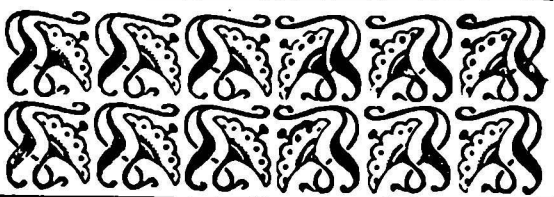


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AVANA AMUDHAM



JANUARY - MARCH 1990



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## EDITOR'S PAGE

Health was greatly valued by the ancient Tamils. When it came to treatments for the diseases, our ancestors believed in doing a thorough job. They wanted to find the root-causes and removing them once for all. The *Tirukkural* lays down this rule.

நோய்நாடி நோய்முதல் நாடி அதுதணிக்கும்  
வாய்நாடி வாய்ப்ப செயல்.

The *Tirukkural* has also pointed out how one can live without need for any medicine. If only one would eat only after making sure that the things already eaten by him have been digested, there won't be any need for medicine for him.

மருந்துஎன வேண்டாவாம் யாக்கைக்கு-அருந்தியது  
அற்றது போற்றி உணின்.

In this issue of *Avana Amudham*, Thiru C. Selvaraj informs us in detail about the management of hospitals and other measures taken by the ancient Tamils to ensure Public Health.

Thiru S. Babu has made an in-depth study of the interaction of indigenous merchants and the English East India Company. The political figures also did not stay out of this arena. The tragedy of it all was that everybody became fatter at the cost of local producers. The intermediaries took advantage of the absence of organized guilds of the local craftsmen. The importance of co-operative organizations for the rural artisans and other producers is established by the happenings narrated in this essay.

We republish from our collections two articles ; one about Thiru Satyamurthy's Versatility by Thiru C.R. Pattabhi Raman; and the other on the Indian States and the Butler Committee's Report by A.H.E. Molson.

In Tamil section, we republish an article on Ananda Mohan Bose which appeared in *Ananda Bodini* in 1928.

With other usual additions, this issue of AVANA AMUDHAM is placed before the readers. Ideas on general improvement are always welcome.

M. GOPALAKRISHNAN.

## A STUDY OF HEALTH CARE UNDER IMPERIAL CHOLAS.

By C. SELVARAJ, M.A., M.Phil.  
Senior Research Scholar,  
Department of Ancient History,  
University of Madras,  
Madras-600 005.

The Tamil country under the rule of imperial Cholas (850—1310 A.D.) had attained glory in every walk of life. The Chola monarchs took much interest on the welfare of the people by establishing educational institutions, patronizing arts, artists, men of letters, etc. Over and above, they established hospitals with expert doctors, nurses and other servants and equipped with enough medicines. A study of these, it is vividly known that the people of the Chola country had the knowledge of serious diseases and the medicines including surgery to cure them. Therefore a sincere study in this aspect will clearly testify the progress attained in the field of medicine under the imperial Cholas and their contributions to posterity.

By analysing the health conditions of the Chola period it is known that there were people who suffered from serious diseases. *Tirumandiram*<sup>1</sup> one of the early Saivite works refers to the existence of four types of diseases. They were cough, anaemia, fever and throat pain. It also gives a vivid picture about human anatomy like bone, skin, hair, blood, etc. and their functions. Besides, the inscriptions of the period also refer to similar serious diseases. For instance the *Tirumukudal* inscription<sup>2</sup> refers to diseases like jaundice, tuberculosis, anaemia, skin disease, etc. Further *Periapuranam*<sup>3</sup> the Saivite hagiology refers to serious diseases like spinning intestine, shivering, extreme burning in stomach, etc. These diseases were considered as serious. Though it is difficult to trace their origin these diseases attacked the Tamil people from the very ancient down to the present day. Later under Pandyas apart from these diseases, there existed a typical disease known as *Veppunoy*<sup>4</sup> which affected Saint Tirunavukkarasar. Similarly the people were aware of many diseases that were connected with Pregnancy and child birth and the medicines to cure them<sup>5</sup>.

*Medicines*—The Tamil people were aware of various types of medicines even from the remote past. Medicines of the time were mainly prepared out of herbal plants. The term *Marunthu*<sup>6</sup> (medibine) is found in the Sangam Literature more frequently. The medicinal heritage of the Tamils is known as *Citta* system of medicine. This system of medicine of the Tamil belongs to a very ancient period. The term *Citta* is derived from the word "*Cittar*" who are mainly eighteen in number. They are the progenitors of *Citta* system of medicine. Accordingly this type of medicines were prepared out of vegetable kingdom like roots, leaves and fruits of the plants and also using minerals such as mercury, gold, iron, copper, silver and even some object parts from the human body itself. It is a matter of pride for the Tamil people that *citta* medicines are known to cure serious diseases, where the modern medicine fail.

During the Pallava period herbal plants were cultivated. The Pallava monarchs even levied tax upon such crops, which earned huge income to the state exchequer.<sup>7</sup> It seems such herbal plants were cultivated abundantly under the Cholas also. The Chola literature and inscriptions testify the preparation of herbal medicines and their applicability. For instance *Kambaramayanam*<sup>8</sup> which contained a separate chapter called *Maruthamalai* in *Yudhekantam* deals purely about medicines. This chapter mainly insists four types of medicines.

They are—

- (i) Sanchiva Karani
- (ii) Santa Karani
- (iii) Salliya Karani
- (iv) Savalniya Karani

Similarly in *Sundara Kantam*,<sup>9</sup> it is mentioned a new type of medicine known as *Mirda sanchivani*. It seems that it was an effective medicine to cure people even in coma. Further *Jivakasintamani*<sup>10</sup> states that a kind of Medicine '*nei*' which

might have prepared out of some roots and fruits of some plants mixed with oil. This *nei* was an effective medicine to cure the wound caused out of surgical corrections on the body<sup>11</sup>. Above all, the Tirumukkudal inscription<sup>12</sup> of Virarajendra mentions about a list of twenty medicines which were stored in the hospital attached with the Tirumukkudal temple. They are—

- (1) Brahmyam—Kadumburi.
- (2) Vasa—haritaki.
- (3) Go-mutra-haritaki.
- (4) Dasa-mula-haritaki
- (5) Balla taka-haritaki
- (6) Gandira
- (7) Balakeranda-taila
- (8) Panuchaka-taila
- (9) Lasunady-eranda-taila
- (10) Uttama-karadi-taila
- (11) Sukla-sa-ghrita
- (12) Bilvadi-ghrita
- (13) Mandikara-vatika
- (14) Dravatti
- (15) Vimala
- (16) Sunetri
- (17) Tamradi
- (18) Vajrakalpa
- (19) Kalyana Kalavana
- (20) Purana ghrita

Though sufficient information regarding the containment and applicability of these medicines is lacking, the availability of these medicines testify the medicinal attainments of the imperial Cholas.

*Hospitals.*—During the Chola period the science of medicine had developed to the extent of establishing hospitals in important cities of their empire. The hospitals were invariably referred to in inscriptions as *atula salai* and *Vaidya salai*. Here the terms *atula* and *vaidya* refers to medical and *salai* refers to an institution which means the hospital. The Chola monarchs and the royal members found the establishment of hospital as a religious merit. Therefore, they established free hospitals for the benefit of the poor in many parts of their empire. For instance Kundavai,<sup>14</sup> the sister of Rajaraja I established free hospital Sundaracholavinnagar *atulasala* at Thanjavur named after her father Sundarachola. Nevertheless for the efficient maintenance of the hospital and for the payment of salary to the doctors and other staff, she donated enough lands at its disposal. Another inscription<sup>15</sup> of Virarajendra Chola dated in his 6th regnal years (A.D. 1069) found at the Venkatesaperumal temple at Chingleput, records the establishment of an hospital. The hospital was named as Vira Chola and was under the control of a Chief physician who was equal to the present day dean. Moreover, the hospital had the provision of storing medicines. The inscription gives a list of twenty medicines stored in the hospital. In the same way, such traditions continued under the Pandyas also. For instance, the Tiruparan-kundram inscription<sup>16</sup> states that Satan Ganapathi a Vaidhya from Vaidhya-

kula constructed a temple and a hospital attached with it. Further under the Pandyas there seems to have had a separate minister for health as in the present days cabinet. As an evidence the Aanamalai inscription<sup>17</sup> records about a Vaidyan called Marankarai who become the health minister under the Pandyas. This testifies to the importance given to health in those days.

In addition, the Chola Kings made many land grants and remission of taxes for the maintenance of hospitals. For instance an inscription<sup>18</sup> of Vikrama Chola records the remission of taxes granted by the assembly of Kshiriyavatha Chaturvedimangalam which met in the Naralokakavira mandapa in the temple of Pugalurdeva on the land sold to Mandaukkiniyan alias Virarajendradevar in Trivallur Nadu for the maintenance of a hospital on the northern bank of river Mudikonda Chola peraru at Tirupugalur and for attending the sick and the destitute. Another inscription from Nannilam Taluk of Thanjavur speaks about land donated as Vaidhyavriti by a Chola King Konarinnikondan<sup>19</sup>. Nevertheless on few occasions the kings themselves took much interest and reinstated the kind recovered from the Vaidhyan by the village assemblies on some charge against him. For instance an inscription<sup>20</sup> from Thiruturaipoondi, Thanjavur district refer to the replacement of *Vaidhyakani* to a Vaidhyan by the Chola King Rajendra II which was taken away by the village assembly. Apart from setting up charitable dispensaries the Chola Monarchs established free rest houses and sanctioned financial aid to the patients. For instance an inscription<sup>21</sup> of Rajendra II, the Chola King speaks about the establishment of rest houses for the discharged patients to take rest for few days and the financial aids to take nutritious food. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that as in present days in Government hospitals, the patients under treatment were given free nutritious food. For instance the Thirumukudal<sup>22</sup> inscription records that the patients admitted in the hospital of Vira Cholas were given daily one *nali* of rice and some milk.

**Treatment.**—During the Sangam age<sup>23</sup> the Tamil people took herbal medicines whenever they were ill. They also<sup>24</sup> believed the power of Village deities like Aiyyanar, Mariamman, Kali, etc., to cure diseases. Whenever they were affected by illness, they thought that it was due to the anger of their Gods towards them and they began to appease them by performing various pujas to cure diseases.

During the Chola period it seems that they abandoned such practices and took herbal medicines, whenever they found ill. The list of herbal medicines found in the inscriptions and in the contemporary literature themselves testified the above view. The physicians of the day had an important role to play when the King was on military expeditions. In times of war the doctors had to protect the King and the army from all unhygienic and food poisoning articles. In encampments the surgeons lived next to the king's tent. A flag was hoisted over the surgeon's tent for easy identification. People in ailment had free access to this tent.<sup>25</sup>

The Cholas were aware of the advanced method of treatment in treating the patients. If they found it difficult to cure by applying medicines, they performed surgical corrections. Since the Chola period witnessed frequent terrible wars, the wounded soldiers were often operated to remove the weapon pieces found into the body of the soldiers. *Jivagasinthamani*<sup>26</sup> states that the weapon pieces found into the body of the soldiers were removed by using surgery and then they applied some medicines (*nei*) to cure the wound. *Kambaramayanam*<sup>27</sup> has gone one step further which states the use of magnets to locate the iron pieces in the body during operation. The use of magnets in operation is a scientific phenomena which proved true even today. In India the surgery had advanced to a greater extent even during the ancient period. This is testified from the Buddhist works which mention an event of removing both eyes and then placing them into the eye sockets of a Brahmana, who then began to see.<sup>28</sup>

In the same way the Cholas used operation to remove unwanted physical growth on the body. *Kambaramayanam*<sup>29</sup> refers to a patient who was operated to remove a *Katti* and cured. Similarly *Nalaira Diviya prabhandam*<sup>30</sup> refers surgery as *chutigai*. It states that the affected part of the patient was cut by blade and the wound was burnt. It further states that after this painful treatment the disease was completely cured and he expressed his gratitude to the physician. These references testify to the advancement attained by the Tamils in the Chola period.



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*Nature of Physicians and their salary.*—In India, it seems that experts in the field of medicine were there even during the ancient period. The *Jataka stories*<sup>31</sup> (6th Cent B.C.) refer to the experts in the Science of medicine. In Tamil Nadu during the Sangam age we find experts, like Dhamcdaranar who was made a member of the third Tamil Sangam and honoured. The inscriptions of the cholas frequently refer to the activities of the physicians. They were invariably referred to as *Vaidyan, Calliyakkriyai ceyyar*<sup>32</sup> etc. It is known that they studied the art of medicine and surgery in the *Maths* attached with the temples. After passing the required examination only they were appointed as doctors in the hospitals. They were given tax free lands. The chola inscriptions<sup>33</sup> refer to such land grants as *Vaidya viritti* and *Vaidya kam*.

