajas were aliens to the country is evident from the fact that they were Lingáyats, whilst the Coorgs maintained their own crude form of demon and ancestor worship, and rarely joined the Sivácháris.

With the ascendancy in Coorg, of the Háléri princes, who spoke Kannada or 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 Rájas of the Háléri 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 thus describes the condition of the people under Linga Rája, and the picture applies equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rája:—"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.

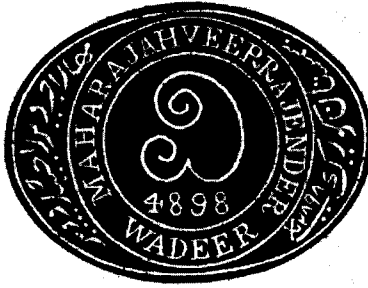
The rigorous exercise of such unbounded power will of course be tempered by customs and usages, which, having the force of law and sanctity of religion, must challenge some respect, but the real situation of the people is complete slavery. Under so arbitrary a sway, safety of person and permanency of 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 despatch 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 Rájá 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 Rájá 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 Rájá, 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."

The history of the Coorg Rájás is delineated in the *Rájéndranáme*, a work compiled by order of Dodda Vira Rájendra Wodeyar, the hero of Coorg history, and the Coorg beau idéal of a warrior king. It comprises a period of 175 years, from 1633 to 1807.

A manuscript copy of the Kannada original was found in the archives at Mercara in 1834, which, 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 Rájás ornaments the front page. The names of the Rája and of his ancestors, as well as those of English Governor Generals, Governors and other high functionaries, are written with red ink



throughout the book. The chronicle is very well composed. It gives the history of Coorg, especially the account of the Rája's exploits and of his intercourse with the officers of the East India Company, in simple language, which, though strongly impregnated with Hindustani words, yet thoroughly retains its Canarese character and favourably contrasts both in composition and idiom, with the bombastic would-be classical translation of the Kávéri Purana. The dates are given according to the Kali yuga.

The English translation made by Lieutenant R. Abercromby in 1808 at Mangalore, renders accurately the contents of Dodda Vira Rájendra's original, and very likely remained untouched by the Rája's successors, who were unacquainted with the English language. But the Kannada original was undoubtedly destroyed, after the preparation of spurious copies, one of which remained in the Mercara archives. For a long passage relating to the intrigues of Appáji Rája, in which the name of Channa Vira, another relative of the Rája's, is mixed up, does not appear in the English translation, and is probably an interpolation made by the late Rája after the murder of Channa Vira 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 Kannada. They were probably expunged by Linga Rája or his son, because they contained the last will of Dodda Vira Rájendra, 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 Vira Rája. Vira Rája's guilty successors have tampered with

other documents, forged some and destroyed others. The above conjecture seems, therefore, to be legitimate enough.

As for the trustworthiness of the *Rājendranāme*, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of its statements, so far as they go, 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, Vira Rāja 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 Rājas on the Ikkéri royal family, from which probably they descended; and the fact that they belonged, with the Ikkéri family, to the sect of the Lingayats, while the Coorgs themselves are unconnected with any of the general religious systems of India. Haidar and Tippu, after having absorbed the kingdom of Ikkéri or Bednur, claimed the allegiance of the Coorg Rājas 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 Rāja 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. Haidar had cut off one whole branch of the family of the Coorg Rājas: Vira Rāja's nearest relatives had died in prison at Periyapatna, 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 Brahman. He had thus grown up amidst bloodshed and rapine. No wonder that he would not spare those who were, or whom he conceived to be, his enemies among his subjects. But the *Rājendranāme* is studiously silent

on these topics. The book was written for the use of his friends and patrons. For this purpose the English translation was made, at the request of Vira Rájá, by Mr. Abercromby, and Hindustani translations distributed as remembrances among the higher officers in the Company's service. Vira Rájá 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.

We may now proceed to give a summary of the contents of this Coorg history, the English translation of which is available for reference where more detailed information is required.

The chronicle commences with the reign of Muddu Rájá, who is introduced as the son of Appáji Rájá, and the grandson of Vira Rájá. He reigned at Háléri in 1633, but subsequently established himself at Madikéri (Mercara), where he built the Fort and a Palace in 1681.\* He had three sons: Dodda Vírappa, Appáji Raja and Nanda Rájá. After a long reign of 54 years, Muddu Rájá died in 1687, and his eldest son Dodda Vírappa succeeded him. The second son settled at Háléri, and the third at Horamale.

Dodda Vírappa, with the harelip, was succeeded by his son Appáji Rájá. The latter had a son, whose name was Chikka Vírappa, and with him this branch of the family came to an end. The succession thus passed to the Háléri branch, in which, though disputed at first by the Horamale branch, it continued till the extinction of the dynasty.

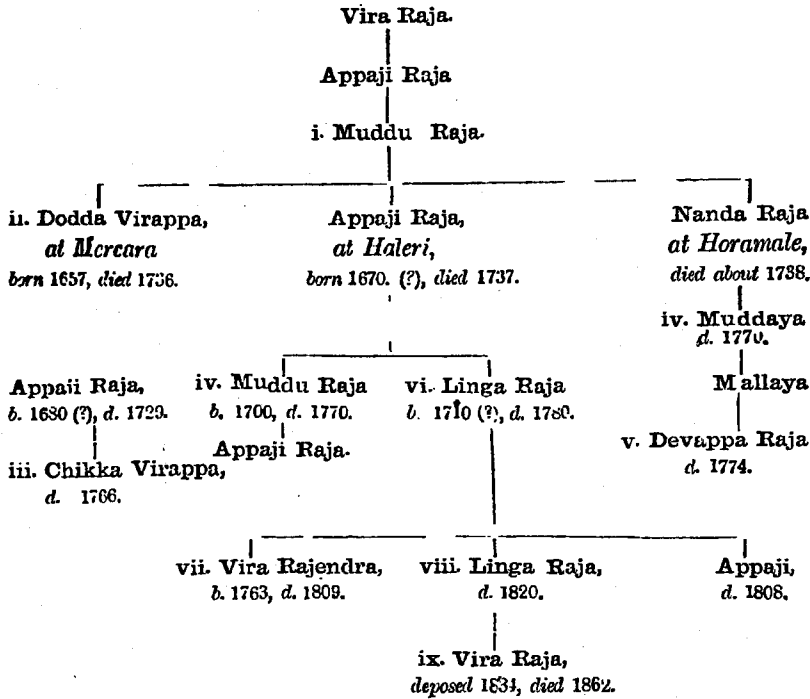
Appáji of Háléri had five sons, of whom three died in early life. Of the others, the eldest, Muddu Raja, had a son Appáji Rájá; the second, Linga Rájá, married Dévambikegamma, who bore him a son at the full moon of June 1763, the celebrated Vira Rájendra Wodeyar, the author and hero of the *Rájéन्द्रanámé*. His two brothers were Linga Rájá and Appáji, the former of whom was the father of Vira Raja, the last king.

Of the Horamale branch, Nanda Rájá had a son Muddaya, whose son was Mallaya, and his son was Devappa Raja.

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\* A member of the same house as the Háléri princes, it is added, used to live and reign at Periyapatna from the first, and the two branches considered themselves as one fam

The relationship of the descendants of the different lines will appear more clearly from the annexed genealogical table, in which is also indicated the order of succession of those who came to the throne.



At the time when Chikka Deva Wodeyar was ruling in Mysore ; Dodda Channammáji, the mother of Sónasékara Náyak in Ikkéri or Bednur ; Dodda Sadásiva Rája in Sôde; Venkatádri Náyak in Bélur, that is, Balam ; and Viravásu Rája (Ravi Varmma in the original) in Chirkal : the country of Periyapatna and of Coorg were one. The frontier of Mysore and Coorg then passed between Uddur and Kattemalalvádi.\*

*Dodda Virappa.*—During the reign of Dodda Virappa at Mercara, his kinsman, Nanjunda, was Rája of Periyapátna. Some of the officials of the latter opened a treasonable correspondence with Chikka Deva Wodeyar of Mysore, whom they invited to come and rule over them. Nanja Rája, 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 Periyapatna had fallen, and that Vira Rája, the

\* Kattemalalvádi is on the Lakshmantirtha river, near Hunsur.

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 honour, put to death his wives and children to preserve them from pollution.\*

Encouraged by his success, the Mysore Rájá, Chikka Deva Wodeyar, prepared for the conquest of Coorg. His army had 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 Rájá marched to Tómará, to oppose an invasion of the Rájá of Kotangadi, who with an army of 5,000 Nairs had ascended the Ghats and awaited in a fortified camp at Tómará the issue of the Mysorean campaign. Dodda Virappa 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 Vira Varmma, and destroyed the Raja and his army at one blow.

After some time, Chikka Déva Wodeyar invaded Bélur in Balam, the country of Venkatádri Náyak. Dodda Virappa, desirous of obtaining a share of spoil for himself, sent a force northward and seized upon the Yélusávira district. The Mysore Rájá, 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 Chikka Déva, Dodda Virappa declined compliance, and a predatory warfare ensued. After a short time, however, a compromise was effected: 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 Itterige, or country paying revenue to two parties.

Dodda Virappa had enjoyed but a short repose, when the Rájá of Chirakal implored his aid against the arms of Sómashékara Náyak of Ikkéri or Bednur, who had already made rapid strides towards the conquest of his territory. The Coorg chief exerted his influence to avert the impending fate; the Náyak, 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 lakhs of rupees, which Vira Varmma promised to pay, and at his request Dodda Virappa became security for. In returning to his

\* This does not quite agree with Wilks' account in the History of Mysore, where the capture of Periyapatna is attributed to Kanthurava Narasa Rájá in 1644. (See Vol. II. 265.)

own country, Sômathékara halted some days at Subrahmanya, where the Coorg Râja paid him a state visit.

Vira Varmma unhesitatingly paid nine lakhs of rupees, but when the second deputation from Coorg came and demanded the balance, he treated them most insolently. Dodda Virappa forthwith despatched a force of 5,000 Coorgs, under his general Jôgi Muttana, to ensure a more strict observance of the convention. Payment was delayed, however, from day to day. Muttana at length threatened; whereupon the Malayâlam 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 direct 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 returned empty handed to Coorg through Tulu-nâd. Dodda Virappa seems to have taken no revenge on the treacherous Vira Varmma, but paid the remaining nine lakhs to Sômathékara, who presented his kinsman in return with a number of villages in the Tulu country contiguous to Coorg, "to supply him with milk (*amrita*)". Dodda Virappa at the same time, in order to secure a regular supply of cocoanuts for the tutelary goddess, took this opportunity of purchasing the Sulya district with money taken from the treasury of the Tale Kâvéri temple. The whole district which thus became a part of the territory of the Coorg Râjas was called *Amara-Sulya*.

Dodda Virappa evinced throughout his long and vigorous reign an unconquerable spirit, and though surrounded by powerful neighbours, neither the number nor the strength of his enemies seems 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 Râja.

*Chikka Virappa*.—On the death of his grandfather, Chikka Virappa, who had already been anointed successor in 1730, assumed authority. His father, Appâji Râja, the only son of the late Râja, had incurred the suspicion of causing the destruction of his wife at the instigation of a favourite mistress, and been thrown into prison, where he languished for twelve years until his death. His son, who had shared his confinement, was then released, and, like many oriental despots, quitted a prison to seat himself on a throne. But his early years were clouded by misfortune; for having lived in prison from his childhood, he was sickly and subject to nervous complaints.

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 Haidar Ali, threatened destruction to the smaller States in its vicinity. Haidar seems early to have turned his thoughts towards Coorg. When he took Bednur, which was thenceforth called Haidar-nagar (the present Nagar) and incorporated that kingdom with his growing territory, he considered himself the liege-lord of Coorg. But for a long while he was foiled in his assertion of suzerainty, till at last, by dint of fraud and force, he succeeded in coercing the refractory hill-chiefs into a state of vassalage.

