

# MODERN MYSORE

*From the beginning to 1868*

BY

RAJAKARYAPRASAKTA RAO BAHADUR

M. SHAMA RAO, M.A.,

Retired Member of the Mysore Civil Service.



1936

Printed by Higginbothams, South Parade,  
BANGALORE.



Dedicated to the memory of  
KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR III, Maharaja of Mysore,  
whose attachment to his country  
and whose political foresight led to the preservation of  
the integrity of the Mysore State  
and won for him the lasting gratitude of posterity.

सत्यमेव जयते



सत्यमेव जयते

## PREFACE.

---

This volume comprises the history of Modern Mysore from its beginning in 1799 after the fall of Seringapatam to the death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III in 1868. The pages referring to the earlier years give a retrospect of the events from the time of Yaduraja the first founder of the present Hindu Royal family of Mysore to the re-constitution of the Mysore State under British Suzerainty in 1799. The book is not a mere narrative of military episodes and administrative measures but also attempts to give a description of the social and economic conditions of these bygone times. One new feature of the work is the light it throws for the first time on the events that led to the deprivation of Krishnaraja Wodeyar of his ruling powers in 1831 by Lord William Bentinck who was then the Governor-General of India. But this large-hearted administrator was the first to admit that acting on the unverified representations of the Madras Government he had done an act of injustice to the ruler of Mysore and ever after, even when he had retired to private life, he is said to have always referred to it with a feeling of regret. The Commission of Enquiry appointed subsequent to the assumption of the administration of Mysore by the Company's Government found that Krishnaraja Wodeyar was not personally accountable for the misgovernment which existed in some parts of the State and that he was but the victim of the circumstances of the time. To Krishnaraja Wodeyar, however, to obtain the restoration of his State proved a Herculean task and but for his tenacity of purpose the Parliamentary verdict of 1867 in favour of restoration would not have been possible. Krishnaraja Wodeyar by his conduct set an example to future generations of the success that can be achieved by pacific means. The succeeding volume which is already in the press will continue the history from the coronation of Chamaraja Wodeyar X in September 1868 to the present time.

I have to express my obligations to a large number of gentlemen who have helped me in various ways in connection with this work,

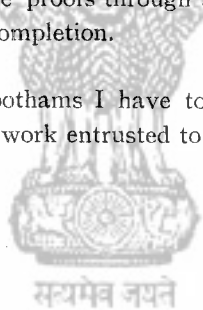
especially to Sir Mirza Ismail and Messrs. Ranganatha Rao Sahib, T. V. A. Iswaran, N. Madhava Rao, A. V. Ramanathan, T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty, B. T. Kesava Iyengar, R. Ranga Rao, M. Seshadri, M. Rama Rao, H. V. Ramaswamy, A. K. Syed Taj Peeran, K. Mylari Rao and Amildar K. Seshagiri Rao. I have consulted all the important official and private publications and referred to them in the body of the book which are too numerous to be acknowledged individually, including the Mysore Gazetteer as revised by Rao Sahib Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao. Prof. Venkata-subba Sastry's book on Sir Mark Cubbon has also been of service to me.

Finally, I must express my great indebtedness to my assistant Mr. B. M. Gopala Rao, B.A. (Hons.), but for whose earnest, intelligent and suggestive co-operation both when writing the book as well as in passing the proofs through the press the work would not have easily reached completion.

To Messrs. Higginbothams I have to express my thanks for the neat execution of the work entrusted to them.

BANGALORE,  
9th July 1936.

M. SHAMA RAO.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
CHAPTER I.—Yaduraja to Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar..	1 to 10
CHAPTER II.—Struggle for power among the ministers and appearance of Haidar Ali      ...      ...	11 to 17
CHAPTER III.—Differences among the ministers con- tinued—Salabat Jung's invasion—Support to Muhammad Ali of Arcot      ...      ...	18 to 24
CHAPTER IV.—Compromise between the ministers— Rise of Haidar Ali      ...      ...	25 to 32
CHAPTER V.—Return of the Mahrattas—Fall of Nanjaraj—Haidar supreme dictator      ...	33 to 42
CHAPTER VI.—Haidar's friendship with Basalat Jung—Acquisition of Doddaballapur, Chikballa- pur, Sira and Bednore      ...      ...	43 to 52
CHAPTER VII.—Haidar's reverses at the hands of the Mahrattas and conclusion of peace—Madhava Rao's invasion of Mysore—Death of Immadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar and other events      ...	53 to 60
CHAPTER VIII.—The principal political actors of the period—Fate of Nanjaraj      ...      ...	61 to 67
CHAPTER IX.—Termination of the first Mysore War with the English      ...      ...	68 to 74
CHAPTER X.—Fresh Mahratta invasion of Mysore	75 to 83
CHAPTER XI.—Agreement with Raghunatha Rao— Gutti conquered—Other events      ...      ...	84 to 89
CHAPTER XII.—Annexation of Chitaldrug and other events      ...      ...	90 to 97
CHAPTER XIII.—Advances to Haidar from Poona ministers for a compact against the English and other events      ...      ...	98 to 105

	PAGE.
CHAPTER XIV.—Second War with the English	... 106 to 111
CHAPTER XV.—War with the English continued—	
Haidar's death	... 112 to 117
CHAPTER XVI.—Haidar's character and abilities—	
Other matters	... 118 to 122
CHAPTER XVII.—Tippu's succession to power and	
conclusion of peace with the English	... 123 to 130
CHAPTER XVIII.—Life of British prisoners at Seringa-	
patam	... 131 to 136
CHAPTER XIX.—Embassies to Turkey and France—	
Some innovations	... 137 to 140
CHAPTER XX.—Third War with the English	... 141 to 149
CHAPTER XXI.—War continued	... 150 to 156
CHAPTER XXII.—Lord Cornwallis' second march on	
Seringapatam	... 157 to 164
CHAPTER XXIII.—Conditions of peace and surrender	
of hostages by Tippu	... 165 to 169
CHAPTER XXIV.—Punishment of Palegars—Further	
innovations—Death of Chamaraja Wodeyar IX.	170 to 181
CHAPTER XXV.—Lord Mornington's proposal to Tippu	
to send an agent to his court and his reply	... 182 to 188
CHAPTER XXVI.—The last war with the English—	
Battles of Malavalli and Siddeswar	... 189 to 195
CHAPTER XXVII.—Siege of Seringapatam by General	
Harris	... 196 to 204
CHAPTER XXVIII.—Capture of Seringapatam	... 205 to 216
CHAPTER XXIX.—Funeral of Tippu	... 217 to 222
CHAPTER XXX.—Tippu's day-to-day administration...	223 to 237
CHAPTER XXXI.—Establishment of order	... 238 to 242

CHAPTER XXXII.—Partition of the territories of Tippu Sultan among the allies and the re-constitution of the Mysore State ... ..	243 to 249
CHAPTER XXXIII.—Prize-money and its distribution..	250 to 255
CHAPTER XXXIV.—Removal of Tippu's family to Vellore and ultimately to Calcutta ...	256 to 262
CHAPTER XXXV.—Installation of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar—Part played by Rani Lakshmi Ammanni in regaining the lost power of her family.	263 to 272
CHAPTER XXXVI.—The Subsidiary Treaty of 1799 between Krishnaraja Wodeyar and the East India Company ... ..	273 to 277
CHAPTER XXXVII.—General and economic conditions of Mysore in the early part of the 19th century ...	278 to 284
CHAPTER XXXVIII.—General and economic conditions of Mysore—( <i>continued</i> ) ... ..	285 to 289
CHAPTER XXXIX.—General and economic conditions of Mysore—( <i>continued</i> ) ... ..	290 to 296
CHAPTER XL.—Land tenure—Modes of cultivation—Wages of labour—Distribution of crop ...	297 to 302
CHAPTER XLI.—Land Tenure—Modes of cultivation—Wages of labour—Distribution of crop—( <i>continued</i> ) ... ..	303 to 308
CHAPTER XLII.—Manufacture and Trade in the early part of the 19th century ... ..	309 to 319
CHAPTER XLIII.—The people of Mysore in the early part of the 19th century ... ..	320 to 328
CHAPTER XLIV.—Personnel of the new administration—Political position of the new Mysore State.	329 to 335
CHAPTER XLV.—Form of Administration—Territorial Divisions of the State—Departments of Government—Taxation—Criminal and Civil Justice—Military and Kandachar force ... ..	336 to 342

CHAPTER XLVI.—Establishment of internal tranquillity—Dhondoji Wagh—Venkatadri Naik, Palegar of Aigoor ... ..	343 to 350
CHAPTER XLVII.—Co-operation of Mysore with the British troops in the second Mahratta War ...	351 to 358
CHAPTER XLVIII.—Appreciation of General Wellesley's work by the inhabitants of Seringapatam—His return to Europe—His letter to Purnaiya—Observations of Wellesley on some of the topics of the day ... ..	359 to 366
CHAPTER XLIX.—Other important matters relating to Purnaiya's administration ... ..	367 to 375
CHAPTER L.—Other important matters relating to Purnaiya's administration—( <i>continued</i> )—Mutiny of the British troops ... ..	376 to 382
CHAPTER LI.—Retirement and death of Purnaiya ...	383 to 386
CHAPTER LII.—The disadvantages under which Krishnaraja Wodeyar laboured—Further co-operation of Mysore troops in British campaigns—Establishment of the town of Chamarajanagar ...	387 to 393
CHAPTER LIII.—General administration of the State...	394 to 400
CHAPTER LIV.—Persons of influence at the court of the Maharaja ... ..	401 to 406
CHAPTER LV.—Land Assessment and Sharat or Contract System ... ..	407 to 409
CHAPTER LVI.—Abuse of the Sharat System—Visit of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras ...	410 to 415
CHAPTER LVII.—Outbreak of insurrection—Its contributory causes ... ..	416 to 419
CHAPTER LVIII.—Outbreak of insurrection in parts of Nagar, Chitaldrug and Bangalore Foujdaries ...	420 to 424

CHAPTER LIX.—Visit of the Maharaja to Chennarayana- patna and other places ... ..	425 to 429
CHAPTER LX.—Insurrection in Nagar ... ..	430 to 436
CHAPTER LXI.—Visit of the Governor of Madras to Mysore—Employment of more subsidiary troops in Nagar—Transfer of the administration to the Company ... ..	437 to 441
CHAPTER LXII.—Final suppression of the Insurrection.	442 to 451
CHAPTER LXIII.—Appointment of an Enquiry Com- mission by Lord William Bentinck and its conclusions—Bentinck's regret for his action ...	452 to 458
CHAPTER LXIV.—Agricultural, trading and other con- ditions when the British Commission assumed the administration ... ..	459 to 465
CHAPTER LXV.—Briggs' differences with the Madras Government and his resignation ... ..	466 to 469
CHAPTER LXVI.—Changes introduced in the adminis- tration by Col. Briggs and Bentinck's approval of them with some modifications ... ..	470 to 478
CHAPTER LXVII.—Thomas Babington (afterwards Lord) Macaulay's visit to Mysore—Colonel Mark Cubbon (afterwards Sir) appointed sole Commissioner—His treatment of the pategars— Abolition of the Residency ... ..	479 to 484
CHAPTER LXVIII.—Some early administrative changes and improvements—Visit of Lord Dalhousie—End of the patriarchal system of Government—Some men of Cubbon's time— Attempted transfer of Mysore to the control of the Madras Government ... ..	485 to 489
CHAPTER LXIX.—Administrative changes and im- provements during Cubbon's time ... ..	490 to 497

CHAPTER LXX.—Administrative changes and improvements during Cubbon's time—( <i>continued</i> )	... 498 to 503
CHAPTER LXXI.—Administrative changes and improvements during Cubbon's time—( <i>continued</i> ) —Retirement of Cubbon	... 504 to 511
CHAPTER LXXII.—Bowring's assumption of charge as Commissioner—His early career—Interview with the Maharaja—Mysore becomes a Regulation Province under Bowring—Inspection of offices and their re-organisation—Prince Gulam Muhammad's charity	... 512 to 518
CHAPTER LXXIII.—Judicial Reforms—Police re-organisation—Education and Local Self-Government	... 519 to 523
CHAPTER LXXIV.—Land Survey and Settlement—Inam Settlement	... 524 to 531
CHAPTER LXXV.—Bowring's resignation of office and departure from Mysore—Opinions on some of the topics of the day—Some letters of Mrs. Bowring	... 532 to 539
CHAPTER LXXVI.—Krishnaraja Wodeyar III and maintenance of harmonious relations with the British Government.	... 540 to 547
CHAPTER LXXVII.—Krishnaraja Wodeyar's early attempts for reinstatement—Court of Directors shift ground—Lord Dalhousie's desire to annex Mysore—His minute to apply the Doctrine of Lapse to Mysore	... 548 to 551
CHAPTER LXXVIII.—Fresh hopes raised by the Queen's Proclamation—Adoption Circular withheld from Krishnaraja Wodeyar—Further appeal to Canning and his adverse decision—Decision of Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State, supporting Canning—Dissenting minutes by two members of the India Council	... 552 to 559

CHAPTER LXXIX.—Bowring communicates Secretary of State's decision to the Maharaja—Maharaja re-urges claim—Secretary of State's approval of the reply of the Government of India—Protest by two members of the India Council ... 560 to 563

CHAPTER LXXX.—Dr. Campbell's return from England—Presents to the Maharaja from Queen Victoria—Interest in the Mysore Cause created in England—Petition of the people of Mysore in favour of the Maharaja—The Hon'ble Lakshmi Narasa Chetty and the Mysore Cause—Dr. Campbell as agent of the Maharaja in England—Fresh appeal to Sir John Lawrence and his adverse opinion ... 564 to 570

CHAPTER LXXXI.—Adoption of Chamaraja Wodeyar—Intimation of the same to the Commissioner, the Governor-General and the Secretary of State—Their replies—Strong support to the adoption by three members of the India Council—Arguments against the adoption by three other members ... 571 to 578

CHAPTER LXXXII.—Overtures to offer some concessions to the Maharaja—The Maharaja's rejection—Maharaja's unalloyed faith in Dr. Campbell ... 579 to 583

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—The struggle in England—Change of ministry in England—Lord Cranborne Secretary of State in succession to Sir Charles Wood—Interview with Lord Cranborne by a deputation led by Sir Henry Rawlinson—Support of the press in England in favour of preserving the integrity of the State of Mysore—John Morley's clear exposition of the Mysore Case ... 584 to 592

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—Recognition of the adopted son  
by the Government in England—Debate in  
Parliament—Durbar in the Mysore Palace ... 593 to 600

CHAPTER LXXXV.—Death of Krishnaraja  
Wodeyar III—Chamaraja Wodeyar proclaimed  
successor—Personal characteristics of  
Krishnaraja Wodeyar III ... 601 to 609



# MODERN MYSORE





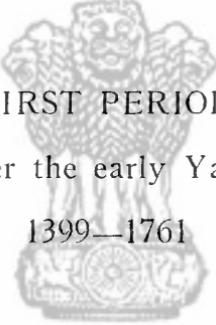
सत्यमेव जयते



*Krishnaraja Wodeyar III.*



सत्यमेव जयते



FIRST PERIOD

Mysore under the early Yadava Kings.

1399—1761

सत्यमेव जयते



सत्यमेव जयते

## CHAPTER I.

### **Retrospect of the growth of Mysore from Yaduraja to Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar.**

The beginnings of modern Mysore may be dated from the fall of Seringapatam on the 4th of May 1799 to the British arms. Till then Seringapatam was not only a flourishing city of importance in Southern India but also had been the capital of a number of powerful rulers. It is now, however, a city of ruined ramparts and dilapidated houses with rank vegetation making the place malarial and unhealthy. Its population has dwindled from about a lakh and a half to a few thousands; still it must be admitted that this city of bygone glory has not lost its attraction to the numerous visitors who continue to frequent it in all parts of the year. To the Hindus, it is a place of pilgrimage where they have a bath in the sacred river Kaveri and where they visit the holy shrine of God Sri Ranganatha. To the Mussalmans, it is a place where once Tippu Sultan, the Tiger of Mysore, ruled, where the two minarets of the great mosque built by him still continue to dominate over the ruined city and the surrounding country, where is situated the great Mausoleum in which the remains of Tippu and of his parents lie buried and where people of the Mussalman faith annually gather to mourn over the destiny which befell Tippu Sultan and to recall to their minds the heroism which he displayed even in his last moments. To the British, it is a place which reminds them of the daring feats performed by their countrymen against great odds, sending a thrill through their minds as they witness the vestiges which still remain of those feats.

Seringapatam first rose to importance in the year 1495, when it became the seat of the viceroys of the Vijayanagar kings. After the battle of Talikota in 1565 when a great disaster befell the Vijayanagar king, Rama Raja, at the hands of his Mahomedan neighbours of Bijapur, his successors were unable to maintain the vigour of their hold over their distant feudatories and dependants. Among such feudatories was the celebrated Raja Wodeyar I, ninth in succession from the romantic and chivalrous Yadava prince,

Yaduraja, who rescued the daughter of the Mysore Chief from the unwelcome alliance with Maranayaka of Karagahalli, a petty palegar, and became the founder of the present Ruling family by chivalrously marrying the princess himself. Many interesting events relating to the career of Raja Wodeyar are mentioned in the Palace chronicles on which Wilks, the first English historian of Mysore, has based his account of this period of Mysore history. Raja Wodeyar was born in the year 1552 and came to rule the Mysore country in 1578 A.D. in place of his elder brother Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar who retired to private life and proceeded to reside at Terakanambi in the Gundlupet taluk. The first act of Raja Wodeyar on succeeding his brother was to break the power of his kinsman Virarajaiya of Karagahalli who was insolently parading himself in a palanquin with music and attendants and to annex Karagahalli and the villages dependent on it. Raja Wodeyar next defied the authority of Sri Rangaraya, the Vijayanagar viceroy at Seringapatam, by refusing to comply with his summons to go to his help for meeting an invasion of his country by Venkatapathiraya of Madura. Sri Rangaraya, later, called on his kinsman, the palegar of Ummathur, to punish Raja Wodeyar for his refractoriness, but the latter meeting the Ummathur army at a place called Kesare totally routed it and put it to flight. Next, hearing that the chiefs of Belur, Grama, Mugur, Yelandur and of some other places had formed a combination against the Vijayanagar viceroy and fearing that danger to Mysore might arise if this combination was left unchecked, Raja Wodeyar met the combined chiefs at Kunigal, defeated them in battle and dispersed their armies. On another occasion, Raja Wodeyar learnt that while the Senapathi or the commander-in-chief of the Vijayanagar king was proceeding on a visit to the viceroy at Seringapatam, he was captured by the chief of Holè-Narsipur and kept in confinement. Raja Wodeyar proceeded with an army and rescued the Senapathi and sent him on to Seringapatam. For this service, Raja Wodeyar was rewarded with the grant of an estate or territory adjacent to Bannur and Sosalé in the present Thirumkudlu-Narsipur taluk of the Mysore District.

The most remarkable and far-reaching event, however, in the time of Raja Wodeyar was the incorporation of Seringapatam and

the territories dependent on it with his own. The causes that brought about this event are obscure, and it can only be conjectured that Sri Rangaraya taking into account the unusual talents of Raja Wodeyar and on being afflicted with carbuncle in his old age made a virtue of necessity and on the pretence of allowing Raja Wodeyar to govern for him during his absence, went and settled at Malangi near Talkad where, shortly after, he died. Thenceforth Seringapatam became the capital of the Mysore Kingdom and continued to be so till 1799, when after the death of Tippu, the British retained the island in their own possession as a reminder of their conquest. Raja Wodeyar from the time of his occupation of Seringapatam extended his dominions on all sides. Among his conquests after this date may be mentioned Sargoor in the Heggadadevanakote taluk, Ramasamudra and Hardnahalli in the Chamarajanagar taluk, Mugur in the T-Narasipur taluk and Kikkeri and Hosaholalu in the Krishnarajpet taluk.

The policy of Raja Wodeyar was remarkable, as expressed by Wilks, for the rigour and severity which he exercised towards his subordinate Wodeyars and for the indulgence he showed towards the ryots. These petty wodeyars were generally dispossessed of the territories in their possession and kept at the seat of Government with a pecuniary allowance, while the ryots were reconciled to the change by levy from them of no larger sums than they had been accustomed to pay previously. After he took possession of Seringapatam, Raja Wodeyar seated himself on the throne of the Vijayanagar viceroy and celebrated the Dasara festival with adequate pomp and pageantry. Worn down by his ceaseless activities, Raja Wodeyar died in the year 1617 A.D. and was the first sovereign of Mysore to impress upon his contemporaries that the Ruling family of Mysore was a factor to be taken account of.

The next great name among the successors of Raja Wodeyar I is that of Kanthirava Narasimha Raja Wodeyar, twelfth in succession from Yaduraja. Before he became king, Kanthirava was living at a place called Terakanambi in the present Gundlupet taluk with his father Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar who yielded place, as already stated, to Raja Wodeyar I. Kanthirava was a

prince of great courage, bodily strength and mental vigour. Even before he ascended the throne, he had established a record for intrepidity and heroism by going in disguise to Trichnopoly and challenging and slaying a champion wrestler who had insolently hung up his nether garments at one of the gates of the fort inviting all and sundry either to acknowledge his superiority by passing underneath those garments or in the alternative, to engage in combat with him. Kanthirava became king in 1638 and shortly after, resenting the insolent behaviour towards him of Vikramaraya who was then Dalavoy or Commander-in-chief of the troops and learning also that his predecessor Immadi Raja Wodeyar, the son of Raja Wodeyar I had been poisoned by him, put Vikramaraya to death and appointed a person named Thimmappa Naik as the head of the royal forces.

About this time, there happened to be enmity between Hanumappa Naik of Basavapatna and Virabhadra Naik of Ikkeri, both in the present Shimoga district. The former sought the help of the Bahamani king of Bijapur to subjugate the latter. The Bijapur king learning from one Nagamangala Chenniah, a fugitive army-commander of Jagadeva Raya of Chennapatna, that the new king of Mysore had injudiciously put Vikarmaraya to death and thereby had become obnoxious to his people, sent a large army commanded by one of his able generals, Ranadulla Khan by name, first, to help Hanumappa Naik against the chief of Ikkeri and then to march towards Seringapatam to subjugate Kanthirava Narasimha Raja Wodeyar. All efforts made by Ranadulla Khan against the Seringapatam fort as well as the fort at Mysore were unavailing and Kanthirava had the satisfaction of putting Ranadulla Khan and his army to flight. Further efforts of two other Bijapur generals equally proved unavailing and Kanthirava's fame spread all around as a great warrior. He was equally successful in restoring order in the internal concerns of his territories by breaking the power of village headmen known as Gowdas who as rent collectors or farmers had misused their opportunities to amass much wealth by speculation and also by other questionable and disloyal means and grown defiant in their dealings with the Raja. Kanthirava died in 1659 and during his reign, Kaveripuram from Gatti

Mudaliar of Madura, Turuvekere from Abdulla Khan, Periapatna, Bettadapura and Rudrapatna from Nanjunda Urs, Kadaba from Byrappa Naik, Basavapatna from Krishnappa Naik, Yelahanka from Immadi Kempe Gowda and various other places at wide distances were annexed and the limits of the Mysore kingdom were thereby extended on all sides. Kanthirava also established a mint at which were coined Hanas or Fanams which popularly bore his name and remained in circulation even during the time of Tippu Sultan.

Another of the ancestors of the present Ruling family of Mysore was Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar, fourteenth in succession from Yaduraja and who ruled from 1673 to 1704. He was a contemporary of Sivaji and Aurangzeb, and during the political convulsions of the period maintained his ground both by military heroism as well as by skilful diplomacy. In 1687 A.D. he managed to obtain possession of Bangalore which belonged to Venkoji of Tanjore. Venkoji finding himself unable to safely maintain possession of this town negotiated with Chikka Devaraja to sell the place for three lakhs of rupees. But before the transaction could be completed, Kasim Khan, the Mughal general of Aurangzeb, proceeded towards Bangalore and captured the place. He found it prudent, however, on account of the danger he had to encounter from the Mahratta armies, to transfer Bangalore to Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar on the same terms as those of Venkoji. Chikka Devaraja from this time forward sedulously cultivated the friendship of Kasim Khan who had now become established as the Mughal viceroy of the province of Sira which formerly belonged to the Bijapur king. Chikka Devaraja thus guarding himself against danger from the Mughals began extending his territories in directions that did not interfere with the Mughal operations. Tumkur was taken the same year; then turning east by way of Hoskote, the Mysore army descended the Ghauts and subdued a great part of Salem and a large extent of territories all around. Between 1690 and 1694, Chikka Devaraja extended his conquests westward and all the country to the left of the Bababudan hill including Hassan, Banavar, Chikmagalur and Wastara belonging to Bednore were annexed. Subsequently by a treaty concluded in 1694 with the chief of

Bednore, all these conquests except Aigur and Wastara were retained by Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar.

In 1696 while the Mysore army was besieging Trichnopoly which then belonged to the Naik of Madura, a Mahratta army which was marching to the relief of Ginjee where Rama Raja, the second son of Sivaji had been long besieged by the Mughals under Zulficar Khan, suddenly appeared before Seringapatam. The Mysore army at Trichnopoly was ordered to return to meet this danger. But as Kumaraiah who was commanding the force had taken a vow not to leave the place before he captured it, sent a portion of his army under the command of his son Doddaiiah. This force came up by rapid marches and by means of a stratagem inflicted a total defeat upon the enemy in which the two Mahratta leaders, Nimbaji Ghatge and Jayaji Ghatge were slain and the whole of their luggage and military stores came to the possession of the Mysore army. The stratagem\* is thus described by Wilks :—

“ In the evening, the Dalavoy sent a small detachment in the direction opposite to that on which he had planned his attack and in the probable line by which he would move to throw his forces into the capital. This detachment was supplied with the requisite number of torches and an equal number of oxen which were arranged at proper distances, with a flambeau tied to the horns of each, in a situation where they would not be observed by the enemy. At an appointed signal, the torches were lighted and the oxen driven in the concerted direction, so as to indicate the march of the army attempting to force its way through the besiegers by an attack on the flanks of their position. As soon as it was perceived that the enemy were making a disposition to receive the army of torches, Doddaiiah silently approached their rear and obtained an easy but most sanguinary victory.”

Kasim Khan, the friend of Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar, died in 1698. Chikka Devaraja however thought it prudent to continue to cultivate the Mughal friendship and accordingly sent an

---

\* Readers of Roman History may be reminded of a similar stratagem adopted by Hannibal, the hero of the Second Punic War.

embassy in 1699 under one of his able officers, Linganniah by name, to Aurangzeb who was then at Ahmadnagar. Aurangzeb and his courtiers were conciliated with costly presents and the Mughal king had also been pleased with the part played by the Mysore ruler in defeating the Mahrattas. In return, Aurangzeb conferred on Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar the title of 'Raja Jugdev' and presented him with several insignias of honour, some of which are to be seen even to this day on public occasions.

Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar was also a noted constitution-builder and patron of learning and literature. He introduced many reforms to secure the internal peace of the country. In 1701 he regulated the business at the headquarters of Government by distributing it under 18 cutcherries or departments. These were:—

- (1) Nirupa Chavadi or the Secretary's Department, to which he appointed one Daroga or superintendent with three daftars—registers or books of record. All letters or orders despatched were previously read to the Raja and his approval obtained.
- (2) Ayakatt Chavadi, the business transacted in which was to keep the general accounts of revenue and disbursements, civil and military.
- (3) and (4) Ubhaika Vichara Chavadi or two-fold inquiry. He divided his whole possessions into two portions; that to the north of the Kaveri was called the Patna Hobli; that to the south of the Kaveri was named the Mysore Hobli; to each of these cutcherries he appointed one dewan with three daftars.
- (5) Shime Kandachar—it was the duty of this cutcherry to keep the accounts of provisions and military stores and all expenses of the provincial troops, including those connected with the maintenance of the garrisons with one bakshi and three daftars.
- (6) Bagal Kandachar (bagal, a gate or portal)—it was the duty of this department to keep the accounts of the troops stationed at headquarters.
- (7) Sunkada Chavadi or the cutcherry of duties and customs levied within his dominions.
- (8) Pom Chavadi—in every taluk where the Sunka or toll was taken, there was another or second station where a further sum equal to half the former amount was levied.
- (9) Tundeya or Thodaya Chavadi—where a further fourth of the first duty was levied in Seringapatam only.
- (10) and (11) In the Ubhaika Vichara were not included the Srirangapatna and Mysore Ashtagrama (eight

townships); each of these had a separate cutcherry; besides the business of revenue, they were in charge of the provisions and necessities of the garrison and palace. (12) Benne Chavadi, the butter department—the establishment of cows, both as a breeding stud and to furnish milk and butter for the palace; the name was changed by Tippu to Amrit Mahal. (13) Patnada Chavadi—this cutcherry was charged with the police of the metropolis, the repairs of the fortifications and public buildings. (14) Behin Chavadi,—the department of expedition or the post-office; the business of espionage also belonged to this department. (15) Samukha Chavadi—the officers of the palace, domestics and personal servants of every description belonged to the charge of this cutcherry. (16) Devasthan Chavadi kept the accounts of the lands allotted to the support of religious establishments, the daily rations of food to the Brahmans, lighting the pagodas, etc., (17) Kabbinada Chavadi or iron cutcherry; this article was made a monopoly and its management was committed to a separate cutcherry. (18) Hogesoppina Chavadi—the tobacco department, another monopoly by the Government. The headquarter office of the Mysore Government at Bangalore which is called the General and Revenue Secretariat even now is popularly known as Attara Cutcherry in memory of the eighteen departments established by Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar.

This great ruler died in the year 1704 at the age of 76, much to the regret of his subjects. At the time of his death, his kingdom extended on the east as far as Salem, on the west as far as the Hassan and Kadur districts, on the south up to Coimbatore and Dharmapuram and on the north as far as the modern Tumkur district. He was the first ruler to establish a postal system in his dominions and the duties of the postal officials included not only the despatch of letters but also the duty of sending regular news-letters embodying secret and general information regarding all important men and occurrences in their neighbourhood. He had an advisory council of five ministers which he consulted on all important subjects. The most distinguished of these ministers were Yelandur Pundit, Tirumala Iyengar, Shadaksharaiah, Chik Upadhyaya who was the king's teacher in his younger days and Linganniah whose name has already been mentioned.

## CHAPTER II.

### **Internal struggle for power among the ministers— First appearance of Haidar Ali—Part played by Mysore in the Carnatic War.**

The eighteenth century was a century of trouble and turmoil for the whole of India. The Bahamani Kingdom disappeared and the Mughal rule was established both in the Deccan as well as in Southern India. The Nizam-Ul-Mulk of Hyderabad though nominally deemed to be viceroy of the Deccan on behalf of the Mughal Emperor of Delhi made himself practically an independent ruler. The Carnatic was divided into two provinces, Carnatic Balaghat and Carnatic Payeenghat with capitals at Sira and Arcot respectively. The Mahrattas under the Peshwas also during this period contended for supremacy and led plundering expeditions into Mysore and Southern India. In Mysore the period from 1704 to 1761 was marked by the feebleness in general of the Rajas who succeeded Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar and there were constant dissensions between them and their ministers and among the latter also, till all power finally fell into the hands of the famous Haidar Ali.

The powerful Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar, as stated already, died in 1704 and was succeeded by his son Kanthirava Wodeyar who nominally ruled the country till 1714 when he died. He was deaf and dumb and the actual administration was carried on by the ministers in his name. His son Dodda Krishna Raja who was twelve years old was next installed on the throne. Of the ministers of this period, the most noted were Devarajiah and his cousin Nanjarajiah. The former held the post of Dalavoy or head of the army, while the latter combined in himself the offices of Sarvadhikari or head of finance and revenue and of Pradhan or Privy Councillor.

At this time a change was made in the government of Sira, whereby the jurisdiction of Saadat-Ulla Khan who had hitherto governed both the Carnatics was confined to the Payeenghat under the designation of the Nawab of Arcot. Another officer by name

Amin Khan was appointed to the charge of Balaghat and was called the Nawab of Sira. Saadat-Ulla Khan resented the removal of the State of Mysore from his jurisdiction, as he believed that large treasures had been accumulated there and had begun to cast jealous eyes on them and he formed a combination with the Pathan Nawabs of Kadapa, Kurnool and Savanur and the Mahratta chief of Gutti and marched with an army to seize these treasures. Amin Khan resolved to be beforehand and promptly proceeded to invade the Mysore territory. The allies, however, came up with him and ultimately a compact was made for joint action with Saadat-Ulla Khan as leader. The Mysore Raja and his ministers bought off this formidable confederacy by paying a crore of rupees. The exactions however did not end here. Two years after, the Mahrattas appeared before Seringapatam and levied a contribution. In order to replenish these drains upon the treasury, an attack was made upon the palegar of Magadi who was taken prisoner and Savan-doorg with the accumulated treasure of 200 years was annexed to Mysore. Dodda Krishna Raja was a weak sovereign and the ministers had concentrated all powers in their own hands. The Raja died in 1732 leaving no issue.

The ministers Devarajiah and Nanjarajiah then selected Chamaraja who was a member of a different branch of the royal family and prevailed upon Devajammanni, the widow of Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar, to adopt him as her son to succeed to the throne. This Prince at the time of his accession was twenty-eight years old and became known as Chamaraja Wodeyar VII. For eight months after his coronation, he allowed the ministers to rule the country in his name as before. In the meanwhile, learning of their malpractices and misappropriations and being a man of ability, he managed to secure support from a section of the army, displaced the two ministers by others of his own choice and set to rule the country himself. He did so for eighteen months but introduced various unwise economies in the expenditure of the State. This conduct gradually created disaffection among his own supporters, including even Devajammanni, the adoptive mother. The two displaced ministers who were biding their time won over all the disaffected adherents to their side by liberal rewards, and finding a

suitable opportunity when the Raja's troops had gone out of the fort for certain military manœuvres, they secretly introduced their own men in small batches and ordered the fort gates to be shut. Devarajiah then putting himself at the head of his men and marching to the palace, created a tumult and began battering the doors. Chamaraja Wodeyar tried to parley with him but to no purpose. The gates of the palace were forced open and the Raja and his three wives were seized and sent as prisoners to Kabballoor in the present Malavalli taluk, a hill noted for its deadly climate.

After the deposition of Chamaraja Wodeyar, another adoption was made in the person of Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar who belonged to another branch of the royal family and was about four years old when he was placed on the throne. The minority of the Raja enabled the old ministers to regain their powers and to continue to rule in the name of the Raja, who after his coronation became known as Immadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar or Krishnaraja Wodeyar II. Sarvadhikari Nanjarajah later died refunding to the State eight lakhs of rupees which he considered to have been misappropriated by him. He also gave a warning against the appointment of Karachuri Nanjarajah, the younger brother of Devarajiah, as his successor. This warning was, however, unheeded and Devarajiah mistaking that his brother would be as docile towards him as he was in his earlier days appointed him as Sarvadhikari. This new Sarvadhikari was thirty years old at the time of his nomination and his true character became revealed soon after his appointment. According to Wilks, the profligacy of Nanjaraj made a shameless job of the revenue by the appointment of his own menial servants nominally to the office of Amildar but retaining them about his own person, leaving it to them to provide deputies and exacting a certain proportion of their income as a joint fund for himself and his brother.

About this time, Dost Ali Khan who had succeeded his uncle Saadat-Ulla Khan as Nawab of Arcot finding that Zahir Khan, Nawab of Sira to whose jurisdiction Mysore was supposed to be attached was prodigal in his expenditure and wishing to intercept for himself a share of the fancied wealth of Seringapatam sent out

a powerful army under two Mahomedan commanders Kasim Khan and Murad Khan. Devaraj who though fifty years of age possessed sufficient vigour met this invading army near Chennapatna and totally routed it. The two commanders were slain, their camp was plundered and Devaraj returned in triumph to Seringapatam. Later in 1746 while the Mysore army under Karachuri Nanjaraj was absent in the present Coimbatore district on an expedition against the palegar of Dharmapuram, Nasir Jung, the son of Nizam-Ul-Mulk, Subadar of the Deccan approached Seringapatam with a large army. Devaraj who had become aged by this time was no longer able to oppose Nasir Jung and he accordingly tendered submission and promised to pay an adequate amount of contribution.\*

In 1749 the Mysore army invested Devanhalli and after a siege of eight months took possession of it, when it was annexed to Mysore. It was at this siege that the famous Haidar Ali who proved later a formidable adversary of the English in India first attracted notice. His father was Fathe Muhammad whose tomb is even now to be seen at Kolar and who was killed when employed in the military service of the Nawab of Sira, leaving two sons Shabaz and Haidar aged nine and seven years respectively. At the time of the siege of Devanhalli, Shabaz was employed in the Mysore army as commander of 200 horse and 1000 foot. Haidar joined his brother in the siege as a volunteer horseman and soon attracted attention by his gallantry and daring. Karachuri Nanjarajah who had exchanged place with his brother Devarajah as Dalavoy on account of the latter's age appointed Haidar to the command of a small body of troops as a reward for his services.