However sometimes the doctors were paid in kind and in cash based upon their position and rank. As an instance, the Thirumukudal inscription<sup>34</sup> states clearly about such payments. Accordingly, the Chief Physician who managed the hospital was paid an annual salary of 90 kalams of paddy and 4 kasu as allowances. Besides, the other physicians were paid 30 kalams of paddy and 4 kasu per head as allowances. They were assisted by two persons for fetching medicines who were paid 60 kalams of paddy and 2 kasu as allowances. The two persons were also required to supply fire wood to prepare medicines. There were also nurses to attend the patients and to administer medicines. They were paid 30 kalams of paddy and one kasu per annum as allowances. In addition to the above a barber was also attached with the hospital who appeared to have attended surgical corrections who was paid 15 kalams of paddy. Moreover a watchman was also appointed who was paid 15 kalams of paddy per annum, as salary. Finally a provision of 20 kasu was made for storing the medicines with the hospital safely.

Nevertheless the patients after curing the disease themselves voluntarily donate lands and other gifts as a token of their gratitude. For instance, an inscription<sup>35</sup> from Uttrameallur refers to the grant of lands as gift to a physician who cured him after a snake bite. The physicians were provided free quarters which are known as *Maruthuvakudi*. The above mentioned references testify to the importance given to doctors during the Chola period.

*Teaching of Medicine.*—In the Tamil country, due importance was given, for the promotion of education from the ancient period. During the Medieval period under the Cholas, education was offered through institutions like *Salais, Mathas Pallis* etc., which functioned as residential colleges attached with the temples. In such institutions subjects like *Vedas, Mimasa, fine arts, Medicine* etc., were taught. However for teaching medicine, the *matha* at Tiruvavduthurai became famous. The inscription<sup>36</sup> found on the Tiruvavaduthuraiyudaiyar temple dated in the third year (A.D.1120) of parakesarivarman states that provision was made for the study of medical science like *Astangamirdaya, Caraka-samitita, Vyakrama* and *rupavatara*. Thus the Matha seems to have functioned as a residential college which trained students for the medical profession. In the same way the Thirumukudal inscription<sup>37</sup> also testifies the existence of a medical college attached with hostel facilities for the students to stay. In this college it seems the students were thought advanced medical subjects.

Nevertheless the students were given free meals. As an evidence an inscription<sup>38</sup> found at Tiruvavaduthurai states that the students attached with that Matha were fed freely. Similarly the Thirumukudal inscription<sup>39</sup> states that the students were provided free oil to take oil bath on Saturdays throughout the year and also provided with mats. There were attendants to look after their needs. Likewise the Vedic college at Tribhuvani<sup>40</sup> the students were paid daily allowances. A daily allowance of 11 kalams, 10 kuruni and 4 nali of paddy were paid towards the maintenance of students.

Therefore taking into account of all these it is known that under the rule of imperial cholas the medicine and medical education received great attention. They spent liberally for maintaining good health of their people.

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THE INDIGENOUS MERCHANTS AND THE ENGLISH COMPANY  
ON THE COROMANDEL COAST (1611—1652).

S. BABU,

Research Scholar, Pondichery University.

The quest for the spices of the East, lucrative trade of the Portuguese and that of the Dutch encouraged the English East India Company to establish its direct commercial contacts with India. As a result, with the turn of the seventeenth century the English Company opened its first factory at Surat on the Western coast in 1608. They started another counter at Masulipatnam on the Coromandel Coast in 1611. Subsequently, the Fort St. George in Madras established in 1640 superseded Bantam and became the seat of the Eastern Presidency. Many economic historians are of the opinion that the arrival of the European companies brought about remarkable changes among the indigenous merchant class. Through their commercial contacts with the companies a few rich and influential local merchants accumulated enormous wealth and brought small scale merchants and pedlars under their subjugation. In turn they emerged as great capitalists. When they acquired great wealth they started to play a greater role in the social and economic life of the region. This study will address itself primarily to the various functions performed by the merchants and the way in which accumulation of capital was done by these merchants. Mostly contemporary sources are used in the preparation of this work.

In the commercial world of Coromandel the Telugu speaking *Komatticettis* were predominant for wholesaling, retailing, brokerage and banking.<sup>1</sup> They had expertise in the textile trade through their supplies to the South East Asian and West Asian countries. For procurement they moved far and wide<sup>2</sup> While the children of other communities spent their time in play, the *Kometti* child was made to learn arithmetic as a training for his hereditary profession. The motive of education was purely utilitarian. They were very much careful in handling money matters.

The next important group among the Telugu speaking mercantile community comprised *Beri Cettis*. From this group came a large number of wealthy and large scale merchants and wholesale dealers in a variety of goods<sup>4</sup>. Their base of operation was north and central Coromandel. In addition, a number of Tamil cettis such as *Vyapari cetti*, *Kasukaro cetti*, *Kaveri cetti*, etc., were also engaged in the commercial activities as brokers, suppliers, money lenders and pedlars<sup>5</sup>. Besides, the Muslim merchants or *chulias* referred in the factory records as *Coromandel Moores* or *Maraikayars* were, like the others mentioned above a very different group involved in the commercial activities<sup>6</sup>. Prior to the establishment of the English Company the indigenous merchants were conducting their own traditional commercial activities with South East Asian and West Asian countries. The entry of the European Companies made these local merchants work under them as the suppliers of commodities.

The advent of the foreign companies on the Coromandel coast in the early parts of the seventeenth century brought the products of the inland centres into the country's international commerce. To expand and develop this relationship further, it was therefore felt necessary both by the Indian and foreign merchants to have a well organised group of suppliers to free themselves from the problems of purchase and procurement of commodities easily<sup>7</sup>. In addition, there were a number of other factors which were responsible for the English merchants to get their supplies. Since the English were quite new to this land they faced the language problem to deal with the local producers for procurement. As a result there arose the necessity to form a group to act in between the producer and the English merchants. Thus the indigenous merchants got an opportunity to become the suppliers to the companies.

At the time of the arrival of the English, the market system which was prevalent in India was strange for them. The English factors were really hampered by the intricacies of the monetary system and the varying weight and measures<sup>8</sup>. The lack of knowledge of the market operations led the English to depend on the indigenous merchants, because they were not able to get<sup>9</sup> along without the Indian merchants who supplied goods for them<sup>9</sup>. The scattered centres of production, i.e. the location of villagers of weavers in the distant hinterland necessitated

the English Company to engage some indigenous merchants, who were familiar with the local mode of production to supply the required items. The individual production capacity of these centres for the same commodity was very low. So, in order to procure the goods by moving far and wide, the help of the local merchants was quite indispensable for the company and the Indian merchants became the link between the producer and the European merchants.

The other aspect was finance. At the time of the arrival of the English, the indigenous merchants were prosperous and financially sound. Since the English Company were facing financial crisis in the early stages, they thought that they could get monetary support from the local merchants to continue trade. In the later days, the English factors borrowed money at high rate of interest from Indian merchants and bankers to procure commodities to fill the ships<sup>10</sup>. In fact the company was indebted to many big merchants of the region<sup>11</sup>.

Certain specialised centres in the production of commodities forced the company to have recourse to indigenous merchants as in the case of Pulicat a famous centre for chintz manufacture. A glance at the textile industry shows that there was not a single centre capable of meeting the demands of all sorts of textiles. Moreover, there were a number of competing buyers in the market for the same type of goods like the Dutch. Thus the scattered production centres in the inland created a demand for the services of a number of local merchants to contact manufacturers and to acquire commodities for the company. As a result, a good number of indigenous merchants were engaged simultaneously in the expansion of trade and commerce. Many Indian merchants seem to have acquired working knowledge of one or two European languages.<sup>12</sup> It helped them to transact business with the Europeans.<sup>13</sup>

The problem of transporting goods from up country to the factory made the company to depend on the local merchants, who were familiar with the transport system of the day. Besides, the exaction of duties on the way in spite of the imperial firmans by the disorderly and oppressive local powers proved a constant cause of dispute<sup>14</sup>. To avert all these problems there arose the necessity for the company to depend on the local merchants. Thus to get proper and timely supply of the textiles and other commodities at cheaper rates in stipulated quality and quantity, they had to depend on these local merchants. Merchants were appointed by the company to supply commodities and to dispose of the Company's European goods.<sup>15</sup> Without these merchants neither the foreigners nor the natives themselves would do any business. They were very much skilled in the rates and values of all the commodities. The company records refer to them as *cettis* in the context of Coromandel.

With the arrival of the European Companies many indigenous merchants concluded that it was more profitable and less risky to have direct dealings with the company than making voyages on their own<sup>16</sup>. So, in the beginning, those who were supplying commodities to the company were directly dealt with by the President of the factory. Thus, Raghava *cetti*, a native of Pulicat supplied chintz or painted textiles to the company. He directly dealt with the agent at Pulicat and helped the English factors to conduct their commercial operations<sup>17</sup>. In the same way Commer Bampa was the Indian merchant at Ventapollam who supplied commodities to the English Company.<sup>18</sup> Mir Kamal Uddin was another merchant at Masulipatnam who helped the English merchants to carry out their commercial activities.<sup>19</sup> For the service rendered to the company the merchants received commission based on value and variety of commodities supplied. Usually they received one and a half per cent from the buyer and one per cent from the seller.<sup>20</sup> In some cases the merchants were paid a salary of a fixed amount *permesem* for their service. For instance, Ganga *cetti* who was another merchant at Pulicat was paid a salary of six *pagodas*.<sup>21</sup>

In the wake of the establishment of the settlements of the English Company and the increasing demand of supplies the English signed contracts with the merchants of great substance to avoid any risk by giving advances to the small scale merchants of negligible investments. Because, for any outsider it was a problem to deal with a number of small scale merchants to supply the commodities. Instead it could be easier to deal with one or two selected individuals to transact the business for the company.<sup>22</sup> So, they depended on a few for supplies. Thus the change in the method of approach of the company brought the small scale merchants and pedlars to work under a merchant of greater importance as brokers or middlemen.

With the expansion of trade and commerce, the rich and the influential persons among the local merchants emerged as the chief merchants of a region and supplied commodities to the company.<sup>23</sup> He was assisted by a number of smaller merchants and middlemen or brokers. For each region there was one or two chief merchants. For example, in Pulicat a famous centre for chintz manufacture, there was Malaya alias Astrappa cetti who was the first mentioned Indian merchant on the Coromandel coast in the English factory records. He supplied painted calicoes to the English Company.<sup>24</sup> In addition to the English, he supplied textiles to the Dutch too.<sup>25</sup>

In the same way with the rounding of Fort St. George in Madras, Seshadra who was the brother of Malaya cetti left Pulicat his ancestral place and permanently settled within the English settlement.<sup>26</sup> Seshadra and Korreri cetti were the important indigenous merchants since 1640 who supplied commodities to the company.<sup>27</sup> The expansion of company's trading enterprises brought the native merchants to leave their ancestral places and to come and start living in the company's settlements. The reasons for their shift were many. First, they got protection and employment within the English factories and also were allowed to stay with English factors for the purpose of commercial activities. Secondly, they were given additional incentives if they fulfilled the contract properly supplying the required items. Seshadra was the first merchant of prominence in Madras to have occupied a position of leadership in mercantile and even social affairs.<sup>28</sup>

Because of the increased importance of commerce, the office of chief merchant was held by one or two of the most prominent and influential merchants of the region. He was the sole agent for the supply of the commodities required by the company.<sup>29</sup> Due to enhanced demand for supplies and search for centres of production and market, the chief merchant employed persons other than his kinsmen as brokers or assistants, and sub-brokers to meet the shortage of man power. After some time the office of chief merchant was institutionalised.<sup>30</sup> He played a great role in the commercial activities by acting as a link between the middlemen and the company. The added importance of the chief merchant made him assume the responsibility of fulfilling contracts. If he failed, his property was seized. For his work he received ten to fifteen per cent as commission on both sale and purchase of any commodity.<sup>31</sup> For example, at Fort St. George Beri Timanna, a *Berige cetti* succeeded Seshadra as the supplier of commodities to the English Company in the year 1648. In his time the office of Chief merchant was institutionalised as mentioned above.<sup>32</sup> He trained later the famous Indian merchant Kasi Viranna, when he was his subordinate. Timanna was termed as the 'captain of Madras'.<sup>33</sup> It shows the influence and power he had exercised socially and also among mercantile community, as the chief merchant of the English Company in that region.