As a preliminary step he urged a claim to the Yélusávira district, which had been relinquished by a former Government. Chikka Virappa, unwilling to provoke so powerful an opponent, yielded to the demand. But Haidar, not satisfied with this concession, and fertile in expedients, soon found a pretext for breaking with the prince, and sent an army against Coorg in 1765 under Fazal ulla Khan. Many battles were fought between the two countries on the north-eastern frontier. At last the Mysoreans were defeated, and Haidar offered to the Rájá of Coorg eternal peace and the Uchingi district, contiguous to the northern frontier of Coorg, for 3,00,000 pagodas. Chikka Virappa acceded to the proposal. He had paid a portion of the sum and sent hostages for the remainder, but the stipulations on the part of the Muhammadan commander were as yet unexecuted, when the Rájá died.

*Muddu Raja and Muddaya.*—Having no children, the family of Dodda Virappa became extinguished, and in its stead Muddu Rájá and Muddaya, the representatives of the Haléri and Horamale families, ruled Coorg together in good harmony. They immediately demanded the execution of the treaty, but Haidar, under various pretexts, eluded its fulfilment. After protracted fruitless negotiations, the Rájás recommenced hostilities. Linga Rájá, the younger brother of Muddu Rájá, attacked Fazal ulla Khan near the Yélusávira district and defeated him. Attempting to retire towards Mangalore by the Bisli ghat, 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. Haidar proposed peace, and in lieu of the Uchingi country, gave up the districts of Panje and Belláre in return 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.



*Devappa Rája.*—In 1770 both Muddu Raja and Muddaya died. Linga Raja of Haléri wished to see his nephew, Muddu Raja's son, on the throne, while on the part of the Horamale family, Mallaya, the son of Muddaya, proposed his own son Dévappa Rája as successor to the throne of Coorg. A fatal family dispute arose, which led the way to foreign subjection. Linga Raja, being unable to enforce his claims, fled with his son Vira Rája and his nephew Appáji Rája, to seek the powerful aid of Haidar, who at this period exercised supreme control in Mysore. Wolf Haidar 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 the Srímant Peshwa of Poona, which occurred at this juncture (1771), gave full employment to Haidar'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. Linga Rája suggested an expedition into Coorg, where plenty of grain would be found. Haidar Ali took his advice, and in 1773 marched his army into Coorg by way of Arkalgúdu and Bettikanave, but was repulsed with loss in Yedava-nád. 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 Kiggat-nád, were joined by a large body of Coorgs, and marched without opposition straight to the capital, Mercara. Dévappa Rája sought refuge with the Rája of Kóte, but true to the character of his house, Vira Varmma gave the fugitive Coorg an inhospitable reception, saying: "Your ancestor, Dodda Virappa, took the life of my ancestor Vira Varmma at Tómará. Your head shall now atone, unless you redeem yourself with a round sum." The hapless refugee paid to his treacherous friend Rs. 1,600, all he had; but feeling still insecure, fled in disguise with only four attendants. At Harihar he fell into the hands of Haidar's people, and was carried to Seringapatam, where his family already lay in prison, and was murdered together with them. Thus was the Horamale branch of the Coorg royal family cut off by the sword of Haidar Ali.

*Linga Rája.*—The Nawab now offered to restore Coorg to Linga Rája, if he paid the expense of the expedition. But the resources of the country being exhausted, he consented to receive instead a yearly tribute

of Rs. 24,000. He also sanctioned the Coorg Rájá's taking 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. Meanwhile, Linga Rájá, with a force of 3,000 Coorgs, invaded Wynád, and erected a wooden fort at Kalpávati, by means of which, and a force of 2,000 men, he kept the district for five years.

Appáji Rájá died in 1775, and Linga Rájá who had espoused his cause, being himself seated on the throne, set aside the claims of his two other nephews, whom, however, he brought up together with his own son Vira Rájá Wodeyar. In 1779 the Wynád garrison was obliged to retire, being short of provision and closely pressed by the Rájá of Kóte. Upon this disagreeable news, Linga Rájá despatched a body of 2,000 Coorgs, headed by his two nephews. This force was intercepted on the way by the Rájá of Kóte and defeated; amongst the slain was one of the princes, and the other, being taken prisoner, was soon after put to death.

*Vira Rájendra*.—Linga Rájá died in the beginning of 1780. His sons, Vira Rájendra Wodeyar and Linga Rájá, were of tender age, the eldest being only about 16. Haidar, 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 should come of age. Meanwhile they were to reside in the fort of Gorúru.\* A Brahman named Subbarasaya, formerly *karnika* or treasurer of the Coorg Rájá, was appointed to the government of Coorg, by the usurper, and a Mussalman garrison held Mercara fort, which Haidar caused to be strengthened.

Enraged at the abduction of their princes from their country, and at the Brahmans lording it over them, the Coorgs in June 1782 broke out in open rebellion, and on hearing that Haidar had marched for the Carnatic to oppose the British army under Sir Eyre Coote, they drove the Mussalmans out of the country and proclaimed their independence.

The death of Haidar 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 Rájas to Periyapatna, and after having treacherously seized General Mathews and his officers at Nagar, and reduced Mangalore in 1784, he marched through Coorg on his way to Seringapatam, when he compounded matters with the insurgents.

\* In Arkalgodu taluk, Hassan District.

On this occasion, according to Col. Wilks' 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 distant land, and thus at once extinguish rebellion and plurality of husbands, and initiate you in the more honourable 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 hill in 1765.

To suppress this revolt, Tippu despatched a force of 15,000 men, under Zain-ul-Ab-i-din. At Ulagulli in Mudugeri-nád, the Mussalmans were opposed by a body of 4,000 Coorgs, who after a sharp encounter forced them to retire to Bettadapnr 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. But under pretence of peaceful intentions and conciliatory measures, Tippu allured most of the Coorgs to Tale Kávéri, and when they felt most secure, he suddenly seized them with their families, about 85,000 souls, sent them to Seringapatam, and carrying out his former threat, had them forcibly circumcised. On the auspicious day on which he added so great a number to Islam, he assumed the royal dignity and declared himself independent of Delhi.

Into depopulated Coorg he sent Mussalman 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" were his instructions, "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."

ance; their wives and children will become your slaves." A Brahman named Nágappaya, a nephew of Subbarasaya, was charged with the government of Coorg; but was soon convicted of embezzlement and condemned to the gallows, when he fled to the Kóte Rája in Malabar.

Such was the state of affairs, when in December 1788, Vira Rája or Vira Rájendra Wodeyar, accompanied by his wife and his two brothers Linga Rája and Appáji, the principal survivors of the Coorg family, effected his escape from Periyapatna after a confinement of six years. Leaving his family in a secure retreat at Kurchi in Kiggatnád, Vira Rája was inveigled beyond the frontier by Nágappaya, and fell into the power of Vira Varmma, the Kóte Rája, 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, Vira Rája thus purchased his freedom and returned to Coorg. A fortnight after, Vira Varmma ascended the Ghats to take possession of the ceded districts. Now came Vira Raja's turn. With a number of Coorgs, who had rallied round their chief, he surrounded the camp of the Kóte Rája, and forced him not only to return the document extorted at Arala, but to renounce also on his part every claim to the Wynad country.

Vira Raja now sallied forth at the head of his Coorgs to fight the Mussalmans. In a short time he had cleared the country of the usurpers from Bisli 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 Rája. During this season, full of daring and successful exploits, the gallant Vira Raja 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 shewn the way to a troop of Nair banditti and Mullu Kurubas, despatched upon this errand of treachery and blood by the fiendish foe of the Coorg Rájas, the Kóte Arasu.

Tippu Sultan, irritated by the daring incursions into his territories, 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.

Virarāja must soon have succumbed to the superiority in numbers and discipline of the Mysoreans, had not a revolt of the Malayálam Ráj compelled Tippu to order Golam Ali with his army to the Western Coast. He was not, however, 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. Vira Rāja lay in wait for them at the Heggala pass and dispersed the Mysoreans, who 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. This booty was most seasonable. The prisoners were sent back into Mysore.

Tippu was alarmed, and despatched Buran-u-Din, his own brother-in-law, with a strong army and large supplies, to secure Coorg by strengthening the four forts of Kushálnagara (Fraserpet), Mercara, Beppunád and Bhágamandala. On his way to Mercara he was attacked and beaten by Vira Rāja, 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 Vira Rāja anticipated their design by storming and dismantling the several forts.

At the head of 1,500 Coorgs, he marched in June 1789 against Kushálnagara on the banks of the Kávéri. A sally from it checked his advance guard, but coming up to their support with the main body, 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 were pursued with such success that 500 out of 700 were killed. The Killadár's head was laid at the feet of the Rāja. Kushálnagara was sacked and the fort burnt. In August, Vira Rāja 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. Vira Rāja 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 in the roof

of the temple at Bhágamandala had been destroyed by the Rájá's cannon balls, they were replaced by tiles of silver. After this achievement, Vira Rájá sent a detachment into the Tulu country to take possession of Amara-Sulya, which Linga Rájá had ceded to Haidar. There was now only Mercara left in the hands of the Mussalmans, 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 this time may prove of interest. As the Jamma Coorgs held 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 Rájá's military force, which, though irregular in its organization, was kept in constant practice of its duties. For the personal services of the Choudigaras or Coorg soldiers as guards, for a period of fifteen days at a time, enjoined by the Rájás and admitted by the ryots, were rendered with cheerful obedience.

Under the chief command of the Rájá, the force, numbering at times from six to ten thousand Coorgs, was subdivided into bodies of various strength, the smallest numbering from ten to a hundred men under a Jemadar; 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 *komlu 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 Rájás in the spoil. Without discipline and organization, the Coorgs displayed their strength chiefly behind their stockades and kadangas. In the open field they rarely faced the attacks of regular troops.

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 Vira Rájá, 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.

On the receipt of orders from Bombay to conclude, in the name of the British Government, an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rájá of Coorg, Robert Taylor, the English Chief at Tellicherry, invited the Rájá 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, Vira Rájá 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 Rájá will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippu.
3. The Rájá will furnish for fair payment all the supplies his country affords, and have no connection with other "topiwalas" (*viz* : the French).
4. The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg, and the maintenance of the Rájá's interests in the case of a peace with Tippu.
5. An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rájá 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.

*Vira Rájendra Wodeyar*, Rájá of Coorg.

When Sir Robert Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay, arrived at the coast, the Rájá was invited to an interview and was escorted by an officer and a company of sepoys. He on this occasion interceded with his new friend, Sir Robert Abercromby, for the poor Bibi of Cannanore and her son. She had made an attempt to decoy the English detachment at Tellicherry to Cannanore and betray it into the hands of the Mussalman army; Sir Abercromby had therefore resolved on deposing her, and sending her with her son to Bombay. Vira Rájendra effected a reconciliation, and thus requited the service which the Bibi's ancestor,

Ali, had rendered to his ancestor, Doddá Virappa with the harelip, by delivering his captain from the hands of the Chirakal Rájá.

Meanwhile the Mussalman 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 Khádar Khan. On its reaching Mallusóge (near Fraserpet), Vira Rájá 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 Vira Rájá forbore. Recognising in Khádar Khan, the commander of the Mussalmans, an old acquaintance who had befriended him during his captivity at Periyapatna and protected the honour of his sister, Vira Rájá resolved to spare his life, and, when subsequently informed by Khádar Khan that unless he could accomplish his object he was sure to be destroyed with his family by Tippu, the Rájá 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 Rájá was leagued with Tippu against the English. Vira Rájá 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 Rájá, 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 Vira Rájá, 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. The spoil of 1,500 head of cattle and vast stores of grain soon evinced the success with which he had 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 from the



west for support. A passage was prepared through Coorg for the Bombay army. The route of the Heggala pass was chosen. Vira Raja 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. Vira Raja accompanied Sir Robert before Srirangapatam. 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 Raja, who, during the rainy season, was engaged in purchasing all the grain he could from his own people and from the Pindari 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, Khadar Khan, the friend of Vira Raja with an autograph letter from Tippu and letters from Mir Sadak, his prime minister, and Purnaiya, the minister of finance, soliciting Vira Raja's forgiveness and friendship, and offering as the price for his co-operation against the English, to cede the following districts on his eastern frontier, Heggadadevankote, Periyapatna, Bettadappur, Konaur and Arkalgodu, and to extend his western boundary by the addition of certain districts dependent on Cannanore. Vira Raja 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 but one tongue with which I have pledged fidelity to the English. I have not two tongues like you." Mussalman violence and treachery had now their reward. Vira Raja 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 Colonel 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 which had been stored up in Kiggatnad.