In 1748 Nizam-Ul-Mulk died and Nasir Jung, his second son, who happened to be near him won over the army to his side and declared himself Subadar of the Deccan. Muzaffar Jung, son of Nizam-Ul-Mulk's only daughter however set himself up as a rival

---

\*While negotiations were going on, Nasir Jung who was encamped near Thonnur amused himself by sailing on the large tank nearby containing very clear water and gave it the name of Mothi Thalav, which name even now survives.

to Nasir Jung on the ground that he had been nominated as Subadar by his grand-father. In this contest the English and the French were enlisted on opposite sides. Nasir Jung marching in support of Muhammad Ali's claim to the Nawabship of Arcot called to his aid the Pathan Nawabs of Kadapa, Kurnool and Savanur as well as Morari Rao Gharpore who ruled at Gutti. Nasir Jung also sent a summons to the Raja of Mysore to send a body of troops to his aid. Muhammad Ali of Arcot joined Nasir Jung's standard as also a contingent of British troops under Major Lawrence. This Muhammad Ali was a son of Anwar-Ud-deen who was at first guardian to Muhammad Said, the infant Nawab of Arcot, but who on the assassination of his infant ward, himself had been confirmed as Nawab by Nizam-Ul-Mulk. In this connection the following observations of Wilks throw much light on the situation :—

“The authority of the Mughals, although nominally resorted to when convenient, had positively no existence in the south. Nizam-Ul-Mulk had been avowedly independent of the court of Delhi; neither tribute nor obedience was rendered by him, nor by any of the officers really or nominally dependent on him; and it was puerile to claim the exercise of a power under an authority with which none had any other relation but that of rebellion. With regard to hereditary right or a modification of that right by the dispositions of the former possessor, where the whole was usurpation and the line of hereditary descent had not yet begun, the pretensions on this head seemed to have as weak a foundation as the mock mandates of the Mughal. On grounds however such as these, Nasir Jung claimed to succeed to the general government of the Deccan on the false pretence that his elder brother had resigned his right. Muzaffar Jung claimed the same authority on the pretended will of his rebel grand-father. Muhammad Ali claimed, to the prejudice of his elder brother Mahfuz Khan, a patrimony which had been in his family just five years, because Nizam-Ul-Mulk had promised and Nasir Jung would confirm to him the succession. Chanda Sahib did not put hereditary right into the front of his pretensions but rested his claims and fortunes on the authority of Muzaffar Jung. On pretensions futile and absurd as these, two European nations wasted their ingenuity in volumes of

political controversy, rendering homage to virtue and justice in respectively claiming the reputation of supporting the rightful cause but adding to the numerous examples of failure in attempting to reconcile the discordant elements of politics and morals, without daring to avow the plain and barbarous truth that the whole was a trial of strength among the bands of foreign usurpers, in which the English and the French had as much right to be principals as any one of the pageants whom they supported. But these nations were at peace and they could only appear in the contest as the mercenary supporters of these polished barbarians."

As desired by Nasir Jung, a force from Mysore was sent which included Haidar and his brother under the command of Berki Venkata Rao, a noted military officer of the time and this force joined the main army at Maddagiri or Madhugiri as it is now called. Nasir Jung was at first successful but ultimately lost his life near Ginjee at some distance from Pondicherry in December 1751. A French force penetrated Nasir Jung's camp and among the troops which remained faithful to him were those of Mysore. Haidar was forward in an attack on the flank of the French column. But the mahut of the elephant of Berki Venkata Rao having been killed by a cannon shot, a temporary fright caused the troops to give way; and although this accident was quickly repaired and the elephant resumed its proper place, the attack was not renewed. At this time, Nasir Jung directed his elephant to that part of his army where the Nawab of Kadapa was stationed and raised his hand in salutation to him, to which there was no response. It was not yet clear daylight at the time and Nasir Jung thinking that he had not been recognised raised himself up in the howdah of his elephant and repeated the salutation. The Pathan Nawabs had grievances of their own against Nasir Jung and were secretly in intrigue with Dupleix, the chief of the French. The Kadapa Nawab received Nasir Jung's salutation with two carbine shots which pierced the latter's body and killed him instantly. The Pathans then cut off the head of Nasir Jung and fixing it on a spear, exhibited it to their associates in the conspiracy as an evidence of complete success. Thereupon Muzaffar Jung was acknowledged by the whole army as Subadar of the Deccan and Muhammad Ali fleeing from the field

of action reached Trichnopoly. After this event, Berki Venkata Rao obtained permission to return with his troops to Mysore and accordingly did so.

It may be noted here that Haidar managed to derive considerable advantage in the confusion that followed after Nasir Jung was killed. Three hundred of the Bedar peons who were in Haidar's pay mixed with the crowd in the place where Nasir Jung's treasure had been kept and dexterously separated from the crowd two camels laden with gold coins and drove them clear of all the outposts to Devanhalli which was then Haidar's fixed home and station. At this time Haidar also sent to the same place three hundred horses and five hundred muskets which had been picked up by his men. Before his return, Haidar paid a visit to Pondicherry where he is said to have formed a high opinion of the discipline of the French troops and the skill of their engineer officers.



### CHAPTER III.

**Continued differences among the Mysore ministers—  
Support to Muhammad Ali—Haidar's activities—Salabat  
Jung's invasion of Seringapatam—Nanjaraj forced to  
return from Trichnopoly.**

As has been already stated, Muhammad Ali fled from Gingee and took refuge in Trichnopoly. Here he was closely besieged by Chanda Sahib, the rival candidate for the Nawabship of Arcot. Muhammad Ali finding himself placed in a desperate situation became solicitous of enlisting more help on his side and accordingly sent an ambassador by name Seshagiri Pandit to the court at Seringapatam to enlist the aid of the Mysore troops. This envoy arrived at Seringapatam early in 1751. Devaraj was averse to involve Mysore in this transaction. But his younger brother Karachuri Nanjarajiah was flattered with the prospects held out by Seshagiri Pandit of ceding to Mysore the fort of Trichnopoly and all its dependencies extending up to Cape Comorin and acting on his own authority, Nanjarajiah consented to send an army to the aid of Muhammad Ali ignoring his elder brother Devarajiah who had on account of growing age practically left the affairs of the State in the hands of his more energetic and more ambitious brother. Muhammad Ali at this time also succeeded in obtaining the aid of Morari Rao of Gutti whose troops were, as was believed at the time, the most select, the most faithful and the best organised of any in South India, being composed of a judicious mixture of Mahomedans, Mahrattas and Rajputs with an ample accompaniment of fighting men belonging to the Bedar caste. About the same time, the English at the suggestion of Clive sent an army to invest Arcot for the purpose of causing a diversion from Chanda Sahib concentrating all his troops against Trichnopoly. Nanjaraj's troops numbered 5000 horse and 10,000 infantry. The second in command was one Veeranna who resembled Nanjaraj in arrogance and military incapacity and was also destitute of that steadiness and presence of mind which Nanjaraj was generally acknowledged to possess. Haidar Naik, as he came to be called by this time, was in high favour with Nanjaraj and accompanied him with a

contingent of his own troops well drilled by some Frenchmen who were in his service.

Chanda Sahib's difficulties now began to increase. The scarcity of food combined with numerous annoyances from the allied troops induced the greater part of his chief commanding officers to demand their dismissal from his service. Finding his repeated exhortations to vigorous action treated with neglect, says Wilks, he no longer confided in his allies nor in himself. His health declined and his bodily strength became unequal to face the situation in which he was placed. He mildly acquiesced in the demands of his officers and apparently resigned himself to his fate. These chiefs on receiving assurances of safe conduct generally passed with facility to the service of their former enemies and in a few days, not more than 2000 horse and 3000 foot remained to Chanda Sahib of the mighty host with which but a few months before he had threatened the extinction of his rival. In this desperate situation, Chanda Sahib sought the protection of the Tanjorean General Monajee who is stated to have pledged his word to convey him safely to one of the French settlements. Hardly however had Chanda Sahib reached the place appointed for his reception, when he was seized and put in irons and the next day was secretly murdered at the instigation, it is said, of Muhammad Ali. The immediate consequence of these events was the surrender of the French troops to Muhammad Ali and thereby the war practically came to a conclusion.

Nanjaraj now demanded the cession of Trichnopoly as had been promised by Muhammad Ali. But the latter prevaricated and put off the fulfilment of his promise for one reason or another. At last however, he consented to cede the fort and the dependencies of Trichnopoly after the expiry of two months by which time he hoped to find a safe place of residence for his family. In the meanwhile, he undertook to relinquish to Nanjaraj the revenues of the island of Srirangam and of the adjacent districts and also to admit into the fort as an acknowledgment of Nanjaraj's possession a body of 700 Mysoreans under Katti Gopal Raj. When these people reached the fort, Muhammad Ali sent the keys, but the day being considered

unlucky Katti Gopal Raj did not accept the same, promising to return the next day. The next day accordingly the Mysore troops entered the fort. Muhammad Ali satisfying his conscience that by sending the keys the previous day he had fulfilled his promise, sent for Katti Gopal Raj and other important officers of the Mysore army on pretence of speaking to them and consulting them on certain matters and practically kept them under restraint. The arms of their followers were then seized and while some were confined, some were turned out of the fort. Muhammad Ali then ordered the fort-gates to be closed and a few shots to be fired into the Mysore camp outside. Nanjaraj now attempted to win over some of Muhammad Ali's officers, but the plot became disclosed and failed in its object. Nanjaraj after this failure found it unsafe to remain under the guns of the fort and accordingly removed himself with his followers to the island of Srirangam. After the expiry of the stipulated period of two months, Nanjaraj sent a formal deputation to demand the surrender of the fort. But he was informed that the secret plot which he carried on with Muhammad Ali's officers afforded sufficient grounds for a summary rejection of the claim.

Nanjaraj now began to negotiate with the French at Pondicherry, continuing to encamp on the island of Srirangam. Captain Dalton the commander of the English contingent which garrisoned the fort of Trichnopoly on behalf of Muhammad Ali finding that there was danger to the regular supply of provisions required for his troops reaching him from outside the fort, resolved in December 1752 to treat Nanjaraj as an enemy and made various attacks on the posts established by Nanjaraj but without success. Dalton however continued in his camp managing to obtain supplies of grain. Nanjaraj thereupon ordered Veeranna to establish a fortified camp on the opposite side of Trichnopoly with the object of making the blockade much more effective than it had been before and this blockade was complete early in 1753. Captain Dalton now felt that his position had become precarious and reported the matter in April 1753 to Major Lawrence who was at some distance. It was not however till the 6th May following that Major Lawrence was able to arrive at Trichnopoly. On the intelligence of his arrival reaching Veeranna, the latter struck his camp and rejoined

Nanjaraj on the island of Srirangam, thereby leaving it open for supplies to reach the English garrison without molestation.

Dupleix on learning the route of Major Lawrence detached a large army to support Nanjaraj and this force arrived by a different route at Srirangam the day after Major Lawrence entered Trichnopoly. On the 10th May 1753 Major Lawrence determined to cross to the island of Srirangam by the south-western ford, four miles above the town and offer battle to the Mysoreans. He commenced his march early in the morning and at day-break crossed the river which was almost dry and dispersed the usual guard on the ford side. The firing at the ford gave the first notice to Nanjaraj of the approach of the English and there was a little confusion in his camp. The fight continued throughout the day but Major Lawrence was forced to retreat in the evening. Abandoning the attempt to dislodge the Mysore troops from the island of Srirangam, Major Lawrence removed himself to the former camp of Veeranna as the most favourable position for covering supplies. For the next five weeks Major Lawrence was occupied in securing his supplies and Nanjaraj merely remained on the defensive. Dupleix considered at this time that the war could only end with a crushing defeat inflicted on the English army and sent 3000 of the corps of Morari Rao, 300 Europeans and 100 regular sepoys. Nanjaraj with this help moved to the southward of the river and in a few days compelled Major Lawrence to withdraw his camp to a position nearer to the fortress. Thereupon Nanjaraj took up an extended position placing his troops between Major Lawrence's camp and the route of his supplies so as to form an effectual blockade. The English troops then to avoid harassments by the enemy's cavalry withdrew to a position midway between Trichnopoly and Tanjore. In August following however, Major Lawrence returned and fought an action with the combined French and Mysore troops in which he was successful. On his entering Trichnopoly he found the town almost entirely depopulated, the people having departed on what was generally known as *Walse*.\*

---

\* *Walse* is thus described: "On such occasions the people buried underground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual man, woman and child

The attempts made by the English on the one side during the rest of the year to dislodge Nanjaraj and his allies from the island of Srirangam and on the other, the failure of the latter to take the fort of Trichnopoly by assault ended in no decided success to either party. On the 14th February 1754 finding that a large convoy of provisions was moving from the side of Puddukota towards the fort of Trichnopoly to supplement the stores of Major Lawrence, Hari Singh who was the rival of Haidar Ali ordered his troops to attack the convoy and the English troops taken by surprise were cut down before they could offer any successful resistance. When the fury of the action was over, Haidar always attended by his Bedar peons was found to be in possession of all the guns and tumbrils. Hari Singh however claimed them as his own, having actually carried them. After long discussion, Hari Singh was obliged to compound for one, leaving the remaining three to Haidar.

Major Lawrence now found that he could not proceed to any decisive action without further reinforcements and also found that it was impracticable to risk distant convoys and the woods of Tondiman were his only resource. About this time Muhammad Ali and the Raja of Tanjore prevailed upon Morari Rao by offers of money to separate himself from the Mysore confederacy. Devaraj who, as we know, was opposed from the beginning to go to the aid of Muhammad Ali also now found himself in difficulties to continue to supply funds on any large scale to maintain the Mysore army in the struggle for the possession of the Trichnopoly fort. Morari Rao finding that Nanjaraj was not as liberal in his supplies of money as formerly demanded a settlement of accounts. Altercations ensued and Morari Rao in order to extort before his departure as much money as possible from all parties, separated from the confederates on the 11th of May 1754 and encamped on the northern

---

above six years of age with a load of grain proportioned to their strength issued from their beloved homes and took the direction of a country where they could find refuge from the miseries of war. They sometimes took shelter in a strong fortress, but generally they lodged themselves in unfrequented jungles or hills, where they remained until the departure of the hostile army. In cases of protracted stay when their provision was exhausted, many of these unfortunate people died of starvation."

bank of the Coleroon, offering however to return if the whole balance due to him was immediately paid. He also secretly intimated to Muhammad Ali that on receiving good security for the payment of 3 lakhs of rupees from him he was willing to depart never again to return to the Payeenghat. Muhammad Ali had neither money nor credit but the Raja of Tanjore had both and was finally prevailed on to furnish the sum by instalments. Morari Rao had at this stage the audacity to reveal to Nanjaraj his negotiations with Muhammad Ali and offered to return to him on receiving the arrears of money due to him. Nanjaraj thereupon sent half a lakh of rupees as a first instalment but Morari Rao instead of rejoining the Mysore camp received half a lakh of rupees from Muhammad Ali also and then left the country.

At this time the English and the French under instructions from their respective Governments in Europe made attempts to conclude peace and terminate hostilities. During these discussions Nanjaraj thought it proper to open a separate negotiation with the English to induce them to prevail upon Muhammad Ali to transfer the fort of Trichnopoly to Mysore as had been originally stipulated. On the 11th of January 1755 the terms of a truce between the French and the English having been published, Nanjaraj refused to recognise the right of the French to make a treaty for him or to prevent his committing hostilities against the English and their allies and declared that he would not leave the country without obtaining possession of Trichnopoly. This determination however came to nothing as Nanjaraj shortly after, received positive instructions from Seringapatam to return on account of a danger nearer home. He accordingly left the place on the 14th April 1755, leaving the French detachment in possession of the island of Srirangam.

The danger which necessitated the recall of Nanjaraj was the invasion of Mysore to exact arrears of tribute by Salabat Jung who had succeeded his nephew Muzaffar Jung as Subadar of the Deccan. Devaraj was without sufficient means to pay this amount on account of the drain of all his resources in maintaining for a prolonged period a large army near Trichnopoly. Salabat Jung was accompanied by a French

contingent under Bussy, though the French were by treaty in strict alliance with Mysore. Bussy however intimated to Devaraj that the French were equally the allies of the Nizam and therefore bound to fight the battles of Salabat Jung and treat their allies of Mysore as their enemies for the time being. Devaraj found Salabat Jung approaching Seringapatam before Nanjaraj could arrive with his troops. It was also feared that the Mahrattas from the Poona side were preparing to invade the country. At last it was agreed that Mysore should pay to Salabat Jung 56 lakhs of rupees, but the treasury was entirely exhausted by the enormous expenses incurred in the operations against Trichnopoly, aggravated by the subsidy paid during most of the period to Morari Rao and by the loss of ten lakhs of pagodas lent to Muhammad Ali. The revenues had also been diminished by the contributions levied by Peshwa Balaji Rao on his return march from a campaign in the Deccan. It therefore became necessary to devise some extraordinary means of satisfying Salabat Jung. In this extremity the whole of the plate and jewels belonging to the Hindu temples in the town were put in requisition, together with the jewels and precious metals constituting the immediate property or personal ornaments of the Raja and his family, but the total sum which could thus be realised amounted to no more than one-third of what was stipulated to be paid. For the remainder, Devaraj prevailed on the Sowcars or bankers of the capital to stand security.

सत्यमेव जयते

## CHAPTER IV.

**Haidar Ali appointed Foujdar of Dindigul—Further differences between Devaraj and Nanjaraj—Devaraj fixes his abode at Satyamangalam—Through Haidar's efforts good relations established between Devaraj and Nanjaraj as well as the Raja—Haidar pacifies troops clamouring for pay—Further favours to Haidar.**

A short time after the return of the Mysore troops from Trichnopoly, it became necessary to appoint a strong and capable person at the head of affairs for that portion of the country which depended upon Dindigul. The ministers at Seringapatam suspicious of the presence of an English force near Dindigul felt the need of the appointment of a capable officer as Foujdar of that place. The choice of the ministers fell on Haidar Ali who had continued to advance in the favour of Nanjaraj by the part he played in the military operations around Trichnopoly. Wilks' account of Haidar Ali at this period of his life is so graphic that it may with advantage be given here, more or less, in his own words: "In the course of the operations before Trinchnopoly, the Bedar peons in the service of Haidar were generally augmented and a body of select Pindaries also gradually raised for similar purposes. These people who were found in the service of many of the princes of India received no regular pay but lived on the devastations of the enemies' country. Haidar on his first nomination to a command had engaged in his service a Brahmin mutsaddi named Khande Rao. To the cool and calculating mind of a Brahmin accountant, this man added great sagacity and original thinking, a boldness which did not hesitate regarding means and a combination of ideas which enabled him to convert the unprofitable business of war into a regular system of finance. Haidar who could neither read nor write remedied his lack of education by trusting to a most extraordinary memory and showed himself able at this early period of his political life to go through arithmetical calculations of some length, with equal accuracy and more quickness than the most expert accountant. The consultations of these two persons produced a regular system by which the plunderers received, besides their direct pay, one half

of the booty which was realised, the other half being appropriated by Haidar under a combination of checks which rendered it nearly impossible to secrete any portion of the plunder. Movable property of every description was their object. They did not hesitate to acquire by simple theft even from friends when that could be done without suspicion. Nothing was unseasonable or unacceptable; from convoys of grain down to the clothes, turbans, and ear-rings of travellers or villagers, whether men, women or children. Cattle and sheep were among the most profitable heads of plunder; muskets and horses were sometimes obtained in booty, sometimes by purchase. The numbers under Haidar Ali's command increased with his resources and before he left Trichnopoly, besides the usual appendages of a chief of rank in elephants, camels, tents and magnificent appointments, he was rated on the returns and received pay for 1500 horses, 3000 regular infantry, 2000 peons, and four guns, with their equipments."

On his nomination as Foudar or military Governor of Dindigul, Haidar left Khande Rao at Seringapatam to watch over his interests at court and proceeded to Dindigul at the head of 5,000 infantry, 25,000 horse, 2,000 peons and 6 guns. On the way he defeated some of the palegars who showed any opposition and thereby acquired much booty from them. In the meanwhile, Khande Rao was perpetually sounding the exploits of his master to Nanjaraj exaggerating the disturbed state of the country and the necessity of augmenting the forces, and more and more assignments of the revenues of other taluks were granted for that purpose. In the internal management of the country now committed to his charge, Haidar evinced the same penetration and skill which distinguished him on other occasions and became able in a short time to vie with the most experienced Amildar in valuing the resources of a village, in detecting the mis-statements of a fraudulent accountant from hearing them read, or in devising the best means of increasing the revenue. It was at Dindigul that he also first obtained from Srirangam, Trichnopoly and Pondicherry skilled artificers directed by French experts and began to organise a regular artillery and arsenal. The operations necessary for the complete

establishment of Haidar's authority in the Province of Dindigul occupied the greater portion of the years between 1755 and 1756.

In the meanwhile, the general affairs of Government at Seringapatam proceeded as usual under the direction of the two brothers, Devaraj and Nanjaraj. But after sometime, the Raja Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar began to evince signs of impatience at the thralldom in which he was kept. He was now twenty-seven years of age and had been married to a daughter of Nanjaraj. Although he was accorded all the external attention due to his position, the Raja felt that he was only a pageant sovereign and openly attempted to form a party of his own against the two brothers. These latter kept themselves fully informed of the trend of events in the palace and sent warnings to the Raja, but he gave no heed to them. To check the activities of the Raja, Devaraj counselled mild measures but Nanjaraj was for the adoption of strong ones. Devaraj besides taking note of the relationship that existed between the Raja and the Dalavoy family had also repented of the hasty action on his part in dethroning Chamaraja Wodeyar VII and transporting him to Kabballoor, where a merciful death had released him from the terrible suffering he endured there. Popular opinion also condemned Devaraj, though silently, for this outrageous conduct on his part and held him responsible for the fate that had befallen Chamaraja Wodeyar. Devaraj therefore wished to save himself from further public odium as well as from the torments of his own conscience. Nanjaraj whose violent temper did not allow him to exercise sufficient self-control took a line of his own and proceeded to barricade all the approaches to the palace and lined the walls with his troops. He then wished for a parley with the Raja before proceeding further, but this was rejected and the palace gates were closed and a heavy fire was opened on the troops of Nanjaraj. Nanjaraj, however, soon managed to bring up his guns near to the palace gate and to blow open the same. The defenders within found further resistance hopeless and abandoning their places fled for concealment to the women's apartment. Nanjaraj then leaving Veeranna in charge of the gate proceeded with a small escort into the interior of the palace and searching all the apartments collected together all the men

found in them. The Raja was then requested to seat himself in the usual hall of audience and in his presence some of the men were put in irons, while others had their noses and ears cut off and turned out into the streets. Nanjaraj then replaced these men by followers of his own and after presenting to the Raja the formal mockery of respect and obedience both from himself and from his men left the palace.

Devaraj deeply offended with his brother's conduct left Seringapatam and fixed his abode at Satyamangalam in 1757. His whole family, all his personal adherents and 1000 horse and 2000 infantry who were in his service followed him. After reaching Satyamangalam, he issued orders revoking the assignments of revenue made to Haidar on his appointment as Foudjar of Dindigul. Khande Rao, Haidar's agent, apprised his principal of the events that had taken place at the capital and advised him to return to Seringapatam and by means of a personal appeal in the proper quarters to attempt to obtain restoration of the revoked assignments of revenue.

Before Haidar's arrival at the capital, Nanjaraj found himself in a critical situation by the unexpected appearance of a Mahratta army under Peshwa Balaji Rao in March 1757 in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam demanding a contribution. Nanjaraj in spite of the spirited defence he offered was unable to drive away the Mahrattas and was forced to make peace with Balaji Rao for a contribution of thirty-two lakhs of rupees. The cash and jewels which could be produced amounted to no more than five lakhs and for the liquidation of the remainder, he was compelled to surrender in pledge a large and valuable extent of territory including Nagamangala, Belur, Kadur, Chicknaikanahalli, Huliyrdoorg and nine other taluks. Haidar on arriving at Seringapatam found that the Mahrattas had just departed, leaving their agents for the collection of revenue in the pledged taluks and a body of 6000 horse for their support. Haidar after acquainting himself with the facts remonstrated with Nanjaraj for not calling up his troops from Dindigul and advised him to withhold the revenue from the Mahratta agents and to expel their troops on the approach of the

rains, when the floods in the rivers would prevent them from returning till the next season for military operations.

Haidar next moved Nanjaraj for the restoration of the assignments of revenue resumed by Devaraj and both together, after deliberation came to the conclusion that Haidar should wait on Devaraj at Satyamangalam and make a personal appeal to him. Haidar however had no personal influence with Devaraj and therefore took with him Khande Rao to aid him in his negotiations. Happily for Haidar an opportunity soon offered itself. Before his departure from Dindigul to Seringapatam, Haidar had been approached for military help by the Nair Raja of Palaghat who was at war with the Raja of Cochin and the Zamorin of Calicut and who was being hard pressed by them. Haidar accordingly had sent a detachment of two thousand horse, five thousand infantry and five guns, under Mukdum Sahib, his brother-in-law. The two allied chiefs of Cochin and Calicut could offer no adequate resistance to Haidar's troops and made a stipulation with Mukdum Sahib for terminating operations, to restore the conquered territories of the Raja of Palaghat and to pay a contribution of twelve lakhs of rupees in compensation by instalments. The presence of an army under a Mussalman commander waiting to receive the instalments due was found irksome and a proposal had been made to Devaraj at Satyamangalam to substitute the force under a Mussalman commander by a force under a Hindu commander to whom the Rajas of Cochin and Calicut agreed to pay the contribution of twelve lakhs of rupees stipulated to be paid to Mukdum Sahib. At this juncture, the intercession of Khande Rao enabled Haidar to obtain the restitution of the Dindigul territory and in return he recalled Mukdum Sahib from the Malabar country and relinquished the claim for twelve lakhs of rupees in favour of Devaraj. A force then under Hari Singh, one of the most zealous Rajput adherents of Devaraj was despatched to Malabar to take the place of Mukdum Sahib and his troops.

After his return to Dindigul, Haidar found occupation for his troops by attempts to seize the fort of Madura and the districts dependent on it for himself with the aid of the French. But in

January 1758 an urgent necessity arose for his return once more to Seringapatam. The pay of the troops there, on account of the financial embarrassments due to causes which have been already indicated, had fallen into arrears and the troops had mutinied and sat in Dharna at Nanjaraj's residence, not only interdicting him and his family by religious execration, from food and drink but also preventing any water or provisions being carried into his house. In this situation, according to Wilks, Nanjaraj was obliged to sell the provisions and stores collected in the capital but these attempts only appeased the mutineers for the time being and did not fully satisfy their demands. Haidar on receiving this information desired Khande Rao to meet him at Satyamangalam and himself proceeded from Dindigul with the whole of his disposable troops in the same direction. He had written to Devaraj before he left Dindigul and went forward unattended to represent to him personally the evils arising from the disunion of the brothers and the absolute necessity of a reconciliation to prevent the entire dissolution of the Government. The personal influence of Khande Rao, added to the arguments of Haidar, prevailed on Devaraj and he consented to accompany them. Accordingly in the month of March 1758 they ascended the Ghauts through the pass of Gejjelhutty. On their arrival at Hardnahulli, the indisposition of Devaraj compelled them to halt for fifteen days, after which they proceeded to Mysore where Devaraj remained, while Haidar and Khande Rao proceeded to Seringapatam. Devaraj insisted as a preliminary to all terms of reconciliation with his brother that Nanjaraj should make atonement for the violation of public decorum in his conduct at the palace, and the terms being adjusted by Khande Rao, Nanjaraj on the 23rd April made his submission to the Raja, whom he had not visited since the former outrage and a salute was fired from all the guns of the garrison to announce the Raja's forgiveness and the restoration of Nanjaraj to his favour.

The public reconciliation of the brothers next followed. Nanjaraj and Haidar accompanied by all the chiefs, public officers and principal inhabitants of Seringapatam went in procession to conduct Devaraj from Mysore. Devaraj, however, six days after his arrival at Seringapatam died from dropsy on the 19th June.

The army was still clamorous for the remaining arrears and Nanjaraj who had been disgusted with the difficulties largely due to his own creation and with the insults he had experienced in the adjustment of the former claims of the rebellious troops and also depressed in mind by the death of his brother requested Khande Rao and Haidar to take over the troublesome task from his hands and to bring about satisfaction as best as possible. Haidar throughout all these transactions appeared in the character of a general benefactor. The gratitude of Nanjaraj was due for his conduct in effecting reconciliation between the brothers, the troops considered him as their only hope for the liquidation of their arrears, the Raja beheld in him as yet only his preserver and protector from the violence of Nanjaraj and all orders of men began to look up to Haidar for the restoration of public prosperity and peace.

Haidar proceeded with constant demonstrations of deference to the Raja's orders to distribute in lieu of money all public property that could be so applied down to the elephants and horses of the Raja's retinue. Knowing from his own experience the probable amount of imposition in the charges of arrears, he seized on all the accountants and by threats and tortures compelled them to produce the true accounts. By these means he was enabled in the course of a few days to discharge 4000 horse and a large number of other rabble. After the ring-leaders who had caused violence departed from the fort, Haidar ordered the seizure of all but the most extravagant or the most indigent and plundered them of all their property as having been forfeited to the State.

Now turning to Hari Singh, it may be stated that he found himself unable to collect the promised contribution of twelve lakhs of rupees and on coming to know of the death of his patron Devaraj, he left the Malabar country and was camping at Avanasi in the Coimbatore district, ostensibly to refresh his troops but really to complete his negotiations with the Raja of Tanjore for the transfer of his services to that State. We have already seen that there was considerable rivalry between Hari Singh and Haidar and the former had made no secret of his contempt for the latter's capacity as a military commander. On account of the death of Devaraj and the

growing power of Haidar, Hari Singh now thought it prudent to avoid the Mysore country and to betake himself for employment elsewhere. Haidar detached a body of his troops under Mukdum Sahib on the pretext of returning a portion of his troops to Dindigul but in reality with secret instructions to attack Hari Singh and his camp at Avanasi. Hari Singh accordingly was surprised and killed by Mukdum Sahib's troops and his camp was plundered. Among the plunder acquired by this infamous exploit were 300 horses, 1000 muskets and 3 guns which were brought in triumph to the capital. To the Raja, Haidar presented three guns for the service of the State and fifteen beautiful horses for the royal stables, the remainder of the horses and military stores, together with the money and property being appropriated by him.

At this time, Haidar mentioned the subject of the payment due to him of a sum of three lakhs of rupees for which sowcar security had been furnished by Devaraj. The claim was readily recognised by Nanjaraj and with the assent of the Raja an assignment on the revenues of the Coimbatore district was granted to him for its liquidation. At the same time, some substantial marks of recognition of Haidar's services as a faithful servant of the State were regarded as necessary and accordingly the fort of Bangalore and the extent of the country depending on it were conferred on him as a personal jahagir.

सत्यमेव जयते

## CHAPTER V.

### **The Mahrattas retire from Mysore—Fall of Nanjaraj— Haidar becomes supreme dictator.**

The Mahrattas as was to be expected did not tamely acquiesce in the expulsion of their troops and agents from the pledged taluks and they returned to Mysore early in 1759 when the weather became favourable for military operations. Their two commanders Gopal Hari and Ananda Rao Rastea first took possession of all the pledged territories from which their troops had been formerly expelled. Then they laid siege to Bangalore and took possession of Chennapatna situated at a distance of thirty-seven miles on the way to Seringapatam. At this time, some arrears were still due to the troops at Seringapatam and Nanjaraj found it difficult to depute a sufficient body of them to resist the Mahrattas. In this crisis Haidar volunteered to undertake this service. His first care was to place fairly strong detachments at the intermediate forts of Maddur and Malavalli, places situated on the two principal approaches to the capital at a distance of 27 and 22 miles respectively. The detachment at Malavalli was commanded by his uncle Meer Ibrahim and that at Maddur by Latif Ali Beg who was to recover Chennapatna from the Mahrattas, if he found a suitable opportunity. Latif Ali Beg was a gallant and hardy Mughal and he shut up his troops in the fort of Maddur giving the appearance that he expected the Mahrattas to attack him there. Having thereby gained sufficient time, he obtained information from his spies of the dispositions of the enemy's troops and moving by a circuitous route towards Chennapatna at night, he carried the place by escalade before day-break without any heavy loss on either side. Haidar on receiving this intelligence marched without a moment's delay and concentrated his force near Chennapatna. Gopal Hari on his part, abandoning the siege of Bangalore marched with a large force to oppose Haidar. The latter, however, was too wary to attack him openly at once and to possibly sustain a defeat. He now called to his aid the lessons he had learnt while at Trichnopoly of the advantages of a well-ordered night attack against an irregular enemy. Haidar had his camp in a secure place and he hardly ever made a movement

by day, thereby preventing the enemy even from conjecturing his plan of action. At nights he attacked the Mahrattas unexpectedly, causing much embarrassment to them and foiling all their attempts to defend themselves. This kind of irregular warfare went on for about three months and the food supplies of the Mahrattas began to fail. Gopal Hari becoming weary of this unprofitable contest opened negotiations with Haidar and concluded an agreement abandoning all claims on Mysore for a payment of thirty-two lakhs of rupees and in return agreed to restore all the pledged taluks.

Haidar urged on Nanjaraj the advisability of accepting this agreement, which the latter accordingly did. As however the treasury was exhausted, Nanjaraj proceeded to levy a Nuzerana (a forced payment under the name of a free gift) from all the principal public servants and monied inhabitants. Khande Rao who had been charged with the whole of these arrangements could only realise a sum of 16 lakhs of rupees with which he proceeded to his master's camp with authority from the Raja and Nanjaraj conveying their approval of the arrangement concluded by Haidar. As regards the balance of 16 lakhs, such was the influence of Haidar even with the Mahratta sowcars that the latter accepted the personal security of Haidar and made themselves responsible to Gopal Hari for the balance on an understanding between all the parties interested in the transaction that Haidar was to have the direct management of the pledged taluks for liquidating the remainder of the debt. Haidar then despatched without delay his own agents and Amildars to the taluks which now came under his own charge and after introducing the requisite arrangement, he returned in triumph to Seringapatam where the Raja received him in a grand Durbar held for the purpose and on his approach welcomed him by the name of Fatah Haidar Bahadur. Nanjaraj who was present on the occasion paid him the novel compliment of rising on his approach and embracing him, apparently proud of the discernment he had shown in the detection of Haidar's talents when he was yet an unknown individual.

Nanjaraj's troubles however did not end with the conclusion of peace with the Mahrattas. The large appropriations of revenue which had been made for the liquidation of the Mahratta debt, the discharge of the bonds of Devaraj as well as the assignments made

to Haidar for the support of the troops under his command left but little surplus to meet the ordinary expenses of Government and considerable arrears due to the army again began to accumulate. The insults and injuries which the Raja had suffered from his father-in-law Nanjaraj had never been forgotten. The events in connection with the Mahratta invasion had given Haidar's agent Khande Rao frequent opportunities of visiting both the Raja and the dowager Rani Devajammanni, widow of Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar. She was a lady of great shrewdness and capacity and through her means it was arranged with Khande Rao that the necessity which had arisen of satisfying the arrears due to the army should be made an occasion for depriving Nanjaraj of his power to keep the Raja and his family in thralldom with mere external marks of respect due to royalty.

A mock-plot was then arranged with some of the commanders of the army to demand of Haidar the arrears due to them, to which Haidar was to reply that funds for payment to troops other than his own were not under his control. After some time a show of pressure being made, Haidar accompanied the discontented troops with pretended demonstrations of unwillingness and repugnance to the residence of Nanjaraj, where they sat in Dharna as they had sat on a former occasion. Nanjaraj had received indirect hints of this conspiracy against him and finding no other means of deliverance sent his resignation of office to the Raja and persuaded the troops who had sat in Dharna to address their demands to the latter. The Dharna was then removed to the palace, Haidar also accompanying under pretence of pressure. Through Khande Rao's mediation Haidar was introduced into the presence of the Raja in the palace and after interviewing the Raja, Haidar informed the troops that the arrangements ordered would require a few days to be completed and that, in the meanwhile, he would render himself personally responsible for the liquidation of their arrears. This assurance was received with confidence and satisfaction by the discontented troops. In the result it was settled that Nanjaraj should surrender his office retaining only the title of Sarvadhikari, that he should have a jahagir yielding three lakhs of pagodas on condition of his maintaining a body of one thousand horse and three

thousand infantry for the service of the State and that he should retire from Seringapatam and reside in his jahagir.

Nanjaraj accordingly departed from Seringapatam to Mysore in June 1759 on the plea of offering worship to the deity at Nanjangud but stopped at Mysore on the ground of illness. Khande Rao was appointed Pradhan and to Haidar was granted a further assignment of revenue for the settlement of the arrears and for the regular payment of the disaffected troops. This assignment caused the extent of the country in his possession exceed one-half of the whole territory.