In addition, there were a number of specialised merchants among the indigenous ones who supplied goods of different sorts to the company. For instance, there were contractors for the supply of cotton fabrics, indigo, *chintz*, food stuffs and other items. The contract for the supply of chintz was given to well experienced and skilled merchants in textile trade.<sup>34</sup> For this a kind of specialisation was required. They were given great importance by the English factors. For the sale of company's goods there were different agents. In most cases the chief merchant acted as agent to supply the commodities and to dispose of the company's European goods.<sup>35</sup> For his role the merchant gained a double commission in this commercial enterprise.

The English merchants, for private trade engaged the indigenous merchants termed as *Dibash* or interpreter as "go between" the English and the local people. Mostly this position was held by the Brahmmins, who acted as linguists.<sup>36</sup> For example, almost simultaneously with Seshadra's entry into commercial activities there were two Brahmin brothers, Venkata and Kannappa. They were variously described as interpreters, ambassadors to inland powers, headmen in the township, magistrate in the choultry court, accountant in the customs office and agents for the English commodities.<sup>37</sup> Venkata accompanied Walter Littleton in 1650 on his mission to the Nawab Mir Muhammad Said (Mir Jumla of Golconda) to get concession in the payment of the rent for Masulipatnam settlement.<sup>38</sup> He was the first notable example of the interpreter ambassador among the indigenous merchants.

The indigenous merchants classes performed a number of other duties on behalf of the company. In the first instance the English Company concluded contracts with the chief merchant to supply the required items.<sup>39</sup> These contracts

involved a number of things. The price of a commodity was fixed by the two signatories depending on its value and nature. The merchant was responsible to maintain the standard, i.e. to ensure quality and quantity of the goods according to the terms of the contract. In some cases, if a merchant failed to supply the expected quality according to the agreement, it resulted in price reduction of the commodities. During the natural calamities, though some times the English agents showed sympathy, mostly they strictly demanded the supply according to the contract.

The merchant in many cases served as linguists to overcome the language barrier to a great extent. The primary job of merchant was to procure goods through their servants at cheaper rates for the company and to dispose of company's goods at favourable rates.<sup>40</sup> They received commissions for their service to the company.

After the conclusion of the agreement the merchant received money (in the form of bullion or coined money) as well as the European goods. According to the agreement, a merchant received sixty per cent of the contract amount as an advance from the company. Then the chief merchant gave sub-contracts for textiles to lesser merchants on terms favourable to him<sup>41</sup>. The agreement between the chief merchant and the company was renewed annually. In this contract the chief merchant played two roles in the production process, namely, he represented the company on the one side and on the other represented the weavers.<sup>42</sup> After the procurement of goods from the producer through the middlemen, it was the responsibility of the merchant to check the commodities before delivery. At the time of delivery of goods, some well experienced merchants were appointed by the company to inspect the supply<sup>43</sup>. Then only the merchant could claim the balance of the former agreement.

Whenever the company's supplies from Europe were delayed due to some reason or the other, the indigenous merchants supplied the commodities required by the company on credit.<sup>44</sup> Mostly this type of credit supply was undertaken by the *shroffs* or bankers on interest. Through this practice the English Company was able to continue its commercial activities but the rich indigenous merchants enhanced their capital by way of interest.

At the time of company's financial crisis the indigenous merchants who acted as *shroffs* or money changers had given loans or advanced money to the company on interest. The interest was from four to sixteen per cent on the coast.<sup>45</sup> For example, as mentioned above, Malaya who was the supplier of commodities to the English at Pulicat in addition to his supplies to the company, acted as financier lending money to the company.<sup>46</sup> The same practice was found with other important merchants of the company like Seshadra, Konneri *cetti*, Timanna etc. as mentioned above. On some occasions the indigenous merchants used to lend money free of interest.<sup>47</sup> There are references to the fact that sometimes they advanced money to the weavers through their subordinates on behalf of the company for future supplies<sup>48</sup>. The English Company transacted their business and borrowed money from the indigenous merchants as commercial credit through the use of *hundi* or bills of exchange. <sup>49</sup>It meant promising of payment after a specified period of mostly two to three months. This was a famous credit institution in the seventeenth century. In many ways it was helpful for the company to transact the commercial operations without any hindrance. The *hundi* system provided opportunity to the local merchants for investing their money in productive ways. It was mainly done by the *shroffs* or money changers who had enormous capital at their disposal. So, it was one of the means of capital accumulation for the indigenous merchants through interest.

The indigenous merchants expanded the money market and improved the credit facilities by raising the money for the companies. The money changers took certain amount of gold and silver from the English and in return supplied hard currency or coined money for easy transactions.<sup>50</sup> For this work they received commissions sometimes with the help and influence of these local merchants the English factors got minted their imported bullion into coins in the local mints, because in the early stages the English were not given minting right. In fact, all the commercial operations in India during the seventeenth century were in the hands of the merchants.<sup>51</sup> Through their access to the princes or nobles the indigenous merchants were able to defuse any tension when it came up in the relations between the English and the local powers.<sup>52</sup> For this the indigenous merchants used the imported European curiosities i.e., as *peshkash* or gifts to the kings or nobles to solve their differences.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to their supplies to the English Company, indigenous merchants carried out their own traditional commercial activities to the foreign countries. As mentioned above Malaya, a major ship owner and overseas trader had commercial relations with Ceylon and South East Asian countries.<sup>54</sup> It was the case with other important merchants like Seshadra, Konneri cetti, Timanna, etc., who supplied commodities to the company. With their commercial relationships to the English Company they enjoyed the benefit of concessional rates in freight charges, customs duties, tolls, etc., in these areas.<sup>55</sup> As a result there was enough scope for them to save money and enrich themselves.

In the wake of evergrowing importance of the European commerce, the lack of financial resources and the incompetence among the small scale merchants and pedlars, made a number of them to work as brokers or middlemen under the large scale merchants. They worked under the bigger merchants as brokers and travelled to the inland centres in search of textiles or any other commodity. The large scale merchants were completely dependent on the brokers to procure supplies to be handed over in turn to the European companies according to the terms of the contract. For their service to the chief merchant the brokers received commissions upto two per cent.<sup>56</sup> Below them there were a number of subordinate brokers or middlemen who assisted the head brokers. According to the quality and quantity of supplies they received their commissions, i.e. one to one and a half per cent.<sup>57</sup> Some times the brokers also acted as *Dubash* or interpreter to the private merchants and received a salary of four shillings and six pence per month.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, the establishment of European factories on the Coromandel coast provided ample scope for the indigenous merchants to play a significant role in the trading operations. The merchants involved themselves in multifarious activities, i.e. a man acted as merchant, broker, linguist, financier, etc. It shows that all the commercial emporia in India with the arrival of European Companies were set in motion by merchants or brokers or middlemen.

In the early part of the seventeenth century merchants were mentioned in their individual capacity rather than as part of a merchantile organisation. The demarcation between a merchant and the broker depended on the possession of capital. To be precise a merchant acted as contractor to supply the commodities to the company, lending money as financier, as money changer or *shraff* to supply hard currency and to settle the differences with the local powers. All these works were possible because of the financial position held by the indigenous merchants. The broker or middlemen worked under the merchants to search for the centres of production and stood himself as the guarantor of supply from the producer.

As mentioned above, their merchants produced textiles through brokers or middlemen. The most usual method which was followed to procure textile was the system of money advances to the weavers of the locality known as *dadni*.<sup>59</sup> Money advances were necessary to ensure the timely supply of the commodities because (i) the artisans were dependent on the credit to carry out their profession, (ii) without advances there would not be any guarantee of supply, (iii) resources of producers were very meagre to cope up with the expanding demand, though advances, they were able to avert the competition of other buyers, to bind up the producer and stabilise the prices at the time of fluctuations and to maintain regular supply. At the time of advances the broker or middlemen came into the picture, because the advances to the local secondary producers by the merchants were made through the brokers.<sup>61</sup> They stood as guarantors and promised proper and timely supply of the textiles.<sup>62</sup> Under *dadni* system merchants usually came to terms with weavers on the prices of procurement before hand and the weavers were expected to sell the products to a particular merchant. So, the weavers were economically dependent or bonded to the merchant, and turned themselves to be contract-producers from that of independent ones.<sup>63</sup> In the case of primary producers too the broker or middleman guaranteed quality and quantity of supply according to the contract. For example, it was brokers' responsibility to check the supply of indigo free from any adulteration of sand.<sup>64</sup>

In view of the prosperity brought by commerce, a number of political overlords became merchants. The first among them who became, a trader with political authority was Mir Muhammad Said, Mir Jumla of Golconda (1642-56).<sup>65</sup> He concluded an agreement with the English Chief at Masulipatram and supplied textiles to be exported to Persia. The profits of the voyage were shared between



The company and Mir Jumla.<sup>66</sup> In some cases the port-officer or *Shahbandar* appointed by the local government too entered in commerce. He acted as the spokesman for the merchants and helped to negotiate away differences between the indigenous and foreign merchants, between the merchants, European and provincial political authorities. More over they performed commercial activities. For example, Khwaja Muhammad Kasim, *shahbandar* of Masulipatnam traded with the English. But when the dues went high, the company authorised the agent Thomas Roges to sell goods to Khwaja's successor Elechi Beg.<sup>67</sup> It is a clear indication of the involvement of government officials in the commercial activities.

In this way the indigenous merchants played a great role in procuring goods for the European Companies on the Coromandel coast. They enriched themselves with the help of foreign capital by the system of advances or *daani*. It brought together a number of individuals who had not played direct role in production, but started supervising the production of textiles and to ensure the quality and quantity of supply. The individual free producer was thus brought under the control of merchant's capital.

The English signed contracts with the merchants of greater importance. They grew up and transformed the smallscale merchants as merely dependent on them. So, capital accumulation in a few hands and the decline of small scale merchants were the outcome of this situation.

When the importance of merchants increased on account of the business activities of the English Company, they accumulated a lot of money day by day. If a merchant advanced money to a weaver there was a fixed rate of interest. In addition, he took a percentage of money as commission from the company and the local producers. Apart from these, a merchant used a number of deceitful and dishonest ways and means to increase the income from the company, i.e. travel and miscellaneous expenses. So as explained by Marx, "exploitation through trade can be regarded as 'axiomatic'". Once merchants became financially sound enough their social status improved. When they accumulated more and more capital they engaged themselves in religious activities. For instance, Beri Timanna who was the *adigari* of the 'Black Town' and merchant of the English Company, had endowed a gift for the maintenance and renovation of the Chenna Kesava Temple in 1648.<sup>68</sup>

The system of advance was the primary cause of the poverty of the weavers. Through this system they were brought under the control of merchants and the supervision of brokers, who used a number of means to enhance their profit from the producer. So, artisans were brought under the merchant's capital, i.e., "subjugation of crafts to merchant's capital". Therefore, the hold of merchant capital was established in the production process.

With the emergence of European settlements on the coast many merchants and weavers started to settle down around the European factories. For example, in Madras a separate settlement was established in 1640, adjacent to the Fort St. George with a number of families constituting 'Black Town'. With the growth of population to 18,000 in 1648 three officials were appointed to administer the town and they also engaged in commerce as the representatives of the English. They were *adigari* or Governor who conducted choultry court. *Kanakapillai* or accountant, *Reddi Nayak* or chief watchman.

The prosperous commercial activities on the Coromandel coast prompted a number of Brahmins to engage themselves in trading activities. According to the Indian tradition, they were supposed to carry out rituals. Instead they acted as interpreters, ambassadors and traders. It was another impact of the English trade on the coast. The arrival of the European Companies on the Coromandel coast led to the decline of 'Medieval Guilds'. The indigenous merchants now began to carry out their trade either independently or with the company. The weak and small scale merchants were forced to become subordinates to a few wealthy ones.

To conclude, it may be said that the original idea of the English Company in employing local merchants was to procure goods at cheaper rate. But it failed to achieve the desired effect. In turn the indigenous merchants accumulated enormous wealth at the cost of both the English Company and the actual producers and subsequently blossomed into "merchant capitalists."

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## SRI SATYAMURTHI'S VERSATILITY.