The success of the first operations by Lord Cornwallis having driven the Mysore troops during two night attacks to seek shelter under the

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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, Vira Rája was desired to intercept a valuable convoy proceeding from Nagar to Seringapatam by the Vastára ghat. 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 Peshwa, "from the countries adjacent, according to their selection". 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 Vira Rája 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 to the English his claims of allegiance and the annual tribute of Rs. 24,000 from the Rája; whereupon peace was concluded, March 1792.

Sir Robert Abercromby on meeting Vira Rája 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, informing him that he was expected in future to pay his tribute to the English

Government. Vira Rájá 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 Rájá's dream of "an independent principality of Coorg" could not be realized. Sir Robert, however, appeased Vira Rájá 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 Rájá yielded, the former remained in his possession.

At his last meeting with Vira Rájá 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 Rájá by drawing up a new agreement, to satisfy this gallant ally and to bind him still closer to the interests of the Company. The terms of the document were these :

1. The Rájá 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 Rájá, of his own accord, attached himself to the Company, and concluded a treaty, the documents of which are preserved in the archives at Tellicherry.

2. The Rájá 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 Rájá refuses to receive payment for his supplies of grain, cattle, &c.

3. Tippu repeatedly tried to shake the fidelity of the Rájá, 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 Rájá 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 Rájá 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 8,000 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 Rájá, and in no wise to interfere with the government of Coorg ; for the Rájá 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 of his life, Vira Rájá 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 Raja had founded the town of Virarájendrapet. This was in 1792. In April 1795 he 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. He gained over Linga Rájá, a relative of Vira Rájendra, to undertake with some Coorgs the foul plot of shooting the Rájá 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 Linga Rájá more effective measures to accomplish his design. Two of his best marksmen were to lie in ambush in some place belonging to Linga Rájá, and shoot the Rájá when coming from his new palace at Nalknád to attend the Sivarátri festival at Mercara. The conspiracy, however, was betrayed, the assassins seized, and during the night-scuffle Linga Rájá and his family were killed. The two would-be murderers were kept alive at Virarájendrapet 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 Rájá from Sir John Shore, the Governor General, and from Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay.

Vira Rájá having no sons, he resolved in 1796 to marry a second time. In front of the palace at Nalknád a fine pavilion, which may still be

seen, was erected for the occasion. The ceremony was honoured by a deputation from the English Commissioner at Malabar and a company of sepoys, and took place amidst a large concourse of people from Coorg and the adjacent provinces. Mahádévamma was declared Ráni, and her children were to succeed to the throne of Coorg.

To shew more clearly the personal character of Vira Raja, and the tenor of his intercourse with the British Officials, the following letters of the Coorg Chief, written in 1798, are here given, in which he apprises his friends of the movements of his arch-enemy Tippu, whom he constantly watched, and who, ever since the hurried treaty of Lord Cornwallis, was secretly preparing for a new war with the Company.

To

CHRISTIAN PELLE, Esq.  
*Commissioner of Malabar.*

From

VIRA RAJENDRA  
*of Halcri in Coorg.*

14th February 1798.

Salam !

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

The news from the east are these : Tippu purposes to come to you by way of Coorg, and he has hitherto collected troops in the north, especially cavalry. Several regiments are stationed in Sakunipuram under Purnaiya and Mir 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 Rája that as the English at Tellicherry would probably come to the assistance of the Coorg Rája, he should prevent them from ascending the Ghats. For this purpose, the Rája 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 has 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 protecting women and children as well as of fighting him. 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 sepoys, to keep aloof the rebellious Nairs. You will thus have the honour 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 favour 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. All news I will send without delay, be it by day or by night. One thing more. Report says the French came to Mangalore."

On the 23rd February 1798, Vira Rájendra 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 Subrahmanya there are a thousand Kanarese. Measures are first to be taken against the Rája of Kumbala (20 miles to the south of Mangalore), who after his return from Bombay shewed 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 Wallagulla and was then encamped at Pallammurikád, where the Kóte Rája had met him and was present on horseback at a review; that Tippu presented the Rája with a pálki, 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 Rája was

called the 'Kóte Rája'; whether he was the Rája 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 Rája's departure, 3,000 sepoys and 1,000 Kanarese men proceeded to Nanjanapura, 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."

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 Rája may count upon his own friendship and support.—The following is another letter.

To

JAMES STEVENS, ESQ.

It is already three months since I ordered my confidential agent at Mahé to pay the tribute to the Company. As Captain Mahoney is now with us, and the Karnika Subbaiya has to travel with him, there may 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 term with me as Mr. Taylor was, and look upon my weal and woe as upon yours."

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, Vira Rája hastened to their standard, and in all the warmth of sincerity declared "that his exertions should be increased tenfold." A depôt was immediately formed at Viraríjendrapet, and measures taken to accumulate whatever his little State could afford.

In conformity with the military preparations determined on, Generals Stuart and Hartley, at the head of the Bombay army, ascended the Heggala ghat on the 20th February 1799, and experienced the most prompt and effectual assistance in 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 Virarájendrapet for the sick of the Bombay army whom General Stuart left in Coorg when he marched against Seringapatam, Vira Rája, 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. Captain Mahoney, who had been appointed Resident with Vira Rája a short time previous to the commencement of the last war with Tippu, communicated to the Rája the Earl of Mornington's proclamation of war, dated Fort St. George the 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 Periyapatna. The battle of Siddeshwara ensued, when three native battalions, under Colonel Montresor and Major Disney, held their ground against the whole army of Tippu from 9 A. M., until 2 P. M., when 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 with a comparatively small loss. That of Tippu was severe, numbering amongst the slain the famous Benki Navah, or Fire-prince, one of his best generals.

The Rája of Coorg personally accompanied General Stuart, and witnessed for the first time the conduct of European troops in the presence of an enemy. There was 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 Kanidigúdu ; 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 paránas, 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, Vira Rájá sent an expedition of Coorgs, under Subbaiya and Bopu, into the Tulu country, the greater part of which was wrested from the Mussalmans and plundered in Coorg style. His efforts in Mysore were not less vigorous or less successful. Baswanpatna, Arkalgudu 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 Vira Rájá, 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 Rájá. Purnaiya, the Brahman minister of finance under Tippu, was placed at the head of the government of Mysore, which the Company restored to a descendant of the ancient Rájas, then a child of six years. The Governor General informed the Coorg Rájá of the new order of things, and begged him to refer in future to the decision of the Company any difference that might arise between himself and the Mysore Government.

Vira Rájendra had a mean opinion of the new Rájá of Mysore, who was "a mere orphan child", and thought that names only had been changed. The Brahmans, 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. He had to restore to Mysore the districts he had occupied during the season of hostilities, and Karnika Subbaya had to evacuate the Tulu country. Vira Rájá had expected to be put in possession of Periyapatna and the contiguous districts, but for political reasons connected with the relation of the recently established government of Mysore to the government of the Company, he was not to have any part of the Mysore country.

Colonel Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, in suggesting\* this

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\* See Despatches, Vol. I. p. 320, 321.

course of action in a letter to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras and son of the great Clive, dated Seringapatam 1st January 1803, further states : "The services of the Rájá 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 lakhs 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 lakhs of rupees to the sum above mentioned. It may therefore be fairly concluded, that by the liberality of the Rájá, the Company's treasury is richer at this moment no less than six lakhs 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 Rájá of Coorg was desirous to have the districts of Panje and Bellára, 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 6,000 Kanthirayi pagodas per annum, and they might form part of the proposed remuneration to the Rájá of Coorg.

The districts in Mysore to which the Rájá of Coorg in like manner stated a claim, are Periyapatna, Bettadapur, and Arkalgudu, the value of which by the schedule appears to be 17,500 Kanthirayi pagodas. It will not be proper to give the Rájá those districts, and I recommend to your Lordship, that others of equal value, connected with Panje, Bellára and the Bantwál river, in the province of Canara, be ceded to him.

Under this arrangement he will have nearly 24,000 Kanthirayi pagodas per annum, which is about the value of the sum which the Company have annually saved by his forbearing 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."

Vira Rája 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 Rája, as may be seen from the following letters :

From Seringapatam, 16th November 1799.

COLONEL BARRY CLOSE.

To

THE RAJA 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 Manjarabad frontier, that five days after the fall of Seringapatam your people made a predatory incursion into the Maharájadurga district, and plundered 17 villages, of 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. 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 Maharájadurga district :—67 women, 34 men, 11 boys, 10 girls, 1383 cows, 574 buffaloes, 834 oxen, 121 calves; 729 Kanthirai 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."

\* 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.

This affair seems not to have been settled without considerable difficulties, in which the Rája 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 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—honour excepted.

As to Purnaiya, he is and remains a Brahman. His caste and mine dislike each other. In the time of Tippu he 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 carried away in the north. Upon this Col. Close wrote to me, enclosing the list, and demanding that I should pay compensation accordingly.

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 Brahman 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 honourably. 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 honour myself. But this Purnaiya lodges a complaint against me as if I had offended against the Company. Being thus dishonoured, 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 dishonour from the Company.

The facts of the case are these : On the 6th of 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 of 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 6,000 or 7,000 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 conquered, but surrendered it to Col. Wiseman whom the General sent. Is it then not the duty of Government to treat me honourably ? 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 honour remains intact. However, I am quite unable to pay. In Bombay I have one lakh 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 will come to you, and all the officers together will perhaps give me the rest of the sum and leave to me only my honour. What you

do for me, I will certainly repay. If you cannot help me, I must turn elsewhere to save my honour.

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

Regarding the alleged poverty of Vira Rájá, it should be observed that on his death in 1809 he left in the treasury forty lakhs 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 plundering expeditions before the fall of Seringapatam greatly replenished his exchequer.

General Stuart, who sailed for Madras and Europe, promised the Rájá on parting to send him from Europe a sword with the arms of the East India Company, and portraits of Lord Mornington and himself. After the departure of the General from Cannanore, Vira Rájá 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 Rájá had hitherto paid was remitted. Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, was to inform the Rájá what annual present in lieu of the tribute would be acceptable to the British Government. Before Capt. Mahoney left, it was settled that the Rájá 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 Rájá by Capt. Mahoney at Virájpét on the 13th October 1799.

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

1. The Rájá 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 2,000 men for the conveyance of the ammunition to Seringapatam, without receiving remuneration.
4. He has furnished the Bombay army with more than 3,000 bullocks, 5 elephants, 3,000 sheep and 40,000 batties of rice.
5. For all this trouble and expense he has accepted of no payment or reward.

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

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

In 1804, Capt. Mahoney arrived at Mercara with a letter from the Governor General, informing Vira Rája that six máganis 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 Darbar, the boundary between Coorg and Mysore on the Subrahmanya side was finally adjusted by Mr. Peile and Major Mackenzie, to the Rája'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 Sadásiva Rája.

Vira Rája 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 honour. About the time his first grandson was born to him at Sóde, he was fondly attached to his new wife Mahadéva Ráni, who had borne 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 *Rājendranāme*, in its conclusion, affords a glimpse of the alternations of hope and fear which agitated the poor Rāja's heart.

The English translation by Lieut. Abercromby, made from the Kannada original in 1808 at Mangalore, brings in two additional pages, the last will of Vira Rājendra, which is not contained in the extant copy that was found in the Mercara archives in 1834, and there is room for suspicion that the Kannada original was destroyed, and the testament omitted in the copy, by Vira Rājendra's successors.

Its last words are :—"On the 7th of the month Pushya, the year Raktākshi (Dec. 1805), Captain Mahoney brought the sword sent by Marquis Wellesley from Bengal, and fastened it round the Rāja's waist. In the month Māgha (Jan. 1806) Vira Rāja told Captain Mahoney, for the information of the Governor General, that on the day of his second marriage, when he sat on the throne with his Rāni, he had determined that any son of his by this wife should be his successor. That his wife had borne him two daughters, but if any son should 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 his concubine's three sons, called Rājashékarappa, Sisushékarappa and Chandrashékarappa, should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been borne by Mahadéva Rāni, who died at 3 o'clock on Sunday the 7th day of the month Jészta, 4909, the year Prabhava (May 1807).