Sometime after, objection was taken to Nanjaraj continuing to reside at Mysore but he would not depart from the place under what he regarded as the nominal orders of the Raja. Haidar then marched to Mysore and besieged the fort in which Nanjaraj with his family was residing. Demand had also been made for the surrender to the Raja of the sannad of his office but Nanjaraj would not comply on the ground that the sannad was one granted to his ancestor by a former ruler of Mysore who was also an ancestor of the present Raja himself. Nanjaraj being stubborn in his refusal both to depart from Mysore as well as to surrender the patent of his office, "that Lion of the field of battle," to quote the language of a Mahomedan historian, "therefore could hesitate no longer and gave orders to his brave soldiers to commence the attack, who immediately opened a fire of all arms, guns and muskets on the fort. The fire of war was consequently lighted upon all sides and both parties fought courageously; but, at length, by the valour and strength of arm, Haidar Ali's fearless troops brought on the heads of the besieged a resemblance of the Day of Judgment. Still their chiefs defended themselves with great bravery for three months, when their provisions and ammunitions becoming exhausted, they surrendered and Nanjaraj accompanied by his family in carriages proceeded to Haidar's camp and his troops marched out of the fort." Ultimately it was agreed that Nanjaraj should fix his residence at Konanur in the present Nanjangud taluk, 25 miles from Mysore and have a jahagir near the western frontier of Mysore. For this service and the expenses incurred thereby, Haidar demanded a fresh

assignment of revenue but even Khande Rao opposed this demand. As however no alternative was left, four more taluks selected by Haidar were added to his possessions. The discussions which preceded this transaction produced considerable irritation between Haidar and Khande Rao and left on the mind of the latter a feeling of disgust. In February 1760 Nanjaraj's daughter who had been married to the Raja died and this event further tended to widen the breach between them.

Nanjaraj's fall from power did not, it was found, help the Mysore royal family to regain their independence but only substituted one Mayor of the palace for another. Khande Rao who was now Pradhan was, as has been already stated, irritated with Haidar on account of what he considered an act of extraordinary greediness. A suitable opportunity was therefore awaited to expel Haidar from the service of the Raja and this opportunity soon came when he was found encamping with only a limited number of his troops, the rest having been despatched to the aid of the French against the English. Devajammanni the dowager Rani and the Raja also considered the opportunity favourable and in the temple of Sri Ranganatha an oath was taken by all the three of maintaining inviolable secrecy in all actions to be taken against Haidar. The presence of the Mahrattas under Beenee Visajee Pundit at Doddaballapur and Devanhalli was regarded as affording a hopeful augury of the success of their undertaking and a body of 6000 horse was engaged for helping the Raja to drive away Haidar.

On the morning of the 12th August 1760 which was the day when the Mahratta contingent was expected to reach Seringapatam, the gates of the fort were not opened at the accustomed hour and before daylight had fully dawned, a tremendous cannonade was opened on the position occupied by Haidar. Haidar, according to Wilks, surprised at this unexpected attack, immediately ordered Khande Rao to be called but was still more astonished when he heard that Khande Rao was distinctly perceived on the ramparts directing the fire of the artillery. Haidar realised at once the extent of the treachery and prepared to meet it with his accustomed presence of mind. His troops soon found cover in the ravines and

hollows without sustaining much loss and his family could only find shelter in a hut which on account of its situation was not exposed to the fire from the fort. Haidar's first care after making a disposition of his small body of troops was to secure all ferry-boats and boatmen in a situation concealed from the view of the fort and to put the boats in a state of repair. The Mahrattas procrastinating and not arriving in time, Khande Rao was obliged to postpone his final attack upon Haidar. During the day however, they mutually attempted to negotiate for a settlement. Haidar represented that but for the help of Khande Rao he would not have attained his present position, while Khande Rao replied that he was equally under obligation to Haidar and that no personal indignity was meant as he was then acting under the Raja's orders and that if Haidar retired from the Mysore service, every facility would be afforded to him to seek his fortune elsewhere.

After nightfall, Haidar made a distribution of as much money and jewels as could be conveyed by one hundred horses and accompanied by six officers and two camel barkars, all men of tried fidelity to him, he landed safely on the opposite bank of the river. About twenty spare horses accompanied for the purpose of replacing those which might drop from fatigue. Thus equipped Haidar fled with all possible speed from the capital and long before the arrival of the Mahrattas on the following morning, he was far beyond the reach of their pursuit. Khande Rao the next morning visited Haidar's deserted quarters and removed to the fort all the remaining treasure and properties as well as the members of his family. Among these members were Tippu then about nine years old and his baby brother subsequently known as Kareem Sahib, born prematurely the preceding day.

Haidar made his way from Seringapatam to Anekal which was under the command of his brother-in-law Ismail Ally and arrived at that place before daylight. On arriving at Anekal, Haidar instantly despatched Ismail Ally to Bangalore for the purpose of ascertaining the fidelity of Kabeer Beg who had been appointed Killedar of the Bangalore fort in place of Berki Srinivasa Rao, son of Berki Venkata Rao who was in command of the fort at the time of its

siege by the Mahrattas. Ismail Ally arrived at an early hour at Bangalore and found Kabeer Beg loyal to Haidar. On receiving tidings of this faithfulness on the part of Kabeer Beg, Haidar left for Bangalore with a detachment of troops which he found at Anekal and arrived at the place on the evening of the 13th August having performed on horseback a journey of ninety-eight miles in twenty hours, the first seventy-five miles on the same horse. In the meanwhile, Kabeer Beg on the pretext of disbursing the pay of the garrison displaced all the Hindu troops inside the fort by Musalman sepoys. These arrangements had scarcely been completed, when orders arrived from Khande Rao to seize the Killedar and preserve the fort for the Raja but it was too late for any action to be taken.

Haidar was now left to the resources of his own mind. He immediately sent intelligence to Mukdum Ali to return to Bangalore with his troops. The only possessions on which Haidar could hope for the rebuilding of his fortune were Bangalore on the north and Dindigul in the extreme south, with Anekal and some of the fortresses of Baramahal. Haidar augmented his treasure-chest by obtaining a loan of 4 lakhs of rupees from the sowcars of Bangalore. Some of the scattered detachments of his army also now joined him. Soldiers of fortune of every description were also invited to his standard. Among the persons whom he engaged in his service at this time was Fazl-ulla Khan, a man of distinguished reputation and son-in-law of Dilawar Khan who was Nawab of Sira.

Mukdum Ali on entering Baramahal found himself blocked from further progress by the Mahratta army under Beennee Visajee Pundit and Gopal Hari acting on behalf of Khande Rao and was forced to take refuge in the fort of Anchetidurga, 25 miles from Anekal. From there he sent urgent demands to Haidar for reinforcement. Fazl-ulla Khan was accordingly sent with 4000 troops and five guns but he found his troops inadequate and could make no impression on the superior strength of the Mahrattas. Haidar's cause seemed to be desperate at this time but his good fortune came to his aid and relieved him from a position which otherwise would

probably have brought about his ruin. On the 7th January 1761 the Mahrattas had been defeated by Ahamed Shah Abdali at the battle of Panipat and the Peshwa fearing an invasion from the north had sent orders to all the Mahratta detachments wherever they were for assembling at Poona. Haidar at the time was not aware of the defeat of the Mahrattas at Panipat and he was surprised at the easy terms which were offered to him by the Mahratta commanders to return to their own country, namely, the cession of Baramahal and the payment of three lakhs of rupees. He accordingly accepted these conditions and Mukdum Ali being thus relieved from the critical situation in which he had found himself proceeded to Bangalore, while the Mahratta army marched in haste towards Poona. Haidar soon received intelligence of the defeat at Panipat and now suspended all action in connection with the cession of the Baramahal. At this time a French detachment consisting of two hundred cavalry and one hundred infantry also joined Haidar at Bangalore.

Haidar after Mukdum Ali joined him felt sufficiently confident to take hostile action against Khande Rao's troops, at the same time sending detachments to Salem and Coimbatore for the purpose of recovering the country and revenues wrested from him. He himself marched in a south-westerly direction and crossed the Kaveri near Sosalé. Khande Rao and Haidar met at Nanjangud. But Haidar was defeated in the first encounter. Haidar next took a remarkable step to retrieve his fortune. With a select body of two hundred horse including some French troops, he made a circuitous march by night and early the next morning unarmed and alone presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nanjaraj at Konanur. Being admitted, he threw himself at Nanjaraj's feet with a semblance of penitence and grief and attributing all his misfortunes to the gross ingratitude with which he had requited the patronage of Nanjaraj entreated him to resume the direction of public affairs and to take his old servant once more under his protection. Nanjaraj was thus completely won over and with about 2000 horse and an equal number of infantry, he gave to the ruined fortune of Haidar the advantage of his name and influence announcing in letters despatched in every direction his determina-

tion to exercise the office of Sarvadhikari, which he still nominally retained, with Haidar as his Dalavoy or Commander-in-chief.

Haidar now attempted to form a junction with his army but Khande Rao prevented him from doing so and it seemed as if Haidar's ruin was inevitable. At this time Haidar's superior talent enabled him to extricate himself from a position which for ordinary people would have been a hopeless one. Khande Rao was at this time near a place called Katte Malalvadi, 26 miles south-west from Seringapatam and Haidar was at a distance of about 10 miles from him. Haidar now prepared letters in the name and with the seal of Nanjaraj addressed to the leaders of Khande Rao's army, referring in them to an engagement which they were said to have made to seize Khande Rao and deliver him to Nanjaraj for a stipulated reward.

These letters were designedly made to fall into the hands of Khande Rao's outposts by whom they were carried to him. Khande Rao not perceiving the artifice was seized with a sudden panic and felt that he was betrayed by his own officers and instantly mounting his horse rode at full speed towards Seringapatam to escape from a supposed danger which really did not exist and reached that place about the middle of February 1761. The cause of Khande Rao's sudden departure being unknown to his officers, each began to look to his own safety and while in this state of dismay and confusion, Haidar fell on Khande Rao's army and completely routed it, capturing the whole of the infantry, guns, stores and baggages.

Haidar however did not take advantage of his success and pursued Khande Rao at once. He preferred to secure the resources of the whole of the lower country and with that object descended the pass of Gejjelhutty and recaptured all the places which had declared for Khande Rao, levying also large contributions from Khande Rao's partisans. He then ascended the Ghauts and arrived at Chandgal early in May on the south bank of the Kaveri near Seringapatam. Here he opened negotiations with Khande Rao deprecating further hostility. There was a remnant of Khande Rao's cavalry, chiefly Mahrattas, between five and six thousand

encamped with a corps of infantry on the island of Seringapatam. Haidar on the opposite bank of the river which was then fordable made every evening a show of exercising his troops till after sunset. On the eighth day of this tacit armistice instead of dismissing them as usual, he made a sudden dash across the river as if in the performance of an evolution of a parade and by this surprise captured the whole of their heavy equipments and most of the horses belonging to Khande Rao's troops, thereby almost completing the ruin of his adversary. Haidar then crossed over to the island and encamped near where Ganjam now stands.

From here he despatched a message to the Raja intimating in substance that if Khande Rao who was a servant of his was surrendered and if the large balances still due to him were liquidated, he would seek his fortune elsewhere unless the Raja wished to continue him in his service. The Raja found that no means existed of paying the balances or of making any appropriation of funds for their speedy liquidation and in this state of distress consented to surrender Khande Rao. A further proposal was also made that taluks yielding a revenue of about 3 lakhs of pagodas were to be reserved for the expenses of the royal household and one lakh for Nanjaraj, that Haidar should assume the management of the remainder of the country and reimburse himself the arrears due to him and also provide funds for the pay of the army and other public charges of every description.

Haidar when he waited on the Raja appeared as if he reluctantly undertook this heavy load of responsibilities, but from this time forward he became the supreme dictator of Mysore. Before Khande Rao was surrendered, the Raja and the ladies of the palace obtained a promise from Haidar to treat him mercifully and Haidar assured them that Khande Rao was his own man and that he would treat him as endearingly as he would treat a parrot. Haidar literally fulfilled this promise and the unfortunate Khande Rao was confined in an iron cage in Bangalore and was fed during the remainder of his life with rice and milk.



SECOND PERIOD.

Rule of Haidar and Tippu.

1761—1799

सत्यमेव जयते



सत्यमेव जयते

## CHAPTER VI.

### **Haidar's friendship with Basalat Jung—Acquisition of Doddaballapur, Chikballapur, Sira and other places—Conquest of Bednore.**

After Haidar Ali became the supreme dictator of Mysore, he stopped at Seringapatam for sometime for the proper regulation of the affairs there. He appointed his brother-in-law Mukdum Sahib as Killedar of the fort and also entrusted to him the duties of the steward of the Raja's palace. He next proceeded to take charge of the treasury which contained gold and jewels of value, besides cash and the artillery and military stores. His next care was to increase and efficiently equip his army and for this purpose he attracted to his standard by his liberality men of capacity from all parts of India. In the language of Kirmani, the biographer of Haidar, "able men of various tribes and nations, artificers of all countries and soldiers who from want of employment had been hiding in corners like a sword in its sheath at length had the rust and dust rubbed off the face of their condition by the burnish of appreciation; and by the aid of their good fortune, like the spear, carried their heads high and presented themselves erect to Haidar who employed them in his service proportionate to their abilities and merits." His arrangements in Seringapatam having all been completed, Haidar marched to Bangalore with a body of troops and he there duly discharged the loan borrowed from the merchants of the place in the days of his adversity.

While at Bangalore, he received messages from Basalat Jung of Hyderabad who had the country around Adoni with his headquarters at that place soliciting Haidar's aid to capture the fort of Hoskote which was then in the possession of the Mahrattas. Basalat Jung's possessions had become limited to Adoni and its neighbourhood after Nizam Ali proclaimed himself the Subadar of the Deccan displacing his brother Salabat Jung whom he murdered in October 1761. Basalat Jung now wished to extend the territory in his possession and he was encouraged in this ambition by the fateful defeat of the Mahrattas at Panipat and by

chance thereby opened to him of incorporating the Subha of Sira with his possessions. He accordingly laid siege to Hoskote, but on account of the brave defence put up by Mukund Sripat the Mahratta Governor, was unable to capture the place and approached Haidar for aid. Haidar readily went with a body of troops to the aid of Basalat Jung and succeeded in capturing the place. In reward for this service Basalat Jung, though he had no authority to do so, invested Haidar with the title of Nawab and next accepting a Nuzzar or present of 3 lakhs of rupees transferred to him the government of Sira, although that place was at the time in the possession of the Mahrattas. The combined army then marched towards Doddaballapur and Abbas Kuli Khan in whose possession it was fearing Haidar's revenge on him for some disservice he had done him in his younger days fled to Madras leaving his family to their fate. On entering the fort of Doddaballapur without opposition, Haidar learnt of the flight of Abbas Kuli Khan and proceeded to visit his mother who was residing there. In a message full of gentleness he assured her of his gratitude for several acts of kindness done to him in his earlier days and continued to treat her and others of the family who had not offended him with distinction and generosity.

From Doddaballapur the confederate army marched to Sira and here Haidar commenced operations to capture the latter place from Triumbuck Krishna who was the Killedar of the fort on behalf of the Peshwa. This Killedar offered a spirited defence which however proving of no avail he surrendered the place to Haidar and departed from there. Haidar on entering the fort found a very large quantity of military stores and provisions which the Mahrattas had collected for the conquest of the country below the Ghauts and appropriated all these for his own use. Basalat Jung after formally presenting a sannad to Haidar conferring on him the revenues of the entire Subha of Sira with the Peishkush or tribute of the palegars dependent on it returned to Adoni about the beginning of the year 1762, as it became necessary for him to adopt measures of self-defence against his brother Nizam Ali. Haidar remained in the fort for about a fortnight and appointed one Mir Ismail Hussein as Killedar of the fort giving him instructions to

repair the fort and to assure the peasantry of their safety and to encourage them to return to their occupations.

Haidar now felt himself free to proceed to Chikballapur situated at a short distance from Doddaballapur in order to capture that place. In 1749 when Devanhalli was captured, the palegar of that place had been permitted to go to his relation the palegar of Chikballapur and ever after attempts were made by the two palegars to get possession of Devanhalli, though without success. Haidar now resolved to suppress the intrigues of these palegars and possess himself of Chikballapur. These palegars had the support of Morari Rao of Gutti whose possessions were situated immediately to the north-east of Haidar's new possessions and touched on the south the territory of the Chikballapur palegar.

The palegar of Chikballapur being a person of spirit and ability did not readily yield to Haidar and though the place had a weak citadel, he persisted vigorously to hold his own against the assaults of Haidar's army. Morari Rao also marched with a contingent for the help of the palegar, but Haidar obtaining information of this march unexpectedly fell upon his troops and inflicted a severe defeat and thereupon Morari Rao thought it prudent to return to Gutti. The Chikballapur palegar thus left without resources entered into negotiations with Haidar for peace, offering a sum of nine lakhs of rupees. Haidar accepted the terms but before the money could be collected, on account of the unhealthy condition of the place, he withdrew his army to a better place near Devanhalli. Immediately after, a body of Morari Rao's troops as had been secretly arranged entered Chikballapur and garrisoned the place, the palegar retiring to the hill-fort of Nandidoorg situated at a distance of three miles. Haidar was enraged at this deception and renewed his attacks on the town which fell into his hands in about ten days. He then entrusted the fort to the care of one Badru Zamaun Khan, an officer of repute, and leaving instructions to prevent supplies from reaching the palegar, extended his conquests in Morari Rao's territory towards Penukonda, Madakasira and other places. The palegars of Raya-doorg and Harapanhalli readily offered their submission but the

palegar of Chitaldrug was not so docile. Haidar then overran the Chitaldrug country with his cavalry and in a few days the palegar found it prudent to compromise for a fine of 2 lakhs of pagodas. He was then most graciously received at the court of his new Nawab and in the course of conversation, the palegar mentioned the arrival at his own camp of a visitor whose history opened to Haidar a new field of ambition.

The new visitor introduced to Haidar by the palegar of Chitaldrug was named Chennabasavaiah and his story was that he was the adopted son of Basavappa Naik, Raja of Bednore who died in 1755, that on account of an attempt made on his life by Veerammaji, the Raja's widow, he had left the place and that now he was seeking outside help to regain his patrimony. In some quarters this story was not believed and he was only regarded as a pretender. Anyhow Rani Veerammaji had become odious both to her subjects and to several of her leading officers on account of a second marriage she had contracted with one Nimbaiah. The marriage, though not opposed to the caste-customs of the Rani, was looked upon as opposed to the traditions of the reigning family and probably there was an element of jealousy on the part of the influential persons of the country at the good fortune of Nimbaiah. Before he met his new visitor, Haidar had been apprised through his spies of the political weakness of the Bednore Kingdom under the rule of an unpopular woman and it now suited his purpose to befriend the claim of Chennabasavaiah to be the Raja of Bednore.

This chieftdom was founded by two brothers under a sannad granted about the year 1560 by the Vijayanagar King at the time and was originally known as the territory of the Naiks of Keladi, now a petty village in the Sagar taluk of the Mysore State. The seat of government was subsequently moved to Ikkeri, 10 miles to the south of Keladi, and during the time of Venkatappa Naik about the year 1623 there arrived at the place an Italian traveller by name Petro Della Valle. This traveller was then in the suite of the Portugese envoy for whose amusement various entertainments were provided and Della Valle mentions a dance known as the Kolatam dance which is in vogue even now.

In 1640 the famous Sivappa Naik who was ruling at the time considered Ikkeri as unsafe on account of the unsettled political conditions of that period and transferred his capital to Bednore situated near the Western Ghats, as it was not easily accessible to hostile forces. The town was also fortified by strong outposts extending to several miles with thick forests all around and undergrowth scarcely penetrable fostered by the heavy rains which fell there during a large part of the year. This principality not only included the mountainous range of the Western Ghats but also extended to the west over the maritime province now known as Canara and to the east over a tract of more open country stretching to Sante Bennur and Holalkere within about twenty miles from Chitaldrug.

His ambition being roused by the accounts he had heard of Bednore, Haider made a convenient pretext of Chennabasavaiah's story to invade the country and ultimately to appropriate it for himself. Accordingly in the beginning of 1763 he set out on this expedition distributing his troops into four columns and on crossing the borders of the Bednore territory issued a proclamation in the name of Chennabasavaiah inviting the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. At Shimoga which fell without much resistance, Haider found a lakh of pagodas, about a third of which he distributed to the troops as a stimulus to their energies and hopes. At Kumsi he found one Linganna a minister of the late Raja who had been imprisoned by the Rani and released him. This individual undertook to give information respecting every branch of the resources of the country and to guide him through a secret path by which the city might be approached without encountering any of the outposts. In the meanwhile, the Rani made various attempts to buy off the enemy with offers of large sums of money, but Haider's only answer was that if she surrendered the country, he would grant her a generous allowance and that she might fix her residence at Seringapatam. To the credit of the Rani it must be stated that she proudly rejected these proposals and resolved to defend her capital as best she could.

Haider next reached Anantapur fifteen miles from Kumsi and from there reached the environs of Bednore in the beginning of

March 1763. Kirmani gives an interesting account of the fall of Bednore and of the capture of the Rani in the hill-fort of Kavale-doorg where she had taken shelter. The Rani is stated to have sent confidential ambassadors with costly presents and a supplicatory letter. These agents after paying their respects to Haidar presented various rarities and costly articles and stated that the Rani would pay a yearly sum of ten lakhs of pagodas and that she sought the country to be restored to her charge as a gift. To this Haidar returned for answer that if the Rani desired safety, immediate comfort, tranquillity of mind and the preservation of her honour, she should come without hesitation to his camp and from there proceed with every comfort and convenience to the fort of Seringapatam, where she might reside on a generous allowance to be granted by him. The Rani however proudly rejected the proposals sent to her and prepared to defend herself. It now also became necessary for the Rani to obtain outside help. She therefore sought the aid of Abdul Hakim Khan, Nawab of Savanoor, in return for a large sum of money. This Nawab agreed to her request and immediately despatched 2,000 horse and four thousand foot to her aid, also himself advancing with a large force and artillery and encamping at some distance.

As soon as this intelligence reached Haidar, he became violently incensed and moved forward towards Bednore and invested the place. The Rani's troops all along remained faithful to her, while the Rani also conducted herself with as much steadiness and courage as though she were a man. The siege was protracted for nearly a year and Haidar was much chagrined at the delay which had occurred in taking the place, especially as he feared that the approaching monsoon rains would upset his plans. He therefore gave orders to his troops to carry the place by assault, granting them full permission to retain all their plunders, all articles of gold and silver and likewise all handsome women who might be captured. The assault on the fort was so fierce that the Rani finding resistance hopeless set her palace on fire, burned most of her boxes of jewellery or reduced them to powder by pounding them in an iron mortar and accompanied by only a few attendants fled to the hill-fort of Kavale-doorg for refuge.

As soon as Haidar came to know that the Rani had escaped, he placed a garrison of his own in the fort of Bednore and following the Rani in her wake besieged the fort of Kavaledoor. The Rani offered resistance for about a month but at length the defenders were subdued and the Rani herself was brought a prisoner to Haidar's presence. Haidar then returned to Bednore with his prisoner, from where he despatched her to the rock-fort of Madhugiri to spend her days in exile along with Nimbiah and the pretender Chennabasaviah.

Haidar then with the greatest pomp and display of force, according to Kirmani, made his entry into the fort. For fifteen days he held grand festivities enjoying the music and the abundance of good things provided for the feast. To his army officers who had done valiant deeds he gave costly presents and honorary dresses, gold bracelets, pearl necklaces, jewelled gorgets, splendid swords, as well as jaghirs according to their rank and capacity.

Haidar selected for the charge of the place an old servant of his by name Oojani, to whom he gave the name of Raja Ramchander, an able and intelligent man and ordered him to repair the fort and its defences. The available property of every description including money and jewels which he realised on this occasion was estimated to have amounted to the huge sum of twelve crores of rupees and subsequently through all the remaining years of his life Haidar is said to have regarded this vast wealth as the foundation of all his future greatness. At Ballalrayandoor, forty miles from Bednore, Haidar's agents found vast property which consisted of "two or three boxes of pearls and diamonds, two boxes of jewellery, two elephant-housings richly embroidered and curiously wrought in gold and silver, a jewelled chain for the foot of an elephant, two sets of gold and silver bells for the necks of the royal elephants and two gold embroidered saddles."

Haidar established a mint in which he struck coins in his own name and also made preparations for establishing a dock-yard and a naval arsenal on the Western Coast for the construction of the ships

of war under the supervision of a military general Latif Ali Beg by name. Bednore received the name of Haidarnagar.

The rains commenced in June and malarial fever raged in his camp, Haidar also being one of the victims. The adherents of the displaced ruling family considered the time opportune to regain the country and accordingly formed a plot to assassinate Haidar. Some obscure suspicions were conveyed to Haidar, according to Wilks, by a trusty servant and he directed an investigation to be made by a commission. It happened however that there were included in the commission some persons who were themselves accomplices in the plot. At the time the report of the commission was read to him, Haidar was reclining on his couch shivering in a paroxysm of ague. But even in this state his keen perception is said to have penetrated the veil which the commission had attempted to throw over some of the facts. He dissembled however and detained the commissioners in feigned consultation. When the hot fit was succeeded by a slight remission, he arose and entering the hall of business re-examined the witnesses and discovered the whole plot. He ordered the commissioners to be instantly hanged in front of the hall of audience. The arrests of others followed with rapidity and before the close of the day, upwards of three hundred of the chief conspirators were hanged at the different public ways which issued from the city. Bednore was thenceforward the most tranquil and the most obedient of all the possessions of Haidar.

## CHAPTER VII.

**Savanoor Nawab Punished—Nizam Conciliated—Haidar's reverses at the hands of the Mahrattas and conclusion of peace—Chikballapur Palegar's surrender—Subjugation of Malabar—Death of Immadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar and succession of Nanjaraj Wodeyar—Madhava Rao's invasion of Mysore—Mission of Appaji Rao to Poona and conclusion of peace.**

By the annexation of Sira and its dependencies the frontiers of Mysore were carried to the river Thungabhadra, and by the conquest of Bednore and Soonda which followed later, they stretched far to the north-west of that river. Haidar's intention was now to attach to his interest the Pathan Nawabs of Savanoor, Kadapa, Kurnool and thereby to form a defensive cordon along his northern frontier against the Mahrattas. The Nawab of Savanoor, Abdul Hakim Khan, however did not give ear to Haidar's advances in this direction and accordingly Fazl-ulla Khan was directed to invade the Savanoor territory to punish the Nawab for his siding with the Bednore Rani. Shortly after, Haidar also joined Fazl-ulla Khan with a body of troops from Bednore and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nawab pursuing him to the very gates of Savanoor. Abdul Hakim Khan was left no alternative but to submit unconditionally to all the demands of Haidar and to purchase peace by paying a crore of rupees. As he had no ready cash to pay the whole of this amount, he was forced to make up the deficiency by handing over to Haidar elephants, camels, tents of velvet, bechobas embroidered with gold, Burhampur cloths of great value and arms, all accumulated at immense expense by his predecessors.

Haidar now turned his attention to conciliate the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Peshwa at Poona for the acceptance of the Subha of Sira at the hands of Basalat Jung and for its forcible dispossession from the Mahrattas. Haidar accordingly despatched a vakeel by name Appaji Rao to Hyderabad with gifts exceeding in value the amount paid to Basalat Jung. Nizam Ali who had other things at the time to occupy his attention was easily appeased,

In the same manner Haidar sent a vakeel Mehdi Ali Khan to the Mahratta court at Poona. Madhava Rao, the third in succession, was the Peshwa at the time. He was a capable person and in spite of all the diplomacy of Haidar's agent was not conciliated, as he regarded the annexation of Sira by Haidar as a direct affront to the Mahratta prestige.

It now therefore became necessary for Haidar to prepare himself against a Mahratta invasion. Instead of waiting on the defensive till the invasion actually took place, Haidar himself took the offensive and occupied Dharwar and other places belonging to the Mahrattas. Gopal Rao of Miraj who was directed by Madhava Rao to oppose Haidar's advance was unable to do so. Madhava Rao however, shortly after, advanced with the main body of his army and inflicted a severe defeat on Haidar at Rattihalli situated to the south of Savanoor. To such a stress was Haidar now reduced that he was obliged to flee with a few cavalry to the woods of Bednore. Though Madhava Rao's advance was for a short time checked by the rainy season, he soon crossed the Thungabhadra and pursued so vigorously that Haidar hemmed in on all sides by the Mahrattas was forced to despatch his family and treasure to Seringapatam and to sue for peace. In February 1766 peace was accordingly concluded and Haidar engaged himself to restore all the districts and places which he had wrested from Morari Rao, to relinquish all claims on Abdul Hakim Khan and the country of Savanoor and to pay thirty-two lakhs of rupees. Haidar's occupation of Sira was tacitly admitted, as no reference was made to it by either party in the peace negotiations. Similarly all discussions relating to the pategars of Chitaldrug, Rayadoorg, Harapanhalli and other places were studiously avoided.

During this unfavourable aspect of Haidar's affairs to the west, the whole of his recent acquisitions in the east were in a flame of rebellion. His brother-in-law Mir Ali Raza, commonly called Mir Sahib, was therefore sent with a respectable force to Sira and after the establishment of Haidar's authority there was directed to proceed against the pategar of Chikballapur who had taken refuge in the hill-fort of Nandidoorg. Mir Ali Raza cut off all supplies to

the hill-fort and the palegar thereby being reduced to sore straits was forced to surrender. The palegar with his family was first sent to Bangalore and thence to Coimbatore. At this time, another force under Fazl-ulla Khan was employed in restoring order and levying contributions farther to the south.

The reverses that Haidar sustained from the Mahrattas far from creating any despondency in his mind stimulated him to seek fresh conquests elsewhere. Ali Raja, the Mapilla chief of Cannanore approached Haidar at about this time for help against his enemies and Haidar foresaw an opportunity to bring Malabar under his subjection. Accordingly in the beginning of 1766 he descended the Ghauts and marched to Malabar.

The Nairs, as the inhabitants of Malabar are called, formed a brave and formidable military class and Wilks' interesting description of them may be quoted. "The Nairs who form the military class of Malabar are, perhaps, not exceeded by any nation on earth in their high spirit of independence and military honour; but like all persons stimulated by that spirit without discipline, their efforts are uncertain, capricious and desultory. The military dress of a Nair is a pair of short drawers and his peculiar weapon is an instrument with a thin but very broad blade hooked towards the edge like a bill-hook or gardeners knife and about the length of a Roman sword, which the weapon of the chiefs often exactly resembles. The inseparable companion of the Nair whenever he quits his dwelling on business, for pleasure or for war, has no scabbard and is usually grasped by the right hand as an ornamental appendage in peace and for destruction in war. When the Nair employs his musket or his bow, the weapon which has been described is fixed in an instant by means of a catch in the waist-belt with the flat part of the blade diagonally across his back and is disengaged as quickly whenever he drops his musket in the wood or slings it across his shoulders for the purpose of running to close encounter with his terrible instrument."

Haidar found it extraordinarily difficult to overcome the opposition of the Nairs. His army had not before been pitched against

so brave or so formidable an enemy. Their concealed fire from the woods could neither be returned with effect nor could the troops of Haidar be prevailed on to enter the thickets and act individually against them. In every movement through the forests with which the country abounded, bands of Nairs rushed by surprise upon the columns of march and after making dreadful havoc, in a moment became again invisible. Haidar, however, using all the resources of his extraordinary mind overcame the resistance of the Nairs and continuing his march through the territories of the five women chiefs approached Calicut. Mana Vikrama Raja, the Zamorin of the place, contemplating resistance of no avail and learning of the generous treatment accorded to the palegar of Rayadoorg made up his mind to submit to Haidar and on the 11th April 1766 proceeded under a safe conduct to the latter's camp for the purpose of negotiating terms of peace and was there received with all marks of distinction. The Raja agreed to be a tributary chief under Haidar and to pay a contribution of twelve lakhs of rupees.

Haidar with his army then moved forward towards Calicut. Fearing deception on the part of the Zamorin to fulfil the terms of the peace, Haidar took care to send a column by a circuitous route to seize the fort of Calicut. The garrison at Calicut concluded from this movement that their Raja was a prisoner and evacuated the place. The Zamorin concluded from this action on the part of Haidar that the latter had no intention of ratifying the peace terms, while at the same time Haidar put pressure on the Raja and his ministers for the payment of the stipulated contribution which either from design or from inability was not readily forthcoming. The Raja and his ministers were in the circumstances placed under restraint and torture was also applied to the ministers for the exaction of the amount. The Zamorin fearing a similar treatment barricaded himself in the house in which he resided and setting fire to it perished in the flames in spite of all attempts made by Haidar to rescue him. It is stated that when the doors were opened and the Zamorin was found dead, many of his adherents voluntarily threw themselves into the flames and perished. Haidar then took possession of Calicut, appointed one Madanna as governor of the place with instructions to repair the fort and to

store provisions. As the monsoon rains were due to begin about this time, Haidar moved on with the army towards the open country near Coimbatore which he reached with some difficulty, on the way receiving the submission of the Rajas of Cochin and Palaghat.

The Nairs, however, whose warlike spirit was re-awakened after the departure of Haidar and disgusted also by the harsh measures which Madanna initiated to increase his resources rose in rebellion and caused much havoc among the men of Mysore. On intelligence reaching Haidar, he returned to Malabar shortly after the rains ceased and establishing his quarters at Manjeri sent out several detachments in search of the insurgents on whom terrible sufferings were inflicted. Such of the Nairs as fell into his hands in the early part of the operations were mercilessly hanged or killed in other ways. As however the number of prisoners increased considerably, Haidar conceived the idea of transporting them into the plains of Mysore where the population was sparse. No less than 15000 persons were compelled to leave their homes and march to the places selected for them. The arrangements for their food and lodging were very defective and diseases also broke out, with the result that hardly two hundred men were able to reach their destination. Haidar next proclaimed an amnesty to such of the remaining inhabitants as would immediately submit to him. Thereupon considerable numbers of those who had taken refuge in the woods returned to their homes and a sort of calm was established.

On returning to Coimbatore, Haidar heard vague reports of a combination against him of the Mahratras and Nizam Ali supported by an English force. He therefore thought it prudent to return to Seringapatam which he did in the beginning of the year 1767. Immadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar had died in the previous year and his eldest son Nanjaraj Wodeyar about eighteen years of age was now formally installed on the throne. Haidar observed the usual marks of obeisance and loyalty but after some time discovered that the mind of Nanjaraj was of a mould which would not quietly accommodate itself to his dictation. The taluks which had been allotted to the amount of three lakhs of pagodas for the personal maintenance of

the Raja and of his court were resumed and all the valuables and the cash in the palace removed, leaving only the ornaments worn by the ladies of the palace on their persons. A new and reduced arrangement of the household was enforced which left none but Haidar's adherents within the palace gates.

It will be remembered that on the occasion of the peace concluded with the Mahrattas by Haidar after his defeat at Rattihalli, no reference was made by either of the parties to the annexation of Sira by Haidar. Peshwa Madhava Rao who was an able and energetic ruler bided his time and found his opportunity when Nanjaraj Wodeyar sent secret proposals to him for help to re-establish his authority. Haidar aware of these intrigues and also of the strength of the Mahratta army sent Mobhat Khan, elder brother of Muhammad Ali, who had taken service under him to Poona to conciliate Madhava Rao but the mission was a failure. Madhava Rao who was determined to crush Haidar for the insult offered to the Mahratta power by the dispossession of Sira started with a large army to invade Mysore.

Haidar thought it prudent to remain at Seringapatam and act on the defensive. He however issued the most peremptory orders to all his officers to break down the embankments of the reservoirs of water on the line of the Mahratta army, to poison the wells with milk-hedge, to burn all the forage, to bury the grain, to drive the cattle to the woods and leave to the Mahrattas neither forage, water nor food. These measures of defence however were not of much avail against an overwhelming mass of the Mahratta army. This army instead of moving in regular columns whose routes and intentions could be foreseen and counteracted covered the whole face of the country like a cloud of locust. In spite of the peremptory orders issued by Haidar, the Mahratta army was able to find forage, grain and water on their march and pushed on to Rayadoorg and then marching along the bank of the Hugree river which exhibited only a bed of sand at the time but where water could be obtained by digging shallow pits, Madhava Rao at last reached Sira. The Mahrattas generally in their expeditions were accompanied by rowing bands of Pindaries who were ruthless both in their depreda-

tions as well as in their exactions. They had acquired a reputation for thieving, cheating and roguery of all kinds. They were entertained by some of the rulers of the time to plunder and lay waste the territories of their enemies and to serve as guides. These people were given no fixed pay but when the troops halted, they brought hay and wood to the camp and subsisted on the proceeds of their sale. In times of active service, they obtained permission from the commander of the army to plunder and lay waste the country and it was a common saying of those days that even owls and bats were afraid of the country ravaged by these people.