(Reproduced from ஸ்ரீ ச. சத்தியமூர்த்தி நினைவு மலர் 1963)

(Union Deputy Minister for Labour and Employment and Planning, New Delhi).

The Hon. Sri C.R. PATTABHI RAMAN

Compiled by the Publication Cell.

Sri Satyamurthi was a versatile personality. I came into contact with him when I was in my teens, as a student. He was a friend of our family and this friendship never lost its lustre inspite of my father and he having had to oppose each other on many occasions on the floor of the Legislative Assembly at Madras.

Sri Satyamurthi hailed from a talented family in Pudukottai. He distinguished himself as a Member of the Senate and the Syndicate of the University of Madras and was instrumental in maintaining the high standards of the University during the time he was connected with it. As a lawyer, he would, in any free country, have risen to great heights. Many of the judges who were Britishers and some of our own countrymen on the Bench did not take kindly to him. Worldly success in the shape of money and worth while gifts in the Bar were denied to him.

It is possible that many of my readers may not be aware that he had great histrionic talent and was in charge of Sanskrit and Tamil Drama Sections in the Suguna Vilas Sabha, the leading amateur dramatic club in South India. He and Sri P. Sambanda Mudaliar and Sri V. V. Srinivasa Aiyengar did much to make the Navatatri dramatic performances a great success. It was in the Sabha, when I was very young, that he made me speak, for the first time, in public. I had to deputise for my father, the President of the Sabha, who was away from Madras, during the celebrations on the President's day in the Sabha.

It was, however, as a political leader that Sri Satyamurthi was able to shine in all brilliance. I was quite young and just getting out of my high school when he was a Member of the Legislature in Madras. The Assembly then contained a galaxy of talent, and he and C. R. Reddy, to mention only two names, were giving their best to Madras as Members of the Opposition. He clashed with the Members of Government frequently. As already indicated, my father who was then Law Member had to cross swords frequently. It must, however, be placed on record that when really constructive work had to be done, Sri Satyamurthi was most helpful. His contribution during the debates on Pykara and Mettur Projects, as also the Tuticorin and Vizag patnam Harbour projects, had been noteworthy. When the Indian National Congress met at Madras, he, along with the late Dr. U. Rama Rau, took a leading part in the organisation and establishment of All India Music Conference. He made my father inaugurate it. This was one of the early occasions when my father had to clash with some of his colleagues in Government who did not think it proper for a Member of Government to take part in the celebration of the Indian National Congress in Madras. My father took the stand that there was very little difference between him and the members of the Indian National Congress on many matters and reminded his colleagues that he was himself the General Secretary of the Congress. It was about this time that the Simon Commission came to Madras and Sri Satyamurthi made me take a leading part in the picketing and boycott outside Presidency College where I studied. It was a piquant situation, for my father was in charge of law and order. Sri Satyamurthi took all of us from the Presidency College to the Beach opposite and in a memorable speech, asked us to stay away from the College. My Principal, Fyson, did not approved of our attending the meeting and fined us all heavily for taking part in the function on the beach. The only good thing that came out of the fine was that some furniture was purchased with that money for the college and a new clock tower with a clock with four faces, was installed from out of the monies collected from us. It was called the Fyson Clock Tower for a long time, and I think it should be named 'Satyamurthi Clock Tower' because he was indirectly responsible for the amenity.

Sri Satyamurthi was silver-tongued orator. Whether he spoke in Sanskrit, Tamil or English, it was not only clear and precise, but it was also so beautifully modulated. Actually, whenever he and two or three other orators I knew spoke on public functions and musical entertainments. It was a severe handicap for the star artiste because the crowd was eager only to listen to Satyamurthi. I so distinctly remember his speaking when the Yuvaraja of Mysore came to Madras for a

Music Conference. In a speech which lasted about 15 minutes, he ended his peroration with the observation "Sir, you are a prince among artistes and an artiste among princes". The cheer that accompanied this observation lasted for several minutes. He spoke at a time when people were very obsequious and did not perhaps dare to address a prince as 'Sir'.

When Sri Satyamurthi came North as a legislator, he blazed his trail like a comet. The Members of the Executive Council, from the Commander-in-Chief downwards, whether the Assembly met in Simla or in Delhi, sat up and wore anxious faces when Satyamurthi entered the Assembly Hall hugging a number of books and documents. Great as an orator, he was greater still as a Parliamentarian. His marshalling of facts exhibited erudition and deep study. The members of Government dreaded his Supplementaries and he was nick-named "Supplemurthy". Nobody could outwit him on the floor of the House. Even to-day, many of his speeches in the old Assembly are worthy of careful study by persons interested in public affairs. Whoever the leader was, in the Indian National Congress or on the floor of the Assembly, he gained strength as soon as Satyamurthi was bodily present on the dais or on the floor of the house. The Mahatma and the late Shri Motilal Nehru, Sri Sri. Nivasa Iyenger and Shri Bhulabhai Desai had great regard for him and so did our revered leader, the Prime Minister.

In the evening of his life, he was denied positions in the administrative field. He hoped very much to take part in the administration in Madras as a Minister. This was denied to him. He showed his mettle, however, when he was for a short time Mayor in Madras. The Poondi Reservoir (Satyamurthi Sagar) owes its existence mainly to him.

I wish to close with a reference to, what to me has been, his most important quality. It was his religious life his piety and "nitya anushtanam". He was deeply religious and in spite of pressing engagements, never gave up his morning ablutions or puja. On a bright and attractive forehead, he never hesitated to wear sandal paste and kumkum and never apologised for being a true and pious Hindu. I had to play some little part when he was ailing in prison. He did not have robust health and what little resistance he had, was drained away when he was in prison. Prison life during the Central Indian summer hastened his end and he was completely a broken man when he was brought to Madras. He was deeply attached to his family and felt that they had to suffer on account of his public life and his political activities.

He was full of good humour and was brilliant at repartee. I well remember the occasions when he used to dine in our house and every minute that was spent in his company was scintillating.

I am very happy to remember that it was given to our family to play some little part in the marriage of Saubhagyavathi Lakshmi, his only child. He was so devoted to her.

By honouring Satyamurthi, we are honouring ourselves. With the passage of time, his stature as a freedom fighter and national leader will gain bigger proportions.

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE BUTLER COMMITTEE'S REPORT  
BY A. H. E. MOLSON

*Sometime Political Secretary of the Associated Chambers of Commerce  
of India and Ceylon.*

(Reproduced from the Asiatic Review Volume XXV January—October 1929.)

—Compiled by the Publication Cell.

It would be necessary to go back a century and more to find the first causes of disagreement between the British Power and the Indian States as to their respective rights; and it is a fact worth remembering by British administrators that one of the contributory causes of the Mutiny was the policy of Dalhousie in annexing Indian States on the failure of natural heirs. Anything in the way of common action, however, on the part of the Princes to defend and assert their rights was almost impossible so long as the Government of India kept them isolated from one another. The main proposal that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report made in regard to them resulted in the creation of the Chamber of Princes, thus ending the policy of isolation. The administrative developments of British India have given the Princes that inducement to co-operation for which the Chamber of Princes affords machinery. Resolutions have led to action, and the appointment and report of the Indian States Committee marked a new epoch in the constitutional history of India.

It is typical of British thought and methods that it should only be in the year 1927 that the first detailed enquiry was made into the constitutional position of the Indian States. Just as the common law was administered for centuries before its principles gradually became crystallized, so decisions had been taken and orders passed in connection with the Indian States for upwards of a century before the relationship between them and the paramount Power was authoritatively investigated by a public body. The Princes, having obtained the appointment of the Committee, retained Sir Leslie Scott and other eminent Counsel to investigate the whole position and to present their case.

There are, it is true, the works of Lee Warner and Tupper, now a generation old, and learned discussions in the back numbers of the *Law Quarterly Review*\* between eminent jurists as to how the Indian States should be classified by international lawyers; but the discussion was academic and Secretaries of State and Viceroys do not necessarily read such disquisitions. There was at the other end of the scale, a vast volume of "case law" in the files of the political department of the Government of India. This "case law" is still confidential, and it is curiously reminiscent of Roman law prior to the publication of the *Decem Tabulae* 450 B.C. that the law which is to-day applied to the Indian States is not disclosed to those who are expected to comply with it.

The result of the investigations of five learned Counsel came perhaps to many who read it as a surprise, and probably put the Princes' rights higher than they themselves had anticipated. Counsel are of opinion that the relationship is one which exists between the Princes as heads of their States and the British Crown; and they argue that the responsibility of carrying out the obligations of this relationship cannot be delegated to any government of British India which may at some future time be responsible to a British Indian popular assembly. This is a mere application of the well-known maxim *delegatus delegare non potest*. They further find that the relationship is wholly a contractual one, and that each of the major Indian Princes is a sovereign except in so far as he has explicitly or implicitly alienated that sovereignty to the British Crown. Every right, therefore, that the British Crown, acting through the agency of the Government of India, claims to have over any individual Indian State must, it is argued, be justified by showing affirmatively that that particular State has agreed to grant that particular right to the British Crown. Paramountcy consists in one feature common to the relations subsisting with all the States; the surrender of all foreign relations to the Crown in consideration of an undertaking to protect them from aggression at home and abroad. It is manifest that an undertaking of this kind necessarily implies the right to take such measures as may be, in the opinion of the paramount Power, necessary

\* *Asiatic Review* vols xxvi, xxvii

for such protection, and in particular to intervene to prevent serious misrule. It is clear that the British Crown never contracted to keep a Nero safe upon his throne, and a right to insist upon a certain minimum of good government must be implied in the treaties.

From this contractual relationship certain further conclusions follow. There is no right of general supervision and control enjoyed by the British Crown in virtue of any suzerainty not derived from agreement, nor can the Crown through the mouth of the Viceroy or Secretary of State augment its rights or diminish those of the States without their assent. Orders of the Secretary of State, therefore, or decisions of the Government of India which go beyond the treaties or agreements with the States, may have been effective in fact as exercises of *force majeure*, but they in no way affect the rights of the States. Similarly, "usage" is not effective to confer or with raw rights except in so far as it may be evidence of an agreement on the part of the State to confer further powers on the British Crown.

This opinion of Counsel in effect denied the validity of the practice of the Political Department for half a century; it said that much of the action taken by the Government of India, however innocently and benevolently intended, was an unwarranted breach of our treaty obligations. It was therefore obvious that the Butler Committee before whom this opinion was laid would examine this view very critically before accepting it, and many who were themselves unable to detect any fallacies in its reasoning hoped that the Committee would succeed in showing it to be legally and logically unsound.

The Committee printed Counsel's opinion as an Appendix. They agree that the treaties of the States are with the Crown and that their fulfilment cannot be delegated to any responsible Indian Government, but they do not accept the view that the rights of the paramount Power are exclusively derived from agreement. The unfortunate thing is that the Report does not appear to answer the reasoning of the opinion, and if that be granted, does not justify its own conclusions which, indeed, are incompatible with one another. It is impossible to reconcile the opinion of the committee that the "treaties are of continuing and binding force as between the States which made them and the Crown" with their subsequent opinion that the orders of the Secretary of State can diminish the rights of the State under the treaties. If the treaties are binding, and the Crown has on frequent occasions specifically acknowledged their sanctity, it is surely erroneous to attribute to one signatory the right arbitrarily to vary their terms.

The Indian States Committee's Report was hampered by the terms of reference. It was never clear whether the Committee was intended to be a judicial tribunal or not; some of the points referred to them were questions of rights suitable for determination by a judicial tribunal, while others were political and only capable of settlement by administrators. Moreover, an unwillingness on the part of the Committee to arrive at findings which might result in a deadlock between the States and British India can be well understood.

We may as well recognize frankly that for many reasons it would be impracticable—and certainly disastrous—to go back to conditions of a century ago. Practical convenience and the general economic unity and well-being of the sub-continent as a whole are vital considerations. It is the case of the States, however, that neither convenience nor good intentions justify what they consider to be the overriding of rights. They recognize that a pedantic insistence on the letter of their bond would be helpful neither to themselves nor to British India, and they know that if they were foolish enough to engage in obstruction, British India could retaliate with greater effect. What the Indian Princes feel is that these problems can only be settled after the two parties know what their rights are. They recognize that an obstinate insistence on the letter of these rights would be likely to lead to a situation advantageous to neither party, and they would be more than willing to arrive at a reasonable settlement by negotiation; but negotiation they feel can only be fruitful when they know what are their rights and what they are conceding.