As by her death the Rāja's hopes of having a son by her were blighted, 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 Rāja determined that of the four daughters, who are named Dévammāji, Muddammāji, Rājammāji and Mahádévammāji, the eldest should be married, and whatever son she might have, he should be named Vira Rājendra, receive the Rāja'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 succeed. The Rájá, 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 Rájá's heirs may be acquainted with his resolution, he has written a copy thereof, to which he has affixed his seal and signature, and it is lodged in the palace treasury."

Here ends the *Rájendramámé*.

With the death of Mahádéva Ráni commenced the last act, full of blood and horrors, of the drama of poor Vira Rájendra'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.

Mahádéva Ráni 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 Mahádéva Ráni had no male issue. Now he changed his mind. One of Mahádéva Ráni's daughters, if they lived to be women, might have a son. That son was to succeed him. The eldest of them, Dévammáji, when she was about nine years old, was therefore betrothed to a Coorg of the name of Mallappa. The Rájá, who was possessed of immense wealth, gave to her one lakh of pagodas in gold and jewels, and costly shawls and dresses in profusion.

Nevertheless, 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 Mahádéva Ráni 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 Rájá had surrounded himself with an African bodyguard, 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 Rájá'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 Vira Rájá. He was roused by the impending danger. With great presence of mind he imitated Haidar 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 in pieces the form which they mistook for the sleeping Rájá. Next moment they discovered that the Rájá had fled, that he had at the last moment been warned. They were paralyzed.

Vira Rájá 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 Rájá himself took his post at a window and fired upon the terror-stricken conspirators. They allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep. Vira Rájá 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 Vira Rájá 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 Rájá fashion.

This massacre took place in the end of 1807, or early in 1808. The Rájá reported his suppression of a dangerous conspiracy to the Governor of Madras and the Governor General. The Rájá'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, Vira Rájendra 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. Vira Rájendra 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 only 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 fear whatever objects first met his fury, until he was satiated with blood and his paroxysm subsided. Dr. Ingledew, who was sent early in 1809 by Mr. Cole, the Resident in Mysore, to attend upon the Rája, heard some vague rumours of several thousand people having been destroyed "after the late disturbances," that is, the conspiracy above related.

Vira Rájendra 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 Rája. They rarely passed without some victims of his uncontrollable fury falling by his bullet or under the knives of his African executioners. Some time in October or November 1808, Vira Rája 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 were 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 Linga Rája, 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 Linga Rája. They prostrate themselves and depart on their dark errand. Vira Rája 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 Linga Rája 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 Vira Raja according to his orders. The men dared not deviate from the command of the Raja, though they knew that he had changed his mind.

Vira Raja was horror-struck at his own deed. The dead could not be restored to life. What was done could not be undone. But Vira Rája would do what he could to make amends. Linga Rája was ordered to take charge of his brother's family and of their property. The jaghir of Appáji, worth 600 Kanthirayi pagodas, was added to the Háleri jaghir of Linga Rája, valued at 200 Kanthirayi pagodas per annum. Still Linga Rája remained confined to his village, as he had been for the last ten years. Vira Raja 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. Colc, the Resident of Mysore, received a message from Mercara that the Raja 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 Rája 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 informa-

tion of the atrocities he had committed, especially during the last year. If he reported the truth to the Company's Government, Vira Raja 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 Rája. Vira Raja was seized with an agony of remorse and despair. He bit his arm so 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 some time 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 Rája 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 soothe his apprehensions, declaring that acts committed in a state of insanity, and so much grieved for afterwards, would not to be laid to his charge. But the Rájá would not be comforted. Shortly after, Dr. Ingledew was called again. The Rájá 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, Dévammaji, and desired her to give him the deadly draught. The poor girl did not understand what she was doing. Dr. Ingledew instantly administered an emetic, but had no hope of the Rájá'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 Vira Rájá was in a convalescent state. The scheme was completely successful. Dr. Ingledew had not the slightest suspicion of Vira Rájá's acting a part before him.

Mr. Cole, the Resident, on Dr. Ingledew's report, hastened in person to Mercara. He found the Rájá 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 Rájá amnesty for all that had passed.

These assurances had the desired effect. Vira Rájá recovered. Favorable letters arrived from the Governor of Madras, congratulating him on his recovery. A despatch from the Governor General, in answer to the Rájá's letter of 1807, concurred in the wishes of the Company's faithful ally, though not as perfectly as Vira Rájá 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 Dévammaji, Vira Rájendra's daughter, in the Company's funds at Madras. As to the succession, the reply was couched in general terms, and the Rájá 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 Viraj Raja. Another letter from the Governor General soon followed, full of kindness and regard. The Raja was most affectionately assured of the uninterrupted friendship of the British Government, and of the Governor General's undiminished regard. Whatever the Rájá 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 Viraj Raja 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 in favor of the male child, which may hereafter be born of one of my daughters by my principal Rani, the succession 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 benificent 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 date the 16th March Mr. Cole had already reported to Government that the Rájá 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" he added "to be introduced to this Princess and her sisters, whom His Highness recommended through me, in a very affecting manner, to the protection of the Honourable Government." In fact the Rájá, under the idea of obtaining a kind of adoption by the Honourable 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 Rájá soon after for Star pagodas 186,000, to be invested in the Company's funds as the property of Dévammaji, 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 Dr. Clarke, a physician recommended by Dr. Ingledew. The Rájá had passed through the worst dangers. The confidence of the British Go-

vernment had been only more firmly re-established. He believed that the Governor General had sanctioned, and thereby guaranteed the succession to Devammáji 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 lakhs 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 Mahádéva Ráni. 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 date the 24th May 1809, Mr. Cole reported to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George, that the Rája of Coorg was again labouring under insanity, and shewed 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 re-awakened. Dr. Ingledew, who possessed the confidence of Vira Rája, was again sent to Mercara. In the mean time Dr. 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 to take charge, if necessary, of the administration of affairs, and settle the question of the succession in case of the decease of the Rája. Mr. Cole himself offered to proceed in person to Mercara.

When Dr. Ingledew arrived, Vira Rája's end 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 Rája. During his last days he seems to have been more favorably inclined than formerly towards the Sóde Raja, who was appointed to transact business for him, and whom he desired, it was said, to act as Devan during the minority of Dévamámáji. 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 spectacle ! A noble vessel, after having gallantly weathered the storms of Mussalman 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 Rája lived ages of anguish from the day of the death of his beloved wife, the 17th of May 1807, to the date of his own decease, the 9th of 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 Rája (a lakh of pagodas at one sweep), and shortly after she herself was murdered at Mercara, and her three surviving children (one boy appears to have died a natural death), massacred at Nalknad, by orders of her relative, and their corpses thrown into pits.

*Linga Rája.*—Dr. Ingledew, on the sudden death of Vira Rája, 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 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 Rája, as far as they had received the approbation and sanction of the British Government. But it happened otherwise.

When Vira Rájendra died, there seemed to be a good prospect of peace and prosperity for Coorg. A short time before his decease, Vira Rája had permitted the Sôde Raja 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 Dévammasi, in conjunction with an Agent of the East India Company, to be appointed by the Governor General. He had once given to Dr. Ingledew a testamentary document expressive of these wishes, but had afterwards recalled and never returned it.

As soon as the Rája had expired, his daughter Dévammasi was acknowledged as Rani of Coorg by the assembled chiefs. The Sôde

Rája continued to perform the duties of principal Devan, or rather of Regent, and all people seemed to be happy and contented. Dr. Ingledew wrote to Mr. Cole, the Mysore Resident; "Owing to the many acts of cruelty committed by the late Rája, 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 Sôde Raja had forged the last will of the Rája. Dr. Ingledew inquired into the charge, and found that the copy of the will produced by the Sôde Rája had a signature not attached to it by Vira Raja 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 Vira Rájendra's wishes shortly before his death. Yet, to quiet the minds of the Coorg chiefs, the spurious though honest document was cancelled. The Sôde Rája retained his position. But soon affairs began to take a new turn.

Linga Rája, then 34 years old, appears to have had many interviews with Dr. Ingledew, and impressed him with a strong conviction of his honesty, simplicity and humility. Linga Rája 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. Ingledew 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 200 Kanthirayi pagodas for himself and 600 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 Linga Rája, 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 Sode Rájá, but they seem to have had no particular predilection for the late Raja's brother.

One day there had been a large gathering of the chiefs at the palace, of which Dr. Ingledew knew nothing. It was proposed to displace the Sode Raja by Linga Rájá but the proposition was thrown out. Linga Rájá mounted his horse and rode away in the direction of Háléri, 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, on his way to the palace, met him. "Why do you cry, Linga Rájá?" he inquired. "I have been rejected by the Coorg Pancháyat. All is lost," was the reply. "Come with me, Linga Rájá," said Appanna, "I will set you on the throne of Coorg." With these words he seized the bridle of Linga Rájá's pony, 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 Linga Rájá was preferred to the Rájá of Sode.

Dr. Ingledew knew nothing of all these things, and was therefore not a little astonished, when on the 9th July, five weeks after the death of Vira Rájendra, during which period his reports had been full of Linga Rájá's praises, the little Ráni sent for him, and told him that she had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rájá of Sode, and wished to have Linga Rájá her uncle for her guardian. Immediately afterwards, the Sode Rájá 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 Vira Rájendra's death. But the Sode Rájá informed him that Linga Rájá had already taken possession of the government of the principality. A similar announcement was made by Linga Rájá himself. Dr. Ingledew now saw that he had been duped. He protested against Linga Rájá'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 Linga Rájá.

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 Vira Rájendra, who had possessed a good discernment of character, and yet spared the life of Linga Rájá 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 Vira Rájendra, in anticipation of the approaching difficulties, under date 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 Rájá of Sóde. His idea was that Linga Rájá 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 Rájá). After Linga Rájá, his son, it appeared to the Resident, had a right to succeed. If Linga Rájá had no son, a son of the Rájá 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 Ikkéri family, from which the Coorg Rájás 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 Rájá? Opposition, in the three cases mentioned, was to be expected from the Sóde Rájá, who was now the actual ruler, but had no right to the succession.

On the 15th of 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 in-

clined to the Sode Rája, wherefore he would rather propose that Government should acknowledge him. On the 16th June he writes to the same authority again, that all Coorg was in favour of the Sode Rája, and that it would therefore be expedient to acknowledge him without delay. On the 18th June he sent the additional intelligence that Linga Rája also had declared himself in favour of the Sode Rája, and on the 4th July he reported fully on the excellent conduct of Linga Rája, the brother of the late Rája, 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, Linga Raja had seized the reins. Dr. Ingledew was indignant. But nothing could disturb the tranquillity of Mr. Cole. Since Linga Raja 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. He innocently 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 Vira Rájendra. The Governor of Madras, under date the 10th July, informed Mr. Cole that he reprobated the conduct of Linga Rája, 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 Linga Rája, 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 Vira Rájendra. But he was now dead. In the course of July a bracelet arrived from the Governor General for Vira Rájendra, 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 correspondence with Linga Rája 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 Raja of Sode. In the same month the Resident reported to Madras that he had presented the bracelet to the little Ráni: that

Linga Rájá was not likely to give up the reins ; that the Sóde Raja claimed one lakh of rupees of the money in the Bombay funds, and a jahgir of the value of 4,000 or 5,000 pagodas, according to a promise made him by Vira Rajendra ; that Linga Rájá objected to this demand, and that Mr. Cole wished to know how he should act. The Raja of Sóde afterwards consented to receive one lakh 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.

Linga Raja sent a deputation to Madras, consisting of Ayya Ponnappa, Muttanna, and Gírji, a Parsi, who had to deliver to the Governor a picture of the late Vira Rajendra. The present was graciously received, the deputation dismissed with suitable gifts, and a letter written to Linga Rájá 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 Raja, 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 Linga Rájendra Wodeya, Regent of Coorg, and bore date the 28th of 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 acknowledgment of his letter of 3rd April 1809 to Vira Rajendra, 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, Linga Rájendra Wodeya, 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."