Mir Ali Raza commanded the garrison at Sira. He defended the fort for a number of days and finally finding that resistance was hopeless, surrendered it to Madhava Rao who treated him honourably and re-granted to him Gurumkonda, 150 miles eastward of Sira and now in the Nizam's dominions which was formerly a jahagir of his ancestors. This unexpected defection of Mir Ali Raza and the approach of Nizam Ali with an English contingent as an ally of the Mahrattas induced Haidar to send fresh proposals for peace to Madhava Rao. The latter however refused to receive any ambassador who was not invested with full powers to settle the peace terms and whose person itself was not a guarantee for the fulfilment of the terms concluded. Thereupon Appaji Rao who was a clever and witty diplomat was selected by Haidar and sent to the camp of the Peshwa.

According to Wilks, Appaji Rao was received by Madhava Rao in the great tent of audience in a full durbar consisting of all his officers of State and chiefs of the army numbering about four hundred persons. After the inspection of his powers, he was referred for details to the Putwardhan and to explain to him the business of his mission, Madhava Rao himself seeming to be occupied with other concerns. The envoy was not discouraged by these indications of indifference but commenced to explain his mission without a moment's hesitation. With some show of eloquence, Appaji Rao expatiated in a pathetic strain on the miseries of war and on the moral obligations of those to whom Providence had confided the destinies of nations to confer on their

people the blessings of peace. He then proceeded in a clear and business-like strain of arguments to represent that Haidar considered every cause of dispute to have been settled by the peace of Bednore and that he was not aware of any deviation from his engagements which could justify the present occasion. The Putwardhan replied that the peace of Bednore was concluded with the Raja, that since it had become notorious that the Raja was a prisoner and that Haidar had usurped all authority and that the liberation of the Raja and his restoration to his legitimate authority were essential towards establishing the previous relations of the parties. A general murmur of approbation throughout the assembly announced that this argument was considered unanswerable. Appaji Rao then in a tone of repentant humility acknowledged that the Raja was virtually a pageant Raja in the hands of Haidar, but immediately added with an unperturbed gravity of countenance, having in mind the displacement by the Peshwas of the authority of the successors of Sivaji that the arrangement was not an invention of their own but a distant and respectful imitation of the conduct of their betters and if those eminent authorities led the way in the moral doctrines they inculcated, others would unquestionably be ready to follow so laudable an example. Madhava Rao is then said to have hung down his head and that the whole assembly to have refrained with difficulty from a burst of laughter. After this repartee, the ground became clear for actual business. The preliminary points were soon understood and in a private audience to which he was admitted on the following day, the retreat of the Mahratta host was purchased for thirty-five lakhs of rupees, half of which was paid late in the month of March. Madhava Rao had obtained possession of all the districts of Mysore to the south-eastward of Sira and the treaty provided for the immediate restoration of the whole, with the single exception of the fort and district of Kolar which was to remain in pledge for the payment of the remaining sum of seventeen and a half lakhs of rupees. Finally Madhava Rao left for Poona on the 11th of May 1768.

## CHAPTER VIII.

**The principal political actors of the period—Madhava Rao bought off by Haidar—Nizam Ali and the English—Haidar and Nizam Ali against the English—Fate of Nanjaraj—Nizam Ali concludes peace with the English.**

Before we proceed to sketch the events connected with the first war waged by Haidar against the English, it is desirable to know, so far as is necessary for the purposes of our narrative, the motives that actuated the minds of the principal actors in the political field in Southern India at this period. By the treaty of Paris concluded in February 1763 and the termination of the Seven Years' War in Europe, the English and the French had agreed to a mutual restoration of the territories conquered or acquired during the war in Southern India and the Deccan and had also recognised Muhammad Ali as the lawful Nawab of the Carnatic, though his elder brother Mohabat Khan with better claims was living at the time. Salabat Jung the fourth Nizam had been deposed and imprisoned by Nizam Ali his younger brother in 1761 and the latter was acknowledged in the same treaty as Subadar of the Deccan. Muhammad Ali's ambition was roused by this recognition of himself as Nawab of the Carnatic and he began to put forward extravagant claims to other parts of Southern India and even the Deccan. Haidar Ali's fears were thereby awakened and he thought it advisable to secure the friendship of Nizam Ali for a joint retaliation against Muhammad Ali. Mohabat Khan who, as we have already seen, had entered Haidar's service was sent to Hyderabad for the purpose of negotiating an alliance with Nizam Ali.

Nizam Ali also had grievances of his own against the English. Clive on receiving from the Mughal Emperor the Dewani of Bengal in 1765 had at the same time solicited and procured the grant of the Northern Circars without any reference to Nizam Ali. The Madras Government however in taking possession of this part of the country thought it prudent to conciliate Nizam Ali by sending a proposal to him in November 1766 agreeing to hold this territory as a free gift from and a tributary dependency under the de facto

Nizam. In the political turmoil that prevailed in this period in India, the Hindus, the Mahomedans, the French and the English, all attempted to rest their several claims, according to Wilks, on the shadow of a political patent from the powerless Mughal Emperor at Delhi instead of resting them on grounds of their own superior strength. It was also agreed between Nizam Ali and the Madras Government that an English auxiliary force, indefinite both in its strength and as to its employment, was to be at the disposal of the former. At this time Peshwa Madhava Rao also had plans of his own regarding Mysore and it was believed that there was a compact between him and Nizam Ali about this matter.

Muhammad Ali was secretly meditating the displacement of both Haidar and Nizam Ali and these were meditating a counterplot for deposing him. Nizam Ali moved to the south ostensibly to co-operate with the Mahrattas, but really entertaining the option according to circumstances of employing the English force against Haidar or of directing Haidar's force against the English and Muhammad Ali. Nizam Ali started a full month later than Madhava Rao and effected a junction with the English auxiliary troops under Colonel Joseph Smith. By the time this combined army reached the Thungabhadra, intelligence reached Nizam Ali that the return of Madhava Rao had been purchased by Haidar by stipulating to pay a large sum of money. Nizam Ali however continued his march to demand the fulfilment of Haidar's promise to make an immediate payment of 20 lakhs of rupees with a tribute of 6 lakhs annually. Haidar however after his adjustment with Madhava Rao maintained silence regarding the payment of any money and incited Nizam Ali to join him in retaliation against the English and Muhammad Ali. Nizam Ali's troops continued to advance towards the camp of Madhava Rao near Kolar in the hope of sharing in his spoils or of prevailing on him to persevere in the original project of the war. On learning through his agent that the Mahrattas were not disposed to give him any share of the money received from Haidar and that they had finally moved northwards on their march to Poona from the vicinity of Kolar on the 11th of May 1768, Nizam Ali marched on the same day towards

Bangalore. The English auxiliary troops were forced to halt at Devanhalli on account of the rains which ensued.

Colonel Smith whose acute mind long suspected inimical combinations against the English finding Nizam Ali on entering Mysore treating it as a friendly country reported his suspicions to his own Government at Madras. The Madras Government thereupon gave Colonel Smith the option of returning to the lower country whenever he deemed that the occasion for so doing arose. The English commander then pressed Rukmdowla, the minister of Nizam Ali, to offer some satisfactory explanation as to the real intentions of his master. But Rukmdowla put him off by declaring that he and his master were engaged in an important negotiation with Haidar, the success of which depended on the union of the English troops and pressing him with entreaties to join Nizam Ali's camp at Bangalore.

In the meanwhile Nizam Ali encamped on the plains near Chennapatna, while Haidar Ali with his troops was at Maddur, twelve miles from there. Nizam Ali was anxious to meet Haidar but the latter deputed his son Tippu and the meeting is thus described by Kirmani: "When the Nizam raised his tent in the plain of Chennapatna, he sent for the Nawab to visit him; but although the Nawab also with his army and artillery had encamped eastward of Maddur (a short distance from Chennapatna), still as he considered that his meeting with the Nizam should be deferred to another time, he sent his son Tippu with a well appointed force and with some of his important officers. Five elephants and ten beautiful horses were sent as presents. When Tippu arrived near the Nizam's tent, his bodyguard sounded the drums. Nizam Ali ascending a balcony on his tent saw and admired the pomp and parade of Tippu's cavalry escort as well as the discipline and order of his troops. The Nizam after that received Tippu with a great show of kindness and having gained his heart by honied words and phrases consulted him on the feasibility of chastising Muhammad Ali and the English and then sent him away with the present of a khillat and the shawls which he himself was wearing. Tippu then

returned to his father and on his arrival related with exact minuteness every word spoken by the Nizam on this occasion. Agreeing in the objects and wishes of the Nizam, the Nawab Bahadur marched on with his army and the Nizam giving the English their dismissal sent them off."

Before we proceed to other events, reference may be here made as a mere incident to the fate that overtook Dalavoy Nanjaraj, the former patron of Haidar. It will be remembered that on Haidar becoming supreme dictator or in the official parlance of the time Sarvadhikari in 1761 Nanjaraj was granted a jahagir yielding a lakh of pagodas and had been allowed to reside at Mysore in comparative dignity and honour with a body of troops. Haidar now discovered that Nanjaraj had been carrying on secret intrigues with Madhava Rao and Nizam Ali for reviving his own former authority. Haidar therefore thought it necessary to suppress such activities on the part of Nanjaraj and on the pretence of having to consult him on serious affairs of State invited him to Seringapatam. Nanjaraj however entertained his own suspicions but he was assured that no danger was meant. On the arrival of Nanjaraj at Seringapatam, his guards were seized, his jahagir resumed and he was thenceforth treated as a State prisoner and was furnished only with the mere necessities of life. It may here well be said of Haidar, of what Napoleon said of himself, that his hand of iron was not at the extremity of his arm but it was immediately connected with his head. We hear no more of Nanjaraj and we may leave him here to brood over his miseries during the remainder of his life till 1773, in which year he died.

Now turning to the political events of the period, the Madras Government in spite of Colonel Joseph Smith's warnings continued to place faith in the honesty of Nizam Ali's intentions. Haidar's preparations for war against the English now having been completed, the combined armies of Mysore and Hyderabad began their march to descend to the country below the Ghauts on the 28th August 1767.

Haidar at first contented himself with harassing the English by intercepting all supplies, but being urged on by the Nizam, their joint

forces attacked Smith near the fort of Changama, where however they were repulsed with considerable loss. Colonel Smith after his first encounter with Haidar proceeded to Tiruvannamale to furnish himself with ammunition and provisions. Haidar and Nizam Ali proceeding on their march towards Tiruvannamale encamped at a short distance from this place, where a hard contest ensued on the 26th September 1767. The combined armies could not maintain their ground and had to change their position. At this time an incident occurred which is worth mentioning. It was the invariable practice of Nizam Ali to be accompanied in the field by his favourite wives with all the splendid appendages of rank. He was on horseback when Haidar approached and his line of elephants carrying the women was at no great distance in the rear. A retreat having been settled, order was given to turn back. But a female voice which was no other than that of Nizam Ali's wife boldly replied that her elephant had not been accustomed so to turn back but that it always followed the flag of the Empire. "The loss of several elephants was the consequence" says Wilks, "of this demur, for the chivalrous damsel would not allow hers to move until the standard had passed her in its retreat, though the English shots fell thick among those that followed in her train." Nizam Ali was disheartened at this reverse and though a short time before had answered the remonstrances of Haidar with a declaration that he would prefer a death like that of Nasir Jung to a dishonourable flight, was now at full speed with a select body of his cavalry in the western direction and did not stop till he was fairly through the pass of Singarpetta, leaving to the minister and commander-in-chief Rukmdowla the task of directing the immediate retreat of his other troops.

On Haidar now mainly devolved the burden of leading not only his own army but also the remainder of Nizam Ali's troops to a safe place. Colonel Smith finding that some confusion prevailed in Haidar's camp before his army could begin the retreat planned a night attack on his camp and entrusted its execution to one of his officers Major Fitzgerald. Haidar however was too wary a person to be caught in any trap. One of his own spies who had enlisted himself as a guide to Major Fitzgerald's detachment having secretly

apprised Haidar of the coming attack, put Major Fitzgerald on a wrong scent by informing him that to approach Haidar's camp the detachment had to cross a morass which involved some difficulty. The pseudo-guide accordingly led the English party to where the morass was situated and Major Fitzgerald finding the morass not only difficult but impossible to cross was forced to adopt a more circuitous route, with the result that time was wasted and he thought it prudent to return to his camp without delivering the intended attack.

At daybreak the confederate army began its retreat and was observed to cover the ground as far as the eye could reach. Haidar could not however on account of the inefficient equipment of Nizam Ali's troops quicken the pace of the march and in consequence a number of his guns, together with several of Nizam Ali's, fell into the hands of the English. On this occasion Haidar was attended by a splendid retinue which consisted of 300 select men on foot clothed in scarlet and armed with lances twisted round from bottom to top with thin plates of silver in a spiral form. Tippu who was now about seventeen years old and who had been entrusted with a nominal command under the guidance of Ghazi Khan, his military preceptor, was at the time plundering the country-houses of the members of the Government of Madras and on hearing of his father's retreat from Tiruvannamale made a precipitous march to join him.

Nizam Ali assembled his army at Kaveripattanam in Baramahal and Haidar sometime after established his headquarters at the same place. Considerable mutual recriminations were exchanged between the two confederate chiefs for the failure that overtook them at Tiruvannamale and they remained for over a month without seeing each other or devising any plans for the future. At last the gloom wore away and ostentatious interviews came to be exchanged. At one of these, Haidar placed his guest on a seat composed of bags of coined silver amounting to a lakh of rupees covered with embroidered cushions, all of which the attendants were desired to carry away with other presents according to the established etiquette in similar cases.

Though some successes were subsequently achieved against the English, the confederates at this time each for his own reason wished to conclude peace with the English. The Bengal Government had in order to cause a diversion in favour of the English in the south sent a detachment from the Circars towards Hyderabad and this detachment was already in possession of Warungal in the Nizam's dominions. Nizam Ali fearing the safety of his own capital and seeing the unpromising nature of his confederacy with Haidar sent secret overtures to the English commander-in-chief for concluding peace. Haidar being apprised by the men of his Intelligence Branch of these overtures and bearing in mind the treacherous conduct of Nizam Ali towards his brother Salabat Jung pretended to accept the wisdom of Nizam Ali's move and at last in February 1768 peace was concluded between Nizam Ali and the Madras Government and the former left for his own country.



## CHAPTER IX.

### Termination of the first Mysore War—Conclusion of peace.

Haidar's overtures for peace were not readily accepted by the Madras Government and the reason was that the Bombay Government had sent out an expedition which had taken possession of some of the forts belonging to Haidar on the Western Coast and were also giving support to a rebellion on the part of the Nair chiefs in Malabar. It was a characteristic feature of Haidar's conduct whenever he was confronted with any serious danger to ignore the minor perils and bend his whole strength to first overcome the major ones and accordingly he resolved to move westward with a body of troops. He appeared before Mangalore in 1768 and compelled its surrender. Honavar and Basavarajdoorg were also recaptured and Haidar now feeling secure in that part of the country re-ascended the Ghauts before the burst of the monsoon and reached Bednore, while the main body of his troops proceeded by easy marches to Bangalore.

The land-holders of Bednore had been tired of Haidar's exactions which they regarded as much too severe and had helped the English expedition with the supply of provisions and other conveniences. Haidar had kept himself fully informed of these acts and intentions on their part and on reaching Bednore he summoned the land-lords to meet him on the pretext of settling the revenue payable for the coming year. He then coolly announced to the assembled land-holders that he had discovered their treacherous conduct and consequently imposed on them very heavy fines.

Haidar next turned his attention to extricate himself from the Nair rebellion in Malabar and through Madanna, his governor, communicated to the Nair chiefs that the cost of maintaining his hold on the Malabar was too heavy and that if he was reimbursed all the money that had been spent, he would withdraw from their country. The Nair chiefs were delighted with the offer made and collecting the required amount of money made it over to Haidar's agent. The Mysore troops whose number was insufficient to hold the country effectually were thus cleverly relieved from a perilous

position in which they had been placed. As a result, Haidar found himself able to retrace his steps towards Bangalore with his army strengthened and his coffers overflowing, recovering at the same time his fleet at Honavar which had surrendered to the English.

In the meanwhile, after the departure of Haidar to the West Coast, the field was left open to the Madras Government and the English army was divided into two divisions, one under Colonel Smith and the other under Colonel Wood. Colonel Wood's detachment secured a number of places Dindigul, Salem, Erode and Coimbatore, while Colonel Smith after a number of operations finally marched towards Krishnagiri and captured it. He then advanced into the Mysore plateau and took Mulbagal, Kolar and Hosur.

Haidar who reached Bangalore from the West Coast on the 4th August 1768 immediately began making active preparations to attack the English army. He also found that a contingent of Morari Rao of Gutti had joined the English and was encamped at a little distance from the camp of the latter at Hoskote. On the night of the 22nd August, Haidar made a disposition to attack Morari Rao's camp and accordingly directed his cavalry to proceed there and overwhelm Morari Rao's troops. Morari Rao however was a man of quick perception and fertile resources and no sooner he found that his camp was attacked by Haidar's cavalry than he gave orders that not a man should mount but that as the best means of defence and as the most certain way of distinguishing friends from enemies each man should remain at the head of his horse and cut down without hesitation every person on horseback. While Haidar's cavalry were on their way for the attack, Morari Rao's state elephant receiving an accidental wound broke loose from his piquets and seizing the chain in its trunk wielded it to the discomfiture of the advancing cavalry. As a consequence, the cavalry was thrown back headlong over the columns of infantry which preceded them for support. The infantry ignorant of the cause of this retrograde movement on the part of the cavalry concluded that the attack had failed and retired in confusion. Haidar was enraged at what he regarded as the pussilanimity of the infantry but as the alarm had

now reached the English camp also he did not think it proper to renew the attack.

Haidar was at no time discouraged by any failure and calculating on the possibility of an attack on Bangalore, he directed the removal to the hill-fort of Savandoorg of the ladies of his harem from his palace in the fort of Bangalore as well as the treasure and the great mass of valuable articles which had been accumulated there. Having appointed for the defence of the fort a sufficient garrison under the nominal orders of his son but really under the command of his maternal uncle Ibrahim Sahib, he proceeded to Malur to prevent the junction of an English contingent under Colonel Wood with the troops of Colonel Smith. Not succeeding in this attempt, he next thought it advisable to strengthen himself by winning back the support of his brother-in-law Mir Ali Raza who, it will be remembered, had surrendered Sira to Peshwa Madhava Rao and had settled at Gurumkonda granted to him as jahagir. Haidar's wife now used all her persuasive powers to induce her brother to join her husband once more in that hour of crisis. Mir Ali Raza eventually agreed and on the approach of Haidar towards Gurumkonda, the terms of reconciliation were adjusted and these terms were ever after faithfully observed on both sides. Haidar next made offers of peace to the English but the negotiations failed as the terms proposed by the latter were considered too extravagant by Haidar.

On the failure of these negotiations, Haidar made an attempt to seize the fort of Mulbagal of which the English were in possession. There was a false alarm that Colonel Smith was advancing to the relief of this place and the Mysoreans thereupon believing the rumour to be true retreated for a time. Haidar however resumed the attack and made a desperate charge with his cavalry but was driven back. Haidar now contented himself by being here, there and everywhere harassing the enemy with his cavalry and evading pursuit, while at the same time he devastated the country destroying all supplies of food. The Madras Government finding fault with Colonel Smith for what they regarded as sluggishness on his part in devising active operations recalled him to Madras and

put Colonel Wood in command. In the meantime Haidar proceeded to besiege Hosur and Colonel Wood advanced for its relief by way of Bagalur at a distance of ten miles from Hosur. Colonel Wood meditated a night attack on Hosur and accordingly started at 10 p.m. on the 17th November 1768. He did not reach this place however till the morning of the 18th. Haidar on being apprised of Wood's march stopped his preparations of encampment until Colonel Wood's advance troops entered Hosur. He then marched towards Bagalur which had a small fort and was garrisoned by an English corps in the service of Muhammad Ali under the command of Captain Alexander. A walled town was connected with the fort and one side of it was inhabited by the agricultural, commercial and other classes. When Haidar's columns appeared, Captain Alexander finding himself unable to resist the enemy retreated towards the fort. But as the gates of the fort had been closed, he could not find a ready entrance. At the same time, the camp followers and many of the inhabitants on perceiving the enemy entering the town pressed into the pettah towards the gateway of the fort men, women and children, with camels, horses and oxen all indiscriminately mixed up and as a result, a horrible scene ensued. The heavier and the more active animals pressed forward on the weaker, until they were piled on one another in a mass of dead and dying, of which the human beings formed too large a proportion and the perils which the retreating garrison encountered in clearing this dreadful scene were not inferior to those which they sustained from the pursuing enemy. Haidar however made no attempts on the fort but captured two guns and a very large quantity of baggage and despatched them all to Bangalore. By the time Colonel Wood could arrive from Hosur, Haidar and his troops were out of sight and Colonel Wood being thus out-manuovered had to lament the loss of above two thousand human beings, an equal number of draught and carriage bullocks, two guns and nearly the whole of the stores, baggage and camp equipage of his army.

At about this time Haidar's preparations for marching below the Ghauts became complete. On his return from the West Coast Haidar had relieved Fazl-ulla Khan from the command of Bangalore and sent him to Seringapatam to collect new levies and to give

the requisite training to them for relieving the old troops who were to be employed as a field force. In November 1768 Fazl-ulla Khan was ready to start military operations and accordingly descended the Ghauts by the Gejjalhutti Pass.

Early in December 1768 Haidar felt himself strong to descend into the Baramahal by the pass of Palakodu, now a railway station on the line running from Hosur to Morapur. He had been preceded by a number of his emissaries in every direction who announced the intelligence of his having defeated and destroyed the English army and of his approaching to re-occupy his own posts in the lower country preparatory to the conquest of Madras. As a result, place after place surrendered to Haidar, says Wilks, as if a magic wand had accompanied the summons. By the end of December 1768 almost all the territorial possessions wrested by the English during Haidar's absence now again fell into his hands. Haidar continued his march destroying the country as he proceeded by fire and sword and crossing the Coleroon levied four lakhs of rupees from the Raja of Tanjore and spared his country and proceeded towards Cuddalore.

The Madras Government now became alarmed and thought it wise on their part to open negotiations with Haidar and accordingly deputed one of their military officers Major Fitzgerald to his camp. Haidar though he had regained all his lost possessions and had scored considerable success against the Madras Government adopted a moderate tone in discussing the proposals of peace with that officer and requested that a confidential officer might be sent to his camp to whom he might explain the grounds of accommodation to which he was willing to consent. The officer selected was one Captain Brooke. At the interview that took place between him and Haidar the latter expressed that from the very start he was anxious for a peaceful understanding with the English, but that Muhammad Ali who had ulterior designs of his own and who had an ascendancy in the counsels of the Madras Government had stood in the way of the termination of hostilities. The time had however come, he further said, when it was necessary for him to arrive at an understanding either with the English or with the Mahrattas who according to his intelligence were preparing to invade the Mysore

territories once more. The Mysore country served as a buffer between the Mahratta territories and those of the Company and as he could not conduct his campaign simultaneously with two enemies, he preferred, he said, the friendship of the English to that of the Mahrattas on account of the unsteady conduct of the latter, but he flatly refused to recognise Muhammad Ali as a party either in the preliminary negotiations or in the final ratification of the terms of peace. As Captain Brooke had not been invested with full powers to conclude peace, Haidar sent him back with the message that a duly authorised plenipotentiary might be sent to him. The report of this interview being communicated to the Madras Government, it was considered that Haidar's proposals did not afford a proper basis for peace and hostilities were ordered to be resumed.

Haidar now marching in the direction of Madras plundering and burning the intervening country arrived within 140 miles of Madras encountering little opposition. From here he sent off the whole band of his infantry, guns and baggage of every description, together with the great mass of his cavalry, with orders to retire to the country above the Ghauts. He then with a chosen body of 6000 cavalry and with two companies of infantry of 100 men each traversed 130 miles within three and a half days and reached St. Thomas Mount at a distance of about 5 miles from Madras on the 29th March 1769. From here he sent a letter to the Governor of Madras informing him that he was still anxious for peace and that if the Governor also was of the same mind, to depute a duly authorised envoy. The Madras Government were at this time alarmed that Haidar would burn and plunder the Madras city and accordingly viewed the proposal for peace with favour. Haidar even now refused to recognise Muhammad Ali as a party to the negotiations. Muhammad Ali on his side objected to any treaty with Haidar in which the latter was designated as Nawab, but the difficulty was surmounted by Muhammad Ali consenting to the Company negotiating the treaty in their own name for their own possessions. A treaty was accordingly concluded between the English and Haidar on the 2nd April 1769 and it provided for a mutual exchange of places and of prisoners taken except Karoor which as a former possession of Mysore was to continue in the

hands of Haidar and secondly, for mutual assistance when either of the parties was attacked by a belligerent power. Expressing his opinion on this treaty, Wilks has remarked that Haidar did not commit even a single mistake in the course of his negotiations and that whatever military errors were made were to be ascribed to his officers and not to him.

On the conclusion of peace, Haidar returned at his leisure to Kolar for the purpose of completing the arrangements consequent on the peace and from thence proceeded to Bangalore, where he gave his army some repose.



## CHAPTER X.

### Fresh Mahratta Invasion of Mysore.

The termination of hostilities with the English gave some respite to Haidar to levy contributions from a number of palegars and dependent chiefs. The secret treaty between Nizam Ali and Haidar before their joint invasion of the territories belonging to the English provided for the transfer to Mysore of Kadapa, Kurnool and other places between the Thungabhadra and the northern limits of Mysore as its dependencies. Haidar, accordingly, now marched with an army to the north-east and levied contributions from the Nawabs of Kadapa and Kurnool and the palegar of Gadwal. When marching in the vicinity of Gutti, he received visits from Morari Rao with considerable exchanges of courtsey and costly presents. At Bellary which was a dependency of Adwani, the jahagir of Basalat Jung, Haidar was obliged to be content with a mere promise of contribution, as on account of pressure of time and of political exigencies he could not afford to take the place by means of military operations. It was the common talk at the time that the widow of the palegar of Bellary who had taken the place of her deceased husband in the management of the paliam and who was a proud and fearless woman had when summoned by Haidar to tender submission instead of doing so sent Arishina and Kunkuma (turmeric and crimson powder which form the daily ornamentation of Hindu ladies) to show what little regard she had for Haidar's summons. Haidar next levied contributions from various other palegars on the line of his march and proceeded towards Savanoor. But finding that Madhava Rao's army largely outnumbered his own troops and considering it also risky as his former experience had shown to give battle in that open country to the Mahratta army led by Madhava Rao who possessed high military talents, he returned to Seringapatam in January 1770.

We have seen that on former occasions also there were Mahratta invasions of Mysore and the plea generally assigned for these incursions was that as the Mahrattas had succeeded to the sovereignty of Bijapur which had a claim over Mysore they became

the natural successors to this claim, besides being entitled to the chouth or a fourth share of the revenue which marked the assertion of their own sovereignty. Before returning to his capital, Haidar arranged to leave his son Tippu and his brother-in-law Mir Ali Raza in the woods of Bednore to harass the rear of Madhava Rao's army. He also adopted his former plan of destroying the country on the line of march of the Mahrattas towards Seringapatam. He further applied to the English to proceed to his assistance for repelling the Mahratta army according to the terms of the treaty concluded with them in the previous year.

None of the impediments created by Haidar prevented Madhava Rao from entering the Mysore territories and maintaining his onward march. It looked also as if Madhava Rao on this occasion had determined to annex the whole of the Mysore country to his dominions. Haidar found himself opposed single-handed—for the appeal to the English for succour had proved fruitless—to a person like Madhava Rao of distinguished military abilities and whose resources as compared with those of himself were almost inexhaustible. In these circumstances Haidar thought it prudent to come to terms with the Mahrattas and accordingly deputed Appaji Rao and Reza Ali Khan, son of Chanda Sahib, to the Mahratta court for entering into negotiations for peace. Madhava Rao demanded a crore of rupees on the ground that Haidar had levied on his pategars a large sum of money and owed on his own account tribute for two years at twelve lakhs of rupees a year for the dominions possessed by Haidar above and below the Ghauts. Besides, there was a reserve demand of chouth and also a number of other unsatisfied claims. On behalf of Haidar, it was explained that only very recently he had paid large sums of money to the Mahrattas and that his means were inadequate to meet such prohibitive demands. Madhava Rao would allow no diminution and the negotiations accordingly failed. Appaji Rao returned to Seringapatam, but Reza Ali Khan remained in the Mahratta camp under the pretext of renewing the conferences, but in reality, to quit for ever the service of Haidar as he had been disappointed in his ambition to gain possession of the Nawabship of the Carnatic with the help of Haidar.

Madhava Rao thereupon proceeded to occupy all the posts in the taluks of Kadur, Banavar, Hassan and Belur. Then proceeding eastward, he took possession without much resistance of Nandidoorg, Doddaballapur, Chikballapur, Kolar and Mulbagal. When he arrived at Nijgal in the Nelamangala taluk, Madhava Rao was held up by the prowess of Sirdar Khan who had been deputed from Bangalore with a body of troops to defend the place. At the outset, all the efforts on the part of the Mahrattas to seize the fort by assault failed and Narayana Rao, Madhava Rao's brother, was himself wounded in one of the encounters. The Peshwa enraged at such failure was preparing to put himself at the head of a fresh assaulting party, when Madakere Naik, the palegar of Chitaldrug interposed and offered to take the post of danger. This chivalrous offer was accepted and the place was captured with such gallantry that it evoked the admiration of the whole army. In retaliation of an order which had been recently issued by Haidar to cut off the noses and ears of some of the Mahratta plunderers who were taken prisoners, Madhava Rao now ordered the same treatment to be accorded to the garrison of Nijgal. This order was accordingly carried out and when it came to the turn of Sirdar Khan, he boldly stepped forward to the presence of Madhava Rao and when the latter asked him whether it was not just that he should also be mutilated and disgraced, Sirdar Khan answered with an undaunted aspect : "The mutilation will be mine, the disgrace yours." Madhava Rao thereupon ordered his unconditional release. Shortly after, Madhava Rao was here taken ill and had to return to Poona, leaving the command in the hands of Triumbuck Rao or Triumbuck Mama as he was usually called. Narayana Rao also returned with his brother on account of the wounds he had received.

From Nijgal Triumbuck Rao proceeded to Gurumkonda which after a siege of two months surrendered to the Mahrattas. Its commander Syed Sahib, nephew of Mir Sahib was allowed to join Salabat Jung at Adwani chiefly through the intervention of Morari Rao who had effected a junction of his troops with the Peshwa's army, though but recently he and Haidar had met on terms of friendship. From Gurumkonda Triumbuck Rao returned to the west and was occupied for several months in possessing himself of

Tumkur, Devarayadoorg and various other places. Haidar's main army was at Seringapatam with a considerable number of troops at Bangalore also. From both these places detachments were sent to check the progress of the Mahrattas and to recapture the places taken by them. All attempts made by Haidar to take the enemy at a disadvantage during their march failed and at length the two armies came to closer vicinity near the hills of Melkote.

Here the Mahrattas kept up a continuous cannonade during the daytime and at night their rocket men penetrating in various directions through the woods near to the skirts of Haidar's army continued to keep the camp in perpetual agitation. For eight days this kind of harassment continued which was augmented also by the pressure of want of provisions and other requisites. On the 5th March 1771 Haidar commenced his march by the Chinkurli route towards Seringapatam, distant about 22 miles. The troops with the exception of the outposts and rear-guard moved silently off about 9 o'clock in the night, with Haidar himself at their head. Tippu was charged with the task of getting the baggage in motion and the rear-guard was directed to follow at midnight after beating the Noubat or the customary music at the usual hour as an indication to the enemy that the headquarters were still there. When however the head of the column of infantry had marched about four miles and were entering the open country, the commanding officer fancying that he saw the enemy in front fired some shots which gave intelligence of the withdrawal of the Mysore army and caused alarm to Haidar's men also of being overtaken by the Mahrattas in their retreat. At the same time, the baggages due to the embarrassments caused in the woods on account of darkness had made no progress. The Mahratta horsemen quickly perceived the confusion prevailing in Haidar's army and overtook them at Chinkurli, eleven miles from Seringapatam. Here a fierce battle took place and Kirmani, though a professed admirer of Haidar, gives the following thrilling description of it :—

“The forces of the Mahrattas were in numbers like ants or flies and surrounding Haidar as he moved on made continual attacks on him. On their arrival near the hills of Chinkurli, it chanced

that a shot from one of the Mahratta guns fired at a considerable distance fell among a string of camels carrying rockets and threw them into disorder, and in the tumult and crowd of men, the rockets took fire and flying among the baggage and followers threw them into utter confusion. To increase their misfortune, a rocket which had taken fire fell on one of the boxes of ammunition and blew it up and in the black cloud of smoke which rose up to heaven, many of Haidar's brave soldiers were carried up to a great height and then cast down head foremost to the ground. Fate thus broke the bonds of discipline and order which held the army together. Mir Ali Raza Khan and Ali Zumuan Khan with many other chief officers were taken prisoners and most of the soldiers both horses and foot resigned their heads as a religious offering to the Mahrattas . . . . Thus the whole of the equipment of the army which had been collected with so much labour was now plundered or trampled beneath the hoofs of the Mahratta horses and the excellent store department and artillery, small and great, fell into the hands of the Mahrattas. The Nawab, however, mounted the hill of Chinkurli and standing on a rock viewed on all sides with furious anger the victorious career of the Mahrattas as they charged and pursued his troops. At that moment Ghazi Khan Bedi, a Pindari, presented himself and with the greatest difficulty forced him from the field and attended by only fourteen good horsemen escorted him to Puttan which was reached the next morning. Tippu assumed the disguise of a Fakir and reached Seringapatam the same night."

Haidar was delighted at the safe arrival of Tippu and with him entered the fort a little while after. The Mahrattas however wasted ten days in plundering and desolating the country around and gave time to Haidar for making preparations for resisting them. He accordingly put the defences of Seringapatam in proper order and with a lavish hand distributed presents to the men of his army. According to Kirmani's exaggerated language, Haidar threw open the door of his treasury of gold and jewels and to every horseman or foot soldier who had escaped from the disaster of Chinkurli he gave two handfuls of gold and to every man who returned with his horse and arms he gave, besides an honorary dress, a present of five

handfuls of gold. The result was that a large army was collected at Seringapatam and Triumbuck Rao when he arrived in its environs found himself unable to capture the fort.

The military operations that followed need not detain us long. Two or three incidents may however be given in Kirmani's words to furnish to our readers an insight into their nature. The first incident related to the capture of the Mahratta battery constructed near the Karighat hill from which the people in the fort suffered considerable damage. Muhammad Ali, one of the commanders, sought the permission of Haidar to attack this battery and Haidar though reluctant at first on account of the overwhelming numbers of the Mahratta army at last consented to the attack on the earnest solicitation of Muhammad Ali. This officer commencing his march at night crossed the Kaveri at a convenient ford and came up to the rear of the Mahratta battery passing by the village of Arkere. The Mahrattas in charge of the battery rested passive under the impression that it was a column of their own army sent to their relief. Muhammad Ali's men suddenly rushed on them and inflicted a severe disaster. "When the brave commandant found that the time was favourable and his good fortune aiding him and that by deceiving his enemies he would attain his heart's desire, he without any hesitation marched into the battery and instantly gave his orders to his men to attack and throwing their hand grenades on the heads of these worshippers of pride, they raised out of them the black smoke of destruction and with the merciless sword cut off the heads of soldiers, pioneers and men lying in the battery and trenches and laid them up in heaps. They then buried all the larger guns, but the light guns being more useful and available were sent off to the Presence . . . . . The commandant having thus conquered his enemies before the rising of the sun, levelled the trenches and battery with the earth and setting fire to the materials returned to the Presence and was honoured by being addressed by the title of 'SON' by Haidar and moreover received the praise and applause of all ranks."

Another incident which took place at the junction of Lokapavani with the Kaveri at the foot of the Karighat hill may also be

related in the words of Haidar's biographer:—"On the day of the Hindu Eed, Triumbuck with his officers mounted their horses and came from the eastward of the hill called Karighat to bathe at the confluence of the two rivers which is called by the Hindus the Sangam and is near the Lal Bagh. Having received intelligence of this movement, the Nawab immediately sallied out of the fort with his troops and took his station near the Mana Mantap and placed his son Tippu with all the horse in ambush near Kirangoor which was on the other side of the Kaveri river. The brave commandant Muhammad Ali under Ghazi Khan and four thousand matchlock men, four hundred Pindaries and four guns for display and after the manner of Scouts or an advance guard were sent to the south of the hill above mentioned. When the cavalcade of the Mahratta chief arrived at the river, they dismounted and began to amuse themselves and swim about in the water, the horsemen of their guard following caracoling and curveting as they came along. The commandant, in the meanwhile, posted his guns and matchlock infantry in the dry bed of a channel and made a preconcerted sign to Ghazi Khan and that brave man no sooner saw it than with two or three hundred tried men galloped towards the rear-guard and by tricks and wiles and teaching the fools how to play the lion drew them gradually in front of the guns and musketry of the ambuscade; and having brought them there, his whole party suddenly facing about dispersed and every one retiring placed himself under cover of the concealed party. The commandant now suddenly charged them, and with the fire of guns and musketry broke their ranks and sent a great many of them to their eternal abodes. In this skirmish two or three chiefs of the Mahrattas were killed and the elephant which carried the flag and kettle drums was also killed. As soon as the body of the enemies' troops became disordered, Ghazi Khan and Haidar's son esteeming this a most favourable opportunity galloped their horses at once into the midst of the fugitives and as long as they had strength withdrew not their hands from spoil and slaughter . . . . The face of Triumbuck on his hearing this intelligence became yellow and in the greatest haste and trepidation, with his clothes wet and his lips dry, he returned and encamped near the Moti Talav . . . . ."