Having dealt with the theoretical claims of the Princes, it may be desirable to enquire what are the concrete cases in which the States feel that they have a grievance. No one will make serious trouble over abstract doctrine such as that of "sovereignty" unless it is likely materially to affect him. The grievances of the Princes are of two kinds which can be fairly clearly distinguished, political and economic.

There have been numerous cases where the paramount Power has intervened in the internal affairs of States, unwarrantably in the Princes' view. Perhaps the most remarkable case was when the Government of India in 1921 wrote to the Maharana of Udaipur after a rebellion in his State which he had himself suppressed, demanding his abdication on the ostensible ground that the ruler had become too old and that, as the whole administration was concentrated in his own hands, it had degenerated. Now Clause of the Treaty concluded in 1818 between the Honourable East India Company and the Maharana of Udaipur provides that the ruler "shall always be absolute ruler in his own country." That the Government of India did not press their demand for the ruler's abdication gave little comfort to the Princes, who were disquieted that the paramount Power should, obviously in good faith, claim any such right in the face of the treaty, even if it did not insist upon it.

There is a similar dissatisfaction with the claims of the paramount Power as to its rights during a minority. It is not questioned that where there is a disputed succession it is the privilege and the duty of the paramount Power to give a decision, but the apparently unlimited—certainly undefined—right of the British Government to establish regencies and minority administrations is freely questioned. Lord Curzon, speaking at the installation of the Maharajah of Alwar, seemed to imply that the British Government would be entitled to make suitable education of the Prince a condition of his succession. Such a claim the Prince would never admit they consider themselves princes by hereditary right.

It will probably be fairest in this connection to state the case as it was put to representatives of the Princes at a conference held on September 22, 1919, by the then officiating Political Secretary to the Government of India. The constitutional doctrine that gave to the paramount Power extra-territorial jurisdiction, the right of railway and telegraph construction, the administration of cantonments, etc., had been superimposed, he said, upon the original relations of many States with the Crown. The rulers' consent to such new doctrines had not always been sought in the past, and it was admitted that, benevolent as it was in intention, this body of usage had affected the treaty relationship and was to some extent arbitrary.

There is no need to go beyond that statement to establish the Princes' case. They willingly admit that the motives which have actuated the Government of India in encroaching upon their rights have usually been to benefit the Indian sub-continent, and if in some cases it has been British India which has chiefly benefited, it is natural and not ignoble that the Government of India should tend to look at things from that standpoint. This tendency is indeed becoming more marked, but chiefly because more and more matters have to be left to experts who are British Indian officials and do not always appreciate the peculiar position of the States. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that a Prince is clearly entitled to stand upon his rights. It is fairly evident that the whole of India benefited by the abolition of separate currencies in Bikanir and Alwar, but that did not justify the paramount Power in doing so during minority administrations. So it was to the advantage of the whole of India that railways should be built and the Indian States through which they passed benefited particularly, but that did not justify the acquisition of land without direct compensation (as occurred in some cases) any more than the probable benefit to an estate of a road would justify the British Crown in taking over an English landlord's property on like terms.

Turning to economic problems, there is one which eclipses in importance all others—that of customs. Few of the Indian States have a seaboard, and still fewer have anything in the way of harbours for ocean-going vessels. It follows that most of the States receive all their imports through British India ports and have



to pay the customs tariff of British India. They therefore feel that they are being indirectly taxed by the British Indian Legislature and Government for the benefit of British India. This was not a matter of any great significance so long as British India was virtually a free-trade country, but in 1921-22 a policy of discriminating protection was started, and the revenue from maritime customs has risen from about five crores to nearly fifty crores of rupees. It is indeed a grievance with some provinces of British India, especially of Burma, that the cost of steel should be artificially raised for the benefit of steel works in Bihar and Orissa. The Indian States have the same case, but immensely fortified by the fact that they have no voice in deciding the tariff, and in no way receive back any of the proceeds.

The British Committee denies that the Princes have any legal ground for complaint, but it agrees that the States have a claim in equity to some relief. How this should be done is a problem which its recommendations should be referred to another committee. It must be frankly recognised that this recommendation will be embarrassing to the Government of India, for it is no easy matter at present to find requisite the money to carry on the administration and defence of India.

The Committee points out that if the States receive part of the customs revenue, they may fairly be asked to share in the cost of the defence of India. There is good reason to believe that the States would be among the first to endorse this point of view, primarily because it would establish the principle clearly that the army in India is there in the interests of India as a whole, and not merely in the interests of British India, where many members of the Assembly wish to obtain control of it; and secondly because the States Governments are confident of showing that they already contribute a larger proportion of the defence resources of India than would be assigned to them upon any equitable computation.

The policy adopted by the Government of India in regard to the salt and opium monopolies has inflicted loss upon the States, or, at least, has deprived them of gain. In order to establish an effective Government monopoly of salt, it was probably necessary that the States should consent to suppress the manufacture of salt within their territories, or, at any rate, to forbid all exports into British India. In some cases a figure of compensation was arrived at about fifty years ago on the basis of the salt consumption of the respective States, and although the consumption has increased in some cases fivefold, the Government of India is slow to revise the compensation payable. The Government of India can denounce the treaty if its financial interests are shown suffer, but no similar right appertains to the State. In the case of Patiala, where no agreement existed, the Salt Department insisted on controlling the State salt industry without payment of compensation. In the territories of Kishengarh State a large area is drained by streams flowing into the Sambhar lake. Since the salt manufacture of Sambhar is partly dependent upon the drainage of surface water from Kishengarh territory, the Kishengarh Durgnar is required to consult the Northern Indian Salt Revenue Department before undertaking any irrigation project, and complains of difficulty in having the needs of the State effectively recognized in this respect. The State of Kishengarh may fail to obtain permission to use the water of its own river for irrigation for fear that the supply of water to a salt lake leased to the Government of India should be diminished. Similar grievances are voiced by States whose opium production might have interfered with the Government of India's opium monopoly. A much larger number of States complain that their subjects are compelled to buy salt and opium from British India, which in that way is directly taxing the States for the benefit of British India, although it has never been suggested that direct taxation would be permissible.

A striking example of how British Indian measures may affect the States which have no voice in deciding them is afforded by the Act of 1927 stabilizing the rupee at 1 s. 6 d. That measure profoundly affected every State budget in India, and yet depended solely on the votes of British Indian politicians.

The Princes have therefore, what they regard as concrete grievances; their Counsel have advised them that they are entitled to have these grievances put right. The Butler Committee has produced a report which is obviously an attempt at a compromise. It treasures them as to the future by saying that the Political Department cannot, without breach of faith, be made responsible

to any legislature of British India ; it denies that they have any right to a share in the customs, but it recommends that as a matter of grace a share should be made over to them; finally, it refuses to admit that the powers of suzerainty exercised by the paramount Power are unwarranted.

It is pleasant to contrast the attitude of the Princes to this report with the attitude of British Indian politicians to pronouncements which do not wholly satisfy their views. Instead of incontinently turning down a report which has in important respects disappointed them profoundly, they have, with the statesmanship that might be expected of hereditary rulers, declared themselves willing to enter into full and friendly discussion with the Viceroy on all outstanding points.

Plainly matters cannot rest here. The Princes have a case which deserves far more complete examination than the Butler Committee was able to make within its limited terms of reference. The report of that Committee, while it embodies a certain measure of practical good sense and exhibits a typically British dislike of pushing arguments to their logical conclusion, cannot be regarded as the last word on a subject at once so complex and so important as that with which it was appointed to deal.

AN INCIDENT OF CANNIBALISM UNDER THE BRITISH  
ADMINISTRATION IN 1878\*.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

27th March 1878, No. 654.

Cannibalism.

READ the following paper :—

No. 142 From W. S. WHITESIDE, Esq., Magistrate of North Arcot, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Chittoor, 7th March 1878, No. 97.

I have the honour to report the following case for the consideration and orders of Government :—Oene Munia Naik was reported in the early part of last month to have eaten part of the flesh of a corpse buried in the bed of the Palar River near Arcot. He was arrested, and by my orders was placed under the charge of Dr. H. M. Scudder in the Ranipet Dispensary, where I saw and conversed with him. He seemed to me then to be perfectly sane. He understood all that he was said to him and replied with the utmost readiness to all my questions.

2. I have had careful inquiries made about him, and find that he is a resident of Caveripauk in the Wallajah Taluq, where he has a wife and brother now living. About fifteen years ago Munia Naik became insane, and then wandered about the country devouring leaves, &c., but after a time recovered his senses and continued sane until, about three years ago, since when he was continued to wander about, begging for camphor, which he has been in the habit of eating.

3. About three months ago he took a portion of the unconsumed flesh of a corpse from a burning ground and ate it in a house in Caveripauk. He then went down to Madras and was for a little time in one of the relief camps there and afterwards in the Conjeevaram Relief Camp. He then returned home and went to the Ranipet Relief Camp, from which he escaped and went to the Palar River not far off and dug up and ate part of the dead body as mentioned above.

4. Dr. Scudder reports him to be now perfectly sane, but it seems to be extremely inadvisable that he should be allowed to remain at liberty. He suffers from an inordinate craving for meat, and for which he is always asking, and he admits that he likes eating human flesh. It may possibly be that this continued consumption of camphor has induced some peculiar disease, one of the symptoms of which is an eager craving for flesh of any kind.

5. The case is a very peculiar and horrible one, and I beg to be favoured with the instructions of Government as to how Munia Naik should be disposed of. I may mention that he is now very emaciated and does not appear as if he could very long.

No. 143.

ORDER THEREON, 27th March 1878, No. 654.

The Magistrate should examine this man with the assistance of a Medical Officer with a view of sending him to a Lunatic Asylum, for which his unnatural conduct manifestly qualifies him. It is observed that Dr. Scudder, in his exultatory letter of 23rd instant, expressly gives his opinion that the patient is "very probably subject to periodical fits of insanity." This opinion should be communicated to the Medical Officer whom the Magistrate may now consult.

(True Extract)

To The Magistrate of North Arcot.  
Ed. J. W. Fischer.

Chief Secretary

\* Traced and compiled by A.J. Ethiraj, Assistant Commissioner of Archives.

## GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

16th March 1878, No. 571.

Cannibalism.

No. 94. Proceedings of Government, 16th March 1878, No. 571.

Ordered that the following letter be despatched to the District Magistrate, North Arcot :—

SIR, —A short time ago, on an act of cannibalism occurring in your district, the wretched man who perpetrated it was forwarded to the Ranipet Dispensary, which is in the medical charge of the Reverend Dr. Scudder, American Missionary, in view to a report being made, after sufficient observation, on his state of mind.

2. A few days after this, a photograph depicting the probable circumstances of the horrible occurrence, was forwarded anonymously to each Member of the Government. This photograph, Dr. Scudder himself, the Government are now informed, procured to be done ; and it was he who transmitted the several copies.

3. His Grace the Governor in Council has arrived at this discovery with much astonishment and pain. He requests you to point out to Dr. Scudder the revolting nature of the course he has taken in publishing a representation of so dreadful a crime, for the purpose of dramatic effect ; and the gross unfairness of circulating the picture of a madman's act as evidence or illustration of the horrors of a famine for the relief of which the Government, under whose protection he lives, had accepted the responsibility.

(True Extract)

D.F. CARMICHAEL,  
Chief Secretary.

## GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

28th March 1878, No. 657.

## Cannibalism.

Read the following papers:—

No. 144. From H. M. SCUDDER, Esq., M.D., Medical Officer of American Arctic Mission, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Ranipet, 23rd March 1878.

I have the honour to submit the following explanation and remarks in reference to your communication, No. 571, dated Fort St. George, 16th March 1878, which was forwarded to me by the Collector of the District:

*First.*—When brought to the Ranipet Dispensary the man Moorugan, who committed an act of cannibalism in the bed of the Palar river, was exceedingly emaciated and presented the unmistakable appearance of having suffered severely from starvation; he himself also declared that he committed this act because he was suffering from the pangs of hunger and was faint from want of food. For these reasons I connected the word famine with his name, and although he is very probably subject to periodical attacks of insanity still I have no doubt that starvation was the immediate cause of this act of cannibalism.

*Second.*—It is my custom when practicable to have photographs taken of such cases as are especially interesting from a pathological or other point of view. I considered this case one of peculiar interest on account of the question in reference to the man's sanity and other reasons. The view I had in placing him in such a sensational position was not "dramatic effect," but to see whether it would elicit a cannibalistic or other peculiar expression. I would never have thought of forwarding copies of this photograph to some of the Members of Government had it not been suggested to me by certain English (not American) gentlemen one of whom furnished me with the names and addresses of the parties to whom they were sent. Until this suggestion was made to me my only intention was to send copies to my medical friends in America.