Linga Rájá 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 Linga Rája. 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, Linga Rája 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 Linga Rája 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 Rája.

One thing remained to be accomplished. Linga Rája had taken possession of Coorg, supplanted his niece, and obtained the sanction or at least the acquiescence of the Government of the East India Company, but there were three lakhs of rupees in the Bombay funds, and upwards of five and a half lakhs of rupees in the Madras funds, both sums standing in the name of Dévamúji. 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 Rája of Coorg to demand the interest of the sum deposited in the Company's treasury by Vira Rájendra. 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, Dévamúji, the daughter of Vira Rájendra. Linga Rája represented that

Víra Rájá 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 lakhs 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. Linga Rájá took the opportunity of selling the three lakhs of Víra Rájendra to Messrs. Forbes and Co., who demanded cash payment from Government. Here also the treasury objected, because the bonds were not in Linga Rájá'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 Dévammáji attained her majority, it would be time enough to see whose the property in the Madras funds was. In the mean time Linga Rájá might draw the interest, as guardian of Dévammáji and regent of Coorg. As to the Bombay bonds, it was Linga Rájá'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. Linga Rájá 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 Rájá of Coorg, first in Dévammáji's name, and afterwards in the name of Linga Rájá and his son Víra Rájá themselves. How the change in the wording of the bonds was effected cannot now be discovered.

Before the end of 1812 Linga Rájá had succeeded to his full satisfaction in all his plans. He had taken possession of the inheritance of his brother Víra Rájendra, Coorg was his, and he was almost formally acknowledged as Rájá 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 Víra Rájendra 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 Rájá of Coorg of large property by way of



bequest to a private member of his family, since the property of the Rájas was always considered as State property. It was, indeed, of no great consequence whether Linga Rája'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 Linga Rája 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 Vira Rájendra 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 Rája, 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.

The extracts embodied in the following pages are taken from a work, entitled *Military Reminiscences*, 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 Linga Rája, and show also to very life the character of the relations then existing between the Government of the East India Company and the Rája of Coorg. The Rája 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 Vira Rájendra's last will.

The 10th chapter of the Reminiscences treats on Coorg. We read there :—"In the days of Haidar's successful usurpation of the musnud of Mysore, the reigning Rája of Coorg was defeated and taken prisoner by this Mussalman 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 Mussalman 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 Linga Rajendra Vadeyaru, 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 Rájá of Coorg. But, as already shewn in a former part of the history, it is a fact that Linga Rájá, the father of Vira Rájá, was allured to Mysore by Haidar Ali and there detained, ostensibly as a guest, but in reality as a prisoner, until by stratagem he returned to Coorg. Vira Rájá, however, lived for several years as a prisoner in the fort of Periyapatna, until he escaped over the frontier into his mountain home and asserted his independence. General Welsh confounds father and son. Again Linga Raja was no longer a "boy" when his brother Vira Rájá died, but a man of 34 years of age. Finally, the Coorgs as little worshipped their Rájás 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 Virarájendrapet, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. On the 22nd of March, after a hearty breakfast provided for us by the Rájá'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 stone fort 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 Rájá's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside on the slope of the glacia. 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 Rájá 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 coconuts 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 Rájá 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, about seven or eight years old, being 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 storey, the lower rooms serving for the guard, attendants, store-rooms, &c. 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, &c. &c. 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 as 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 Rájá'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 *certainly*, 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 Rájá 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 Rájá beat us hollow. When all was ready, each climbed his own tree, the Rájá between us, and sat in a snug little wicker box, with three guns of the Rájá's each, and two of his eunuchs to load our pieces. The Rájá 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

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\* 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.

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 pillaw, mutton cutlets, curry, &c. all ready for us. Nor was this all : the Rájá 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 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 skin and two panther skins, and parted from him with mutual expressions of esteem and regard. The Rájá 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 this country ; after which my diary regularly proceeds as follows :—Here we were regaled with curry and rice by the Coorg Rájá'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 Periyapatna 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.

We arrived at Virarájendrapet at 20 minutes past 3 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 distance resembles an old Gothic ruin in England. The Rájá'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 a-pe English 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 Rájá 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 nallahs, 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 Kád, 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 buck-rah, or wood-goat, with a single ball, while running like the wind; it was a very curious animal, with a body the 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 Rája'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 Muhammad pleasure ; little did I dream that every word he or I uttered would

be instantly repeated to the Rájá ; 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 Rájá, 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 Muhammad 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 thunder-struck ; 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 Rájá, 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 *soi disant* 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 Rájá, 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 Rájá'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 Rájá to grant him leave. He also told me that the Rájá, 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 Muhammad 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 Rájá 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 Rájá 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 Rájá, 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, sandal-stick, 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 Rája of Nepaunee. 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 Muhammad Sahib, extremely emaciated, ill-dressed, and with a picture in his hand. He threw himself at my feet, and told me I had saved his life, that the Rája 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 Rája Lingarájender Wodeyar 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 Rája 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 Linga Rájá's character, and of the state of Coorg from the death of Vira Rájendra to the deposition of the Coorg Rájá in 1834. Vira Rájendra 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, Linga Rájá, 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 Rájá's Seat in Mercara. Many seem to have been destroyed merely for the purpose of confiscating their property, for Linga Rájá 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, Kshadryakere 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 Rájá of Sôde. But by degrees Linga Rájá became impatient of the control of a subject. Appanna, relying on the Raja'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 Raja. He was charged with treason. He knew that he was doomed. The Rájá 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 Rájá of Coorg." Linga Rájá 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 Rájá feasting his eyes on the torments of his helpless 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 Rája's life, and that on a hunting excursion a shot aimed at Linga Rája passed close by him, whereupon he seized the traitors and exterminated them and their party ; but this may only be an invention of the Rája, 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 Raja 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 Raja, swallowed diamond powder, and was buried with Linga Raja in a splendid sepulchre near the tomb of Vira Rajendra.

Of Linga Raja'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 Linga Raja 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.

Linga Rája 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 ankles; 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 pageantry, 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 Linga Rāja 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 dose of sensuality were united in his character."

In a shāsanastone deposited in the Mercara Onkāreshvara dévasthāna, which was built by him, he is, however, by his native admirer praised as:—The illustrious Linga Rāja Wādeyar, son of Linga Rāja and grandson of Appāji Rāja, of the lunar race, pure as the milky sea, worshipped with the fragrance of the párijāta flower, of the family of Bhāradwaja, follower of the Ashwalāyana sūtra of the Rīg Vēda, a zealous and learned worshipper of Siva, 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.

*Vīra Rāja.*—With the death of Linga Rāja, affairs in Coorg did not improve. The unfortunate people had only changed masters. As soon as the young Vīra Rāja, 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 Rājas 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 Rāja. Mr. Cole had the man apprehended near Peri-



yapatna, and sent him back to Coorg with a letter to the Rája, 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. Casamaijor, 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 Vira Rája 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 Rája seems to have shewn less cruelty than his father or uncle. An intelligent Brahman, intimately acquainted with Coorg affairs, estimated the victims of Dodda Vira Rája's reign at about five thousand; Linga Rája, he thought, had not killed more than three thousand, or perhaps three thousand five hundred: and the late Rája 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.\*

But, if less cruel, Vira Rája, 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 Raja, 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 Rája was furious. Many of the unfortunate parents who thus saved the honour of their children were dreadfully flogged or had their ears cropped, or were thrown into prison. Rumours of these doings reached

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\*The above estimate of Coorg murders is no doubt greatly exaggerated, but the proportion assigned to the three Rajas agrees perfectly with the general tradition of the country.

Mr. Casamaijor, Resident of Mysore. 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 Rája; so was a Jew of the name of Samuel Joseph. Apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Dévammáji, the daughter and heiress of Dodda Vira Rája.

About the middle of November 1826, Mr. Casamaijor went in person to Mercara, to make inquiries on the spot. He was too polite, and was completely baffled by the Rája. The representative of the British Government was surrounded by guards and spies. No inhabitant of Coorg dared to answer his questions. The Rája met his interrogations and admonitions with the most barefaced lies. Mr. Casamaijor had to report: "I have not been able to obtain any satisfactory information from the Rája 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 a 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 Vira Rájendra's daughters, were not, he said, in the palace, but in distant villages." Mr. Casamaijor did not even succeed in obtaining a sight of Manuel Pereira. He returned to Mysore little satisfied; still his account of the Rája was on the whole rather favorable. "He appeared anxious to please the British Government, was inquisitive, shewed 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. Casamaijor received instructions to demand of the Rája a regular report of every case of capital punishment ordered by him. Some correspondence ensued; Vira Rája protested against this demand, but his protest was of no avail; the order was repeated. However, the Rája never complied with it, and matters went asleep again. News came next that Vira Rája had raised a regiment of female cavalry, who accompanied the Rája on his rides, and who were drilled like soldiers. Mr. Casamaijor thought that the Rája 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.

On the 17th September 1832, Mr. Casamaijor, reported to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, that a Coorg of the name of Channa Basava and his wife Dévammasi, sister to the Rája 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. Dévammasi had long been kept from her husband. After an engagement of eight years she had been permitted to join him. Of late the Rája 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 Sivarátri 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 escape 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 Rája 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 scheming fellow and had drawn upon himself the Rája's suspicions. But the charge made against Vira Rája by his sister may have been unfounded, and only brought forward in order to strengthen their claim on British sympathy and protection.

The Rája demanded that the fugitives should be delivered to him. Mr. Casamaijor demurred, and referred the matter to Government. The Supreme Government decided, under date the 18th January 1833, that the Coorg refugees should not be restored to Vira Rája. In the meantime the Rája formed mad schemes for the recovery of his relatives. They all came to nothing. Channa Basava and his wife had been 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 Rája of Coorg. A Parsee from Bombay had been killed at Mercara. Probably Manuel Pereira also had been destroy-

ed. A man from the north of Coorg deposed that he saw Vira Rájá, on a hunting excursion, shooting at Náráyan Náyaka, Hoblidár, 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 Rájá'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 Rájá's wrath was Muddaya, a brother of Channa Basava, Munshi to the Rájá, and a favourite. Vira Rájá himself beat him cruelly ; afterwards he was executed by Kunta Basava, an upstart favourite of Linga Rájá, 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 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. Everybody knew that the poor man had been destroyed without cause. The Rájá 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 Vira Rájá awake, crying : murder ! Muddaya ! seize him ! After some days a conjurer shewed the Rájá 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 Rájá took the wise man's advice, had the 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.

These cruelties of Vira Rájá accelerated his downfall. On the 18th January 1833, Sir F. Adam, Governor of Madras, addressed a long letter to the Rájá 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 Rájá in 1827, to report all capital punishments taking place in Coorg. Sir F. Adam informed the Rájá that Mr. Casamaijor was desired to proceed to Coorg in order to have a personal conference with the Rájá, and that Government demanded free passage for any person

who might desire to accompany Mr. Casamaijor on his return out of Coorg. The interview between the Rája and Mr. Casamaijor took place before the end of January 1833, at Mercara. Seven years, Mr. Casamaijor observed, had produced a marked change in the Rája. 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 Rája 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. Casamaijor was at Mercara, Vira Rája was deep in intrigues. He had lately entertained the bedmaker of the Rája 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 Lal Barti, for the murder of Channa Basava, and for opening a communication with Ranjit Singh, whom he was led to believe to be a secret enemy of the English. He succeeded in finding out a Sikh, a native of Lahore, called Lahore Singh, 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 Singh to avail himself of the friendly offices of the Maha Raja of Coorg. He had secretly encouraged a rebellious Palegar of Nagar, of the name of Suryappa, who had given considerable trouble to the English authorities. And now he had to confront Mr. Casamaijor. He could not but look embarrassed, alarmed, unsteady.

The Resident solemnly warned the Raja 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 and the rule of the Company. Vira Rája contended that he could not do away with, nor even relax, ancient observances without losing his authority. When Mr. Casamaijor hinted that he knew more than he chose to say of the Rája's disaffection, and that further disobedience might be punished with deposition ; the Rája 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. Casamaijor pressed the point, he turned round and asserted that he would do as he pleased, Coorg was an independent country, &c. Mr. Casamaijor 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 Rájá 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. Casamaijor's visit, but her three children were still alive, and were murdered at Nalknád when the British troops crossed the frontiers of Coorg.