Another extract from Kirmani may be given showing how convoys were at times attacked by detachments of Mysore troops and how the enemy was harassed:—"Tippu with five or six thousand regular and irregular foot attacked an escort of the Mahrattas coming from Poona consisting of eight thousand regular horse and ten thousand irregular infantry, conveying an immense supply of stores, provisions and treasure which was carried on 30 elephants, a hundred camels and fifty mules and accompanied also by merchants with gold and jewels of great value and a supply of ammunition. These men were encamped near Chennarayapatna perfectly at their ease not having the slightest intimation of a night attack. Tippu at once assailed them in suchwise that he did not allow one among them to escape in safety or fail to take every article of the least value belonging to the Mahrattas including their treasure and this done, he sent them off to the capital Puttan or rather to his illustrious father."

Such isolated successes on the part of the Mysore troops though they elicited admiration produced little impression on Triumbuck Rao and he with his superior numbers and immense resources continued to ravage and plunder the whole country from Periapatam in the west to Dindigul in the south. Haidar finding that he had not been able to expel the Mahrattas though fifteen months had elapsed from the date of the Chinkurli disaster, now thought it wise to open negotiations for peace and accordingly sent his trusted envoy to Triumbuck Mama's camp. About the same time, news arrived from Poona that Peshwa Madhava Rao was seriously ill and that trouble was brewing at the Poona court. Triumbuck Rao felt inclined to receive favourably Haidar's overtures for peace and after some parley, the terms were settled. Morari Rao also interposed his good offices on this occasion. A treaty of peace was signed on the 17th June 1772 which stipulated the payment of thirty lakhs of rupees as Durbar expenses or which meant no more than bribes or inducement money to the Mahratta officers. Haidar had also to leave in the possession of the Mahrattas Gurumkonda, Chennarayadoorg, Sira, Hoskote, Doddaballapur and Kolar.

Before we proceed to the next chapter, it may be stated that Nanjaraj Wodeyar who had succeeded Immadi Krishnaraj died in 1770 and his brother Bettada Chamaraj Wodeyar was placed on the throne.



## CHAPTER XI.

**Coorg conquered—Malabar re-annexed—Taluku pledged to the Mahrattas wrested—Agreement with Raghunatha Rao of Poona—Bellary and Gutti conquered—Death of Bettada Chamaraj Wodeyar and adoption of his successor.**

After Triumbuck Rao's departure, Haidar's first thought was to replenish his treasury by levying monetary contributions from all who according to his secret information were regarded as wealthy men. This augmentation of his resources enabled him to reorganise his army on a better and larger scale and to await the turn of political events with greater assurance and hope. Such an opportunity presented itself when he heard that Narayana Rao who had succeeded Madhava Rao as Peshwa in November 1772 after the latter's death had been murdered by his uncle Raghunatha Rao or Raghoba in August 1773, himself succeeding as Peshwa. The Poona ministers headed by Nana Fadnavis were however opposed to the claim of Raghunatha Rao and supported that of the posthumous son of the murdered Peshwa Narayana Rao. Haidar with the keen foresight with which he was blest took advantage of the dissension at the Poona Court and at once deputed his son Tippu to take possession of all the places which had been pledged to the Mahrattas and himself proceeded with an army for the conquest of Coorg and Malabar.

Haidar first turned his attention towards Coorg. Ever since the conquest of Bednore in 1763 Coorg had been regarded by Haidar as a dependency of that State but the manly Coorgs had resisted his attempts to bring them under his subjection. In the year 1770 a dispute arose as to the succession to the chiefship between two rival claimants and Lingaraj, uncle of one of them, had sometime before solicited the help of Haidar. Haidar however on account of his preoccupations had not felt himself free to comply with the request made. He now took advantage of the respite he had obtained to proceed with an army towards Coorg and Devaiah who held the country against the claimant befriended by Haidar fled and Haidar took possession of the country with great

ease, as the Coorgs though a brave race were small in number and could offer no strong resistance to the outnumbering Mysore army. Haidar's real object in this expedition was to possess himself of the Coorg country which intervened between the Mysore territory and Malabar, access to which was long and tedious from other parts of Mysore. After obtaining possession of Coorg, Haidar deputed his brother-in-law Mir Ali Raza and Berki Srinivasa Rao to Malabar which was soon wrested from the Nair chiefs to whom, as we have seen, it had been given back some years before when Haidar's fortune had somewhat declined. In this connection, it may also be mentioned that the palegar of Ballum or Manjarabad as it was subsequently called through whose country a portion of the Mysore army had to pass on their way to Coorg was forced to surrender to Haidar. Haidar however gave him back his country and allowed him to continue in possession of it.

Haidar now retraced his steps from Coorg to Seringapatam to give support to Tippu who had been deputed to take possession of the places pledged to the Mahrattas in accordance with the treaty concluded with Triumbuck Rao. Before however Haidar reached Seringapatam, news reached him that Tippu had accomplished the task allotted to him and that there was no need for Haidar to go to his son's aid. Thus in one short campaign from September 1773 to February 1774 not only every place in the possession of the Mahrattas was won back but Coorg also came under his sway with Malabar which he had wisely abandoned during the pressure of difficulties in his war with the English.

Raghunatha Rao who had made himself Peshwa after the death of his nephew Narayana Rao resenting the conduct of Haidar in forcibly taking possession of the places pledged to the Mahrattas marched with a large army to the south to punish him. Haidar wishing to avoid any conflict with Raghunatha Rao whose good offices at Poona had been helpful to him after his conquest of Bednore in 1763 now deputed the ever-ready Appaji Rao to conciliate Raghunatha Rao who had by this time reached Kalyan-doorg at some distance from Molakalmuru. Appaji Rao was fortunate in reaching Raghunatha Rao's camp on the very day that

news had arrived from Poona that the ministers there had formed a confederacy against Raghunatha Rao on behalf of the posthumous son of Narayana Rao whose claim to succeed his father could not be disputed. Appaji Rao taking advantage of the difficult position in which Raghunath Rao was placed explained to him with his accustomed skill the benefits of a mutual alliance between himself and his master and won him over to enter into a treaty with Haidar. According to this treaty, Haidar acknowledged Raghunatha Rao as the exclusive head of the Mahratta State in consideration of a reduced tribute of six lakhs of rupees and also agreed to act in support of Raghunatha Rao's claim whenever his aid was requisitioned. Raghunath Rao's affairs however at Poona became so desperate that he was forced to flee from that place and take refuge first at Cambay and then at Surat and here on March 1775 he concluded a treaty with the English Government of Bombay for providing him with aid to recover his authority on terms of reciprocal advantage.

About this time an insurrection broke out in Coorg which was suppressed with great cruelty by hanging every man above the rank of an ordinary soldier who was suspected of being concerned in the insurrection. Haidar also ordered for the purpose of overaweing the inhabitants the construction of a series of block-houses connected with one another and with the nearest posts in Mysore. These arrangements being completed about the beginning of the year 1775, Haidar returned to Seringapatam to give a short repose to his troops. In November following, Haidar received a request from the palegar of Bellary to go to his succour against Basalat Jung whose suzerainty he had discarded and who had sent an army under a French officer M. Lally for the palegar's subjugation. Haidar as naturally to be expected readily accepted the request on account of the insult he had received from the former palegar's widow and reached Bellary within five days from his leaving Seringapatam. While the troops of Basalat Jung still supposed Haidar to be at Seringapatam, Haidar surprised them by an attack on their rear, in which Bhoja Raj the commander of Basalat Jung was killed and M. Lally the head of the French corps which operated with Bhoja Raj was forced to flee with precipitation.

Haidar next turned his guns against the fort of Bellary and demanded the unconditional surrender of the palegar. On the eighth day from the day of Haidar leaving Seringapatam, Bellary was in his hands. Basalat Jung now afraid of his jahagir being plundered was glad to compromise with Haidar by offering to him a lakh of pagodas.

From Bellary Haidar marched towards Gutti, the stronghold of Morari Rao and sent a message in advance that he had come as a guest to Morari Rao's country and that he needed a lakh of rupees. Morari Rao who understood the meaning of this message returned a reply stating that he was also a Senapathi or Commander of troops levying contributions from others and that he never paid anything himself. The result was that Haidar approached Gutti and laid a regular siege. After five weeks, the lower fort and the town of Gutti were taken by assault and an immense booty consisting of two thousand horses, a considerable number of elephants, a vast amount of private property and a very respectable equipment of guns and military stores fell into the hands of Haidar. The siege of the upper fort continued for two months longer and the letters which Morari Rao wrote to the Poona ministers explaining his desperate position and appealing for immediate help never reached their destination having all been intercepted by the cordon of Haidar's predatory horse. At the same time the reservoirs on the hill were drying up and the water-supply was day by day growing scanty for the large number of persons and animals assembled on the hill.

In these circumstances Morari Rao was compelled to sue for peace and the terms were soon arranged, namely, the payment of twelve lakhs of rupees, eight in cash or valuables and a hostage in security for the payment of the remainder. The cash amounted to one lakh and the balance was sent in the shape of jewels and plate estimated at seven lakhs of rupees by the hands of the hostage Pali Khan, son of Yoonas Khan who was Morari Rao's commander-in-chief and who had been killed at Hoskote some year's previously. Haidar, according to Wilks, received his hostage with much courtsey and invited him to dinner and the young man

considering the hostilities to be at an end was induced by the gracious manners of Haidar to be unreserved in his communications. The conversation was purposely turned to the events of the siege and Haidar took the opportunity of paying some appropriate compliments to the experience of Morari Rao and to the conduct of his troops, not omitting to refer to the exemplary gallantry of the young man himself. Tickled by the compliment, Pali Khan was so imprudent as to observe that there was no want of troops or provisions and nothing short of being reduced to three days supply of water would have induced Morari Rao to propose peace. Haidar heard all this with his accustomed command of countenance and after dinner referred the young man to the proper department for the delivery of his charge.

The description of the valuables had been vaguely given during the negotiations and it was understood that if on a fair valuation the amount should fall short of seven lakhs, Haidar would still receive the same and accept the hostage for the remainder. The period of inspection was however designedly prolonged, the appraisers on Haidar's side having been secretly instructed what part they were to play. When the appraisers accompanying the hostage returned and reported that the total including cash amounted only to five lakhs, Haidar affected the greatest disappointment and anger and proceeded to accuse Morari Rao of trifling with him and of deceiving him. He then ordered the hostage immediately to return with his paltry five lakhs and to announce to Morari Rao that the negotiations were at an end.

Haidar now increased the rigour of the siege and prevented water even of the smallest quantity being taken by individual members of the besieged people from parts of the hill below the ramparts. This rigour continued for two days and on the third day Morari Rao could no longer restrain his men from exclaiming from the parapet to the besiegers that they were dying of thirst and wished to capitulate. Haidar insisted on Morari Rao and his followers surrendering to him without arms and the latter had no alternative but to submit. On the approach of Morari Rao, Haidar ordered a separate tent for his accommodation and placing him in it

sent a garrison of his own men to the top of the hill. All the women of Morari Rao's household were then required to withdraw into the zenana apartments with only such furniture or utensils, their wearing apparel or clothes in use, and such jewels and gold and silver ornaments as were of small value. But the pearls and jewels of great price, jewelled ornaments and other articles of value, with all arms and stores of war, Haidar appropriated to himself. Morari Rao was next sent with all his family first to Seringapatam and subsequently from there to Kabballoor where he shortly after died and Gutti passed into the possession of Haidar in April 1776.

Before concluding this chapter, it may be mentioned that Bettada Chamaraj Wodeyar died in 1775 without progeny and Haidar adopted a novel method of finding a successor for him. He ordered the assembling in the hall of audience at Seringapatam of a large number of young boys of the Arasu community eligible for adoption. In the hall were placed fruits, sweetmeats, flowers, playthings of various descriptions, arms, books, male and female ornaments, bags of money and varied objects of puerile or manly pursuits. Each boy was then asked to help himself to any object he pleased and in the scramble that ensued one of the boys three years old took up a dagger and a mirror, and Haidar thereupon commending the boy declared that he was fit to be the Raja and accordingly he was adopted by Lakshmi Ammanni the widow of Immadi or Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar. This boy was the son of Devaraj Urs of Arikutara subsequently named Chamarajnagar and was installed on the throne under the same name as that of his predecessor. He was the father of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar whom Lord Mornington placed on the old Hindu throne after the fall of Tipu in 1799.

## CHAPTER XII.

**Raghunatha Rao's commission to Haidar Ali to take possession of the country between the Thungabhadra and the Krishna—Annexation of Chitaldrug and Kadapa—Marriage connections with the family of the Nawab of Savanoor.**

It will be noted that reference has been made in the previous chapter to a treaty concluded by Raghunatha Rao with the Government of Bombay, which however was not subsequently upheld by the Supreme Government at Calcutta under the powers vested in them by the Regulating Act of 1773. In the meanwhile, Raghunatha Rao addressed a letter to Haidar through his agent Baji Rao Burwa communicating the nature of the alliance he had formed with the Bombay Government and expressing his confident expectation of recovering his rightful possession of the musnud of Poona and proposing to Haidar that he should take possession of the whole of the Mahratta territory up to the right bank of the Krishna and be ready from that advanced position to assist him in the execution of his designs with military as well as pecuniary aid. This proposal was quite in consonance with Haidar's wishes and he accordingly remitted sixteen lakhs of rupees to Raghunatha Rao and collected an army at Gutti including contingents from his tributary pategars. With this army he marched towards Savanoor. Though the Pathan Nawab of that place Abdul Hakim Khan proposed a compromise by the offer of three lakhs of pagodas, Haidar would not consent to the proposal and the Mysore army occupied more than half the territories of the Nawab. By this time the monsoon burst in great violence and caused much damage to the horses and cattle of the Mysore army. Haidar had therefore to stop the campaign temporarily and leaving a select corps at Bankapur, he made his way to Seringapatam which he reached in August 1776 and here he stayed for sometime taking measures in the shape of levying contributions and free gifts of money from men known to be wealthy and from his dependent pategars and in other ways replenishing his coffers.

The ministers at Poona having become aware of the alliance formed between Raghunatha Rao and Haidar and of the latter's military operations in the Savanoor country formed a confederacy with Nizam Ali to invade the territories of Mysore. An advance army under Haripanth and three other Sirdars were sent with the object of driving back Haidar's army and repossessing all the places in the Savanoor country which had fallen into the hands of Haidar. Haidar whose main army was assembled at Gutti sent a force which he considered sufficient under Muhammad Ali, one of his able commanders to oppose the advancing army of the Mahrattas. An action was fought at a distance of about ten miles north of Savanoor, where Muhammad Ali by a pretended flight inveigled the Mahrattas into a rash pursuit which brought them under the fire of the Mysore guns and caused great confusion in their ranks. Muhammad Ali then making a determined charge with his cavalry utterly routed them capturing two of their leaders and inflicting great slaughter in general. The pursuit of the retreating Mahratta army was continued for nine miles from the field of battle and three thousand horses were secured for the service of the Mysore State. By this time Parasuram Bhow, the Mahratta general who had the command of the main Mahratta army reached Meraj and on hearing of the defeat of the advance army thought it prudent not to march further and accordingly retired behind the Krishna, reporting to his masters at Poona that strong reinforcements were necessary before they could attack Haidar's army. Similarly the army of Nizam Ali which was under the command of Ibrahim Khan becoming aware of the Mahratta defeat was ordered to fall back behind the Thungabhadra and to re-cross the Krishna. Shortly after these events, the periodical floods in the rivers which occur during the south-west monsoon converted the rivers into barriers and Haidar was for the present relieved from the dangers of this confederacy.

Haidar utilised this respite in punishing Madakere Naik, the pategar of Chitaldrug who had failed to join his standard in his operations against the Mahrattas and against whom Haidar had also nursed a feeling of revenge on account of the part he played when Peshwa Madhava Rao besieged and captured Nijgul. For

three months the siege of Chitaldrug proceeded and the palegar then offered to Haidar a handsome ransom with a promise to join his standard when next summoned to do so. Haidar was for the time being content to accept these terms as he had once more to face the Mahratta army.

The Mahratta horse was commanded by Haripanth and consisted of 60000 horse with an adequate number of infantry and artillery. Haidar advanced to meet this army at a place called Raravi where it had encamped after crossing the Thungabhadra. Manaji who was associated with Haripanth had been secretly bribed by Haidar to desert the latter and join the Mysore army. When however the two opposing armies were ready for action, Haidar finding some indecision on the part of Manaji directed demonstrations to be made in the shape of pretended communications, with the result that an impression was produced on Haripanth's mind that there was some treachery. Manaji was accordingly attacked by Haripanth himself and driven off the field and the latter then re-crossed the Thungabhadra with his army. Haidar followed up the pursuit and seized large parts of the territory between the Thungabhadra and the Krishna reducing the strongholds of Kopal and Gajendraghar with minor posts and capturing Dharwar and finally forcing Haripanth to cross the Krishna in 1778.

During these operations Ibrahim Khan remained inactive pretending to assure himself that the Mahrattas were really in earnest to attack Haidar's army, while in reality Haidar's gold had corrupted him. The rapidity of Haidar's conquest of the territories between the Thungabhadra and the Krishna was also facilitated by the fact that the same were held by Mahratta Chiefs known as Deshayes corresponding to the palegars of Southern India who readily consented to pay to Haidar their accustomed Peshkush with a further sum as free gift.

The Nawab of Kadapa and the palegar of Chitaldrug having failed to respond to Haidar's call to go to his aid in his later operations against the Mahrattas, he now determined to punish

them for their disobedience. Early in 1779 he despatched Mir Sahib towards Kadapa with a detachment and he himself marched to Chitaldrug to lay siege to it a second time, as the palegar would not consent to a proposal made by Haidar that he should surrender the fort and accept service under him with a jahagir yielding Rs. 50,000 annually. Kirmani's account of the final capture of the place may be quoted here as it affords interesting side-lights on the temper of the combatants and the manner of warfare of the time.—

“ Every day the infidels armed to the teeth came out of the fort and gallantly assailed the bravest and the noblest of the Ghazis or the Mussalman soldiers. On the side of the Nawab, the noble and distinguished Khans and Foudjars with their brave companies came forward and ranged themselves in front and in line with the ranks of the infidels and daily with arrows and swords sent great numbers of them to hell. Agreeably to the orders of the Nawab all the pioneers of the victorious army with hatches and axes were meanwhile employed in cutting down the woods or jungle on the same hills near the fort which in the face of the enemy they surrounded with a strong stockade. They also raised batteries under the slope of the hill which lies to the eastward of the fort and mounted guns on them and from thence continually battered the walls to breach them. But although in a few days the walls were levelled with the ground and the towers and the gates were dismantled and afforded no shelter, still the besieged every night formed a new wall of earth in their places to cover themselves and sallied out of the fort and raised the confusion of the Day of Judgment among the guards and sentinels at the batteries and taking the heads of the slain and tying them to a string, they hung them round their necks like red roses and thus returned and received rewards from their chiefs for the deeds they had done.

“ The Nawab now began to revolve in his great mind that the siege had continued to a considerable length of time, but that with all the exertions of his brave army the insolent palegar had not yet been reduced. He therefore by presenting Muhammad Ali land in gift and jahagir soothed and conciliated him and sent for him to the Presence..... After his interview, Muhammad Ali arrived among his own soldiers and selling the gorget, pearls and dresses of

honour presented to him by Haidar, he purchased from the proceeds articles for a feast and having caused a most delicious dinner to be cooked, divided it among the religious mendicants or Fakirs and his own men, and the same night accompanied by the Harpanhalli and the Rayadoorg foot soldiers, he like an angry lion assaulted and took a battery which might be called the nose of the fort and upon which indeed the whole strength of the fort depended, and with four risalas of regular and two thousand irregular infantry and six guns he fixed his station there. The chief of the fort at the head of two or three thousand infidels now attempted the recovery of this strong position and exerted himself strenuously to effect its recapture; but still every time they attacked it, the welcome intelligence 'God will aid thee and give thee a great victory' sounded in the ears of the Mussalman troops. As the soldiers of the enemy now grew weak everyday, they were not able to contend with the brave Moslems; and fear seizing on them, they no longer dared to step beyond the walls of the fort. When however the garrison was reduced to extremities, troops of them of all tribes fearing the loss of their property and honour crept out of the fort under pretence of fetching wood and water and joined the Nawab's army and only five or six thousand men of the Bedar tribe had the courage to exert themselves in defending the fort.

"The Nawab however seeing that the chief of the infidels was a very brave man and the keepers of the walls were also stout of heart was convinced that the fort would not immediately surrender and by obstinately persevering he would only be gratuitously sacrificing the lives of his brave men arranged an ambuscade consisting of five thousand foot, two thousand regular foot and a thousand horse. These troops under cover of the surrounding hills waited for an opportunity to take the fort and make the palegar a prisoner.

"The Nawab himself pitched his tents at some distance from that place. His plan was that if the palegar left the fort and presumed to follow him, he might attack him on all sides at once and destroy him. If, on the contrary, the palegar did not follow him, it was his purpose to give to his (Nawab's) tributary or dependent palegars the charge of the government of all the towns

and villages depending on the Doorg that they with a view to their own advantage might use every art to seize and make him prisoner.

“ On the day the Nawab marched, he set fire to the materials of the batteries and trenches which were of wood and had been collected at great expense. As soon as the besieged became acquainted with this movement, the whole of them with the greatest impudence manned the battlements and towers of the fort, beat their drums and began yelling and howling like a pack of hounds..... After a little fighting, the bonds which united the garrison of the fort were broken asunder and like falling leaves in autumn, they were dispersed and scattered on all sides, while the besiegers now fearlessly mounting the hills beat their drums in token of victory and watered the swords and spears of their resentment in the blood of the infidels and beat the black dust of existence out of the bodies of the unfortunate garrison.

“ When the chief heard the drums within the fort and saw the heads of his men rolling about on the plain of revenge like the balls of boys at play, he understood well that fortune was now bidding him farewell and that the genius of wealth and prosperity was about to depart from him. He did indeed leave his house armed and ready for fight but when he saw that most of his brave companions were either killed or wounded and that the few men round him were without arms, rubbing their hands and shedding tears, the feet of his firmness failed him and he stood like a picture painted on a wall, till the brave commandant with other officers came upon him and seized and made him prisoner and brought him to the Presence. Committing him with his women and children to the care of his confidential servants, the Nawab sent him and them to Puttan.”

The fall of Chitaldrug took place in March 1779. Haidar now appointed a Nair who had been converted to Mahomedanism when quite a boy and who had been named Sheik Ayaz as Civil and Military Governor of the conquered territories. Sheik Ayaz having forgotten all early ties of kinship was exclusively devoted to the cause of Haidar. He however on being informed of his appointment pleaded that he could neither read nor write and that he could

not do justice to the responsibility which he was required to shoulder. On hearing these words Haidar is reported to have advised Sheik Ayaz that he himself was not literate but that yet he was able to manage a kingdom with a kordah or lash. Sheik Ayaz was instructed to do the same, placing reliance on his good understanding and to leave pen and ink to the scribblers, as Haidar contemptuously called the clerks and accountants whom he employed. Haidar also ordered the inhabitants of Chitaldrug and of the surrounding country about twenty thousand to be collected and sent to Seringapatam and from among these a certain number were converted to the Mahomedan faith and formed into a battallion corresponding to the Turkish Janissaries.

Turning now to Kadapa to which place Haidar's brother-in-law Mir Ali Raza had been deputed, Haidar now relieved of his other occupations proceeded to the aid of his brother-in-law. The army of Abdul Hakim Khan was completely routed and all the Pathans were taken prisoners. Haidar allowed all these except eighty who could not furnish any security to enlist in his own army. An attempt on the part of Haidar's men to disarm these eighty men was resented by them and in the hope of finding sureties for them, they were all placed at night in a tent which was opposite to Haidar's own. At midnight according to a preconcerted plan these Pathans slew some of their guards and began to rush into Haidar's tent. Haidar was fortunately awake at this time and grasping the situation at once, left his bed after making up the semblance of a man lying on his bed with a pillow covered with a blanket and cutting a hole in one of the tent-walls escaped unhurt. Immediately an alarm was raised and the assailants were seized. The next day the hands and feet of some of these were cut off, while others were tied with chains to the feet of elephants and were dragged on the road till they were horribly mutilated and found relief in death.

Abdul Hakim Khan who had taken refuge in the fort of Sidhout to north-east of Kadapa on hearing of the fall of his capital and of the fate that had overtaken the remnant of his Pathan soldiers became alarmed and advised the inhabitants to leave the place at night and take shelter in the hills at some distance.

Haidar's Kuzzaks or predatory horsemen having obtained news of this intended departure of the inhabitants pounced upon their unfortunate victims in the dark at some distance from the town as they were in motion, and seizing all the valuable articles in their possession, violated several of the women and put a large number of the men to death. The unfortunate Kadapa Nawab had now no remedy left except to seek Haidar's pardon and to surrender to him. Accordingly he sent two envoys who did all they could to save their master from the fury of Haidar's anger. Haidar on hearing the ambassadors and observing their meek deportment consented to extend his friendship to the Nawab on condition that he should send two flags with two companies of matchlock men merely for honour and to remain in the fort for two hours. The envoys communicated this wish of Haidar's to their master and obtained his consent for the entry of the Mysore troops. Haidar however without causing suspicion despatched four thousand infantry with two ensigns under a commanding officer with secret orders to him. This officer on reaching the fort left half his men at the gate and ramparts adjoining and proceeded with the remaining men to the hall of audience where the Nawab was seated. He there made him a prisoner, put him into a planquin and sent him with his personal and other servants to Haidar's presence. Haidar thereupon unceremoniously sent him with all the members of his family to Seringapatam and conferred the Government of the country on Mir Ali Raza as a military dependency of Mysore. This event took place in May 1779. Haidar also took to his harem the Nawab's sister who was reputed to be of ravishing beauty by the *nika* ceremony, as otherwise she threatened to commit suicide.

Haidar shortly after returned to Seringapatam and bringing to his mind the advantages that would accrue to him by contracting marriage alliances with the family of the Nawab of Savanoor sent proposals, according to which Haidar's daughter was to be married to the eldest son of the Savanoor Nawab and the latter's daughter to Kareem Sahib, brother of Tippu. These proposals were accepted by the Savanoor Nawab and the marriages were subsequently celebrated at Seringapatam with much pomp and rejoicing.

## CHAPTER XIII.

**Advances to Haidar from Poona ministers for a compact against the English—Capture of Mahe by the English and Haidar's protest—Attempts by the Madras Government to conciliate Haidar and their failure.**

While Haidar was still engaged in the festivities connected with the marriages with the family of Nawab of Savanoor, there arrived at Seringapatam an envoy from the Poona ministers by name Ganesha Rao ostensibly to convey congratulations and presents for the marriages contracted, but in reality to negotiate with Haidar and to persuade him to join a political confederacy between the Poona ministers and the Nizam of Hyderabad for the purpose of driving out the English altogether from India. Haidar lent a willing ear to the overtures of Ganesha Rao and it must be admitted that he had good reasons on his side. For when he was threatened with a Mahratta invasion under Peshwa Madhava Rao in 1773, the Madras Government had failed to respond to his call for help as per terms of the treaty of 1769 which terminated the first Mysore War with the English. Haidar was fully aware of the value of continuing his alliance with the English, for as he himself subsequently is stated to have declared he could not dry up the sea and prevent the English from approaching the shores of India. As the political exigencies of the time necessitated his having an ally for support, Haidar had made overtures to the French and M. Bellicombe who was then Governor of Pondicherry foreseeing an opportunity of restoring the prestige of his nation in India readily furnished him with stores and ammunition and promised him assistance. Subsequently M. Lally nephew of the famous Count De Lally whom political considerations had induced to quit the service of Basalat Jung to that of Nizam Ali now transferred himself with 100 European infantry, 50 European cavalry, 1000 native infantry and 2 guns under his command to the service of Haidar.

In 1778 the French Government espoused the cause of the American colonists in their revolt against England and as a

consequence the Madras Government seized Pondicherry in the month of October of that year. Subsequently Mahe was also captured in spite of the protest lodged by Haidar that it was an infraction of his rights as the place was a protectorate under him and was the port through which he received his munitions from Europe. On receipt of this protest, the Madras Government considered it advisable to conciliate Haidar Ali and accordingly selected for the purpose a missionary named Schwartz. He was a German by birth and belonged to the Danish Mission Society which had been established at Tanjore. He is described as a man of considerable information, well acquainted with some of the languages of the country, of amiable demeanour, and of considerable purity of manners and of simplicity of deportment. Sir Thomas Rumboldt, the Governor of Madras, now selected this amiable prelate and entrusted to him a secret mission to Haidar at Seringapatam to sound his mind as to his intention for a lasting peace with the English.

Schwartz started on the 5th of July 1779 from Madras and reached Caroor, Haidar's frontier garrison town at a distance of about 40 miles from Trichnopoly on the evening of the next day. Here he had to remain a whole month in expectation of Haidar's reply to a letter he had addressed to him and ultimately reached Seringapatam on the 25th August following. From two letters addressed to his friends we get interesting details relating to Haidar's personality and administration as well as side-lights on a number of other matters.

"Here (Caroor) I had always enough to do" wrote Schwartz, "going out daily among the heathens with the catechist and announcing to them the whole counsel of God concerning our salvation. I constantly instructed and at the end of the month baptised some servants of my landlord a German officer of Haidar's and had Divine Service and daily prayers with him and his household. On the 6th August we left Caroor and proceeded on our journey. On the 23rd we made a halt at Mallanamuley, according to my custom it being Sunday—a fine town where there is a strong bridge of 23 very substantial arches over the river Kapini built by

Dalavoy Devaraj about 1735. After each rain, the magistrates of the place must send people to replace any earth that may have been washed away. Haidar's economical rule is to repair all damages without losing an instant, whereby all is kept in good condition and with little expense. The Europeans in the Carnatic leave everything to go to ruins. We next arrived near the fort of Mysore. A high mountain with a pagoda on its summit was formerly dangerous to travellers. The pagan inhabitants of that mountain imagining that their idol was highly gratified with the sacrifice of noses etc., used to rush out upon travellers, cut off their noses and offer them unto their idol. But Haidar had most rigourously prohibited it. The glacis of the fort had the appearance of the finest green velvet. Here also I observed that wherever some earth had been washed away by rain, the people instantly repaired it. On the 25th August we arrived at Seringapatam. I had a tent on the glacis of the fort because an epidemic of fever raged within. I had full liberty to go into the fort at all times, nobody preventing me.

“Haidar's palace is a fine building in the Indian style. Opposite to it is an open place. On both sides are ranges of open buildings where the military and civil servants have their offices and constantly attend and Haidar Naik can overlook them from his balcony. Here reigns no pomp but the utmost regularity and despatch. Although Haidar sometimes rewards his servants, the principal motive is fear. Two hundred people with whips stand always ready to use them. Not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Haidar applies the same cat to all transgressors alike, gentlemen and horse-keepers, tax-gatherers and his own sons and when he has inflicted such a public scourging upon the greatest gentlemen, he does not dismiss them. No! they remain in the same office and bear the marks of stripes on their backs as public warnings. For he seems to think that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves are devoid of all principles of honour.

“Once of an evening, I went into the palace and saw a number of men of rank sitting round about. Their faces betrayed a conscious terror and Haidar's Persian Secretary told me that they were

Collectors of Districts, but to me they appeared as criminals expecting death. Few however could give a satisfactory account and consequently the most dreadful punishments were daily inflicted. I hardly know whether I shall mention how one of these gentlemen was punished. Many who read it may think the account exaggerated, but the poor man was tied up, two men came with their whips and cut him dreadfully and with sharp nail was his flesh torn asunder and then scourged afresh, his shrieks rending the air. Although the punishments are so dreadful, yet there are people enough who seek such employments and outbid each other and the Brahmins are by far the worst in this traffic.

“When I came to Haidar, he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with the most exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened in a friendly manner and with seeming pleasure to all what I had to say. He spoke very openly and without reserve and said that the Europeans had broken their solemn engagements and promises but that nevertheless he was willing to live in peace with them. At last he directed a letter to be written, had it read unto me and said, “What I have spoken with you, that I have shortly mentioned in the letter. You will explain the whole more at length.

“When I sat near Haidar Naik, I particularly observed in what a regular succession and with what rapid despatch his affairs proceeded one after the other. Whenever he made a pause in speaking, an account was read to him of the districts and letters received. He heard them and ordered the answers immediately. The writers ran, wrote the letters, read them and Haidar affixed his seal. Thus one evening a great many letters were expedited. Haidar can neither read nor write but his memory is excellent. He orders one man to write a letter and read it to him. Then he calls another to read it again. If the writer has in the least deviated from his orders, his head pays for it.

“What religion people profess or whether they profess any at all, that is perfectly indifferent to him. He has none himself and leaves every one to his choice,

“His army is under the care of four chief officers called Bakshis. One might call them paymasters. But they have to do not only with the pay but also with the recruiting services and other things which belong to an army. They are also judges who settle differences. With these men I had frequent discourses. Some spoke Persian, others only Hindusthani, but all were Mahomedans. They asked what the right prayer was and to whom we ought to pray. I declared to them how we being sinful men and therefore deserving God's curse and eternal death could not come before God but in the name of our meditator Jesus Christ. I explained to them also the Lord's Prayer. To persons who understood Tamil, I explained the doctrines in Tamil, to the others in the Hindusthani language.

“As the ministers of Haidar's court are mainly Brahmins, I had many conversations with them. Some answered with modesty and others did not choose to talk on so great a subject and only hinted that their noble pagodas were not built in vain. I said the edifices may indeed serve for some use but not the idols which they adored.

“Without the fort were some hundred Europeans commanded by a Frenchman and a squadron of Hussars under the command of Captain Budene a German. Part of these troops were Germans, others Frenchmen. I found also some Malabar Christians. Every Sunday I performed Divine Service in German and in Malayalam without asking anybody's leave but I did it being bound in conscience to do my duty. We sang, preached and prayed and nobody presumed to hinder us.

“In Haidar Naik's palace the high and the low came to me and asked what our doctrine was, so that I could speak as long as I had strength. Haidar's youngest son saw and saluted me in the Durbar or hall of audience. He sent to request me to come into his apartment. I sent him word that I would gladly come if his father permitted it; without his father's leave I might hurt both him and myself. Of this, he was perfectly sensible. The most intimate friends dare not speak their sentiments freely. Haidar has

his spies everywhere. But I knew that I might speak of religion night and day without giving him the least offence.

“I sat often with Haidar in a hall that is open on the garden side. In the garden trees were grafted and bore two sorts of fruit. He had also fine cypress trees, fountains, etc. I observed a number of young boys bringing some earth into the garden. On enquiry I was informed that Haidar had raised a battallion of orphans who have nobody else to provide for them and whom he educates at his own expense, for he allowed no orphan to be neglected in all his dominions. He feeds and clothes them and gives little wooden firelocks with which they exercise. His care for orphans gave me great pleasure..... On the last evening when I took my leave from Haidar, he requested me to speak Persian as I had done with his people. I did so and explained the motive of my journey to him:—“You may perhaps wonder,” said I “what could have induced me, a priest who has nothing to do with political concerns to come to you and that on an errand which does not properly belong to my sacerdotal functions. But as I was plainly told that the sole object of my journey was the preservation and confirmation of peace, and having witnessed more than once the misery and horrors attending on war, I thought within my own mind how happy I should deem myself if I could be of service in cementing a durable friendship between the two Governments and thus securing the blessings of peace to this devoted country and its inhabitants. This I considered as a commission in nowise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of peace.” He said with great cordiality—“Very well, very well. I am of the same opinion with you and wish that the English may be as studious of peace as you are. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine.

“I then took my leave of him. On reaching my palanquin, I found that Haidar had sent three hundred rupees for my travelling expenses.....”