*Third.*—I exceedingly regret that this heedless action of mine should have given any annoyance or pain to His Grace the Governor in Council, for I never intended to produce an unfair impression regarding the distress in this district, nor to call in question the Government's administration of the famine. On the contrary I feel that the Government deserves the highest credit for the munificent and energetic manner in which they have alleviated the distress and met the wants of the people.

2. In conclusion I cannot refrain from expressing my grief that the matter has been so represented as to lead His Grace the Governor in Council to think that I have been guilty of "gross unfairness", which seems to me a very harsh term.

No. 145. ORDER THEREON, 28th March 1878, No. 657.

Recorded.

(True extract)

D. P. CARMICHAEL,  
Chief Secretary.

Exd. J. Wright.

(Extracts from Judicial Department Records.)

## EARLY MIDDAY MEALS SCHEME.

K.G. PALANI,  
Compiled by  
Research Assistant, Publication Cell.

## GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU.

## DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT.

**Subject.**—Labour Department—Education—Labour Schools—Provision of Midday meals—Orders—Passed.

**READ**—the following papers :—

**READ ALSO :** O.M. to the C of L. No. 36869 IV/39-1, dated 2nd January 1940.  
C of L. A3. No. 119/40, dated 27th January 1940.  
O.M. to the C. of L. No. 36869/IV/39-2, Development, dated 1st March 1940.  
From the C. of L. A3.No. 119-40, dated 19th March 1940.

**Order No. 1053, Development, dated 7th May 1940 :**

The Government have been considering the possibility of supplying free midday meals as is done in Criminal Tribes settlement Schools to the pupils of labour schools in particularly poor areas and of closing down sufficient single teacher schools of doubtful efficiency to meet the cost. The idea behind this proposal is that it is better, with limited finances, to enable a reasonable number of the children to study up to fifth standard and thus become permanently literate than to provide the facility of a school for larger numbers who for various reasons mainly poverty and the demand for their services at home in order to earn some pittance, drop away from attendance before they have received any lasting benefit from school. It has accordingly been decided, that, as an experimental measure, arrangements should be made for the provision of free midday meals in eight labour schools as detailed in the annexure to this order. The schools with two or more teachers in which the experiment should be tried will be selected by the Commissioner of Labour in consultation with the Collectors of the Districts concerned. Arrangements should be made either for the teachers if reliable or for a local committee to supply the means.

2. The provision of midday meals under this scheme will be confined to the pupils of the communities eligible for the ameliorative measures undertaken by the Labour Department. The maximum expenditure that may be incurred on the scheme is one anna per head per day to cover all charges, and this amount should be met by the Commissioner of Labour by closing down a sufficient number of single teacher schools either in the selected districts or in the Presidency as a whole.

3. The scheme will be tried for a period of one year during the ensuing school year. The Commissioner of Labour is requested to submit by 1st April 1941 a report on the results of the scheme. The report should state whether the experiment has resulted—

- (a) in substantially more regular attendance ;
- (b) in increased strength ; and
- (c) in better progress and better proportional strength in the standards of the selected schools.
- (d) in improved health of the pupils,

## ANNEXURE.

<i>District.</i>	<i>Number and nature of the schools to be selected.</i>
1. East Godavari .. ..	2 schools (with three or more teachers)
2. Nellore .. ..	1 school (with two or more teachers)
3. Chingleput .. ..	1 school (with three or more teachers)
4. Trichinopoly .. ..	2 schools (with three or more teachers)
5. South Arcot .. ..	2 schools (with two or more teachers)
Total ..	<u>8</u>

(By order of His Excellency Governor)

(Signed)

To All Heads of Departments.

(True Copy)

## GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU

## PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

*Subject.*—Labour Department—Education—Labour Schools—Provision of midday meals—Concession—Extended to Christian Convents.

Read again : G.O. Ms. No. 1053, Development, dated 7th May 1940.

Read also : Order : Ms. No. 711, dated, 21st March 1941.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras is pleased to direct that the concession of free midday meals granted to the Hindu pupils of the Communities eligible for help by the Labour Department reading in the eight labour schools, sanctioned in G.O. No. 1053, Development, dated 7th May 1940 be extended immediately to the Christian Convent Children of the eligible communities attending these schools.

(By order of the Government)

To All Heads of Departments

(Signed)

(True Copy.)



GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU  
LABOUR DEPARTMENT

Labour Department—Education—Labour Schools—Provision of free mid-day meals—Extension of the scheme—Expenditure—Sanctioned.

**Order—Ms. No 958, P.W.D. dated 7th March 1942 :**

The Commissioner of Labour was asked to submit proposals to Government for the extension of the scheme of providing free mid-day meals to the Hindu and Christian convert pupils of the eligible communities reading in the labour school. He has suggested the adoption of a five year programme to extend the scheme to 600 selected school in the districts in which a special labour staff is working at a total cost of Rs. 5,38,450. According to the arrangement, mid-day meals will have to be provided in the first year in 20 per cent of the schools at a cost of Rs. 1,08,000.

2. After examining the Commissioner's proposals, etc. the Governor of Madras is pleased to sanction an expenditure of Rs. 25,000 (Rupees Twenty-five thousand only) for the extension of the scheme in the following lines :—

(1) The scheme should be extended to select schools in those areas in the Presidency where the eligible communities are poorest, but, at the same time, make a genuine effort to take advantage of the education provided by the Government.

(2) Care should be taken to see that the provision of mid-day meals does not immediately result in a large increase in the first standard, that the pupils attend regularly, make better progress in their studies and attain their studies in higher standards.

If this allotment is not sufficient, the Commissioner of Labour should find funds by closing down ill-supported and inefficient schools.

3. The expenditure for the purpose will be met from the \_\_\_\_\_ for 1942-43 under the head "47. Misc. Deps.—Labour D. Communities eligible for help by the Labour department Education—3. Allowances and contingencies—Other charges—Authorised.

To

The Commissioner of Labour.

**PIRKA DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT IV,**

*Subject.*—Harijan Welfare Department—Education—Labour Schools—Opening of new schools in certain districts and provision of free midday meals—Sanctioned.

**READ ALSO :**

G.O. Ms. No. 958, Public Works, dated 27th March 1942.  
G.O. Ms. No. 2301, Development, dated 7th May 1948.

**READ AGAIN :**

From the C of L. No. 6763/47, dated 12th February 1948.  
From the C of L. No. D. 4847/48, dated 21st July 1948.  
From the C of L. No. D. 4847/48, dated 13th August 1948.  
From the C of L. No. D. 4847/48, dated 22nd October 1948.

**Order—Ms. No. 470, dated 17th May 1949 :**

The Government sanction the opening of 90 new Labour schools at the rate of ten in each of the nine Districts noted in the margin with effect from the School year 1949-50 and the employment of two Higher Elementary Grade Teachers in the scale of Rs. 30—1—50 in each school.

1. Raichanad
2. Mathurai
3. Tirunelveli
4. Coimbatore
5. Salem
6. Cuddappah
7. Salem
8. Chittoor
9. Vishakapatnam

2. Sanction is also accorded to the supply of midday meals to the pupils of eligible communities reading in the new schools proposed to be opened subject to the terms and conditions laid down in the G.O. first cited.

3. The expenditure for this purpose should be met from the provision made in the Budget Estimate for 1949-50 under the Head '47.—Misc. Departments—  
a. Labour—D. Communities eligible for help by the Labour Department—Education or by reappropriation.

## BOOK REVIEW.

## Women in Tamil Nadu—A Profile

By the Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Limited,  
Madras (1986).

By J. AMBA SHANKARI.

The book is the product of joint efforts of the Tamil Nadu statistical department, and institutions like the Mother Theresa Women's University and the UNICEF. It gives a number of statistical tables on the condition of women and their participation in several developmental programmes. The book focusses on the demographic, social and economic aspects and the role of women in these areas. It also compares the current status of women in select spheres with that of their sisters in the nation as a whole and in three other states viz., Karnataka, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh.

The detailed demographic indices enable one to understand the sex ratio, infant mortality, the handicapped ratio and the employment factor shifting the migrant streams and so on. The analysis of the literacy levels among different sections of population brings out sharply the existing education gap among them.

The data show how available information relating to the wage differential is lacking in details and depth.

The need for providing more employment to women is urgent, for only this will improve their economic independence and social status. Closely linked with this are their political and legal status, family welfare and health. The tables indicate the prevalence of restraints for women to take up employment, especially in areas other than medical and teaching. Another feature of employment of women highlighted is that the female ratio is very low especially in all top level posts in administration.

In having attempted to bring out these important statistical tables, the Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of women has shown a genuine concern in Women's development.

Non-availability of statistical information systematically collected and collected continuously over a period of time, often strongly impedes proper understanding of women's problems; and makes it impossible to check out meaningful plans for different sections of women. This book represents a sincere attempt to remove this lacuna.

All Governmental organs should provide data on all connected matters separately for women and help developing a sound statistical base for planning future programmes of women development.

We earnestly hope that the Corporation will continue its endeavour to improve the statistical insight on women and relate it to its programmes.

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4. Tamil Nadu Warehousing Corporation. Administrative Reports for the years 1987-88.
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தமிழ்ப் பகுதி

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தேசநலப்பகுதி .

ஆனந்த மோகன் போஸ்

(1928 ஆனந்த போதினி இதழிலிருந்து)

(தொகுப்பு ; வெளியீட்டுப் பிரிவு)

இந்து தேசிய எழுச்சிக்கே ஆரம்பகால ஆசிரியர்களாகவும், தேச காங்கிரஸ் மகா சபை இந்நிலையை எய்துதற்குப் பாத்தியஸ்தர்களாகவும் திகழ்ந்த பல தேசியத் தலைவர்களுள் நாம் வரையப்புகுந்த இப்பெரியாருடைய தொண்டு, எவ்விதத்திலும் ஏனையோருடைய உழைப்பைவிடக் குறைந்ததாகக் கூறவியலாது. இத்தகைய அவதார புருடர்கள் தோன்றி அவ்வப் பொழுது நாட்டின் பொது நன்மைக்கும், சமயக் கோட்பாடுகளுக்கும் மாறான கொள்கைகளை அரசாங்க ஸ்தலிற் பொருந்துதல் ஆகாதென மன்றாடி வேண்டி, தமது முறையீடுகள் ஜினசமூக சம்மதமானதென்பதை விளக்க காங்கிரஸ் மகாசபையை ஸ்தாபித்து, மேல் நாட்டெங்கும் மேன்மையுற இந்தியா அறிவிற்கு ஆதாரமான பூமி; மகான்கள் தோன்றும் மாண்புடை அரசாங்க மென்பதை மெய்ப்பித்திராவிடில் இன்று நாம் இத்துணை நலன்களைப் பெற்று வாழ வியலாதென்பதை அறியாதார் யார்? ஆதலின் ஆனந்தம் பயக்கும் ஆனந்த மோகன் போஸ் சரிதையைச் சுருக்கிவரையலாம்.

ஆனந்த மோகனார் கீழ வங்காளத்தைச் சார்ந்த மெமன்சிங் என்ற மகிமை பொருந்திய பதியில் 1846-ம் ஆண்டில் அவதரித்தார்; கருத்துடன் கண்டதை சுற்றுக் கல்கத்தா நகர பிரவேசப் பரீட்சையில் 1862ம் ஆண்டில் முதல் தரமாளவராகத் தேர்ந்தார். இவருக்குச் சிறு பிராயம் முதல் இயற்கையாகப் பொருந்தியிருந்த தேசபத்தி, குருபக்தி, வித்தை விரும்பல், பெரியாரைப் பேணல், தீயவை விலக்கல், மெய்யே பேசலாகிய பெருங்குணங்களைக் கண்ட பெற்றோர், பெரியார், ஆசிரியர் சுற்றத்தாராகிய அனைவரும் இவருடைய எதிர்கால நிகழ்ச்சியை ஏகோபிதமாகக் கணித்து விட்டனர். இவருடைய பன்னிரண்டாம் பிராயத்தில் சிப்பாய்க் கலகம் நிகழ்ந்தது. வங்காள சர்வகலாசாலையில் மோகனார் சேர்ந்து தம் அறிவால் அனைவரும் தம்மை விரும்பல், எப்., எ., பி.ஏ.பட்டங்களை விமரிசையுடன் பெற்றதுமன்றி 'ராய்ச்சண்ட் பிரிம்செண்ட்' (ROY CHAND PREM CHAND) என்ற 10,000 வெகுமதியையும் பெற்றார். கல்வியிலாக்காவில் அக்காலத்தில் இவரைத் தெரிந்து கொள்ளாதவறில்லை. ஓவர் சில மாதங்கள் 'இஞ்சினீரிங் காலேஜ்' கணித ஆசிரியராக விருந்தார். சீமைக்குச் சென்று சட்டப் பரீட்சையில் தேர்ந்து வரவேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணம் இப்பெரியாருக்கும் உதித்தமையால் ஓவர் அவ்வேலையை விட்டுவிட்டு 1870-ம் ஆண்டில் இங்கிலாந்துக்குச் சென்றார்.