The end of the two daughters of Dodda Vira Rájendra 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 with her sister Mahádévammáji and their children were taken, by the Rájá's orders and by his sepoy, to the Appagalla Panya, one of the private farms belonging to the Rájá, about four miles distant from Mercara. After some days, the Devan Basava and a 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 Rájá, 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 Rája. Certain it is that the Rája 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 a 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 Rája. 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 Rája 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. Such was the end of two of the daughters of Dodda Vira Rájendra by his beloved Ráni.

The grand-children of Dodda Vira Rája, and the remaining member of Appáji's and Linga Rája's families, the nearest relatives of the Rája, were carried to Nalknád palace when he himself retired to that secluded spot in March 1834. Their removal to Nalknád 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 Nalknád forest) and some of the

Yedavanád men (Kunta Basava's especial followers) who had assisted in the murder of dévammáji and Mahá Dévammáji, were sent into both houses with ropes, and then and there strangled every one of them, and afterwards tied them up in mats, the Dévan Basavappa standing outside and accompanying the party when the bodies were interred. The Rája, 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 Nalknád 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 Nalknád." This account shews that, sometimes at least, the Devan was more humane than his master.

The personal conference of Mr. Casamaijor with the Rája in the beginning of 1833 having proved fruitless, the Resident returned to Mysore. The accounts from Coorg continued as bad as ever. The Raja harboured rebels, intrigued with Mysore, and scarcely cared for appearances. Mr. Casamaijor recommended the quartering of a Native Regiment in the neighbourhood of Mercara to keep the Rája in check and to protect his subjects, but the Government were still loath to go to extremities. Since the Rája had taken a personal dislike to Mr. Casamaijor, 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.

But the Rája, unwilling again to meet an English representative, seized and kept in durance two native envoys of Mr. Graeme, named Dara Set, 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 Rája allowed to return to Tellicherry, but the latter he refused to set at liberty until the Rája'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 F. Adam, Governor of Madras, and to Lord W. Bentinck, the Governor General,



The patience of the most peace-loving Governor General was thus exhausted, and a British force was organized to march into Coorg and depose the Rája. As it drew near his frontiers, the Rája published the following outrageous proclamation :

Proclamation published for the information and guidance of the Hindus, Musalmans, Palegara, Public servants, Ryots, Chetty Merchants, and people of other castes in Hindustan.

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, Rameetpet 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. Tippu Sultan attempted to force all the other religions to embrace his religion ; and with this view ruined a great number of people, destroyed the Hindu 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 Hindus and Musalmans 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 Hindustan 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 these 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.

*Principal Collector.*

(Abstract translation of the proclamation published by the Coorg Rája, received from the Officer commanding in Wynad 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 Rája 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 asylum having been afforded in the British Territories to his own sister Dévammaji and her husband Channa Basavappa, who to preserve their lives had fled from his oppression, the Rája 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 Rájá and the Honourable 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 Honourable the Governor General, at the suggestion and with the concurrence of the Right Honourable 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 Vira Rájendra Wodeyar is no longer to be considered as Rájá 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 Vira Rájendra Wodeyar, 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 Chitaldroog, 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.

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

Issued at Bangalore this  
15th day of March 1834.

Upon this Vira Rāja, through the Devan, 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 Samsthān Mahārāja.

In answer to a proclamation of bad Englishman, son of a whore, who in a state of forgetting Mahādēva (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 Samsthān, 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 heard 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, 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 of the moon, month of Phālguna, 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, whose operations will be severally described.

The *Eastern Column*, under Col. Lindsay, was 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, the 4th, 35th, 36th, 48th Regiments of Native Infantry, with the Rifle Company of the 5th, and 300 Sappers and Miners with head-quarters. It marched on the 2nd April from Bettadapur upon Sulacottu, and reached the Kávéri 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 Kávéri as a messenger of peace, when a jinjal 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 Rámaswámi Kanave. Commanded by a Coorg Káryagár, it numbered but 100 Mussalmans, 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 jinjals, and about 50 ryots armed with bows and arrows. The strong position at the fortified pagoda near Rámaswámi 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 Rája, accompanied by one of his four Devans, named Lakshmi Náráyana, and by another person, Mahomed Taker Khan, who called himself the Rája'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. Kulputti Karnikára Manoon had been delivered by the Rája to the British camp, but the Rája 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 Rája's flag, which was flying on one of the bastions, was lowered and the British colours hoisted in its stead under a salute of twenty-one guns. A company of H. M. 39th Regiment remained within the Fort, the remainder of the troops encamped on the heights around.

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

Whereas the rule and dominion of Rájá Vira Rajender Wodeya 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, Shánbhogs, 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 Honourable 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 Rájá Vira Rajender Wodeya 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.*

Vira Raja, at the commencement of the war, had removed to his palace at Nalknad, a place almost inaccessible to an army. He had taken with him his women, his band, his treasures and what remained of the Coorg Raja'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 Devammáji to any other heir of Dodda Vira Rajendra, and thus secure his wealth and his country to himself.

The leaders of the Coorgs, who in their ignorance had boasted before the Raja 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 Raja, like his great uncle Dodda Vira Rajendra, 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 Periyapatna towards the Kaveri, 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. Colonel Stewart crossed the Kávéri at Kondanghery and proceeded to Virájpét, 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 Hosakota to Sanivársante. On passing the Coorg boundary at the river Hémávati, the enemy's advanced posts had retreated and no molestation was offered until the force reached Kodlipet, 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 Haringí. 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 in a wood near the base of the pass in which the enemy's principal position was situated, a feeble fire was opened, which was readily silenced. But 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 Madanta Appachu\*, a fine old Coorg, of tall stature and martial bearing, who ever since the British accession was a most loyal and devoted servant of Government. Determined to carry it by assault, as the stockade

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\* The late Head Sheristadar, who died in 1876.

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 Colonel Mill proved equally unsuccessful. Colonel 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, but 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 Colonel David Fowles. It consisted of the following arms: half a company of Golundauze—four 6 pr. guns—300 rank and file and head-quarters H. M. 48th Regt., the 20th and 32nd Regts. N. I. and 200 Sappers and Miners.

It was to reach Mercara after forcing the Heggala Ghat and occupying Virájpét. 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 H. 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 breastworks, 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 Rája 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 Nálknád and took possession of the Palace. It is rumoured that part of the Rája'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 Virájpét under the command of Col. Brook 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 Virájpét, was directed to proceed to open the Siddapur Pass into Mysore.

The *Western Auxiliary Column*, under the command of Lieut. Colonel George Jackson, and with a late 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 taluks 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 Kumbha, a small town on the sea-coast south of Mangalore, at 3 o'clock, on the morning of the 29th March, nine miles towards the east on an extremely difficult road, when 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 Rája 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 Europeans 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. Colonel 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, namely " 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 honourable treatment being offered him by Col. Fraser, if he would surrender, the Rájá availed himself of so favourable terms and returned within the stipulated time of three days from Nalknád to Mercara, after a vain attempt to gain 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 Rájá on the evening of the 11th April. "The Rájá 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 apartments 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 Rájá 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 Kulpatty 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 Rájá 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 Rájá, 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 determined 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 Colonel Fraser, who had fixed a prize of one thousand rupees upon his apprehension, looking upon him as 'the worst and most dangerous character in the whole country.' In all his enquiries about the Rájá's doings, Colonel 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 Rájá 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 Nalknád; but he was apprehended, and a Coorg man escorted him in the evening of the 14th April to the Kagollu-nád katcheri at the foot of the Mercara hill. A message was received there at nightfall from the Rájá. Basava was strangled by the men in the katcheri 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 Colonel 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 Regiment, 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.\*

The Rájá's scheme succeeded well enough. Colonel 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 Rájá 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 Devanship under Linga Rájá, and having

\* 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.

ingratiated himself with Vira Rája 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 Ponnappa in the presence of the Rája, because he dissuaded him 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 Rája's crimes perished with ignominy; Chepudira Ponnappa 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 lakhs of rupees. Regarding the services of the Field Force the following order was issued.

General Order by His Excellency the Right Honourable 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 Rája 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. Fowles' 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 gene-



rally 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. Fowles 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. Fowles' name will be brought to the particular notice of the Honourable 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 ascribed 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.

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 arrangements 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 co-ciliatory 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 Honourable the Governor General.

(Signed.)

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,  
*Secretary to the Governor General.*

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

The representative of the Governor General now entered into negotiations with the remaining Deváns and other principal men, which must have puzzled them not a little, but which they turned to pretty good account after having comprehended their novel position. They no doubt had expected that the Principality would without ado be converted into a Company's taluk, and indeed the Headmen of the lower districts of Amra-Sulya at once petitioned for the annexation of their districts to Canara. The Coorgs were surprised to find themselves treated almost as an independent body. The chief men being assembled in the unfinished palace—the site of which is now occupied by the Central School—Col. Fraser informed them of the deposition of the Rája and called upon them “to express their wishes without apprehension or reserve, in regard to the form of administration which they desired to be established for the future government of the country.” “The Deváns and the Karnik or principal accountant, a person of coequal rank with the Deváns, then went round the assembled multitude, who sat in perfectly quiet and decent order, as is usual in native Durbars, and after taking the votes of all present, returned to the place where I sat, and acquainted me that an unanimous wish had been expressed to be transferred to the British Government, and to be ruled in future by the same laws and regulations which prevailed in the Company's dominions.” (Col. Fraser's Despatches to the Governor General.)

Not being quite sure whether the Rája would not in the end be allowed to remain in Coorg, and wishing to be on the safe side, they added a proposal to permit the Rája to stay amongst them at Mercara. When they were most positively informed that he *must* leave the country, they were greatly relieved and readily acquiesced in the orders of the Sirkar. In other respects the Coorgs were treated as if they were the masters of the country, and were greatly pleased with the sudden change from abject servitude to a kind of consequential independence. The upshot was, that Col. Fraser issued a proclamation which declared that Coorg was annexed because it was the wish of the people to be ruled by the British Government. It ran thus:

Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government, His Excellency the Right

Honourable the Governor General has been pleased to resolve, that the Territory heretofore governed by Vira Rájendra Wodeyar shall be transferred to the Honourable Company.

The inhabitants are hereby assured that they shall not again be subjected to native rule, that their civil and religious usages will be respected, and that the greatest desire will invariably be shewn by the British Government to augment their security, comfort and happiness.

(Signed) — J. S. FRASER,

Camp at Mercara, 7th May 1834.

*Lt. Col., Political Agent.*

Gradually light began to break in upon the darkness of Coorg affairs, as soon as it became known that the Rája was to leave the country. Colonel Fraser wrote on the 7th June to the Governor General: "The Rája is cunning, false, hypocritical, and well capable of deceiving those around him who happen not to be aware of the past events of his life. But in my opinion he has forfeited every claim to indulgence, and I think that his atrocious character would render it discreditable to the British Government to concede more to him than was granted to him—life and honourable treatment."

The cruelty to his subjects and the massacre of his relatives were fully established, and in reply to an official report on the subject, the Governor General's Secretary wrote to Col. Fraser: "With regard to that portion of your letter, dated 29th May, which treats of the murders perpetrated in Coorg between the period of the flight of Channa Basava and his wife to Bangalore, up to that of the surrender of the ex-Rája, I am desired to observe, that these atrocities are of such a description as to render it exceedingly doubtful in the opinion of the Governor General whether any indulgence beyond that of granting him his life should be extended to the author of them. At the time when the ex-Rája surrendered, no conception was formed that his cruelties had been carried to so enormous an extent as would now appear to be the case, nor indeed would it seem possible for the imagination by any effort to ascribe to one individual the perpetration of so much wickedness as may now, with too great an appearance of reality, be imputed to the ex-Rája."