The visit of Schwartz to Haidar took place at a very unpropitious time for the Madras Government. For Haidar had

received information of a detachment of English troops attempting to march through his newly acquired territory of Kadapa for the aid of Basalat Jung at Adoni and of its having been driven back. Haidar in a letter which he entrusted to Schwartz for delivery to the Governor of Madras upbraided in severe terms the Madras Government for their breach of faith in not coming to his aid against the Mahrattas in accordance with the treaty of 1769 and reviewed as plainly as he could the conduct of the English as connected with Muhammad Ali from the fraud of Trichnopoly in 1752 to their violation of the treaty of 1769. He referred to their hostile conduct at Mahe, to their attempt to march troops through his territories to those of Basalat Jung, to the conduct of Muhammad Ali's officers on the frontiers and to the Company's servants at Tellicherry furnishing protection and aid to the rebellious inhabitants as so many evidences of their determination to break with him at all events and concluded by saying, "I have not yet taken revenge—it is no matter. But if you henceforth forgetting all treaties and engagements of the Company still are intent on breaking with me, what advantage can attend writing to you? When such improper conduct is pursued, what engagements will remain inviolate? I leave you to judge on whose part the engagements and promises have been broken. You are acquainted with everything. It is right to act in all things with prudence and foresight."

Although the mission of Schwartz proved fruitless, Sir Thomas Rumboldt, the Governor of Madras, was not discouraged. Another occasion arose for sending an envoy to Haidar to obtain the release of certain Englishmen who had arrived in a Danish ship at Calicut and who under orders of Haidar had been made prisoners and sent to Seringapatam. One Mr. Gray a Bengal ex-civilian was chosen for the purpose and proceeded to Amboor, where he had to wait for sometime till passports for his entry into the Mysore territories arrived from Haidar. By this time Haidar had released the English prisoners as they did not belong to the military service and they met Mr. Gray on the 3rd February 1780 while the latter was still at Amboor. Gray however had also been charged with the function of contracting a fresh amicable alliance with Haidar and he accordingly

made up his mind to proceed to Seringapatam in pursuit of the second object. He arrived at that place in February 1780 and found that Haidar was not inclined to show him that courtsey and honour which as an envoy from a foreign State he regarded himself entitled to. On the succeeding evening, Gray was allowed to proceed to visit Haidar and he delivered the letter and the presents he had brought—a Hogskin saddle and a gun. The next morning however the presents were returned as not befitting either the giver or the receiver, with an assurance that thereby no hostile intentions were meant to be conveyed. Haidar gave no personal interview to this envoy and showed no earnest desire for friendship with the English. Gray had to wait at Seringapatam till certain instructions which he had asked for arrived from the Madras Government and on the 19th March following when these instructions arrived, Haidar without caring to know what they were allowed him to depart.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### **Commencement of the Second Mysore War—Battle of Polilore (Pullalur)—Baillie's Defeat—Capture of Arcot.**

Haidar's military preparations by this time reached completion for his revenge on the English. He had collected ample funds in his treasury and had an efficient army trained by the French. He could now put in the field forty-five thousand cavalry, thirty thousand infantry and one hundred guns. His transport and supply services had also been placed upon an efficient basis. Haidar, therefore, entered with much avidity into the plans proposed by the Poona ministers. Nizam Ali joined the confederacy because he was dissatisfied with the English on account of the discontinuance of the tribute due for the Circars and because also in connection with the lease of Guntur to Muhammad Ali the former's suzerainty over his brother Basalat Jung had been ignored. At the end of the negotiations with the Poona ministers, it was settled that Haidar was to be confirmed in his possession of the territories north of the Thungabhadra up to the Krishna and the general scheme of the confederacy was that the Mahrattas were to invade Berar, Central and Northern India, Nizam Ali was to subjugate the Circars and Haidar Ali was to invade the Madras territories and Southern India.

On the departure of Ganesha Rao after his agreement with Haidar, the latter began to bestir himself for the mobilisation of a sufficient number of troops for the invasion of the Carnatic, taking every precaution for the defence of his own territories. He started from Seringapatam in the month of June 1780 and marched to his frontier slowly and with much circumspection. He had purchased to his side several Killedars holding charge of forts belonging to Muhammad Ali on the route of the army of Mysore beyond the frontier and had also told off a number of his spies to obtain employment in the British army as guides. With his preparations thus completed, he descended on the plains through Baramahal and the Changama Pass and proceeded on his march pillaging and burning villages. A body of horse under his second son Kareem

Sahib plundered Port Novo in the same month. From Pulicat to Pondicherry a line of desolation extending from thirty to fifty-five miles inland was drawn within the territories of the Madras Government and similarly round Vellore also the country was laid waste, though not to the same extent. Haidar's object in so doing is explained as proceeding not from any inhuman motives but by the military necessity of isolating Fort St. George and thereby preventing any help coming from the north and the west. Edmund Burke, the famous orator and statesman of England, in his oration on the impeachment of Warren Hastings at a subsequent period refers to these conflagrations of Haidar in these highly coloured words :—

“ Having terminated his disputes with every enemy and rival who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation, he drew from every quarter whatever savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the art of destruction ; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc and desolation into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on, this menacing cloud suddenly burst and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of war, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants fleeing from their flaming villages in part were slaughtered ; others without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank or the sacredness of function—fathers torn from children, husbands from wives—enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry and amid the goading spears of drivers and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into a captivity in a hostile and unknown land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities ; but in escaping from fire, sword and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.”

The Madras Government on account of divided opinions among the members of the Council had made no preparations to meet this eruption which Haidar's secret preparations and prompti-

tude of action had brought on the unfortunate inhabitants. The Madras Government had also no cavalry of its own and depended on Muhammad Ali for this branch of the service. But Muhammad Ali having kept the pay of his cavalry in arrears, they were discontented and many of them deserted and had joined the army of Haidar. Further, the Intelligence Branch of the Madras Service was very ill-organised. However, when the Madras Government became alive to the danger, they directed Colonel Baillie who was in command of a detachment at Guntur to proceed southward immediately. Colonel Braithwaite who was at Pondicherry was similarly directed to march from that place towards Madras by way of Chingalpet and a force from Trichnopoly was instructed to intercept the communications of the enemy through the passes leading to the Baramahal. A field army was also assembled at Conjeevaram and its command was given to Sir Hector Munro, Commander-in-chief of the Madras army.

Sir Hector Munro left Madras on the 26th August 1780 and marched towards Conjeevaram. Colonel Baillie who was at Guntur and who had been instructed to join the main army at Conjeevaram left Guntur with his detachment, but on account of floods in the river Korttalaiyâr which he had to cross, he was held up for a number of days on the north side of the bank and was only enabled to cross to southern bank on the 3rd September of the same year and to continue his march towards Conjeevaram. Haidar who in the meanwhile was besieging Arcot kept himself thoroughly well informed through his harkars of the movements of the English troops and in order to prevent a junction between Baillie and Munro placed himself in an advantageous position between them and directed his son Tippu to intercept the former.

On the evening of the 5th September 1780, Baillie arrived at Perambakam, 14 miles from Conjeevaram. Tippu commenced his attack on the 6th September and Colonel Baillie being much hard pressed thereby applied to Munro at Conjeevaram for help. Haidar with his army lay two miles away between Baillie and Munro and the latter who had a store of provisions in the pagoda

at Conjeevaram hesitated to attack Haidar for fear that if the British troops left Conjeevaram, Haidar would take possession of the place and appropriate the supplies. On the 8th September however, Munro sent out Colonel Fletcher with a strong detachment to the aid of Baillie and this officer reached Baillie's camp the next morning by making a wide detour and thus avoiding the enemy. On the evening of the same day Colonel Baillie thus reinforced broke up his camp at Perambakam and began his march to join Munro at Conjeevaram. He had barely started and advanced about 5 miles, when Tippu's troops appeared and began to cause considerable harassment to him and to his troops. Colonel Baillie on account of the night being dark ordered a halt till daybreak at the place which they had reached, so that they might obtain a better view of the surrounding country. During the night Tippu received considerable reinforcements from his father and at 4 a.m. on the 10th of September, Haidar having ascertained that Munro showed no signs of moving, himself with his main army marched to join his son. With the first streak of dawn on the 10th, Baillie was astir and resumed his march towards Conjeevaram.

The first two miles were covered without any incident. But as the head of the column debouched from a long avenue of trees into an open plain, it was heavily fired upon by one of Tippu's batteries, behind which at a short distance a village named Polilore (Pullalur) was strongly held by a body of Mysore troops. For a short time Baillie marched on disregarding the fire of the battery. A body of Tippu's cavalry now attacked Baillie's forces, with the result that a number of them stampeded and streamed back in the utmost disorder upon the main body, being heavily pushed by the pursuing cavalry on the way. Baillie then decided to take up the best position he could and await the arrival of Munro, Conjeevaram being at a distance of only seven miles. In this expectation however he was disappointed and when two of his ammunition tumbrils exploded, some of his troops were thereby considerably shaken giving rise to much confusion.

Biccaji Scindia an officer of high rank in the Mysore cavalry noticed this confusion and turned it to advantage, having also a

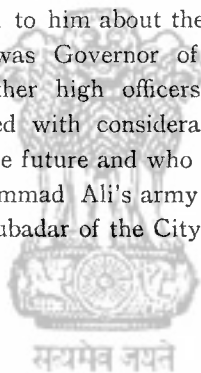
special motive to do so. Haidar had been much incensed by the junction of Colonel Fletcher's detachment with Colonel Baillie's force and had held Biccaji Scindia responsible for this event and had overwhelmed him in public with the foulest abuse. Now Biccaji determined to regain his reputation or to perish in the attempt and sword in hand at the head of his cavalry he charged upon the wavering British troops. The charge was desperate and the troops attacked broke and fled. Biccaji Scindia perished in the charge with fifteen of his family members. The struggle went on for sometime longer but at last Colonel Baillie was forced to raise his handkerchief on the point of his sword as a token of surrender. In this battle Colonel Lally was at the head of the French contingent of Haidar's troops. David Baird who led the assault on Seringapatam in 1799 and Colonel Baillie were among the British prisoners sent to Seringapatam. When Colonel Baillie was taken to Haidar's presence, the latter, it is stated, expressed regret at the fate that had overtaken the British officer and presented him with a sum of one thousand rupees expressing a wish that he and his fellow-prisoners should eat, drink, sleep and be happy.

John Lindsay one of the prisoners who kept a journal has recorded that on their march to Seringapatam which began on the 22nd September 1780, they travelled in a palanquin without any carpet or bedding. During the long march of two hundred and forty miles to Seringapatam, the prisoners halted each day in some place, where after being placed out in the sun to be stared at by the people for some hours, they were then locked up sometimes in cowsheds for the night, often even without a mat to lie on. Even at such times however, there were not wanting acts of humanity. Lindsay relates that one day when he was very ill from dysentery, a sepoy belonging to his escort approached him and offered to prepare and give him some medicine, if he would take it. Lindsay agreed. Thereupon the sepoy is stated to have gone away and to have returned in a short time with a mixture of green pomegranate juice and some milk. This Lindsay drank and fell into a deep sleep and awoke very much better. The sepoy whose pay was only six rupees a month also offered one rupee to Lindsay, which however the latter is said to have declined. On the 6th November the

prisoners reached Seringapatam and continued to be under restraint there till 1784 when peace was concluded and they were released, Baillie however having died in the interval.

Haidar caused his victory to be commemorated in a fresco-painting on a wall of the Daria Dawlat Bagh at Seringapatam which may be seen even to-day and which to the country people is generally known as Lally-Baillie Yuddha or battle. In this picture Colonel Baillie is depicted as sitting in a palanquin gnawing his thumb with annoyance. In the midst of the melee Tippu is depicted as sitting on horseback.

Haidar after the victory of Polilore (Pullalur) returned to Arcot on the 19th September and resumed the siege of that place. The place finally surrendered to him about the beginning of November. Achanna Pandit who was Governor of the place on behalf of Muhammad Ali and other high officers were restored to their appointments and treated with consideration. Mir Sadak whose name we shall hear in the future and who was Kotwal at this time of the bazaar of Muhammad Ali's army and was also his general adviser was appointed Subadar of the City of Arcot.



## CHAPTER XV.

**War continued—Warren Hastings' successful diplomacy—  
Daring heroism of Lieut. Flint at Wandiwash—Nizam Ali  
and the Poona ministers detached from Haidar—Tippu sent  
to the West Coast—Haidar's death.**

When the news of the Polilore (Pullalur) disaster reached the Supreme Government at Calcutta, Warren Hastings the Governor-General, a man of remarkable energy, foresight and statesmanship at once took action to retrieve the disaster which had overwhelmed the British in the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote, a general of great reputation, was selected for the command of the field army and he arrived at Madras on the 5th November 1780 with a contingent of troops and fifteen lakhs of rupees. Warren Hastings also adopted measures to detach Nizam Ali and the Mahrattas from Haidar Ali. Haidar, as a matter of fact, had received no help from his confederate friends and continued to be left to his own resources to carry on the war.

Haidar was at this time engaged in the siege of five different places commanded by English officers, of which Wandiwash was one. Wandiwash was preserved from falling into the hands of Haidar by the daring heroism of a young English officer, Lieutenant Flint by name. On the approach of Haidar's army towards Wandiwash, Sir Eyre Coote deputed Flint to that place with only one hundred men to help the Killedar who was in Muhammad Ali's service to hold the fort against Haidar's men. This Killedar however entered into secret negotiations with Haidar to surrender the place to him. Flint becoming aware of the treachery which the Killedar intended to play marched by night and hid himself during the day and thus arrived safely at Wandiwash evading a large body of the Mysore cavalry which was operating in the neighbourhood. He then, according to a narrative of the period, sent a messenger to the Killedar to apprise him of his safe arrival but the Killedar whose plans had been already settled had no place for Flint and he accordingly sent word to him not to proceed further but to return. Flint however talked affably to the Killedar's officer and while he

talked, he quietly walked forward. When he was within a visible distance of the troops lining the battlements, he sent a messenger to the Killedar to inform him that he was the bearer of a letter from the Nawab of Arcot. The Killedar replied that Lieut. Flint could approach the town with a small personal escort and see him outside the gate. Flint accordingly went to the gate with only four faithful sepoy. The Killedar was seated on a carpet and behind him stood his leading officers, fifteen swordsmen of his body-guard and a hundred sepoy. Flint had to confess that he had no letter from the Nawab of Arcot and that he had arrived under the authority of the Madras Government who were speaking on behalf of the Nawab. The Killedar is reported to have laughed derisively and directed him to return at once to the place from where he had come. Flint pleaded the dangers of the route but the Killedar remarking that they were no concern of his is said to have risen from the seat to terminate the interview but found himself immediately after in the iron grasp of Flint, his four sepoy standing by him with bayonets fixed. Flint then addressing the Killedar's entourage said that he had no intention of superseding the Killedar and that the latter could remain in command, while he was prepared to do all the work. In the meanwhile Flint's Company having observed what had occurred joined their officer and after some parley on both sides, entered the fort in an amicable manner. Flint at once proceeded to repair the fortifications and strengthen the defences. He also placed the Killedar under restraint as he showed signs of proving dangerous to him. The garrison of the fort astonished at the daring feat of the young officer loyally placed themselves under his orders and gave him every help. Flint now became commander of the fort, expert engineer, expert artilleryman and expert supply officer at one and the same time. He had no artillery men with him, but no whit deterred, he enlisted all the goldsmiths of the town as gunners and taught them their new trade. Nor was he less resourceful as a supply officer. He raised a small troop of mounted men and despatched them to interview all the headmen of the surrounding villages. With these headmen he came to an agreement whereby they agreed to deliver supplies regularly into the fortress, while Flint on his part undertook never to raid the villages.

Thus from 12th August 1780 to the 12th February 1783 is this heroic man said to have maintained his position in spite of numerous assaults to dislodge him.\*

Coote opened his campaign in the middle of January and moved down the coast to Pondicherry and Cuddalore in order to destroy the surf-boats as might be of use to the French fleet should it arrive. When February opened, Coote found himself in a parlous state at Cuddalore. His supplies were exhausted and there seemed no prospect whatever of his being able to replace them. At anchor off the town, lay the French fleet. To the north lay the coastal belt devastated by Haidar. To the south and west Haidar's troopers intercepted all foraging parties, while Haidar himself with his main army encamped at a distance of only ten miles. Haidar knew well as how best to combine the action of his army with that of the French fleet and awaited with an easy mind the surrender of Coote which he thought was inevitable in the desperate circumstances in which the British army found itself. At this anxious moment, good fortune unexpectedly smiled on Coote, as the French admiral on hearing that a British squadron was sailing towards Cuddalore from Bombay set sail and departed to Mauritius. The result was that the supplies needed for the British army began to come in very freely and the situation was saved for Coote. Three actions were fought during the year 1781 at Porto Novo, Polilore (Pullalur) and Sholinghar, though without any decisive results. A new Governor, Lord Macartenev, also now arrived from England with instructions for the capture of the Dutch settlement of Negapatam and this was effected in November 1781 and thereby the Madras Government was relieved of all anxiety of molestation from hostile vessels on the Coromandal coast.

In January 1782 the English admiral Sir Edward Hughes took Trincomalee from the Dutch, thus providing a harbour in which the British fleet might find shelter at all seasons of the year instead

---

\* It may be of interest to the readers to know that when Sir Eyre Coote promoted Flint to the rank of a Captain for his indomitable conduct, the Court of Directors in England cancelled the promotion with the observation that promotion should go by seniority and seniority alone.

of being obliged to seek during the winter months the security afforded at Bombay. Subsequently however, this port was wrested from the English by the French, but there arrived in Madras in October 1782 a squadron of British ships conveying some reinforcements which the Madras Government sorely needed.

In 1782 another event occurred which left Haidar entirely to his own resources to face the English with only such help as the French could give him in the circumstances in which they had been placed. It will be remembered that Warren Hastings had at the commencement of the war succeeded in winning over the Nizam of Hyderabad from the tripartite coalition against the English. The same statesman now succeeded in bringing about an estrangement between the Poona ministers and Haidar. In October 1781 Warren Hastings concluded peace with Scindia, one of the members of the Mahratta confederacy, by which that ruler agreed to endeavour to mediate a peace between the English and Haidar and also between them and the Peshwa. The nature of this treaty was soon discovered by Noor-u-deen, Haidar's Vakil at Poona and was communicated by him to his master. On Noor-u-deen requesting Nana Fadnavis for an explanation of this treaty so far as it touched Haidar, the Poona minister declared that he was in favour of accepting Scindia's mediation for the conclusion of a treaty with the English and that if Haidar was desirous of the co-operation of the Poona Government, it was open to him to obtain it by surrendering the territory north of the Thungabhadra and by abandoning his claims on the pategars south of that river. By this diplomatic success of Warren Hastings the Mysore territories now became exposed to a Mahratta invasion on the northern side. The defection of the Mahrattas from their alliance with Haidar enabled the Bombay Government to attack his possessions on the West Coast and to encounter this new situation Haidar was forced to send his son Tippu with a considerable force to that coast.

Shortly after, on account of the north-east monsoon rains the hostile armies were forced to seek shelter in cantonments and Haidar selected for the purpose an elevated place on the back of a

small stream about sixteen miles to the northward of Arcot. Haidar's health had been declining during the year and in November he was attacked with a carbuncle and died at the age of sixty on the 7th of December 1782 at a place called Narasingarayanpet near Chittoor where a small monument now marks the spot. Kirmani's account of this event is pathetic.

"Haidar on hearing that it was a deadly boil which had appeared on his neck became certain that his last hour had arrived. But without allowing fear or apprehension to take a place in his mind he remained as usual absorbed in the order and regulation of his army and kingdom. At about this time spies brought intelligence, wrongly as it appeared later, that that able officer General Coote had left this transitory world and the Nawab on hearing this intelligence sighed deeply and said that Coote was an able man and that he would have with his experience and knowledge kept on an equality with him. On reaching Narasingarayanpet, the disease assumed great malignity and completely prostrated his strength and spirits and at last he was forced to take to his bed. Immediately after, he dictated a letter to his son Tippu impressing that the latter was to make all the necessary arrangements needed for the safety of the troops where they were stationed and to return to his father's camp, exhorting at the same time not to neglect his duties even for a moment. The next day the Nawab is said to have thrown open his treasury and to have given orders for the disbursement of one month's pay as a gift to all the men of his army including all departments. On the last day of Mohurrum-il-Hurum he asked his attendants what was the date of the month and they replied that it was the last day of the month Zi Huj and that night was the first of Mohurrum. He then directed that water might be made ready for him to bathe and although the physician objected to his bathing, he was turned out of the tent and the Nawab bathed. Then having put on clean clothes, he repeated some prayer or invocation on his finger, rubbing his face and at the same time despatched two thousand horse to plunder and ravage the country of the palegars north of Arcot and five thousand horse towards Madras for the same purpose and to cause alarm to the people there,

He next sent for some of his officers\* and gave them strict orders for the regulation of their departments and afterwards swallowed a little broth and laid down to rest. The same night his ever victorious spirit took its flight to Paradise."

It will be no exaggeration if we say that Haidar's death at the time at which it occurred may be regarded not as a mere episode in the general history of India but as an important event which tended to establish the British Power in India sooner than it would have been otherwise possible. The English and the French were contending for supremacy and their rivalry helped many of the Indian princes to further their own ambitions. On account of the weakness that had overtaken the Mughal Court, there was really no Paramount Power to keep the turbulent chiefs and military adventurers under proper control. While the English and the French were loyal to their countries, the Indians, on the other hand, whether chiefs or ordinary adventurers played each for his own hand and ideas of patriotism or maintenance of other larger interests never seem to have crossed their minds. While in 1733 the Regulating Act passed by the Parliament in England introduced unity of rule in the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay by placing at their head a Governor-General and subordinating Madras and Bombay to him, the Peshwas, Scindias, Holkars, Nawabs and Palegars not only fought among themselves but even when they formed a confederacy, they could not sustain it for any length of time.

---

\* It is learnt from other sources that these officers were Abu Muhammad Mirde, Mir Muhammad Sadak, Tosheekhanē Krishna Rao, Purnaiya and Anchegurikar Shamiah.

## CHAPTER XVI.

**Nature of Haidar's dictatorship—The usual Dasara processions—Haidar values alliance with the English—Captain Munro's estimate of Haidar's character and abilities—Extent, revenue and other matters relating to the Mysore Kingdom.**

During the whole of the period when all power had fallen into his hands, Haidar Ali never made any attempt to assume the external signs of royalty nor did he at any time formally deny the claim of the old Hindu Royal family to the sovereignty of Mysore. Even during the height of Haidar's power, the Hindu Raja continued to sit on his ancestral throne and the Dasara festivities were celebrated with the same pomp and glory as in the days of his ancestors. Haidar himself always attended the Dasara durbars and offered the presents and obeisances usual on such occasions. On the tenth or Vijayadasami day when the Raja proceeded to the Banni Mantap, Haidar mounted on an elephant was always found among the grand retinue that accompanied the Raja. The grandeur of this procession may be understood from some of the accounts available to us of the time. The advance body consisted of many regiments of cavalry in which there used to be many Europeans. Then followed five hundred men mounted on camels. The State elephants then followed with richly embroidered trappings. Behind the elephants came two regiments of Abyssinian horse wearing plumes of red-black ostrich feathers and carrying steel-headed lances. Next came the infantry wearing large silk scarfs with drawers reaching to the thigh and armed with lances to which small bells were attached. The noblemen and high officers gorgeously dressed and some of them covered with chain armour and mounted on splendid horses followed behind the infantry. Then came Haidar's own horses richly decorated and led by grooms. To these succeeded a troop of running footmen and then the principal officers of the household with chains of gold hanging down their breasts. The rear consisted of a large number of elephants, five of which carried special royal insignia and after them two more regiments of Abyssinian cavalry and a crowd of foot soldiers of the same nation

who closed the procession. On each side of the line of march moved a body of infantry, clothed in white silk, with long black lances plated with silver and adorned with small red streamers at the tip.

Haidar was entirely illiterate, though his natural ability and shrewdness enabled him to transact all his business with care and scrutiny. With difficulty, it is said, he learned to write the first letter of his name 'Hai', which he affixed in an inverted form whenever any paper required his signature.

Haidar always correctly appreciated the value to himself of an alliance with the English. One day he is stated to have assembled all the important officers of the army and consulted them about the possibility of putting down the English. Haidar is reported to have said to them that it was impossible to put down the British Power in India by any ordinary means, for they had various places to draw upon—Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and above all England. Wilks has also stated as having heard from Purnaiya a confirmation of this view of Haidar. Haidar is reported to have tersely said: "The defeat of many Baillies and Braithwaites will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea."

Captain Innes Munro who took part in the operations of the Second Mysore War from 1780 till the conclusion of peace in 1784 has left on record an interesting estimate of Haidar from which a few extracts may be given:—

"Haidar Ali first placed himself at the head of the Mysore army entirely by his military prowess. A great part of that kingdom borders upon the Mahratta States which occasions constant enmity betwixt the two powers. The Mahrattas being in former times the most powerful warriors were always making unlawful encroachments upon the Mysore territories. But when Haidar Ali came to head the troops of that nation against its enemies, he soon convinced the Mahrattas that his countrymen only wanted a proper leader to make ample retaliation. For by his prudence and conduct in the art of war, he not only drove them

back to their own country but considerably extended the Mysore Kingdom by acquisitions from the Mahratta frontiers, which all the efforts of the latter were ineffectual to retrieve.

“As all great acquisitions in this country are made by force of arms, the first object of Haidar Ali was to establish a good army and experience taught him in the course of his conflicts with the English that European discipline was absolutely essential to that end. He therefore endeavoured by every possible means to allure to his standard military adventurers of all nations and tribes, but particularly the European artificers and sepoys that had been trained up in the Company's service to whom he held out the most tempting rewards; nor did he want emissaries for this purpose in every battalion in the Company's service. By this means he soon brought his established forces to perfection in European discipline never before known amongst the native powers in India and his progress in tactics was a matter of astonishment and terror to all those who have ventured to encounter him in the field, but what at once showed the extended ideas and ambitions of this Prince are his surprising endeavours to become formidable at sea. No art has been left untried to entice into his pay our ship-carpenters and dockyard men from Bombay and other places; and in this attempt the French and other European powers have been induced to assist him, so that the progress which he has already made in constructing docks and equipping a naval force is almost incredible.

“He is not only sublime in his views but capable of seeing them minutely executed. His ends are always great, his means prudent and his generosity unbounded whenever proper objects offer; nor can any one be more watchful over the intrigues of his enemies, both abroad and at home, by which means he knows well where to anticipate hostile designs and where to take advantage.”

The territory in the possession of the Hindu Royal family before the dictatorship of Haidar began consisted of the major part of the present districts of Mysore, Hassan, Kadur, Tumkur, Bangalore, Salem, Coimbatore and Madura as far as Dindigul. At the time of Haidar's death, the extent of the Mysore Kingdom

was about eighty thousand square miles and in this large area were included not only the extensive table-land of Mysore proper but also the rich districts of Baramahal, Salem, Namacal, Dindigul, Sankaridoorg, Erode, Caroor, Dharapuram, Coimbatore, Palaghat, Calicut, Bednore, Soonda, Harapanhalli, Dharwar, Savanoor, Gutti, Kadapa, Rayadoorg and Chitaldrug and many other valuable tracts wrested from the Mahrattas and others. From this vast kingdom extending up to the banks of the river Krishna, Haidar was getting an income of one crore and ten lakhs of varahas, one varaha being equivalent to three rupees. Prior to the assumption by Haidar of supreme powers, the revenue amounted to 43 lakhs of varahas.

In the country depending upon Seringapatam, Haidar retained the old system of weights and measures which prevailed from the time of Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar. In Bednore however, he introduced a new coinage known as Bahaduri varahas, retaining the Saiva figure on the obverse which appeared on the gold coins of Sivappa Naik. A new trading centre was established on the island of Seringapatam and named Shahar Ganjam. The inam lands, villages and aghaharas were allowed to continue in peace as in former times. A regular pay system was instituted in the case of the Arasu families according to their rank, and their status was zealously guarded during the life-time of Haidar. Royal retreats like the Lal Bagh and Daria Dowlat were constructed both at Seringapatam as well as at Bangalore. These latter gardens were beautified with plants imported from several far off places like Delhi, Lahore, Multan. The population is stated to have consisted of six millions but the accuracy of this is open to question.

For the defence of the country, there was a well disciplined standing army of 1,80,000 men. In addition to this number, there were also troops numbering 1,62,500 under various denominations :—

1. Stable Horse.
2. Pindari Horse.
3. Silledars or men enlisted with their horses and arms.
4. Workmen as masons, bricklayers.

5. Barr or regular infantry.
6. Body-guard.
7. Garrisons and detachments in different parts of the country.
8. Africans.
9. Harkars, runners, spies.
10. Pioneers.
11. Servants of the household, tent lascars, chopdars.
12. Blacksmiths and carpenters in the arsenal.



## CHAPTER XVII.

**Tippu's succession to power—Recovery of Bednore and other places seized by the Bombay Army—Suppression of the plot against Tippu's authority at Seringapatam—Plenipotentiaries sent to Mangalore by the Madras Government for negotiating peace—Termination of war and conclusion of peace.**

Haidar, it will be remembered, died on the 7th December 1782. At the suggestion of Purnaiya who was minister of Commissariat at the time, the other ministers and high officers Muhammad Ali commandant, Badru Zumaun Khan, Mirza Khan, Ghazi Khan, Abu Muhammad Mirde and Krishna Rao who was in charge of Tosheekhane or treasury agreed to keep the death of Haidar secret till such time as was required for Tippu Sultan to arrive at the headquarters of the army. Tippu was at the time of his father's death encamped at Paniani in Malabar and Mirza Khan was commissioned to proceed with all speed on fleet camels and to apprise Tippu of the sad event. In the meanwhile, the daily affairs were conducted with the same regular routine as had been followed when Haidar was alive. The coffin containing Haidar's body was embalmed with essences and perfumes and despatched to Seringapatam as if it was a mere treasure-chest containing valuables. Tippu on receiving the news of his father's demise broke up his camp at Paniani and reached the army headquarters on the 2nd January 1783. Except for one officer who somehow became possessed of the intelligence of Haidar's death and attempted a rising in support of Kareem Sahib, the second son of Haidar, all were loyal and matters proceeded as if nothing unusual had ever happened. On the arrival of Tippu Sultan, he was received with every mark of respect and loyalty by the whole army including Kareem Sahib and by all the others. On assuming his father's powers, Tippu issued proclamations confirming in their old places all officers, promising also further advancement to them. It may be here stated that at the time of his succession to power, Tippu Sultan was in the 31st year of his age. The word 'Sultan,' it should be said, was not indicative of the position he now came to

hold but formed a part of his name. His mother Fakru-nissa while Tippu was still in the womb made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the celebrated Mahomedan saint near Arcot by name Tippu Sultan Auliah and as it was supposed that by the blessing of that saint a son had been born, the name given to the child was Tippu Sultan. When the time arrived for his education, he was placed under proper tutors and was taught all those branches of learning which were usually imparted to persons born in respectable families.

Now to revert to the operations of the war. Tippu on his accession to power, possessing as he did great physical courage with a well trained army and enormous wealth, resolved to continue the war. When Tippu was at Paniani, the Bombay Government in order to slacken the pressure of the Mysore army on the Carnatic had directed General Mathews to attack Haidar's possessions on the West Coast. In accordance with these directions, Mathews possessed himself of various places including Mangalore and the port of Honavar where were five ships of war belonging to Mysore. Subsequently the Bombay Government receiving intelligence of the death of Haidar ordered Mathews to cease operations on the coast and to proceed inland into the Mysore territories and to capture Bednore. Accordingly Mathews landing at Kundapur proceeded at once towards Bednore overcoming all resistance on the way while ascending the Ghaut. When he was within fourteen miles of Bednore, he found that some of the outer fortifications had been abandoned and that Sheik Ayaz the Governor had retired into the fort with his men. Sheik Ayaz after reaching Bednore released a British prisoner by name Captain Donald Campbell and sent him to Mathews proposing to surrender the place. Mathews was not prepared for this piece of good fortune and on receiving Campbell's message, he moved forward and on reaching Bednore was readily admitted and was allowed to take command of the fort and its garrison without any formal treaty or capitulation on the 16th February 1783. The explanation for this strange conduct on the part of Ayaz is to be found in the estrangement that existed between him and Tippu. Sheik Ayaz, as we have already seen, had been entrusted with the Governorship of Chitaldrug by Haidar when the latter took possession of that place and from there had been

transferred to Bednore. Tippu bore a special grudge towards Ayaz as his father often upbraided him for his deficiencies as compared with Ayaz. On Tippu's assumption of power, Ayaz felt by no means secure in his place and an event occurred at this time which influenced him to abandon Tippu and to go over to the side of the English. Fearing that Tippu's wrath might be visited upon him any time, he was in the habit of taking special precautions for every letter that reached him being read to him in an isolated place where none others were present. While Mathews was ascending the Ghauts, Ayaz was at some distance arranging to offer resistance to the English General. At this time a letter arrived addressed to his second in command and the Brahmin clerk in the usual course innocently opened this letter also and read it. Ayaz found from the contents of the letter that immediately after his arrival at the army headquarters after his father's death Tippu had appointed Latif Ali Beg one of his commanders as Killedar of Bednore and had directed him to proceed to the place. Being however diffident as to whether Sheik Ayaz would readily submit to his supersession, Tippu had sent a separate letter to the second in command apprising him in advance of the step taken. The murder of the Brahmin clerk was the outcome of this action on the part of Tippu.

Latif Ali Beg on reaching Shimoga from Tippu's camp heard of the surrender of Bednore and of an English army marching from that place towards Ananthapur for its capture. His attempt to prevent the capture of this latter place proved fruitless and while he was waiting for reinforcements at some distance from the place received orders from Tippu to proceed to Mangalore as Tippu himself was going to Bednore to seek an explanation for the treachery of Ayaz. Tippu ascended the Ghauts and marching by the route of Devanhalli, Madhugiri, Sira and Chitaldrug reached the precincts of Bednore early in April 1783.

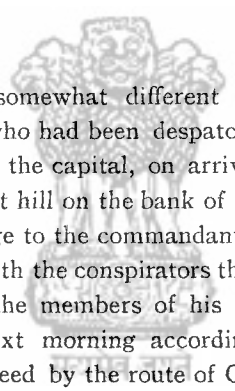
On hearing of Tippu's arrival, Sheik Ayaz left Bednore and precipitately fled to Bombay leaving Mathews to his own resources to defend the place. Tippu now divided his army into two columns and with the other column took Ananthapur. He then proceeded

to invest Bednore. The siege lasted eighteen days and the place became almost a heap of ruins. General Mathews and his men capitulated on the 30th April and were sent to Seringapatam as prisoners of war.

Another direction in which an attempt had been made by the British Government to put pressure upon Haidar, while he was alive, to relax his hold on the Carnatic was by giving encouragement to certain efforts made by some of the adherents of the old Hindu Royal family of Mysore for its rehabilitation in power. Before he proceeded to the West Coast to meet the diversion caused by the Bombay Government, Tippu had heard while at camp at Tiruvattur of an impending revolt against his authority at Seringapatam and had directed Muhammad Ali with an adequate number of troops to proceed thither for meeting that danger. It will be remembered that the rightful rulers of Mysore had never tamely acquiesced in their supersession and were ever watchful for opportunities to regain their power whether it was against Maranayaka or against the Dalavoyas and Haidar at later periods. Fortunately for the Mysore family, there lived during the time of Haidar and Tippu a lady of remarkable intelligence and courage, Maharani Lakshmi Ammanni, the widow of Immadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar. She was a daughter of Katti Gopal Raj Urs whose name we have heard in connection with the claim of Mysore to the possession of the fort of Trichinopoly. A descendant of one of the ministers of Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar, Thirumala Rao by name, had in 1766 under the inspiration of Lakshmi Ammanni carried on some negotiations with Lord Piggot, then Governor of Madras, for help to dislodge Haidar from power but as Lord Piggot died shortly after, the negotiations did not proceed further. When Haidar became involved in the second war with the English, Thirumala Rao seizing the opportunity opened negotiations with John Sullivan, British Resident at the Court of Tanjore and through his medium concluded a treaty with the Company's Government on behalf of Lakshmi Ammanni which was signed on the 28th October 1782 only a little over a month before Haidar died. This treaty may be read even now, included as it is in Aitchison's collections of treaties, sannads and engagements compiled for the British Government,

In accordance with this treaty, Colonel Lang was despatched with an army and Thirumala Rao also accompanied him. The first place taken was Caroor, situated in the present Coimbatore district, on 2nd April 1783 and the Hindu colours of Mysore were hoisted on the ramparts of this frontier post and the management was committed to Thirumala Rao. Colonel Fullerton who had succeeded Lang captured Palaghat on 15th November 1783 and found it a convenient place of occupation inasmuch as it brought supplies from the Zamorin and his Nairs who were eager to be emancipated from their thralldom to Tippu and the place also afforded facilities for proceeding to Seringapatam by the pass of Gejjelhutti. Colonel Fullerton however was disappointed in his expectations as to the success of a revolt against Tippu at Seringapatam, as the plot had been discovered and some of the parties concerned in it had been visited with horrible punishments. There are no written documents of the period to trace accurately the history of this plot and we have mainly to depend on the accounts given by Wilks and by Kirmani in his biography of Tippu. According to Wilks, Thirumala Rao's accomplice to raise a revolt at Seringapatam was one Shamiah, a Srivaishnava Brahmin. During Haidar's time he had secured his favour and risen to be the head of the Anche Department which embraced within its sphere the functions of a secret police also. After the death of Haidar, Shamiah seems to have felt considerable diffidence regarding his own future and though as a matter of form he appeared loyal to Tippu and showed earnestness in his service, still as a matter of fact he secretly intrigued with Thirumala Rao hoping thereby to safeguard himself against any possible danger. On the night of the 23rd of July 1783 when the Killedar of the fort of Seringapatam was on his way home from the hall of business, an unknown individual stopped him on the way and whispered into his ears information about the plot which he had somehow obtained. The Killedar found that the execution of the plot had been fixed for the morning of the 24th of July which happened to be the payday of some of the troops who would as usual on such occasions be waiting at the cutcherry without arms and when the Killedar also would be there to superintend the distribution of the pay. The

treasury attendants, the corps of pioneers employed in moving the treasure, a body of jetties or professional wrestlers who had the guard of that part of the palace had all been bespoken to take part in the plot. The Killedar promptly arrested all the men concerned and ordered a considerable number of them to be immediately executed by being loosely tied to an elephant's foot and dragged in that state through the streets of the town. Tippu's orders were needed for the punishments of the ring-leaders and on their receipt Narsinga Rao who was the provincial head of the Anche at Coimbatore, Subbaraje Urs a descendant of Dalavoy Devaraj and the heads of the army battalions and of the jetty corps were also executed. Shamiah who at the time was with Tippu near Mangalore was sent in irons from there and was exposed in an iron cage to every contumely.