அக்காலத்தில் ஹிந்துமதத்தின் சில அதிவதிக மதக்கொள்கைகளை விலக்கி, இந்தியாவில் மேல்நாட்டு முறையில் ஓர் நவீன கொள்கையை மேற்கொண்ட ஹிந்துமதத்தை 'பிரம்ம சமாஜம்' என்ற பெயருடன் வேரூன்றச் செய்து, உலகத்தையே தம்முடைய சொற்பொழிவுகளாலும், அறிவின்வன்மையாலும் ஒரு ஆட்சி ஆட்டிவைத்து ஸ்ரீ கேசப் சந்திர சேனர் போசை அந்தப் பிரம்ம சமாஜத்தில் சேர்த்து வைத்தார். அவர் பிரம்ம சமாஜத்தைச் சார்ந்தாரானாலும் அதிவதிக அனுஷ்டானங்களைக் கைவிட வில்லை, மதாசாரங்களை தீவிரமாக அய்மித்து வந்தார். இந்தியாவின் ரத்தினங்களைக் கண்டால் மேல் நாட்டார் அடையும் மகிழ்ச்சிக்கு அளவேயிராதாதலின் இவருடைய சகல வசீரா சக்திபொருந்திய வதனத்திலும் வாய் மொழியிலும் ஈடுபட்ட மேல்நாட்டு அறிவாளிகள் இவருக்குச் சீமையில் பல சிறப்புகள் செய்தனர்; ஒருசமயம் இவரை நோக்கி, 'நாங்கள் சகல வித்தியா பண்டிதனான (கிளாட்சன்) (GLADSTONE) என்ற முதல் மந்திரிக்குப் பிறகு உங்களைத் தான் அந்த நிலையில் வைத்துப்புகழக்கூடியவராக மதிக்கிறோம்' என்றார் ஓர் மேல்நாட்டு மேதாவி. 'கேம்பிரிட்ஜ்' நகரக் கிரிஸ்து கலாசாலையிற் சேர்ந்து போஸ் கணித ஆராய்ச்சிகளில் வல்லுநராகிப் பின் சட்ட திட்டங்களில் பட்டமும் பெற்று 1874-ல் இந்தியாவுக்குத் திரும்பினார்.

நியாய வாழத் தொழில் :

மோகனர் கல்கத்தாவை அடைந்தவுடன் நியாயவாதத் தொழிலைத் தொடங்கினார். இவர் மனத்தில் அந்திரங்க தெய்வபத்தியுடையவராதலால் அதில் அதிகப் பொருளிட்ட இவரால் இயலவில்லை. உண்மைக்கு மாறான விஷயங்களில் இவருடைய மன நாட்டங் கொள்ளாதாகையால் தாம் உண்மையென்று நிச்சயிகின்ற கட்சியையே சார்ந்து பேசி வந்தார். ஆனால் அவற்றில் இவருக்கு வெற்றி நிச்சயமாக இருந்துவந்தது. இவருக்கு எதிராகப்பேச அக்காலத்திய கல்கத்தா பிரபல நியாயவாதிகளும் அஞ்சி நடுங்கினர். அத்தொழிலில் இவர் ஈட்டிய பொருளையெல்லாம் அசாம் மாகாண டி விவசாய விருத்தின் பொருட்டே செலவு செய்து வந்தார். பின்னர் பலமுசாந்தரங்களைக் கொண்டு இவர் நியாயவாதத் தொழிலை விட்டு, இறைவன் தமக்குப் பரம்பரையாக அளித்துள்ள ஐஸ்வரியத்தைச் சத்விஷயத்தில் வினியோகஞ் செய்ய நினைத்து, மதசேவையிலும், ராஜீ யத்திலும் நுழைந்து உழைக்க வாரம்பித்தார்.

வித்யாபிவிருத்தி :

மேடைகளில் ரஞ்சிதமாகப் பேசுவதால் மட்டும் தேச விடுதலையோ நன்மையோ ஏற்பட்டு விடுமென்று இவர் நம்பவில்லை. விடுதலைக்கு முதற் காரணமாயுள்ளது கல்வியேயானதால், நம்முடைய தேசத்தில் கல்விப் பேருக்கு ஏற்பட்டால் மட்டுமே மக்கள் உணர்வடைவார்கள் என்றுணர்ந்து 1877-ல் கல்விச் சபையில் சீர்திருத்தத் தீர்மானங்கள் பலவற்றைச் செய்து சர்வ கலாசாலைச் சபையின் அங்கத்தினர் பதவியையேற்று உள்ளும் புறமும் உழைத்துவந்தார். “படிப்புக்கே பணத்தைக் கொட்ட வேண்டு” மென்று இவர் பலத்த வாக்குவாதஞ் செய்து அரசாங்கத்தார் அதனை அங்கீகரிக்கச் செய்துவிட்டார். 1880ஆம் ஆண்டில் இவர் நகரக் கலாசாலை என்ற பெயருடன் ஓர் பாடசாலையை ஸ்தாபித்து நடைபெறச் செய்தார். அக்கலாசாலை இன்று வங்காளத்தில் கல்விச் செங்கோலோச்சி வருகின்றது. பெண் கல்வியை மோகனர் பெருமையுடன் விரும்பினார். ஆடவ சமூகம் அறிவாளியாவதற்கு அடிப்படையாயிருப்பது அன்னையார்களுக்குப் போதிக் கப்படும் கல்வியே யாதலின் அதன் பெருக்கை அவர் பெரிதும் விரும் பினார். ஆதலால் 1881ஆம் வருடத்தில் “வங்க மகில வித்யாலய” யென்ற பெயருடன் ஓர் பெண் கலாசாலை வங்காளத்திற்கே முதற் பெண் பாடசாலையாக ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது.

அப்பெண்பாடசாலை வெகு விரைவில் மேன்மை யடைந்து “பெதுன்” (BATHUNE) பெண் கலாசாலையாக மாற்றப்பட்டது. பின்னர் அரசாங்கத்தார் அக்கலாசாலையின் நிர்வாகத்தை யேற்றுக் கொண்டனர். அக்கால ராஜப்பிரதியான “லார்ட் ரிப்பன்” அவர்கள், போஸின் உழைப்பைப் பாராட்டி 1882-ல் நியமித்த “கமிஷனின்” தலைவர்; பதவியை யேற்குமாறு அவரை வேண்டினார். உண்மையான தேசாபி மானிகள் பதவியையும் பட்டங்களையுமே கருதித் தொண்டு புரியவதில்லை யென்றோ? ஆதலின், தமது கொள்கைக்கு மாறாக அக்கமிஷனில் வேலை பார்க்க நேரிடலாமென்ற ஐயப்பாட்டால் அவர் முன்யோசனையுடன் அதனையேற்கவில்லை. அப்பால், அவரது தொண்டில் திறத்தைமெச்சி கல்கத்தா நகரவாசிகள் அவரை 1895-ல் வங்காள சட்டசபைக்கு அங்கத் தினராகத் தேர்ந்தெடுத்தனுப்பினார்கள்.

இனி, அவரது பொது ஜனசேவையைப்பற்றிப் புகல்வோம், அவர் ஸ்ரீ: சுரேந்திரநாத் பாணர்ஜியவர்களின் உதவியோடு கல்கத்தாவில் “இந்து மகாசபை” யொன்றை நிறுவினார். காங்கிரஸ் மகாசபையின் வளர்ச்சியில் அவருக்கு அளவிடற்கரிய ஊக்கமிருந்து வந்தது. சட்ட சபையிலும், இந்து மகாசபையிலும், காங்கிரஸ் இயக்கத்திலும் அவர் கலந்துழைத்தாராயினும், தமது வைதீகக் கொள்கைகளை விட்டுச் சிறிதும் மாறாமல் உறுதியாயிருந்தார். அகில இந்திய காங்கிரஸின் பன்னிரண்டாம் சம்மேளனத்தில் அவர் வித்தியாபிவிருத்தி விஷயமாகச் சீர்திருத்தங்கள் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று கொண்டு வந்த தீர்மானம், ஏகமனதுடன் அங்கீ கரிக்கப்பட்டதுமின்றி, அவருடைய புகழை விரிப்பதாயுமிருந்தது.

உடலைப்பற்றிய உபாதி :

இவ்வாறு அவர் உடல் பொருளாவியாம் மூன்றினாலும் உழைத்து வரும் நாட்களில், ஆவி அழிவற்றதால் அதற்கு நாளுக்கு நாள் வளர்ச்சி யேற்பட்டது; பொருளை அவர் அறவழிலிட்டி வந்தமையால் ஆண்ட வனருளாவதற்கு மெவ்விதகுறை மேற்படவில்லை. ஆனால், அதிக சிரமத்தாலழியுந் தன்மையதான அவருடைய உடலை, திடீரென பயங்கர மான நோய் வருத்தத் தொடங்கிற்று. இக்காரணம் பற்றி ‘வைத்தியர் மொழிந்தவாறு 1897-ல் அவர் உடல் நலத்தை உத்தேசித்து ‘ஜர்மனிக்கு’ சென்றார். அந்நாட்டுச் சீதோஷணநிலையால் அவருடைய உடலைப் பற்றிய

உபாதி நீங்க, அப்பால் அவர் ஜர்மனி தேசத்தைவிட்டகன்று இங்கிலாந்தை வந்தார். சேக பலஹினத்தைப் பொருட்படுத்தாது அவர் பாரத தேவியின் திருந்தொண்டாற்ற, பன்மடங்கு உறுதியுடன் இங்கிலாந்தில் ஓய்வில்லாமற் பல மேடைகளில் பேசிவந்தார். ஒருசமயம் அவர் உக்கிரமாகப் பேசி முடித்தபிறகு மயக்கத்தால் கீழே விழுந்தார். அதுவே அவர் கூட்டத்திற்பேசிய கடைசித் தடவைபோலும், அன்று முதல் அவர் படுக்கை மனிதரானார். அவர் சரீரம் படுத்ததேயன்றி, உயிர் தாய்நாட்டுத் தொண்டைத் தொடுத்ததுப் புரிந்து கொண்டேயிருந்தது. கண்காணாத் தேசத்தில், கடலாற்றடுக்கப் பெற்ற அந்நியரூரில் அவர் தங்க மனமில்லாது இந்நியாவிற்குத் திரும்பினார்.

காங்கிரஸ் அங்கிராசனம் :

அவர் மையிற் புரிந்த தொண்டை மெச்சினாள் போல் தேச அன்னை அவரை அகில இந்திய காங்கிரஸ் மகாசபையின் சென்னையில் நிறைவேறிய 1898ஆம் ஆண்டு விழாவின் அக்கிராசனாதிபதியாகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கச் செய்தாள். அப்பெரியாரது முன்னுரையால் அறிவாளிகள் நிறைந்த காங்கிரஸ் அவை உற்சாகமும், ஊக்கமும், தேசபக்தி மணமும் பூரிக்க விளங்கிற்று. அவர் தெய்வத்தையும் பாரத தேவியையும் முதலிற்ற கண்கலிலானந்த பாஷ்யம் ததும்பத் துதித்துப் பின் தமது சாதுர்ய வசனமழை நீரால் அக்குழாத்திக் குழுமியிருந்தாரை நீராட்டித் தமதுகொள்கையென்ற விபூதியளித்து உண்மைத் தொண்டென்ற உபதேசஞ் செய்தருளினார்.