Colonel Fraser, on being transferred to the Residency of Mysore, left Coorg in September 1834, on which occasion he received the following Address, the contents of which, and of his reply, reflect great honour on the respective parties, and give us a just appreciation of their character:

To Lieutenant Colonel J. S. FRASER,

Honourable Sir, *Commissioner for the affairs of Coorg,*  
*&c. &c. &c.*

We, the undersigned natives and inhabitants of Coorg, would ever reproach ourselves for having omitted to perform a sacred duty, did we not adopt this mode of expressing, in the name of ourselves and our community, our sincere and deep regret at your approaching separation from us. We are aware that although Your Honour is going to Mysore to assume charge of the Residency, to which His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General (may His Lordship be prosperous) has been pleased to appoint you, yet you still retain the office of Commissioner for this country, and that its administration will be conducted under your orders and supervision. We should, nevertheless, not permit you to separate from us without acknowledging the heavy debt of gratitude we owe to Your Honour.

You arrived in this country in the capacity of Political Agent to the Right Honourable the Governor General. After the deposition of the Rája you were entrusted with the administration of this country. We are very much indebted to His Excellency for having selected a person of your excellent qualities to govern us. Although you never had a previous personal intercourse with us, yet all your acts and measures regarding this country were such as preserved inviolate our rights, civil usages and religion. Your abilities and knowledge of the customs, manners and feelings of the people, deserve our unqualified praise. Your name must ever be revered for the philanthropic and benevolent disposition and liberality which you have evinced in all your proceedings. It is with pleasure we declare that you have always shewn a scrupulous anxiety to maintain and protect us in religious usages, and a solicitude to improve our moral and intellectual faculties. We have seen your patience, benevolence, conciliating manners in your intercourse with us, your unwearied assiduity to ameliorate this country in every respect and make it flourish, and your desire to promote our interests and secure our happiness.

We recollect also with delight the humane disposition you have always shewn in attending to the representations and grievances of the people; thus free access to you, and the facility which you have afforded in obtaining justice. Your Honour always consulted the inhabitants in the adoption of all measures connected with the administration of the country, and there is nothing which you have done that has not been consonant with the wishes of the community, a circumstance by which you have acquired the confidence, esteem and affection of the people of the country. It is impossible that we can adequately express our sense of obligation for all your benevolent acts, nor could a few words satisfy our minds, which feel more impressed than can be uttered by even the most

laboured language. The numerous kindnesses and benefits which we have received from you are engraven on our hearts, and they will ever be most gratefully remembered, not only by us but by the whole population of Coorg. Your name will be venerated and handed down with honour and respect to the latest posterity.

In testimony of these our sincere sentiments, and as a lasting memorial of the high estimation in which we hold you, we respectfully request your acceptance of a gold cup, and a Coorg dress, which we have taken the liberty to present to Your Honour.

You will ever have our fervent wishes for your happiness and prosperity and we will always offer our humble supplications to the Almighty that He may bless you and your family with health, long life and uninterrupted happiness.

Signed by the whole of the Native Officers  
and about 630 of the Principal Ryots of Coorg.

Colonel Fraser replied to the Address in the following terms:—

*Deeds, Native Officers, and Inhabitants of Coorg.*

I consider myself greatly honoured by this Address, and accept with pleasure the gold cup and Coorg arms which you have been pleased to present to me. I shall preserve them while I live as a highly flattering memorial of your friendship and kindness.

I think myself fortunate to have been brought by the commands of my Government into official connection and personal intercourse with a people like the brave Coorgs, for whom I entertain an unfeigned and cordial esteem.

I attach a peculiar value to these presents, because I regard them as indicating not merely a feeling of personal good will towards myself, but as conveying also a gratifying testimony that the Coorgs are entirely satisfied with the proceedings of the English Government, and an assurance that the sentiments of allegiance and fidelity which now unite this country to the British dominions will never be destroyed or impaired.

To advert to the points that are more particularly touched upon in this Address, namely the mode of administration under which the affairs of the country are conducted, and the share which I have personally had in this administration, I have only to observe respecting the former, that in as far as it has proved satisfactory to the people of the country, they are indebted for it exclusively to the Supreme British Government of India, under whose orders and guidance I have acted. The invariable object of those orders and that guidance has been the happiness of the people of Coorg. This principle of

administration could scarcely fail of being attended with a prosperous issue under the direction of common prudence. But if it should be thought that success was still contingent on secondary agency, I can yet assume no merit for the performance of the subordinate part that has rested with me. Let the inhabitants of Coorg take that merit to themselves, for it is theirs.

They have been quiet, respectful, and obedient; open and frank in the declaration of their sentiments, and equally ready to receive the expression of mine. We have in fact acted in concurrence. We have proceeded hand in hand. And what has been the consequence? Why, this plain and obvious one that since the first day on which I took charge of the country, I knew that all was right; that but one interest, one wish, one feeling prevailed; and that the Coorgs and myself, the governed and the instrument of government, were associated in a common bond of union. Long may this be the established system here! For while it is so, the well-being of the country, and the happiness of its inhabitants are secured.

Farewell then for the present, my brave and estimable friends; I shall come and visit you sometimes, and shall always be happy to meet you again. But wherever I am, and in whatever circumstances I may be placed, be assured that the prosperity of Coorg will never cease to be an object of my sincerest wishes and most anxious solicitude.

(Signed:) J. S. FRASER, Lieut. Col.  
and Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg.

After a short stay in Mercara, the Raja had to leave under an escort of the 35th and 48th N. I., commanded by Col. Stewart, who delivered him over at Bangalore to the charge of the Commissioner of Mysore on the 12th May 1834. The ex-Raja rode away through the town of Mercara, ordering the band to strike up 'the British Grenadier,' as if he had no sense of his fall. A number of his wives accompanied him. In their palkis and his own he concealed vast sums of money in gold, so that the bearers could hardly carry their loads. At the first halting place beyond the frontier of Coorg, at Sirlecote, he buried a great quantity of treasure, for he found the concealment no longer safe, as he was allowed to carry away only ten thousand rupees. A certain Káryagára from Náلكanád, who accompanied the Raja, afterwards helped himself to a large amount of this treasure, and when the secret oozed out, he found it necessary to inform Captain Le Hardy that he knew of treasure secreted by the Raja. An elephant was despatched to the eastward under the guidance of the honest Coorg, who faithfully delivered to the Company all he had left

there, and received a reward of Rs. 1,000 for his loyal honesty. Gold coins were handed about rather freely at Nálknád and are not yet scarce in certain houses.

From Bangalore the ex-Raja proceeded to Vellore, and finally to Benares, where he drew a monthly pension of Rs. 6,000 out of the Coorg revenue. The British Government confiscated the money deposited in Government securities by his uncle Dodda Vira Raja ; still the Raja was in possession of the valuable jewelry of his murdered cousin Dévammáji, which, together with the money carried away from Coorg, enabled him to play, though under Government surveillance, the rôle of a rich Indian Prince, and to keep up through paid agents a secret correspondence with Coorg, reviving from time to time rumours of his return to the Principality which caused no little anxiety to the English Superintendent of Coorg. When the ex-Raja was convinced of the hopelessness of ever regaining his Principality, he demanded the payment of the capital of Rs. 680,000, the inheritance of his cousin Devammáji, the interest of which he drew up to 1833 through Messrs. Binny & Co. in Madras. But in vain.

At last, in 1852, he obtained leave from Lord Dalhousie to visit England with his favourite daughter Gauramma, who was then ten years old, in order to give her the advantages of an European education. Arrived there, he expressed a wish to have her brought up in the Christian faith. Queen Victoria took an interest in the Indian Princess, and at her baptism, on the 30th June 1852, stood sponsor through the Archbishop of Canterbury, and gave her the name 'Victoria.' By this achievement feeling himself strong in the royal favor, the ex-Raja commenced a chancery suit against the East India Company for the recovery of the Rs. 680,000, but it dragged on a weary course. Meanwhile, in 1858, the Government of India was placed under the Crown and his suit fell to the ground.

The Coorg Princess *Victoria Gauramma* was, by the Queen, first placed in charge of the wife of Major Drummond, and then entrusted to Sir John Login—the former guardian of Dhulip Sing,—in whose family she received a most careful and pious education. She eventually married an English officer, but the union was not a happy one, and she died on the 1st April 1864. Her husband and child afterwards mysteriously disappeared, and have never been heard of since. Vira Raja had died before, and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery in London—but as a heathen. True to his character in Coorg, he remained a stranger to the influence of Christian faith and morality in England.

Thus ended with Vira Raja Wodeyar, the Royal House of Coorg, the line of the Rajas of Haléri.

Whilst in exile six sons are said to have been born to Vira Raja by his several wives, in addition to the infant Chitrasékbara, who was six months old when his father left Mercara. Lingarája and Sômasékbara\* were born at Vellore, and Virabhadra, Nanjunda, Muddarája and Padmarája at Benares. Of these seven sons the first and the two last named are dead, and the remaining four live at Benares on a small stipend from Government. A few years ago they sent emissaries to Coorg to obtain wives from amongst the leading Coorg families, though they themselves are Lingayats. They were evidently anxious to re-awaken an interest amongst the subjects of their father; but their overtures were unsuccessful; the Coorgs one and all declined the proffered alliance.

Channa Basava and Dévammáji (see p. 167), after their return from Bangalore, had their confiscated farm at Appagalla with all its former belongings restored to them, and Government not only increased the land from 1596½ to 2562½ butties, but gave them also a pension of Rs. 250 a month. Yet they were not satisfied. Channa Basava having received so much attention at Bangalore, flattered himself with the hope of eventually being seated on the Coorg throne as the only remaining male relative of the ex-Rája. On his return he assumed the title of Arasu or king, petitioned Government to grant him for a residence one of the three palaces at Mercara, Haléri or Náknád, as his house at Appagalla was 'like a cow shed,' 'unhealthy' and 'unpropitious.' He also wanted the *panya* or Rája's farm at Nanjarájpattana, and the charge of the Rájas' tombs at Mercara, for the maintenance of which Government allowed Rs. 2,000 per annum. But the Coorg Headmen exposed his designs so plainly in an official report to Government, that it is quite refreshing to read their clear and telling arguments, which evince a most loyal disposition to the new Sirkar. They plainly state it as their private opinion, 'that Channa Basava is obnoxious to the Coorgs, and that if he be aggrandized in any respect, a discontent will be created in the country.' Thus he remained in his obscure position as a farmer at Appagalla. He died on the 3rd August 1868 at his farm. His widow Dévammáji, and his only son Sômasékharappa, are the sole surviving legitimate relations remaining in the Province. Two daughters are married to Palegars in Mysore.

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\* It may be noted that Chitrasekhara and Somasekhara were the names of the princes whose adventures have been recounted in pp. 93 ff.



Of the other members of the Raja's family, two relics of Tippu Sultan, Devammáji and Nilammáji, consins of Dodda Vira Rajendra, had the palace at Nilknád assigned for their residence, without, however, any claim or title to the property. Devammáji died there before 1852, and was buried in the garden behind the palace. Nilammáji followed her in 1865, and was buried by her side according to Mussalman rites.

There were three more distant female relations residing at the palace at Haléi, of whom Rájammáji, the widow of Virappa, died on the 26th September 1863, and Lingavva, the widow of Nanjundappa, his brother—both of them being sons of Appáji Arasu, the younger brother of Dodda Vira Rajendra—on the 8th May 1869.

*The Pretender.*—These two brothers, Virappa and Nanjundappa, together with fourteen others of their relations, had been apprehended by order of the ex-Rája, immediately after his father's death in 1820, and confined in a building in the Fort of Mercara called the Kóte-mane, where the whole of them died of starvation and misery within three months after their imprisonment. Rájammáji was at this period only 7 or 8 years of age, and long entertained the idea that her husband Virappa had escaped and was still alive. This rumour circulated for the first time when the British force entered Coorg, and it was said that he accompanied the invading army to claim the musnud. The report gained so much credit that the ex-Rája despatched spies to ascertain the fact. Rumour stated that Virappa had effected his escape from prison by the person who had been ordered to put him to death, and who as a proof of his having carried the order into execution shewed the Rája a quantity of blood which he obtained from a wound made in Virappa's arm; that he had proceeded to Mysore, and remained for some time in the village of Avarti till his wound was healed, when he wandered about as a *sannyási*.