Kirmani gives a somewhat different account. According to him, Muhammad Ali who had been despatched by Tippu from the Ghaut of Changama to the capital, on arriving there encamped at the foot of the Karighat hill on the bank of the Kaveri river. From here he sent a message to the commandant of the fort who he was aware was in league with the conspirators that he wished permission to spend a night with the members of his family who were all in the fort and that the next morning according to the orders of the Sultan, he would proceed by the route of Coorg to Bednore. The Killedar is stated to have lent a willing ear to the deceiving words of the commandant and to have given orders to the guards of the fort permitting his admission. Muhammad Ali at night crossed the river and placed his men in ambush with directions that when he entered the fort and sounded his trumpet, they were all immediately to enter. Muhammad Ali entering the fort with fifty men sounded his trumpet, when all the guards were seized and his own men were substituted in their places. Muhammad Ali next proceeded to the houses of the Killedar and his fellow conspirators as well as to the houses of Anche Shamiah and his colleagues and they were dragged out of their beds and put in prison. The next morning with the sanction of the Sultan's mother, some of the rebels were blown from a gun

and the companions of Shamiah were impaled, while Shamiah himself was loaded with irons and confined in an iron cage.

Now returning to Colonel Fullerton. Not having known the upshot of the revolt at Seringapatam, he had made himself ready to march to that place, but on the 28th of November 1784 when he was at Coimbatore he received instructions from the English peace commissioners who were proceeding to Mangalore to negotiate a treaty with Tippu to stop all further operations, to restore all the places he had taken and to retire within the limits possessed by the British on the 26th July preceding.

Sir Iyre Coote's health had been shattered and he had returned to Bengal for rest and recoupment of health, his place being taken by General Stuart. General Stuart however was not able to produce much impressison on the enemy. At this time information was received of the conclusion of peace between the French and the English in Europe. Lord Macartney who was Governor of Madras at this time also found himself unable to continue the war on account of financial and other difficulties. The peace concluded in Europe therefore afforded an occasion for him to open negotiations with Tippu for peace. Lord Macartney accordingly addressed a letter to Tippu intimating the conclusion of peace between the English and the French in Europe and expressing readiness to enter into negotiations with him for terminating the war. It was not till October following that a reply was received to this communication and the distinguished diplomat Appaji Rao suggested that two plenipotentiaries might be deputed to the Sultan's Court to avoid frequent references for instruction. This suggestion was accepted and two commissioners were nominated, to whom a third was later added to avoid ties arising out of conflict of opinions between the two members. It was from these plenipotentiaries that Colonel Fullerton, as previously stated, received directions at Coimbatore on the 28th November to cease hostilities and to return to the limits of the previous July.

The commissioners had a long and tedious journey to perform before they were able to reach Tippu's camp at Mangalore. Tippu

kept the commissioners waiting for some time and at last on the 11th March 1784 signed a treaty which terminated the hostilities begun by Haidar four years ago, the treaty providing for a mutual release of prisoners and restoration of places taken during the war.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### Life of British Prisoners at Seringapatam.

With the conclusion of the treaty of Mangalore, the second Mysore War came to an end. But before we proceed to the events of the succeeding period, we may briefly dwell on the mode of life of the British prisoners taken during this war and interned in the fort of Seringapatam during the period from the Battle of Polilore (Pullalur) in September 1780 to the establishment of peace in March 1784 and on the hopes and fears that possessed them during this long interval. Fortunately two of the prisoners maintained journals of their own from which glimpses may be obtained of the daily life of the prisoners and of some of the outside events. There is at present no way of judging the accuracy in every detail of the events recorded from day to day and it must also be admitted that some of the observations recorded in these journals appear to be tinged with the colour of the moods for the time being of the two prisoners. Nevertheless the journals give a sufficiently general view of the treatment accorded to the prisoners and they not only rouse our sympathy for their sufferings but are also sufficient to throw some light in other respects.

Of the prisoners captured at the battle of Polilore (Pullalur), three batches were formed. On the forenoon of the 17th September 1780, Haidar being about to move his camp after his victory to the neighbourhood of Arcot, Krishna Rao, Haidar's treasurer, went into the quarters where the English officers were and ordered such of them as were capable of walking to stand up. This order being obeyed, an immediate division of the prisoners was made. Colonel Baillie, Captain Baird and a number of other officers were ordered to remain with Haidar's camp, and palanquins which had been taken by Haidar with the baggage of Baillie's corps at Perambakam were provided for their conveyance. The officers who were not wounded numbering twenty-three were sent to Bangalore and other places, while those who were wounded about twenty-seven were sent to Arnee in dhoolies and country carts. Colonel Baillie and others accompanied the army to Arcot and in the first day's march

Tippu is stated to have come up in his palanquin to Colonel Baillie and to have complimented him on his gallantry, attributing his defeat to the vicissitudes of war. While Haidar was engaged in his operations against Arcot, the English prisoners were kept in the neighbourhood in a tent pitched in the skirts of a village and they were at intervals attended by an Indian medical man to examine and dress their wounds. After about a fortnight, Baillie and some of his companions were separated from Baird and others and marched to Seringapatam in two groups. At the different places at which they halted, the inhabitants, it is acknowledged, seemed disposed to treat the prisoners with pity and respect. On the 6th November these prisoners first caught sight of Seringapatam after traversing a distance of 240 miles. When the captives reached Seringapatam, they were first conducted to the Durbar Office and then led to a house which was to be their prison.

This prison is described as consisting of an oblong square, seventy feet in length, with a sort of shed inwards and open in the middle. The space appropriated to cooking was at one end opposite to the entrance where the guard was stationed. There were four rooms without windows spread with mats intended for beds. To supply themselves with the necessaries of life, the prisoners were allowed one gold fanam or a little over four annas per day and as a special indulgence on account of the dampness of the climate they were also allowed one or two-thirds of a bottle of arrack each per week. A French surgeon was permitted to attend and dress the still open wounds of the prisoners, and two or three Indian servants whom the prisoners had brought with them were also allowed to stay in the prison and permitted to go to the bazaar to make purchases for them. These servants as well as the French surgeon served as the media of communication for the prisoners with the outside world as well as for hearing the rumours of what was going on. The prisoners remained in this state for about six weeks when on the 23rd December 1780 they were joined by the second batch of prisoners, the total number thereby being increased to 25. Further additions to the number of prisoners were made from time to time including Colonel Baillie but it does not appear that they were lodged with the first two batches of prisoners,

On the 10th of May 1781 all the prisoners except Baird are stated to have been put in irons. Early on the morning of this fateful day, it is written, a great clanging noise awoke the prisoners, who to their horror saw that a pile of irons was being deposited opposite to the guard-house. Shortly afterwards, the Killedar of the fort of Seringapatam visited and told them that it was the order that all should be put in irons. Captain Lucas who spoke the vernacular language perfectly addressed the Killedar on behalf of his comrades and protested in the most vehement manner against such an uncalled-for indignity being inflicted upon them. The Killedar who appeared to be not without sympathy replied that the order came from Haidar and must be obeyed. Having said this, the Killedar ordered Mohabat Khan who was in immediate charge to put each of the prisoners in irons and having waited to see the work begun, the Killedar left the place. When it came to Baird's turn to have his irons rivetted on, Captain Lucas again intervened. He pointed out to Mohabat Khan that the bullet still remained in Baird's thigh, that the wound was very much inflamed and that if matters were aggravated by irons, Captain Baird must inevitably die. Mohabat Khan replied that he had been given a certain number of irons and that each pair of irons must be utilised. Captain Lucas without a moment's hesitation is said to have replied that if that was the case he would gladly wear two pairs himself. This unselfish offer touched even Mohabat Khan who replied that he would consult the Killedar and the Killedar showed himself to be sympathetic. Thus for the time being Baird remained unfettered until the 10th of November following when his wound having healed, he was put in irons like the rest.

In the latter part of 1782, it is related, proposals were made by some of Haidar's officers to these prisoners to enter the service of their master and that they would be allowed three times the pay they were getting in their army, as many horses, palanquins and wives as they chose. The prisoners one and all are stated to have refused to consent to such proposals. On the 13th of November Colonel Baillie died. Towards the close of 1782 several more European prisoners arrived. On the 15th of December 1782 intelligence was received in prison through a washerman that

Haidar had died and the prisoners expected that Tippu's accession to power would bring them a favourable change in the treatment accorded to them. Shortly after, they observed an unusual bustle about the fort and amongst the guards, a new Killedar replaced the old one and new officers took charge of the prison. On the 27th of December the news of Haidar's death was made public at the Cutcherry and nagaras or drums were beaten for three days in consequence. On the 22nd of March 1783 the body of Haidar was interred in the Lal Bagh garden, one mile from the fort. On the 4th of June the prisoners celebrated their King's birthday for the third time since their captivity.

On the 8th of August the prisoners observed one of the sons of Tippu riding and an account is given of him in the journal. "We peeped" says the writer "eagerly through some small apertures which we had found means to make or improve a little in the walls of our prison. The young Sultan was mounted on a beautifully managed Arabian horse finely caparisoned. He was preceded and attended by a number of people, some of whom bore his umbrella, others fanned his face, others proclaimed his rank and high descent. At one particular place which he had passed and repassed, two elephants were stationed to pay their compliments to the young prince. The creatures were not only taught to kneel at his approach and show other marks of obedience but also to fan his face, as he went along, with fans which they grasped and wielded with their trunks."

On the 7th of March 1784 one of the prisoners became insane and as he could speak the language of the country, he applied to the Killedar for interview as he wished to reveal to him many of the supposed misdeeds of his fellow prisoners. The prisoners had one serious cause of alarm inasmuch as, though the use of pen and ink had been prohibited on pain of death, they had contrived to obtain them, had maintained journals and had carried on correspondence with prisoners in other places of confinement. Accordingly at night they burnt some of the papers and hid others by digging holes. Some were deposited under the tiles and thus before morning, more than a hundred sheets of paper were disposed of,

During all this time the unhappy maniac, it is stated, with a pair of irons weighing nine pounds was walking about the prison from 5 o'clock in the evening until 2 in the morning incessantly at a rapid pace, vowing the most terrible vengeance against all his fellow prisoners. The next morning when the prison officer inquired of the maniac what revelations he had to make, the latter after considerable delay stated that there was a conspiracy on the part of his companions to poison him and as a proof he drew out of his pocket a piece of bread supposed to be poisoned. Baird who was by the side of the maniac immediately snatched the bread from his hands and swallowed it. The officer was thereby assured of the baselessness of the charge made by the lunatic and the prisoners were saved from a serious fate which they feared would overtake them.

On the second of March 1784 the officer in charge of the prison and a Brahmin whose duty it was to pay the prisoners their daily allowance ordered the irons of Baird and two other prisoners to be struck off and took them to the Killedar's presence. At the Cutcherry where they met the Killedar the announcement was made to them, to their joy, of peace having been concluded and of their approaching liberation. After this interview, Baird and his companions were removed from the fort to a choultry at some distance, where the next day they were joined by all the prisoners who were in Seringapatam. On hearing the news of their immediate liberation, there were loud shouts and demonstrations of joy on the part of the prisoners and when the tumult had to some extent subsided, a proposal to celebrate their deliverance with a regale of plantain fritters and sherbut was readily accepted. About nine o'clock at night when supper was finished, toasts were drunk with the utmost hilarity and such was the agitation of the minds of those who took part in the repast that not one, it is said, could compose himself to sleep.

At last when the morning broke and the armourer who was to remove the fetters arrived, every one struggled to have his fetters knocked off first. Promises, threats, bustling, jostling, every expedient that could be imagined are said to have been put in

practice in order to obtain that which would have come unsought in the course of sometime. About two or three in the afternoon, the irons of all the prisoners were removed and they were conducted to the Killedar. After they returned to the choultry from the presence of the Killedar, the prisoners were allowed to walk about and to bathe in the river. "Every object and every recreation however simple" says the writer of the journal "became a source of ardent delight. All the satiety which the free enjoyment of the beauties of Nature generates had been overcome by years of restraint and abstinence, and the mere sight of the country with all the advantages of scenery and climate from which they had been so long excluded excited of itself the most agreeable emotions in their hearts and minds." Although their irons were knocked off, it is said, it took some time for these liberated prisoners to use their limbs so as to walk freely.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### **Fresh rising in Coorg—Agreement with the Mahrattas— Embassies to Turkey and France—Some innovations.**

During the interval from the conclusion of the treaty of Mangalore in 1784 to the commencement of the next war with the English in 1791, Tippu was engaged in military operations against the Mahrattas and others, with the introduction of several innovations and in attempts to spread the Mahomedan faith by means of wholesale conversions and a few other measures which do not need a detailed narration as their effects were shortlived. On his return journey from Mangalore to his capital, it is stated that Tippu learning that there were a number of Indian Christians converted by the Portuguese in former years ordered a special enumeration and description to be made of the houses of the Christians in each district and that about sixty thousand in number were seized and sent to Seringapatam. There they were formed into battalions of five hundred each and after being placed under proper instructors were converted into the Mahomedan faith and then distributed to the several garrisons for military service. This force was called Ahmedy force. The real number of these converts including women was supposed to be 30,000. A large number of these converts did not survive the first year, having fallen a prey to sickness.

Tippu next after ascending the Ghauts proceeded to Ballum which he renamed Manjarabad and thence to Coorg. The Coorgs who belonged to a brave and noble race had never reconciled themselves to their subjugation by Haidar and had availed themselves of every opportunity of reasserting their independence whenever there was a slackening of military pressure whether under Haidar or Tippu. On Tippu entering the Coorg country with his army, the inhabitants are said to have yielded to necessity and Tippu contented himself with addressing a threatening exhortation to them that since the period of his father's conquest of the country they had rebelled seven times and caused the death of thousands of troops and that if a fresh rebellion ever took place in the future, he would honour every one of them with Islam and remove them from their

country. It was not long, however, before these manly highlanders of Coorg once more rose in rebellion on account of the indiscretion and questionable character of the Foujdar whom Tippu had appointed to manage the country. In October 1785 Tippu accordingly marched into Coorg in two columns burning and destroying the patches of open country and compelling the inhabitants to take refuge in the woods. He next assigned a large portion of the lands to outside settlers but the attempt to keep the country thus under subjection ultimately proved a failure.

During the campaign against the English some of the Mahratta Chiefs in the country between the Thungabhadra and the Krishna had evaded payment of tribute due to Mysore relying for support on the ministers at Poona. The Desai of Nargunda was the principal of these contumacious chiefs. He was related to Parasuram Bhow of Miraj by marriage and had calculated upon being able to defy Tippu by obtaining support from that quarter. He was however compelled to capitulate and sent in irons to Kabballoor and his daughter was admitted into Tippu's harem.

The Mahrattas of Poona guided by Nana Fadnavis now formed an alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad and put forward a demand to Tippu for the payment of the arrears of tribute due from him. The Nizam of Hyderabad had become alarmed of the encroachments of Tippu on account of the claim he made for the possession of Bijapur. The details of the military operations connected with these events are of little importance at present. After some time however, Tippu sent two of his officers Badru Zumuan Khan and Ali Raza Khan to Poona with friendly letters and with a sum of money, some rarities, valuable cloths and jewels, among which was a diamond necklace said to be worth five lakhs of rupees. After protracted negotiations intermixed with mutual subterfuges, it was at last settled early in 1787 that four years' tribute at 12 lakhs of rupees a year with a further sum of 3 lakhs of rupees for each year as Durbar expenses to the ministers, total Rs. 60 lakhs was the sum payable to the Poona Government and out of this amount a deduction of 15 lakhs was allowed in compensation for damages caused by the military operations of the Mahrattas. Of

the remaining 45 lakhs, 30 lakhs were actually paid and 15 were promised at the expiration of a year. The cession of Badami and the restitution of Adoni, Kittoor and Nargunda completed the agreement with the Mahrattas.

During this period a few other events also occurred which may be referred to without strict adherence to time. Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty of Mangalore, an embassy was sent to Constantinople with Gulam Ali Khan at its head, with costly presents including new muskets manufactured in Tippu's arsenal, ten lakhs of rupees newly coined, valuable cloths, gold and jewels of great value. The embassy returned after some time with friendly and congratulatory letters from the Vizier of Turkey and with presents such as a sword and shield ornamented with precious stones. At this time, at the suggestion of this Vizier of Turkey, it is said that Tippu assumed the pomp and splendour of royalty and directed the formation of a throne of gold ornamented with jewels of great value in the shape of a tiger. It may incidentally be stated here that Tippu had established four manufactories,—one at Seringapatam, one at Bangalore, one at Chitaldrug and one at Bednore and in these factories a number of European and other artisans were employed, the articles chiefly manufactured being scissors, hour-glasses, pocket-knives, guns and muskets.

Later an embassy headed by Muhammad Darvesh Khan was sent to Paris, where the delegates are said to have been received graciously by Louis XVI, but all that the ambassadors could obtain from him were mere promises, as the revolutionary cataclysm which shook the whole of Europe was about to burst in France.

It was after his return to Seringapatam after the agreement with the Mahrattas that Tippu completed the building of the great mosque which stands at the Ganjam gate even now and it is stated to have cost three lakhs of rupees. Tippu also during this period considered it advisable to destroy much of the old town of Mysore allowing to the inhabitants the option of removing themselves to Ganjam or to Agrahar Bamboor subsequently called Sultanpet situated at the foot of the Nandi hill. The materials of the destroyed buildings in the old town were employed in the erection of

another fort on a neighbouring height under the name of Nazarbad but these very materials were reconveyed to rebuild the old fort of Mysore in 1799 after the fall of Tippu. The effect of some of the innovations introduced by Tippu may be gathered from the following observations of even Kirmani who in his biography always delineates his hero with sympathy :—"The chief part of the Sultan's time was spent in collecting and enlisting men for his horse and foot. But not withstanding this, the Amirs and Khans of old times whom Haidar had allured into his service from all cities and countries at the expense of hundreds of thousands of pagodas were now all at once cast down from rank and power and from the honour of the Sultan's confidence and low-bred vulgar young men were appointed in their places. The principal merchants including horse-dealers on account of the low prices or want of demand abandoned trade and those persons who were willing to take up muskets and a pair of pistols were entered in the cavalry and those who opposed this innovation were deprived of their rank and dismissed. As the confidence of the Sultan was chiefly placed in artillery and muskets as the most efficient arms, the brave men who excelled at the handling of the sword and spear lost heart and some cavalry officers were appointed and compelled to enlist men for the Jysh and Uskur, horse and foot, who were ignorant of the rules and qualifications necessary for these divisions of the service and consequently in a short time, confusion and ruin appeared in the fundamental regulations of the Government and kingdom."

## CHAPTER XX.

### **Third War with the English—Lord Cornwallis takes command and marches to Bangalore—Description of the Army.**

As our readers may be already aware, the Mysore Kingdom reached the zenith of its power and glory about the time of Haidar's death. Among the old Hindu rulers, Yadu Raja the doughty founder of the present ruling family of Mysore, Raja Wodeyar the puissant king who freed himself from the overlordship of the Vijayanagar viceroy by the acquisition of Seringapatam, Ranadhira Kanthirava Narasimharaja Wodeyar the intrepid hero who boldly confronted and turned back the Bijapur General Ranadulla Khan, Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar the statesman-king who by his diplomacy won the friendship of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb had all contributed largely not only to the enlargement of the territories of Mysore but also had raised the kingdom to a position which inspired fear in the heart of its enemies and caused envy among its neighbours. Haidar Ali who became the Sarvadhikari and ruler of Mysore successfully turned back the hostile Mahrattas and also held his own against the English in the two wars he waged against them, left Mysore at the time of his death at its highest glory. Tippu, on the other hand, though possessing considerable physical courage was much wanting in the qualities of a statesman and in those of winning over men to his side. As a consequence, not only internal revolts arose but also insurrections in the conquered countries and hostile alliances were formed against him by his neighbours.

We have seen that Haidar had coveted Malabar and other parts of the Western Coast but had been prevented from accomplishing his designs in full on account of his preoccupations in other parts of the country. Among the chiefs that had tendered their submission to Haidar was the Raja of Cochin whose territory abutted on that of the Travancore Raja. To resist an invasion by the Zamorin of Calicut, the Cochin Raja had sought in 1761 the help of Travancore and as a reward for the services rendered,

Cochin had assigned a tract of land on which fortifications had been erected for the defence of the northern boundaries of Travancore in the shape of a wall twenty feet thick and twelve feet high with stone batteries and bastions at intervals all along the frontier. This wall was protected by a deep ditch with bamboos and thorny shrubs planted close to the wall on the side of the ditch. These defences were generally known as the "Travancore lines" and were intended to resist attacks from Malabar. Haidar at the time of his invasion of Malabar had realised the advantage of annexing Travancore to Mysore but as he had to reckon with the Dutch who were at Cranganore, he had deferred the idea for the time being. After the conclusion of peace with the Mahrattas, Tippu feeling himself free saw like his father the advantage of having command of the entire Western Coast, as thereby he would have ready facilities for the importation of munitions of war. Tippu now found a pretext against the Travancore Raja on the ground that he had built the defences on the territory of his feudatory the Cochin Raja and that the former had besides given shelter to a number of his rebel subjects who had fled from Malabar to his territory. In 1789 Tippu attacked the Travancore wall and though sustaining repulse in the beginning ultimately succeeded in demolishing it and ravaging the Travancore territories. The monsoon however having shortly set in, Tippu found it extremely difficult to continue his military operations and hearing also that the English were assembling an army at Trichnopoly for the defence of their ally the Raja of Travancore, he retreated to Palaghat and fixed his quarters there for the time being.

Lord Cornwallis was now both Governor-General and Commander-in-chief of India at this time. He is described as firm, just, courteous, considerate and most equable in temper. In a letter to his son Lord Brome which he wrote on the occasion of his being elected a Knight of the Garter he said—"You will have heard that soon after I left England, I was elected Knight of Garter and very likely laughed at me for wishing to wear a blue riband over my fat belly..... I can assure you upon my honour that I neither asked for it nor wished for it. The reasonable object of ambition to a man is to have his name transmitted to posterity for

eminent services rendered to his country and to mankind. Nobody asks or cares to know whether Hampden, Marlborough, Pelham or Wolfe were Knights of the Garter." Among a number of abuses which Cornwallis sternly put down after he assumed charge of the English affairs in India was the jobbery which prevailed at the time of sending out young men from England with letters of introduction for finding employment for them. Among the most importunate was the Prince of Wales himself who had recommended a person for appointment as Judge of the city of Benares in place of a Mahomedan incumbent who was quite efficient in his duties. Cornwallis showed himself no respecter of persons and he boldly informed the prince accordingly. It was with such a man that it fell to the lot of Tippu to come into opposition.

Lord Cornwallis on hearing of the quarrel between Tippu and the Raja of Travancore intimated to the Madras Government his readiness to bring about amicable relations between them by means of negotiations and adjured the Madras Government to stand firmly by their ally. The plan of operations was to carry the struggle into the heart of the Mysore territories, entering from the south by the Gejjelhutti Pass. At the time that Meadows the Commander-in-chief of Madras opened his campaign Tippu had concentrated the bulk of his forces about Seringapatam and was free to move to any point he wished and the campaign of 1790 closed in a manner unsatisfactory to the British. No vital blow had been dealt at Tippu and while Meadows had failed to carry the war into Mysore, Tippu had successfully invaded the Carnatic and had done much injury to the interests of the Company, though it must be said that some successes had been gained on the Western Coast by the Bombay army under General Abercrombie.

In these circumstances, Cornwallis considered that it was essential that he should assume the command of the army and direct the campaign himself. In a minute which he recorded on the 5th November 1790 he wrote:—"Although I am not vain enough to suppose that the military operations would be conducted more ably or with more success by myself than by General Meadows, yet from the station which I hold in this country and the

friendly intercourse which I have had the good fortune to maintain both with the Nizam and the Peshwa, I conceive it to be possible that my presence in the scene of action would be considered by our allies as a pledge of our sincerity and of our confident hopes of success against the common enemy and by that means operate as an encouragement to them to continue their exertions and abide by their stipulations." Indeed, so long ago as February 1790 in a minute circulated to his Council, Cornwallis had said that in the critical situation in which the Company's affairs were found, he looked upon it as a duty which he owed to his country to lay aside all considerations of his own personal ease or responsibility or even of what the existing laws might specifically authorise and to proceed to Madras to take charge of the civil and military affairs of the Presidency. In the meanwhile, having received information from England of General Meadows' appointment as Governor of Madras also, Lord Cornwallis refrained from further action in the hope that Meadows with his increased powers would be able to give a new turn to the operations of the war. Being however disappointed in this hope, Cornwallis proceeded to Madras and assumed command of the army at the end of January 1791.

In his plan of campaign Lord Cornwallis avoided the mistake of the dispersal of the force which had brought about the destruction of the detachments under Baillie, Braithwaite and Mathews in previous campaigns and had rendered nugatory all the efforts of Meadows in the preceding year. In selecting his line of advance, Cornwallis chose the most direct route to Seringapatam via Vellore and Bangalore. By adopting this route he shortened considerably the lines of communication, while he placed himself within easy reach of his allies, the Nizam and the Mahrattas.

Lord Cornwallis began his first march on the 5th of February 1791 and the whole of the British army was concentrated at Vellore by the 11th. Here demonstrations were made as if to ascend the table-land of Mysore through the Amboor Pass. Before this concentration took place, Colonel Reade the head of the Intelligence Department had won over to the side of the British a number of

palegars who had suffered at the hands of Haidar and Tippu and who had taken refuge in the territories of the Nawab of Arcot including the palegars of Kangundi Palya, Chikballapur, Punganoor, Madanapalli and Anekal. These palegars were assured of protection and despatched to their respective places to recover their possessions on condition that they should collect and forward to the English army forage and provisions. Colonel Reade had also by secretly sending clever spies and able munshis or writers dressed as merchants into the Mysore country obtained sketches of the topography of the country.

Tippu who was at Pondicherry negotiating for a contingent of 6000 French troops for his help on hearing of the march of Cornwallis left that place and proceeded rapidly by the passes of Changama and Pallicode with the intention of opposing the British army. Cornwallis however while pretending to ascend by the Amboor Pass out-manoevred Tippu by taking the easy pass of Mugli near Venkatagiri. In four days with a circuit of fifty-one miles he completely surmounted every impediment and occupied the summit of the pass before it was possible for Tippu to intercept the ascent of the invading army. In four days more the battering train and various other equipments including sixty-seven elephants and provisions for 45 days were on the table-land of Mysore at a distance of 90 miles from Bangalore without having fired a shot. On the march to Bangalore, no incidents worthy of note occurred and no opposition was encountered. The villages on the way were generally walled round and further protected by a cavalier turret and a corps proceeding in advance furnished safeguards to these villages. Tippu's harem had been lodged in Bangalore and as the British army approached towards that place, it became necessary for him to remove the harem to a place of safety. On the evening of the 5th March 1791 the British army was encamped at a distance of about six miles from where the Mysore army was.

Lord Cornwallis' army consisted of about 22,300 combatants and the number of camp followers, male and female, was about 1,30,000 persons at about 6 followers to one fighting man. The number of transport was about 80,000 and in addition there were

also a number of camels and ponies. There were also about a hundred elephants, each elephant having two keepers. Every two camels had one and every horse two attendants, one as a groom and the other to provide grass. Every sepoy took with him his wife and family including a number of needy relations. The coolies also in practice enjoyed the same privileges, though they were not supposed to have it. There was also generally a bazaar attached to the army in which every trade was represented and every conceivable commodity was obtainable.

To get a glimpse of the life of British officers and men in the field, we may refer to a book written by Captain Innes Munro. One Major Mango is described as being seated in his tent in a comfortable chair at a large table bearing two nicely-shaded candles in camp near Madras. The weight of the tent was such as to form a complete load for a powerful camel or part of a load for an elephant. The tent was furnished by the Company with two lascars to carry out any necessary repairs. Among Major Mango's furniture were several chairs and a most comfortable bed complete with mattress, bolster and pillow. Round the walls of the tent were placed six or seven trunks with table equipage. His stock of linen at least 24 suits, some dozens of wine, brandy and gin, tea and sugar and biscuits. In the rear was a smaller tent to accommodate his servants and hold the residue of his baggage.

At some moment the Dubash or steward is stated to have looked in and told Major Mango that the coolies whom he had hired for the campaign had presented themselves to demand one month's wages in advance. Major Mango told the Dubash to order the coolies to wait, an order which implied nothing more serious than sitting still and doing nothing was readily obeyed. After such delay as befitted his dignity, Major Mango got up from the table and left the tent. As he emerged therefrom, he heard the strident voice of the Dubash abusing the coolies for their temerity in coming to dun their master. Major Mango was by no means deceived, for he knew full well that the coolies were there at the instigation of the Dubash. The latter was the keeper of the purse to his master and paid all the servants, taking care to

deduct a percentage for himself. Knowing of the risks of war, he was determined to secure his share of the coolies' wages in good time. Therefore there was no other course open to Major Mango than to order the Dubash to settle up with the coolies which was speedily done. During the campaign Major Mango like other field officers took not less than 40 servants inclusive of coolies into the field with him with free rations for the former.

"Whenever a start was to be made the next morning, Major Mango retires" says Innes Munro "early to bed, giving orders for the heavy baggage to be packed over-night for loading up on the morrow. The camp followers in the meantime are settling down, lighting fires in every alley and street of the camp and making communication a matter of the utmost difficulty. Moreover, their total disregard for sanitation soon produces a condition of affairs which is best left to the imagination. Major Mango's coolies take up their position in the main thoroughfare behind their master's tent. If 'Master' likes his coolies to be within reach, the coolies have very good reason for wishing to be near 'Master' and we shall presently see why. About midnight Major Mango is waken by a most unpleasant sound, the sound of heavy rain. He has hardly time to realise the extent of his approaching misfortune before he hears the patter of many running feet and a babel of voices approaching the door. The next instant without a 'by-your-leave' or 'with-your-leave,' some twenty to thirty coolies hurl themselves into the tent relying on the unwritten law under which coolies can claim the shelter of their employer's tent in wet weather; and Major Mango had to keep his temper and bear his affliction as best he could, for fear that the coolies would run away and leave him helpless the next morning.

"With the first streak of light, the coolies leave the tent and are busily employed in cooking their morning meal. The smoke from so much damp fuel hangs over the camp like a pall. Major Mango is up betimes and is soon dressed, for the march is to begin at 4 a.m. in the hope of reaching the next camping ground before the sun has attained its full power. While Major Mango breakfasts comfortably outside his tent, the latter is struck by the lascars and

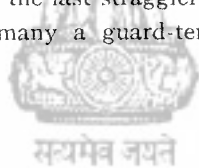
coolies and packed ready for loading. As the time for parade approaches, Major Mango tells the Dubash and the cook to pack some cold lunch for him and to take care to march with his belongings and tent as far forward in the baggage column as they can, so that lunch and tent may be ready for him as soon as possible after the new camping ground is reached. Having seen most of his property loaded up, Major Mango strolls off to his battalion parade ground, where he will find his syce grass-cutter and pony waiting for him. Major Mango is followed by his boy who carries a brandy flask, an earthenware jug of water and, last but not least, a folding stool to avoid soiling his breaches by sitting on the ground whenever there arose any occasion to sit.

“At this time the camp followers and their families have been shouting to one another in their efforts to collect together before the march begins. To the clamour thus created may be added the squalling of innumerable babies which are being tied on to any form of available transport and the bellowings, babblings and screamings of many thousand transport animals as bullocks, camels and country-bred ponies are loaded up. In the midst of this pandemonium ride the divisional baggage officers, each accompanied by twenty mounted orderlies. All carry long whips which are by no means for show but which were mercilessly plied in the case of all laggards who lagged behind.

“The army moves in three columns on the left flank. Being the flank next to the enemy march the infantry and the field artillery on a road specially made for them. An interval of hundred yards or more separates them from the column on their right which consists of the siege artillery, its ammunition waggons and the heavy transport vehicles. The siege artillery guns like the field guns are drawn by bullocks on a scale of one bullock for every pound weight of metal in the ball. To this heavy column the main road is allotted. To the right of the siege artillery comes the third column composed of the smaller store carts and private baggage carts. For this column another specially constructed road has been provided. Further to the right again march the bazaars, the transport animals and all the vast array of the camp followers,

This immense multitude covers a space of several square miles, on the outer flank of which are to be found such of the cavalry as can be spared from other duties. The uniform of sepoys consists of a blue turban bound round with tape of the same colour as the regimental facings. From one corner of the turban hangs a coloured tassel. The jacket is of some thin scarlet material, whilst the cotton shorts are cut off half way down the thigh, the remainder of the leg being left bare. Sandals are worn and not boots or shoes. The equipment consists of cross-belts which support the back, ammunition pouches and bayonet.

“When the march comes to an end, the tents as they come up at the head of the baggage column are rapidly erected. The camping ground is situated near a conveniently situated tank. Major Mango on arrival immediately sends to the tank to get his drinking-water before the countless camp followers and animals have washed, swum and wallowed in it and the water has in consequence become muddy. Long after Major Mango had eaten his dinner and gone to bed, the weary rear-guard tramp to their lines driving before them the last stragglers of the baggage column. Midnight sounds from many a guard-tent gong before the whole camp is at rest.”



## CHAPTER XXI.

**War continued—Capture of Bangalore—Fall of Krishna Rao—Junction with the Nizam's Army—March on Seringapatam—Cornwallis' retreat due to failure of supplies—Junction with the Mahratta Army.**

In the last chapter we left the two contending armies at short distances near Bangalore. The British army took up its position to the north-east of the fort on the 5th of March 1791 and Lord Cornwallis lost no time in capturing the pettah and besieging the fort. The pettah was encircled by a deep ditch and a thick-set hedge of thorns affording protection against hostile incursions. To the south of the pettah was the fort originally built of mud by Kempe Gowda but later in 1761 it was enlarged and built of stone by order of Haidar. On the 7th of March 1791 the attack to capture the pettah succeeded in spite of the desperate efforts made by Tippu who was encamped near Kengeri to send reinforcements under Kamruddin Khan and by the evening of that day the pettah was in the hands of the English. To the joy of Lord Cornwallis, within the pettah were found large supplies of grain, which for the time being alleviated the distress occasioned by the shortage of supplies.

Lord Cornwallis next turned his attention to the fort. This was of an oval figure extending somewhat nine hundred yards in its longest diameter. It was fortified with a broad double rampart. There were two entrances to it, one at each end. That on the north called the Delhi Gate consisted of five strong, large gates finished with considerable elegance. That on the south called the Mysore Gate consisted of only four. Both these gates were covered with outworks. The ramparts of the fort were extremely well built. The ditch was deep and wide, but dry in most parts of it. Within the fort were situated a mint, a foundry for brass cannon, a machine for boring them, another for musket barrels, an arsenal for military stores and magazines for grain and gunpowder. The most splendid fabric within the fort was the palace.

Cornwallis proceeded to approach the fort from the north-east corner and on the 21st of March which was a bright moonlit night the assault began at 11 o'clock. The assaulting party found an undefended narrow passage and making their way through it approached the breach where the defenders were vigorously attacked and routed, with the result that the fort fell into the hands of the English in a short time. Tippu who was encamped near Jigani at this time to the south-west of the fort was aware of the assault being delivered, but his efforts to afford succour to the garrison proved futile. Kirmani's remarks on the conduct of Tippu at this time are interesting and reveal his indecisiveness at a time when ready decision was most necessary. "Although at the time of the assault Tippu mounted his horse and with his troops stood ready to engage the enemy, still he restrained his hand from shedding the blood of God's people, and although Kamruddin Khan and Syed Sahib often requested orders to charge the English troops, Tippu replied that the time would come by and by, for that the favourable opportunity had passed and that they were on no account to allow their men to fall into disorder."