நாட்களாக வாக அவர் உடலைப்பற்றிய உபாதிமிக்கமையினால் படுத்த படுக்கையாயவர் வருந்தினார். அவ்வமயம் கல்கத்தா நகர வாசிகள் 'வங்காள ஒற்றுமை நிலைய' மொன்றைக் கட்டுவதாகத் தீர்மானித்து அக்கட்டிடத்திற்கு போஸை அஸ்திவாரக்கல் நாட்டுமாறு வேண்டினார். அதுதான் அவர் வெளியே தோன்றிய கடைசித் தடவை, பஞ்சணையிற் படுத்தவாறே போஸ் அந்நிலையத்திற்கேகித் தாம் வரைந்துள்ள நன்றிகூறல் என்னும் உரையையளிக்க, ஸ்ரீ. சுரேந்திரநாத் பனர்ஜி, அதைப் படித்தார். அதுவே அவரது சாமோபதேசம் போலும், அவர் பாரத நாட்டின் ராஜீய, தேசிய, சமய உதாரணார்த்தமாகப் புரிந்தசேவை ஏனைய தலைவர்களுக்கு வழிகாட்டுவதாயிருந்தது.

அந்நியக்காலம் :

அவருடைய வாழ்வாகிய திரை மூடப்படுங்காலம் நெருங்கிற்று. ஆரம்பகாலத்தில் அவர் பிரம்ம சமாஜத்தலைவரும், சமயாசார சீர்த்திருத்தக்காரருமான ஸ்ரீ கேசப்சந்திரசேனருடன் அக்கொள்கையைப் பரவச் செய்வதில் தியாகியாக விளங்கி, பின் ஸ்ரீ. கேசப்சந்திரசேனர் தமது ஐந்துபிராயமுள்ள பெண்ணை பீகார் இராஜகுமாரருக்கு விவாகம் செய்து கொடுத்தது கண்டு, பிரிந்து சுந்தாரம் பிரம்மசமாஜம் என்று வேறொரு சபையை ஸ்தாபித்து அதன் வளர்ச்சிக்கென்று அரும்பாடுபட்டு வந்தார். சமய வளர்ச்சியான தீபம் ஆயுட்கால முழுவதும் அவருள்ளத்திற் பிரகாசித்துக் கொண்டிருந்தது. அவர் ராஜீய விஷயமாகப் பேசும் பொழுதெல்லாம், அவ்வறைகளில் சமயமணமே சால்புடன் கமழும். அவரது அதிக உழைப்பே அவரது மரணத்திற்குக் காரணமென்று பலரபிப்பிராயப்பட்டனர்.

முடிவுரை :

அன்னையின் அருட்தொண்டர்களான சுரேந்திரநாத்பனர்ஜியும் ஆனந்த மோகன போசும் 1906ஆம் ஆண்டிலேயே பேரின்பவீடெய்தினர். அவருடைய சுவத்துடன் அன்பர்கள் பலரும் ருத்திரப்பூமிக்குச் சென்று போற்றி அவரது தேசசேவையைப் புகழ்ந்து பாராட்டினர். பரிசுத்த மனதுடன், உள்ளன்பு பொங்க, அடக்கமென்பதே அவதரித்தது போல் தன் பணியாற்றிய இப்பெரியார் பிரிவைக் குறித்து வருந்தி அவ்வாண்டு அகில இந்திய காங்கிரஸ் மகாசபையின் வரவேற்புக் கழகத் தலைவரான டாக்டர் ராஸ்பிகாரிகோழி,

ஆனந்த போஸின் மரணம் உண்மையில் தலைவர்களை ஆற்றொணாத் துயரத்திலாழ்த்திவிட்டது. அவர் தமது தேசசேவையைத் தூயவழியில், ஆற்றலுடன் புரிந்ததை அகிலமே புகழும். அவர் ஒரு தொண்டனைப் போல் ராஜீயத்துறையிலுழைந்தவர். மக்களிடத்தில் அவர், ராஜீய உணர்ச்சியுடன் சமயப்பற்றையும் உடனுக்குடனே பெருக்கி வந்தார் என்று பேசினார். அம்மகானுடைய நீடித்த பிரிவைக் கேட்டுக் கண்கலங்காதவர் வங்காளத்திலிலரெனலாம். கல்வியிலாகாவிற்று அவருடைய மரண தினத்தில் விடுமுறையளிக்கப்பட்டது. தானமும்—தாய்த் தொண்டாகிய தவமும் தாம் புரிந்தமையால் வானவர்நாடு வழிதிறந்த இப்பெரியாரையேற்றுக் கொண்டது.

## ஆவண அமுதம்.

(சேலம் மாவட்ட ஆவணக் காப்பகம், பணி விவரங்கள் அடங்கிய குறிப்பு)

உதவி ஆணையர்.

சேலம் மாவட்ட ஆவணக் காப்பகம் 6-6-1986 நாளிட்ட கல்வித் துறை, அரசாணை எண் 808-ல் வழங்கப்பட்ட அனுமதியின்படி 9-2-1987 முதல் இம்மாவட்டத்தில் இராஜாஜி சாலையில் 12-ஆம் எண்ணுள்ள கட்டிடத்தில் இயங்கி வருகிறது.

13-3-1987 நாளிட்ட கல்வித்துறை அரசாணை எண். 420-ல் அளிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள அரசின் கோட்பாடுகளின்படி இம்மாவட்டத்தைச் சார்ந்த அலுவலகங்களில் உள்ள 30 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முற்பட்ட அனைத்து நிலைமுடிவு ஆவணங்களும் மையப்படுத்தப்படவேண்டும் என்பது அரசின் நோக்கமாகும். இவ்வாறு மையப்படுத்தப்படும் ஆவணங்கள் வரலாற்று ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்களுக்கும், நிர்வாகம் தொடர்பாக அரசு அலுவலகங்களுக்கும் பயன்படுத்தத்தக்க வகையில் நல்லமுறையில் பராமரிக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்ற சீரிய நோக்கத்தின்படி ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

இதனைக் கருத்திற்கொண்டு சேலம் மாவட்டத்தில் உள்ள மாவட்ட ஆட்சியர், கோட்டாட்சியர், வட்டாட்சியர் அலுவலகங்கள், ஊராட்சி ஒன்றியங்கள், காவல்துறை, சிறைத்துறை, கல்வித்துறை மற்றும் அரசு அலுவலகங்கள் உட்பட 321 அலுவலகங்களோடு தொடர்பு கொள்ளப்பட்டது. இவ்வாறாக தொடர்பு கொள்ளப்பட்டதில் 30 ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முற்பட்ட நிலைமுடிவு ஆவணங்கள் 38 அலுவலகங்களிலிருந்து இக்காப்பகத்திற்கு மாற்ற உள்ளன. இவைகளில் 25 அலுவலகங்களில் இருந்து ஆவணங்கள் மாற்றம் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளன. மொத்தம் 43,344 ஆவணங்கள் இதுவரையிலும் மாற்றம் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவ்வாறு மாற்றம் செய்யப்பட்ட ஆவணங்களில் பழுதடைந்த ஆவணங்கள் பல கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டு அவற்றில் 4595 ஆவணங்கள் 31-12-1989 வரை செப்பனிடப்பட்டுள்ளன.

பெறப்பட்ட ஆவணங்களுக்கு அட்டவணை தயாரிக்கும் பணியும் முனைப்போடு செயல்படுத்தப்பட்டு வருகிறது. மாவட்ட ஆட்சியர் அலுவலக ஆவணங்களுக்கு முதலில் அட்டவணை தாட்கள் 1888-ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் 1956 வரை எழுதப்பட்டு, அவற்றுக்கு 1888-ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் 1920 வரை முழுமையான வகையில் பொருளடக்க அட்டவணைப் பட்டியல் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது. மற்ற ஆவணங்களுக்கும் பொருளடக்க அட்டவணைப் பட்டியல் தயாரிக்கும்பணி துரிதமாக நடைபெற்று வருகிறது.

மாவட்ட ஆட்சியர் அலுவலக ஆவணங்களில் சேலம் மாவட்டத்தில் மிக முக்கியமான அணையான மேட்டூர் அணைக்குத் தேவையான நில மெடுப்புக்கான ஆவணங்களும், ஏற்காட்டில் காபி மற்றும் டீ எஸ்டேட்டுகளின் வளர்ச்சிக்காக அப்போதைய அரசு மேற்கொண்ட முயற்சிகளும், இம்மாவட்டத்தில் உள்ள கனிம பொருள்கள் பற்றிய விபரங்களும், அவற்றின் வெளிக் கொணர அரசின் நடவடிக்கைகளும், நகரின் மிக முக்கியமான திருக்கோயிலான அருள்மிகு சுகவனேஸ்வரர் திருக்கோயில் தொடர்பான நிலமெடுப்பு ஆவணங்களும், மற்றும் பல அரிய ஆவணங்கள் உள்ளன.

துறைச் செய்திகள் :

மாவட்ட ஆவணக்காப்பகம், மதுரை-2.

தொகுத்தவர் : மு. சீதாராமன், ஆராய்ச்சி உதவியாளர்.

மதுரை காமராசர் பல்கலைக் கழக நகர் வளாகத்தில் 25—3—1982 முதல் செயல்பட்டு வரும் மதுரை மாவட்ட ஆவணக் காப்பகம் வரலாற்று ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்களுக்கு முக்கியமாக மதுரை காமராசர் பல்கலைக் கழகத்தைச் சேர்ந்த ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்களுக்கு அவர்களது ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு ஆவணங்கள் வழங்க பெரிதும் உதவுகிறது. கடந்த ஆறு ஆண்டுகளில் (1984 முதல் 1989 வரை) 46 ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் இக் காப்பக ஆவணங்களைப் பயன்படுத்தியுள்ளனர்.

1989 டிசம்பர் வரை மதுரை, திண்டுக்கல் காயிதே மில்லத் மற்றும் முன்னாள் இராடநாதபுர மாவட்டாட்சியர் மற்றும் இதர அலுவலகங்களின் 64,557 நிலையான முடிவு ஆவணங்களும் 3,653 புத்தகங்களும் இக்காப்பகத்திற்கு மாற்றப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவை அனைத்தையும் வைக்கப் போதிய அட்டங்கள் இல்லாததால் தற்போது கூடுதலாக 7 எண்ணிக்கை ஆவண அட்டங்கள் இக் காப்பகத்திற்கு அளிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. பெறப்பட்டுள்ள ஆவணங்களுக்கு இதுவரை 39,149 அட்டவணைத் துண்டுகள் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. 7 அலுவலக ஆவணங்களுக்கு அட்டவணைகள் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இதர அலுவலகங்களின் ஆவண அட்டவணைகள் தயாரிக்கும் பணி தொடர்ந்து நடைபெற்று வருகிறது.

மாற்றங்கள் :—உதவி ஆணையர் திரு. ஜெ. ஜெயச்சந்திரன் தலைமை அலுவலகத்திற்கு மாற்றப்பட்டு தலைமை அலுவலகத்தில் ஆராய்ச்சி அலுவலராகப் பணியாற்றிய திரு. ரா. சுந்தரேசன், உதவி ஆணையராக மாற்றப்பட்டார். இவர் 5—2—1990 முற்பகல் இக்காப்பகத்தில் பணியேற்றார்.

## மாவட்ட ஆவணக் காப்பகம்,

கோவை-36.  
நாள் 22-3-1990

கோவை மாவட்ட ஆவணக் காப்பகத்தில் கடந்த 1—10—1989 முதல் 31—12—1989 வரையிலான இக் காப்பகம் சேகரித்த ஆவண சாதனை விவரங்கள்:

ஆவணங்கள் சேகரிக்கப்பட்ட அலுவலகங்கள்.

சேகரிக்கப்  
பட்ட  
ஆவணங்  
களின்  
எண்ணிக்கை.

(1)	(2)
உதவி ஆணையர் (வணிக வரிகள்) கோவை தெற்கு, கோவை—18.	5
மாவட்ட ஆட்சியர், கோவை—18.	474
செயல் அலுவலர், பேரூராட்சி அலுவலகம், அவிநாசி	2
வனப் பாதுகாவலர், கோவை	2,143
சேகரிக்கப்பட்ட மொத்த ஆவணங்கள்	2,624

இதுவரை சேகரித்த மொத்த ஆவணங்கள் 5,59,999  
மராத்திய ஆவணங்கள். 85,950

மற்றும் நிர்மலா கல்லூரி சரித்திர உதவிப் பேராசிரியை சகோதரி கிரேஸ் அவர்களிடமிருந்து தொன்மை வாய்ந்த 257 எண்ணிக்கையிலான ஒலைச் சுவடிகளும் (ஒரு கட்டு) பெறப்பட்டுள்ளன.

(ஒன்று) \_\_\_\_\_,

ஆராய்ச்சி அலுவலர்.

(உணர்ச்சி-நகல்)

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