In 1833, the news spread in Coorg, and reached the Rája, that a *sannyási*, an extraordinary man, was going about in the Manjarabad district, that he had a number of followers, performed miracles, and composed extempore songs like Dásara-padas. Some of his verses were brought to Mercara and sung in the palace. The Rája became curious to see the man. Abhrambára, this was the *sannyási*'s name, was desired to come to Mercara. On his arrival he was introduced to the Rája. He was a tall and powerful man, sparingly dressed, and wore a long beard, looking more like a Mussalman fakir than a Hindu *sannyási*. The Rája asked him: 'Who are you?' 'A man', was the answer.—'Where is

your home?' 'Here.'—'Who was your mother?' 'The womb.'—'Who was your father?'—The sannyási continued to give the Rája short, contemptuous and more and more indecent answers, so that he was greatly annoyed, but being afraid of maltreating him, sent him abruptly away. Afterwards he regretted the measure, and sent a messenger to bring him back, but Abhrambára had crossed the frontier, and though overtaken, refused to return.

He was no more seen till after the establishment of the Company's Government, when, in March 1835, he again appeared in the north of Coorg, and was believed to be Virappa. A person who knew the latter brought the information that the sannyási bore no resemblance whatever to Virappa; others said the change in appearance had been caused by an attack of small-pox. No one could be found who had heard Abhrambára assert his identity with Virappa. He appeared, indeed, to deny the truth of the story, but in a manner calculated rather to confirm than to dissipate the report of his being Virappa. His usual answers were, that he was only a poor sannyási, that he was nobody, that he was the meanest servant of those by whom he was visited. The Coorg Diváns did not believe in the truth of the rumour, and Capt. Le Hardy, the Superintendent, apprehended no danger, but made further enquiries and kept a watchful eye on the Jangama.

About the end of May 1835 he was again wandering about the country, but without any followers except a few Brahmins and Jangamas. From Kodlipet he proceeded to Sónwarpet, and thence to Háriŋgi, where he found accommodation in the house of the Dalavayi Venkatappa. His next visit was to Haléri palace, in an outhouse of which he stayed a day and a night. After his return from Mercara he stopped there again, and went back the same way he came to Kenchammana Hosakóte,\* accompanied by about 70 followers from Haléri-nád, Yedava-nád, and Yélu-sávira-shime, but only about 40 men went with him beyond the frontier, and amongst these only 11 were Jamma ryots and one a Kodaga. During his visit at Haléri palace it could not be discovered that any conversation or correspondence took place between him and Rájammáji, nor is there any proof of her having sent him a gold necklace during his stay at Subrahmanya. It is possible that Abhrambára's only motive in going to the Haléri palace was, to foster the belief of his being in correspondence with Rájammáji, with the view of strengthening the report of his being her husband.

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\* In Manjarabad.

At Hosakóte his designs could no longer remain doubtful. His pretensions to the throne of Coorg were openly proclaimed by his followers. He assumed the head-dress—a small cocked hat,—and other insignia worn by the Rájás of Coorg, and circulated a proclamation. He is said to have predicted a disturbance that would shortly take place in Coorg, and to have warned his followers that by associating with him they might possibly render themselves liable to punishment. Indeed two of his followers, Kalyana Basava and Putti Basava, were seized at Baitor in Malabar and brought to Mercara. Lakshmi Náráyana, one of the Diváns, was also implicated in the impostor's proceedings and eventually was sent prisoner to Bangalore. His brother at Sulya was at the head of the insurrection of 1837.

Abhrambára was at last arrested and kept as a political prisoner in the Bangalore gaol. After 30 years' detention he was set free, and his first journey was to Coorg, in July 1869. Being allowed but a passing visit, under surveillance, he came again in June 1870, but was sent back to Mysore, and died on his way at Sríngapatam.

*Rebellion of 1837.*—The so-called Coorg Rebellion was, properly speaking, a rising of the Gaudas, a tribe on the western slope of the Ghats, who resemble the Coorgs in many of their habits. These were disaffected to the Company's Government. After the annexation of Coorg, the districts of Amara-Sulya, Puttur and Bantwála, the latter adjoining that of Mangalore, had been re-transferred to the province of Canara, from which they had been originally taken. Under the Coorg Rájás the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore now demanded cash payment. This was considered a grievance, as the farmers were laid under tribute by the money changers. One of the four Diváns, the above named Lakshmi Náráyana, a Brahman, who was displeased with the ascendancy of his Coorg brother-Deváns, made political capital out of the ill feeling of the Gaudas. A brother of his, at Sulya in the low country, was in league with some rich and influential men of the malcontent Gaudas, and he likewise entertained some intrigues with Abhrambára. The insurgents assembled at Sulya. They were a mere rabble, but they made a successful attack at Puttur on the Collector of Mangalore and two companies of sepoys. A party of the rebels, whose courage and numbers increased after their unexpected success, advanced to Mangalore, opened the gaol, and with the assistance of the prison fraternity, burnt and looted the kacheri and some civilians' houses situated on the

hills overlooking the town. All the Europeans of the station were seized with a panic. The civilians, who fled on board a ship bound for Cannanore, were spectators of the conflagration of their houses, and thought the whole country was in arms. The Commanding Officer held a council of war, and would have embarked the garrison had boats been procurable. But they soon recovered their presence of mind, and had no difficulty in maintaining their ground and restoring order; so that when the troops immediately sent from Cannanore and Bombay arrived, they found nobody to fight with.

Though this was altogether a Gauda affair, a rising was also planned amongst the Coorgs at Nálnád and Beppunád, and amongst the Badagas in the Panje, Bellare and Subrahmanya districts, and the northern parts of Coorg inhabited by the late Rája's trusted and favoured Sivácháris. Also the relatives, connections and ever ready tools of the late Devan Kunta Basava were there. Formal proclamations were issued in the name of that mysterious personage Abhrambára, who seemed to be everywhere and nowhere. The Coorgs and other inhabitants of the country were summoned to the service of the great prince of the Haléri house, who was about to take possession of his inheritance.

A number of Coorgs about Tala Kávéri and Nálnád believed the proclamations, to which the Rája's seal was attached, and the assurances of the messengers who carried them. They took up arms and went down to the head-quarters at Sulya. Abhrambára's letters patent were carried to Beppu-nád. The Coorgs there, officials and others, were taken by surprise; not knowing what to believe and unable to discern the safer side, they hesitated. After a day or two, a deputation from Virájpét went to Mercara to see the Diváns, to report to them and to ask for directions.

Captain Le Hardy, the Superintendent, was on the alert. After consultation with the Diváns, he left Ponnappa at Mercara, and marched with Bopu and a body of troops in the direction of Sulya, as far as Sampáji, whither the insurgents were expected to move according to Bopu's information. When Capt. Le Hardy, after a long and tedious march, had reached Sampáji at the foot of the Ghats, no rebels were to be seen, and he learnt that they had moved towards the Bisli-ghat and North Coorg. It was impossible to follow the insurgents through a tract of forest hills, difficult of passage even for travellers. He returned therefore to Mercara, and marched to the supposed rendezvous of the

rebels through the upper districts of Coorg. When he arrived there, still accompanied by Bopu, no insurgents were to be seen, and intelligence now reached his camp that the enemy was at Sampáji. He forthwith marched to Sampáji by way of Kadama-kall. Again no rebels.

The Superintendent began to doubt the fidelity of his Diván. On his return to Mercara he was told by the other Diván, Ponnappa, who seems to have borne Bopu a grudge, that information had been received in the mean time of several of Bopu's relatives having joined the insurgents. Capt. Le Hardy's suspicions were thus confirmed. He called Bopu and charged him straight with treachery. 'Go down to your friends the rebels' he said; 'Be an open enemy. Go, and I will come after you; and if I catch you, you shall be hung.' Bopu, who was as faithful a servant of the Company as his friend Ponnappa, was terribly alarmed. Appearances were certainly against him; yet he was innocent. But how was he to gain the confidence of the Chief, which he had evidently lost. The man broke out into tears, and protested his fidelity with the eloquence of despair. 'Do you stay, and let me quell this miserable rebellion' he said. 'If you give me liberty to act according to circumstances and take all responsibility upon myself, I will set out immediately and bring you the ringleaders alive or dead.' Capt. Le Hardy felt that the man was true, and permitted him to do as he pleased.

The Coorgs from Beppu-nad and other districts had in the mean time collected at Mercara. A party of some sixty men was despatched to the north under Subalar Appachanna. Bopu, with another troop, marched straight down to Sampáji. Two *lictors* of his own fashion preceded the Coorg Consul, namely two coolies, each of them carrying a load of fresh cut sticks. The Diván evidently intended to give the rebels a licking in the literal sense of the word. His best Náiknád friends gathered around him; three of them marched a little in advance of the Diván to scour the way before him; for Chetti Kudiya, who had been the late Rája's master in shooting and great favourite, a man of the Male-Kudiya tribe, who could hit it was said the eye of a flying bird, had sworn to shoot Bopu dead the moment he saw him.

The party had not proceeded further than the Raja's Seat, and were just descending the Ghat, when they met two unlucky wights,—Muddaya a former Subedar, and Appaiya a late Parpattegar. They were well known to Bopu. They had failed to give him information of the insurrection; they must have known things, and had they sent him

a message in due time, it would have saved him the danger of utter disgrace and ruin, from which he had barely escaped. He therefore ordered some of his followers to seize the fellows, and others to take out a fresh stick for each and give them a good dressing. The two unfortunate men, at once seized by rude hands and stripped of their coats, demanded explanations; they were answered by blows. They protested their innocence, though no charge had been brought against them. Bopu did not stop to expostulate. Blows were the answer. They cried for mercy; fresh blows followed. After a while they were left half dead on the ground and Bopu marched on. Half way down the Sampaji pass he met with a party of Nálknád Coorgs, men of his own acquaintance; they were armed, but dared not fight the Divan; he at once ordered them all to be seized by his men, who were much more numerous, and administered a severe castigation to all except one, who escaped by telling all he knew about the movements of the insurgents. Bopu went on gloriously. He redeemed the promise given to Captain Le Hardy. The Subedar of Nalknad had been drawn into this foolish affair. Bopu sent him word and then had a meeting with him, when he prevailed on him without difficulty to withdraw from the rebels and to return to the allegiance he had sworn to the Company. The loss of so influential a man was a great blow and discouragement to the petty insurrection. It was put down with little shedding of blood, beyond that which was drawn by the 'Lictors,' and from that time Coorg has been at peace.

The Coorgs were most abundantly praised by Government for their loyalty, and in recognition of their services Rs. 20,000 of the recaptured treasure were ordered to be divided amongst those employed on the expedition. But they begged that they might be honoured with other distinctions in lieu; consequently they were rewarded with jaghir lands to a great extent, and pensions for three generations, with horses, gold and silver medals, and broad cloth, according to their merits, or perhaps to the different degrees of relationship and friendship in which they stood to the Divans. The Coorg medal, in gold, weighs 7 tolas without the chain and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  tolas with, and is two inches in diameter. On one side it represents a Coorg warrior in fighting attitude, and on the other it bears, round a wreath which encircles the Coorg knives—the *picha-katti* and the *udu-katti*—the following inscription in English: 'For distinguished conduct and loyalty to the British Government. Coorg, April 1837.' The same inscription in Canarese is given on the reverse side.

During the Mutiny in 1857, the Coorgs enjoyed the confidence of the Local Government to such a degree, that after its suppression Sir Mark Cubbon, the Chief Commissioner, issued to them the following Notification, in English and Canarese, bearing at its head a medallion representing a Coorg in his full array as a warrior.

## NOTIFICATION.

26th February 1861.

In consideration of the exalted honour, loyalty and intrepidity characteristic of this little nation of warriors, and in recollection of its conspicuous services in aid of the British Government, it is my pleasing duty to notify hereby for general information, in virtue of the power vested in me by the Government of India, that the provisions of the Act commonly called the Disarming Act are not applicable to the gallant people of Coorg.

(Signed) M. CUBBON,  
*Commissioner.*

Perhaps the most prominent feature in the more recent history of Coorg has been the introduction and development of coffee planting, which has attracted numerous European settlers into the Province, in many parts changed the face of the country, and completed the emancipation of the servile classes. A future full of promise lies before this attractive little region, which, in proportion to its extent, yields to none of the British possessions in India whether in the sterling qualities of its native race or in its natural resources.

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