Bahadur Khan the Killedar of the fort was killed while putting forth a vigorous defence. The body of the Killedar was found the next day amidst a heap of the slain and pierced through and through with balls and bayonets. Lord Cornwallis sent a message to Tippu with an offer of the corpse for interment, to which the latter with equal spirit and prudence replied that the proper place for the burial of a soldier was the spot where he fell and in consequence the body was buried in the fort by the people of the Mahomedan religion and with every mark of distinction.

Before proceeding further, an incident which brought about the ruin of Krishna Rao, Minister of Thosheekhane who had rendered, as we have seen, along with Purnaiya material help in facilitating the accession of Tippu on his father's death to the headship of the Mysore State, may be related. One of the emissaries of Colonel Reade who, as we already know, was Cornwallis' intelligence officer was detached with a letter in the Kanada language concealed in his hollow bamboo which passed for a

walkingstick. The letter was traced to one Muhammad Abbas a Hindu who had been converted to the Mahomedan faith and the name of Seshagiri Rao the brother of Krishna Rao was also found implicated. But before he could be seized, it was found that Seshagiri Rao having heard of the letter had fled to his brother at Seringapatam. On Muhammad Abbas being brought to the presence of Tippu, he denied no part of his guilt and boldly refused to reveal the names of those implicated with him. He was put to death by being publicly dragged round the camp tied to the foot of an elephant.

Tippu next sent Syed Sahib to Seringapatam to seize the culprits there and inflict punishments on them. Having arrived at Seringapatam with a body of horse, he entered the fort and proceeded to pay his respects to Tippu's mother which she received seating herself in the hall of audience. At this time the commander of the garrison at the capital who was suspected of being implicated in the affair vehemently declared his innocence and threw the blame on Krishna Rao. Syed Sahib thereupon is said to have sent a chopdar to summon Krishna Rao to the hall of audience, but the latter being aware of the danger, returned for answer that it was unusual to be sent for in that manner and refused to move out of his house. Syed Sahib believing that this conduct on the part of Krishna Rao confirmed him also as a traitor sent a body of men to his house to seize him. They forced their way into his house which he had bolted from inside and put him to death and threw his body into a side-drain.

Now returning to Cornwallis at Bangalore. He was occupied for about a week in removing his camp to a fresh ground and in repairing the breaches which had been made in the fort of Bangalore. Making the necessary preliminary preparations and leaving a sufficient body of troops for the protection of the place against any surprise attacks by the Mysore forces, Cornwallis moved in a northerly direction towards Devanhalli with the main object of meeting the Nizam's contingent of cavalry which was on its way to Bangalore. En route he took possession of Devanhalli and Chikballapur and restored them to the pategars who were their former

owners. After Cornwallis left, these places were retaken by Tippu's troops and several of the men of the two garrisons suffered as rebels amputation of a leg and an arm each. Cornwallis after a march of about seventy miles was able to meet the Nizam's contingent and effecting a junction with it returned to Bangalore on the 28th April 1791. Here he had to decide whether he should embark on military operations at once and proceed to Seringapatam or to postpone them to a more convenient date. The political situation in Europe consequent on the outbreak of the French Revolution and the East India Company's diminishing finances both combined to influence Cornwallis to decide in favour of proceeding to Seringapatam immediately. There were two routes to choose from, the direct one by Chennapatna about eighty miles and the circuitous one by Kankanhalli about ninety-four miles. Cornwallis preferred the longer route as it led him early to the neighbourhood of the Kaveri river, which it was essential he should cross as soon as possible in order to join hands with General Abercrombie who was proceeding from Bombay with a body of troops. Both routes passed through tracts stripped bare of fodder and cattle and deserted by men.

On the 3rd May the Grand Army, as the combined Hyderabad and British armies were called, started on its march. After three marches, the army arrived within ten miles of the Kaveri and here a halt was made for two days to re-adjust the loads as many bullocks had died owing to insufficient forage. On the 9th the march was resumed. Many officers managed to hire on their own account carriages which their owners would not consent to submit to the control of a public department, followers of various kinds, chiefly the relations of sepoys including women and grown up boys were also prevailed on to carry for remuneration military materials. By means of these expedients Cornwallis was able to reach Arakere, about nine miles east of Seringapatam below the Kaveri on the 13th of May. Tippu had by this time returned to Seringapatam from Chennapatna where he had encamped when Cornwallis started on the Kankanhalli route. On the 14th May when Lord Cornwallis made a reconnaissance, he found the Mysore army drawn up in a position at a distance of about six miles, with the Kaveri on their

right, the hill of Karighat on their left and a swamp in front. On the 15th May Cornwallis intending to bring on a general action proceeded to occupy a rocky ridge intervening between the two armies. Tippu however promptly changed his front and getting possession of this ridge poured a heavy fire on the advancing English column and ultimately succeeded in withdrawing his guns and men into the island of Seringapatam. In the meanwhile, he had also successfully prevented all intelligence reaching Cornwallis regarding General Abercrombie's movements.

On reaching Kannambadi at some distance up the river from Arakere, Cornwallis became convinced that on account of the shortage of provisions and the great loss of baggage animals he could not pursue the campaign to a successful termination and accordingly sent out orders on the 21st of May to General Abercrombie to return to Malabar for the time being. In his own camp the men suffered extreme privations, the rations of rice issued to the fighting men having been reduced to one-half. Many followers also had actually died of hunger and more were verging in various degrees to the same extremity. These overwhelming difficulties induced Lord Cornwallis to return to Bangalore and he accordingly commenced his march on the 26th May after destroying his siege train, throwing his shot into the river and burning his carts and tumbrils. Tippu on learning of this retreat ordered the firing of a royal salute from the ramparts of Seringapatam and the illumination of the town.

On approaching Chinkurli, Cornwallis was agreeably surprised to find that two bodies of Mahratta troops, one under Haripanth and the other under Parasuram Bhow had approached within sight and were ready to form a junction with his own troops. Tippu's light cavalry had successfully prevented all news of the approaching Mahratta armies from reaching Cornwallis till they were actually in sight. The stores provided by the Mahrattas enabled the starving people of Cornwallis' army to obtain liberal supplies and satisfy the cravings of nature. Before we proceed to the succeeding events, it may be of interest to the readers if a description of the Mahratta army and the bazaar attached to it is

given here from an account written by one Edward Moore who was serving at this time under Parasuram Bhow.

Parasuram Bhow's army consisted entirely of cavalry, lacking somewhat in cohesion and discipline. The Mahratta trooper is described as a curious mixture of good and bad horsemanship. In the lines he was indefatigable in his attention to the grooming and feeding of his horse but even during the longest day in the field he never for one moment dismounted. The artillery consisted largely of big and small brass pounders cast at Poona. Both carriages and wheels were very clumsy, the latter generally being made of solid wood throughout. All the guns were heaped up with baggage and could not under any circumstances come into action in less time than half-an-hour. The heaviest guns required as many as two hundred bullocks each to drag them but the amount of ammunition carried for each gun was small. The Mahratta infantry was not a very superior body and was viewed with contempt by their cavalry.

Next, it is stated by Edward Moore that the bazaar attached to a Mahratta army was of immense size. At each halt a regular lay out was observed. Each street had its name and on both sides of it were allotted frontages to the merchants and craftsmen who always occupied the same relative places and who could thus be easily found by their respective customers. Every trade was carried on and bankers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, braziers, carpenters, tailors, embroiderers, distillers, bakers, cooks, saddlers, grain merchants and others could be seen following their own avocations as in a well-regulated city in time of peace. Among the trades practised was that of a tanner. A circular hole dug in the earth, a raw hide adapted to it at the bottom and sides and secured above with a series of skewers run through its edges into the earth formed the tanpit. On marching days the tanpit with its contents in the shape of a bag formed one side of a load for a horse or bullock and the liquid preparation was either emptied or preserved according to the length of the march. The best tanning material was equally accessible and portable and the English officers obtained from these ambulatory tanpits what their own Indian capitals could not then produce except as European imports,

The number of camp followers, according to Moore, was astounding and there were more women than men. There were 20,000 fighting men with Parasuram Bhow and 12,000 with Haripanth and the number of camp followers to each fighting man was 12 to 1 and the animals—elephants, horses, camels, bullocks and donkeys—were fifteen times as numerous as the fighting men. It is reckoned that the number of camp followers was about 320 thousand and of animals 480 thousand. To these must be added those of the Nizam's contingent and of the British army. Edward Moore may well be believed when he wrote that when the allies were on the march together, to an observer on an eminence the whole countryside as far as the eye could reach appeared covered by a moving mass of human beings and animals.

Now resuming our narrative. The Grand Army halted some seven miles from Seringapatam till 6th June, when the retirement on Bangalore was again begun. En route Parasuram Bhow and his army parted company with the Grand Army and marched to the north towards Sira, it being understood that Parasuram Bhow would return in time to take part in the coming operations against Seringapatam. By the 11th of July the Grand Army was back again at Bangalore after an absence of 68 days.

During all this time Tippu remained inactive and Kirmani's observations in ostensible support of this attitude are somewhat curious.....“And although at witnessing the miserable state of the English army some of the faithful Amirs and Khans represented to Tippu that that was the time to attack the English and that if he would give orders they would pursue them and cast the stone of dispersion and defeat among them and by their prowess bring them with their hands and feet bound before him, still his foresight and intelligence did not perceive any advantage in separating his brave army from himself and therefore he would not consent to it.”

## CHAPTER XXII.

**Fresh preparations of Lord Cornwallis—Capture of Nandidoorg and Savandoorg—Second march on Seringapatam—Tippu's position—The British attack—Foot-hold secured on the island of Seringapatam.**

On arriving at Bangalore, Lord Cornwallis' first thoughts were directed towards establishing an unimpeded line of communications between Bangalore and Madras on the one side and Seringapatam on the other as well as to arrange efficiently for an adequate and unobstructed supply of all provisions needed for the army. For the latter purpose Cornwallis authorised Colonel Reade his commissariat officer to engage a number of Lambanies, known in Northern India as Brinjaris, who although moving with their whole train of women and children were not only capable of military defence but also of military enterprise when opportunities arose. Usually after a war, they sought some forest inhabited by wild animals and obtained permission of the Government in power to occupy such tracts and destroying the wild animals made the place a safe nursery for their herds and for the growth of roots and corn. Detachments of these people also went from time to time to the sea-shore carrying grain or drugs and bringing in return a cargo of salt. The free command of their own time and means which the nature of Lord Cornwallis' operations permitted him to allow rendered these Lambanies the most efficient branch of his commissariat.

Cornwallis next addressed himself to start military operations for the capture of a large number of hill-forts which interfered with the free transport of his own troops towards the capital of Mysore. The capture of these hill-forts was also intended to afford protection to the territories of the East India Company from the inroads of small divisions of Tippu's cavalry. It would be tedious to describe in detail all the operations undertaken to reduce these hill-forts and it is enough to mention here the capture of the two important hill-fortresses of Nandidoorg, 36 miles north of Bangalore and Savandoorg, 18 miles to the west.

The Nandidoorg fort was a hill of granite, 1750 feet high and about 20 miles round at the base. The summit of the hill was difficult of access by nature and had been rendered further so by art. On the 22nd September 1791 Major Gowdie finding the northern face of the hill-fort unassailable made a circuit to the west and finally sat down before the place on the 27th. Cornwallis had encamped with a body of troops near by and gave orders for the assault of the fort on the 19th October by the light of the moon. When the troops detailed for rushing the breach which had by this time been effected were awaiting the signal, some one among them in a voice loud enough to be heard remarked that there was a mine under the breach ; whereupon General Meadows who was to lead the storming party without a moment's hesitation exclaimed that if there was a mine it must be a mine of gold. This caused a ripple of merriment to run down the ranks and completely obliterated any ill effects that the ill-judged remark had produced. The defence of the fort was in the hands of Latif Ali Beg, an able Mysorean officer and no sooner did the storming party rush to the breach than it was discovered by the Mysore garrison. The fort was instantaneously illuminated with blue lights, and a heavy fire of cannon, musketry and rockets was immediately opened upon the assailants and heavy stones were rolled down which gaining increased power and velocity in their descent made great havoc among the ascending troops. The storming party however effected a lodgement in the breaches which were two in number and having pursued the defenders with sufficient rapidity to prevent their barricading the gate of the inner wall, forced it open and entered the interior of the place. The principal people and fighting men taken were sent as prisoners to Vellore. With the reduction of Nandidoorg, all impediments in the way of free communications between Bangalore and the Eastern Coast were removed.

The other hill-fort Savandoorg was situated on a stupendous rock of granite, 4000 feet above the sea-level. The hill was smooth and precipitous on all sides, with a circumference of about ten miles, being also surrounded at the time by a thick jungle of bamboos and other trees which made the rock difficult of approach. It was however regarded that the capture of this hill-fort was

essential to maintain the line of communications free and Lord Cornwallis accordingly sent in advance a detachment under Colonel Stuart of the Highlanders, while he himself made a disposition of the remainder of the army at a distance of about eight miles from the foot of the hill to watch every avenue from Seringapatam by which the operations of the siege could be disturbed. Colonel Stuart, according to Wilks, encamped within three miles of the place on the 10th of December 1791 and immediately commenced the arduous labour of cutting a gun road through the rugged forest to the foot of the rock. The batteries opened on the 17th and the breach in the lower wall of the rock at a height of about 1500 feet from the base was deemed practicable on the 20th. Lord Cornwallis had at this time arrived from his camp to witness the assault which was delivered on the morning of the 21st December. The defenders were dislodged and the assailants ascended the rock without any material opposition. The Killedar who vigorously defended the fort was killed by a shot and his death made it easy for the pursuers to enter the citadel. The other forts which were either captured or surrendered were Uttaridoorg, Ramgiri and Sivangiri. Huliurdoorg which had been retaken and occupied by the Mysore troops was recaptured by the English and was held as a post of communication and there remained nothing intervening except Kabbaldoorg which was not deemed of sufficient importance for being captured.

Cornwallis' arrangements for the march on Seringapatam were now complete. His communications were protected and supplies of provisions for both men and animals were assured. The army had been all brought up to strength. With the British army of about 22,000 fighting men went the Nizam's contingent of 18,000 under Sikander Jah and a Mahratta army of 12,000 under Haripanth. Abercrombie's army some nine thousand strong from Bombay side had already reached the head of the Ghauts on its way towards Seringapatam. It was also expected that Parasuram Bhow who was engaged in plundering the country between Chitaldrug and Bednore would with his 20,000 men arrive in time to assist the allies.

Lord Cornwallis held a review of all these troops on the 31st January 1792 at which General Meadows, Sikander Jah, the Mahratta chiefs and Sirdars were present, and an English officer who was present at this review has recorded the following description of it. "Many of these dignitaries were seated on magnificently accoutred elephants and were preceded by chopdars calling their titles aloud. They had passed the sepoy's at rather a quick pace but went very slow opposite to the European corps. The troops were all in new clothing, their arms and accoutrements glittering in the sun and themselves as well dressed as they could have been for a review in time of peace; all order and silence, nothing heard or seen but the uniform sound and motion in presenting their arms accompanied by the drums and music of the corps, chequered and separated by the parties of artillery extended at the drag-ropes of their guns. The sight was beautiful even to those accustomed to military parade, while the contrast was no less striking between the good sense of our generals on horseback and the absurd state of the chiefs looking down from their elephants than between the silence and order of the British troops and the noise and irregularity of the mob that accompanied the eastern potentates."

On the 1st of February the allied armies commenced their move on Seringapatam from Huliurdoorg. The British army marched in three columns—the battering tumbrils and heavy carriages advancing by the great road formed the centre column; secondly, a line of infantry with field pieces marched by a parallel road about 100 yards distant; thirdly, the smaller store-carts and baggage proceeded by another road; and beyond these were the camels, elephants, bullocks, coolies and camp followers of every description, the whole flanked by cavalry which formed the advance and rear-guards. Co-laterally with the British troops marched the Hyderabad and Mahratta contingents. As these troops marched, they found every human dwelling in flames. Tippu's cavalry hovered on the flanks of the allied army at a distance and attempted to dispute the passage of the river at Maddur. These horsemen however fell back after some resistance, laying waste the country as they retired. The last day's march was made on the 5th of February along a route passing over some

barren hills and from there the ramparts of Seringapatam became visible. Seringapatam was estimated to be garrisoned by about 45,000 men and 5000 cavalry with 800 cannon. The allied armies had frequently to halt under fiery showers of rockets but steadily pushing on reached their place of encampment near Hirodé, otherwise known as the French Rocks.

During the interval between Cornwallis' retreat and return, Tippu had made some attempts to harass the enemy by sending out divisions of his army to different parts of the country. But his efforts produced little effect and did not prevent Cornwallis from reaching Seringapatam. After Cornwallis took up his position near French Rocks, he found Tippu with the main body of his troops lay encamped between him and the fort of Seringapatam on the northern bank of the Kaveri river. Tippu seems to have done so under the wrong belief that the enemy would not dare to deliver their attack till General Abercrombie who was near Periapatam at some distance on the southern side of the river joined. Cornwallis however was not a man who would allow the grass to grow under his feet and after carrying out a number of reconnaissances he decided that the attack on Tippu's army should take place on the night of the 6th February 1792. The utmost secrecy was maintained, only the British Officers being warned after the termination of the evening parade, while no mention of what was on foot was allowed to reach either the Mahratta troops or the Nizam's contingent until the force detailed for the assault had left on their march. The assaulting troops were divided into three columns and the hour of departure was fixed at 8-30 p.m.

About 11 o'clock the head of the central column encountered some of Tippu's cavalry who were escorting a number of rocket-men proceeding to disturb the sleep of Sikander Jah. The cavalry immediately hurried back carrying the news of the British advance to Tippu's camp. There was at this time on either side of the river opposite to the island of Seringapatam a space of land enclosed by a bound-hedge or fringe of bamboo jungle offering protection against raiding horsemen. Shortly after the central column reached this hedge on the northern bank of the river, it was

met with a very heavy fire. The attacking party however pressed on and reached Tippu's camp which was found evacuated. At the ford which had been chosen for crossing the river, a section of the attacking party found a mass of fugitive Mysorean soldiers, shouting, splashing and falling over one another, but using their bayonets freely, the party reached the southern branch of the river and took up a position on its bank. Another party of the British troops shortly followed and took a position in the pettah of Shahar Ganjam. Various other parties proceeded similarly to occupy suitable positions and in one of these parties was Lord Cornwallis himself. About 1 a. m. there were thus in different parts of the island and just outside it strong detachments in occupation of various important points, though several of the detachments were in complete ignorance of one another.

Later Cornwallis realised that the position where they stood at the time was very insecure inasmuch as when the dawn broke they would be subjected to heavy casualties from the guns of the fortress and a retirement was therefore desirable to the Karighat hill. He accordingly directed Colonel Sandys who was with him to ascertain whether Karighat hill was in possession of the Mysore troops or in that of the British. Colonel Sandys thereupon rode off with an escort. It now became very dark, for the moon was about to set. En route a very broad and deep nullah or channel had to be negotiated and somehow or other Sandys became separated from his escort and reached the opposite bank unattended. Sandys proceeded further alone and on reaching the foot of the hill heard a man coughing. Not knowing whether the cough was that of a friend or of a foe, he rode on up the hill with his sword drawn and pistols cocked. After going a little way, he stopped as a death-like silence reigned which gave him a very weird sensation, but composing himself and looking upward towards the summit of the hill he shouted out at the top of his voice as to who commanded there. Whereupon a figure rising as if out of the ground seized the reins of his horse, while a voice replied that General Meadows commanded. The speaker was Major Close and in a moment General Meadows and the remainder of his staff came crowding up. Colonel Sandys then started back to carry the news to Cornwallis.

Sandys soon met Cornwallis with his men retiring from under the guns of the fort towards Karighat hill and reported to him of his having met General Meadows. On the 7th vigorous attacks were made by Tippu's troops to dislodge the English detachments from their positions on the island but all attempts proved unsuccessful. Tippu then withdrew his forces from the bound-hedge enclosure on the north bank and retreated into the fortress.

In contrast with the above account may be given the account of Kirmani contained in his "Life of Tippu":—"Tippu who was with his army on the north bank of the river and whose spies, scouts and intelligencers had given him no information of the advance of the enemy was completely deceived and as he had no time or opportunity to oppose them ordered his musketeers and archers to file off to the rear and retire to the city and place it in the best order of defence, while he himself mounted his horse and with a few faithful servants turned his face to the field of battle. From the darkness of the night however, the troops fell into disorder and not being able to distinguish friends and foes fought among themselves. In this confusion Imam Khan and Mir Muhammad Siphadar with their regiments arrested the advance of the enemy and performed their duty right manfully but they were at length both slain. During this time General Meadows with the greatest gallantry advanced and at one assault took possession of the walls of the city or the suburb of Ganjam and the Lal Bagh. The loss of these by the neglect of Mehdi Khan, the Naib Dewan, left a great chasm in the foundations of the kingdom, for it happened that on that night the whole of the garrison of the fort above mentioned was sent for without the orders of Tippu under the pretence of distributing pay, and the walls and the towers being left entirely bare of defenders the General was victorious. As soon therefore as the morning dawned, these regiments marched to attack the batteries and advanced to the foot of the ramparts. It happened that the Sipah-Salar of the English army was himself present in the battery and remained firm and drove back the storming party and although they repeated their attacks again and again, victory refused to show them her lovely face, and most of the brave men sacrificed their

lives in these unavailing attacks." Kirmani also has recorded that the Ahmedy Chelas, about 10,000 in number, availing themselves of the confusion which ensued marched off with their wives and children to the western woods of Coorg and thence to their respective homes. Many of the Assud Illahis also took advantage of the same opportunity, and with many fugitives and followers passed over on the Mysore side of the bridge, several of them not stopping till they reached Nanjangud, a distance of 25 miles.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

### **Termination of hostilities and negotiations for peace— Conditions of peace—Surrender of hostages—Return of the confederate armies.**

Cornwallis now began to make vigorous preparations for the siege of the fort. The Bombay army under Abercrombie effected a junction with the British troops at Seringapatam on the 16th February. About this time Parasuram Bhow also reached with a cavalry of 20,000. Lord Cornwallis had also the entire command of the grain merchants in all quarters and supplies of provisions freely reached him. The allies were in exultation on the prospect of capturing the fort and sharing large amounts of prize money. On the 24th February however, the army received orders to discontinue working in the trenches as negotiations for peace were proceeding.

Though it was believed everywhere that Cornwallis held Tippu in the hollow of his hand on account of the advantages he possessed, still when proposals for peace were made, Cornwallis showed no reluctance to enter into negotiations and there were two reasons for such an attitude on his part. The first was that public opinion in England was opposed to further conquests in India and he had been denounced as having gone to war for reasons of personal avarice. Cornwallis at the same time was himself not in favour of entirely crushing Tippu's power, as thereby he thought he would be placing the Mahrattas in a position of such preponderance that a conflict between them and the English would be inevitable. Whatever might have been the working of his mind, it is enough for our purposes here to state that he now showed no disinclination to consider the terms of peace proposed by Tippu.

Tippu even in the previous year had expressed a desire for peace. In August of that year he had sent Appaji Rao to Cornwallis but the mission had proved fruitless. In January following he made a further attempt to induce Cornwallis to receive an envoy, but the latter had replied that he could give no ear to any such proposal till amends were made for the detention of two British

Officers of the Coimbatore garrison as prisoners of war in violation of the terms of capitulation concluded with his commander Kamruddin. Now that the gathering storm was about to burst over his head, Tippu thought more seriously of peace and on the evening of the 8th February sent for these two officers Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash who found him seated in a small tent on the south glacis of the fort plainly attired and with only a few attendants. After acquainting them with the fact of their release, he asked Chalmers if he would see the Governor-General on going to the British Camp. On being answered in the affirmative, he put a letter into that officer's hands saying that it was on the subject of peace and expressing a wish that he should return with an answer and concluded the interview by presenting him two shawls and five hundred rupees. Cornwallis agreed on the 11th February with the concurrence of his two allies to receive an envoy on behalf of Tippu. Gulam Ali who it will be remembered had been sent as an ambassador to Constantinople was selected by Tippu as his envoy and with him was associated Ali Raza of Gurumkonda. They were met on behalf of Lord Cornwallis by Sir John Kennaway, Political Resident at the court of Hyderabad, by Meer Alum on the part of Sikander Jah and by a person deputed by Haripanth who was conversant with revenue matters. Four conferences, each lasting nearly the whole day generally with the intervention of a day for reference and instruction, brought the demands of the confederates to a distinct issue and on the 22nd their final decision was sent to Tippu containing the following conditions:—

1. One half of the Mysore territories as they stood before the commencement of the war was to be ceded to the allies adjoining their respective territories.
2. Three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees to be paid either in Gold Mohars, pagodas, or bullion, half immediately and the other half in instalments.
3. All prisoners of the allied powers from the time of Haidar Ali to be unequivocally restored.
4. The second and third sons of Tippu to be given as hostages for a due fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty,

On the 23rd Tippu assembled his principal officers in the great mosque in the fort and laying before them the Koran adjured them to give him their undisguised opinion on the terms of the ultimatum. The officers unanimously replied that though they were ready to lay down their lives for their master, yet the morale of the army had been considerably shaken and that further fighting was not likely to be attended with success. The preliminary articles duly signed and sealed by Tippu were then sent to Lord Cornwallis on the same day. On the 26th the two hostages Abdul Khalik aged ten and Mohiuddin aged eight were sent to the English camp, and the scene as described by Major General Dirom in his account of the third Mysore War is pathetic.

On the day mentioned, the young hostages left the fort mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant. The ramparts were crowded with soldiers and citizens whose sympathies were deeply excited, while Tippu himself was on the bastion above the main entrance and even he, it is said, found a difficulty in concealing his emotion. As the elephants issued from the archway, the artillery at Seringapatam fired a salute and as they approached the British lines, a salute was also fired there. Sir John Kennaway who negotiated with Tippu's envoys met the young princes with the vakeels of the Nizam and the Mahrattas at the British outposts under a guard of honour and conveyed them with all respect within the British lines. The two boys were each seated in a howdah of chased silver and were attended by their vakeels with 200 sepoy in addition to the body-guards who brought up the rear. The procession was splendid and picturesque in the extreme. It was led by several camel harkars and seven standard bearers carrying small green standards, followed by a hundred pikemen bearing spears inlaid with silver. The princes were received by the troops in line presenting arms, beating drums, and officers in front saluting.

Attended by his staff and the colonels of regiments, Lord Cornwallis received them at the entrance of his tent, where after they had descended from their howdahs, he embraced them and led them in taking each by the hand. Though the children were young, they had been educated with care and the spectators were surprised to find

in them all the reserve, the politeness and attention of maturer years. When Lord Cornwallis had placed one on each side of him as he sat, Gulam Ali surrendered them formally saying:—"These children were till this morning the sons of my master. Their situation is now changed and they must look up to your Lordship as their father." Cornwallis then assured the vakeel that his protection would be fully extended to his interesting hostages and he spoke so kindly and cheerfully that he is said to have at once won the confidence of the two boys. The boys were dressed in flowing robes of white muslin and wore red turbans on their heads, each of which had a bunch of richest pearls. Round their necks were strings of the same jewels, to which was suspended a pendant consisting of an emerald and a ruby of great size surrounded by diamonds. To each boy Lord Cornwallis gave a gold watch and in return he was presented with a fine Persian sword. Then betelnut and attar of roses were distributed and the two boys were next conducted to their own tents under a guard of honour.

It took some time to determine the limits of the territories to be ceded to the allied powers and when at last the schedules were sent to Tippu for inspection and reference, it was found that in the English share Coorg had been included for restoration to the Raja of that country. Tippu is said to have become frantic with rage and to have exclaimed, "To which of the English possessions is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for Seringapatam itself? They know that I sooner would have died in the breach than consent to such a cession and dared not bring it forward until they had obtained possession of my children and treasure." Cornwallis however was unyielding, for the Raja of Coorg, Veera Raj, had been a staunch ally and had proved himself most useful in the military operations against Tippu in that quarter. Tippu showed much vacillation and procrastination in ratifying the treaty but he had to yield to Cornwallis' firmness in the end and the final scene was enacted on the 19th March 1792. At 10 o'clock in the morning of that day the young princes formally delivered the treaty to Lord Cornwallis. Subsequently on the arrival of the vakeels of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, the elder boy receiving two copies of the treaty from the hands of Lord Cornwallis delivered a copy to each

of these vakeels, which he is said to have done with great manliness. The princes having completed the ceremony and delivered this final testimony of their father's submission, took their leave and returned to their tents. Thus ended the last scene of this important war which cost Tippu the loss of 70 fortresses, 800 pieces of cannon, 3 crores and 30 lakhs of rupees, 50,000 men in killed, wounded and missing and the cession of half of his dominions.

The cession of the territories carried the limits of the Mahratta country to the river Thungabhadra, their frontier in 1779, and also restored to Nizam Ali his possessions to the north of the same river and the province of Kadapa to the south which had been lost about the period. The English obtained Malabar and Coorg, the province of Dindigul and Baramahal. Shortly after, Cornwallis returned to Madras with the hostages and the troops of the Nizam and of the Mahrattas also returned to their respective territories.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

**The payment of indemnity and return of hostages—  
Punishment of Palegars—Departmental innovations—Death  
of Chamaraja Wodeyar IX—Attempts to enlist support  
from Foreign Courts.**

After the final conclusion of peace, both Tippu and the confederates were anxious to part as early as possible and accordingly when the latter left his capital, Tippu felt relieved. His first act after the departure of his former enemies was to devise means to collect the balance of the amount of the indemnity still remaining unpaid and thereby to obtain the release of his two sons without any undue delay. He accordingly assembled the chiefs of his army and the heads of departments and announced to them that by consenting to the payment of an indemnity of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees he had purchased their safety as well as his own and he required them to contribute as nuzerana the balance of two crores and twenty lakhs which still remained unpaid in the proportion of sixty lakhs by the army and one crore and sixty lakhs by the civil heads and inhabitants at large. In spite of all attempts to complete the payment early, it occupied two years to finally discharge the burden and it was not till March 1794 that his two sons were able to return to their father from Madras.

Tippu was at the time on a hunting expedition near Devanhalli. On entering their father's tent of audience, says Wilks, accompanied by Captain Doveton, the princes approached with every demonstration of awe and when close to the seat of their father, they placed their heads on his feet. Tippu perfectly silent touched their necks with his hands. They arose and he pointed to their seats. On receiving Captain Doveton's obeisance, he accorded to him a courteous reception and entered into a free conversation with him on some of the topics of the day, such as Lord Macarteny's visit to China, the French Revolution in Europe and some other topics.

Tippu's attention till the commencement of the next war with the English in 1799 was mainly concentrated on the subjugation of some of the palegars who had given him offence, on the introduction of various innovations and on the enlistment of the support of foreign courts to crush the English. Among the palegars who had

shown opposition to Tippu, the principal ones were those of Gudibanda, Maddagiri, Harapanhalli, Punganoor and Oochingidoorg. Syed Sahib was directed to proceed against the palegars of Maddagiri, Gudibanda and of other places and in a short time he inflicted crushing defeats on these offenders. Kamruddin proceeded against Oochingidoorg, a strong hill-fort situated about 12 miles north-east of Harihar, where a person named Basappa Naik had proclaimed himself as the legitimate palegar and occupied the place with a Bedar force of 4000. This palegar offered considerable resistance for a number of months and was only subdued after reinforcements reached Kamruddin under Khan Jehan Khan.\* The fort was successfully assaulted and captured.

---

\* Wilks in his history gives the following particulars regarding this individual. Khan Jehan Khan was born a Brahmin and was at the age of 17 a writer in the service of Sheik Ayaz at Bednore when it surrendered to General Mathews. On the recapture of that place by Tippu, every person who had been in any respect useful to the fugitive was sought for and this youth was forcibly converted to Islam and highly instructed in its doctrines. In 1799 he fell desperately wounded in attempting to clear the breach and repel the assault at Seringapatam. He recovered and was appointed to the command of the Raja's infantry on the restoration of the Hindu Government. He then made advances through the minister Purnaiya to be readmitted to the rank and caste as a Brahmin. A select conclave of Gurus assented to the measure with certain reservations to mark a distinction between him and those who had incurred no lapse from their original purity. But the Khan would have all or none. "I prefer," said he, (when conversing with me on the subject) "the faith of my ancestors, but the fellows wanted to shut up my present road to a better world and would not fairly open the other. I believe I shall not miss my way if I perform my duties in this world according to any of the revelations by which the Almighty has deigned to manifest his Will to the various classes of mankind and I feel myself more respectable with the privileges of a Mussalman than I should with those of a half outcast Brahmin." Before his forcible conversion, he was betrothed or married in the usual form, and the lady on arriving at the proper age sent a message intimating that notwithstanding his change of religion and marriage with a Mahomedan lady, as a Brahmin she could not be the wife of another, she deemed herself bound to regulate her future life according to his commands. After some further messages, she determined to receive his own immediate protection. A separate quarter of the house was allotted for her exclusive use. When he visited her, it was in the Brahmanical costume and he presented himself to his Mahomedan wife as a true Mussalman.

Tippu introduced a number of innovations and a few of them may be mentioned. He discarded corporal punishment to officials which prevailed in the time of his father and instead prescribed an oath to be taken annually by every one of them that he would not embezzle any money, that he would not allow the poor or the peasantry to be oppressed and that he would abstain from forbidden things. In illustration of the oath generally taken by the officers may be given the one taken by Mir Sadak in the month of July 1798.———"Mir Muhammad Sadak, son of Mir Ali Nuki, servant of the Khodadad Sircar do swear by God and engage (to which engagement God and his Prophet and the word of God which is the Imam of true believers are witnesses) to perform my duty to my Lord and Master faithfully, with all my heart and with my four members; that is to say, with my eyes, my ears, my tongue and my hands—that I will study nothing but obedience to my Lord and Master and never act in any instance contrary to my duty or to his interests. And I moreover promise to communicate whatever I shall hear or see to the resplendent Presence. If, however, (which God forbid) I should happen to be guilty of a breach of any of the four obligations above mentioned, or of the obedience which I owe, may God, the most holy and omnipotent and whose name is the Avenger, overwhelm me and mine with his wrath and utterly destroy us."

In the course of this engagement, Mir Sadak undertakes to maintain the concord and union of the people of Islam. He also states that at the time he engaged to serve under his Master, he was possessed of only three pagodas and his family about Rs. 3000 worth of jewellery. Since then he required by the bounty of his Master in cattle, arms, effects, clothes, vessels of brass, jewels, money and presents, including profits and original property, amounting in all to about 1,08,200 rupees, out of which sum he expended during the three years that he laboured under his Master's displeasure and confined himself to his own house about Rs. 15,000. There consequently remained Rs. 93,200. His pay was Rs. 1200 a month.

Notwithstanding these oaths, the officials indulged, according to Kirmani, in various excesses and caused much oppression to the

people, appointed as they were solely on the security of the oaths administered to them and not with reference to any intrinsic merits of their own or of the family to which they belonged. According to the same writer, Tippu from time to time appointed indiscriminately Mussalmans who scarcely could read and write. Wilks also makes the following observations which may be taken for what they are worth. "All candidates for every department were ordered to be admitted and drawn up in line before him, when looking steadfastly at them he would, as if actuated by inspiration, call out in a solemn voice—'Let the third from the left be Asoph or civil Governor of such a district. He with the yellow drawers understands naval affairs, let him be Meer-e-yem or Lord of the Admiralty. He with the long beard and the red turban are to be Amils.' These new officials being illiterate and generally devoid of ability were obliged to avail themselves of the services of the thrown out officials who divested of all responsibility indulged in heavy exactions from the people with part of which they won over their unacknowledged masters to silence." In every district an Asoph was appointed and in the towns yielding a revenue of 5000 huns were placed one Amil or collector, one Sheristadar, one Amin and a few others. These new officials, it is said, abandoning their duties to their irresponsible agents spent their time in witnessing dances and listening to songs. Kirmani plaintively asserts that although the Sultan became apprised of these irregularities, yet keeping in view the oaths of these faithless men, he neither punished the offenders nor did he manifest any anger at their misconduct. He also directed at this time that all accounts should be maintained in Persian.

An old regulation which Tippu had introduced shortly after his accession to power required that the families of all important officials were to reside in the fort of Seringapatam but it had not been strictly enforced. Tippu now insisted on its strict observance and with that object he divided all the buildings in the fort into 10 wards, one of which was allotted to Brahmans filling public offices and the rest to the different officers, civil and military. The Asophs or heads of districts were also included in this arrangement.

But Mir Sadak the minister concerned was generally won over and consequently evasions were frequent and sometimes fictitious families were also substituted. At this time Tippu also issued an order that it was incumbent on the part of every officer of the State to study a code of regulations which he had issued and to refer to it for guidance in all cases of doubt or difficulty. The effect of such a direction was that every officer feared to take any initiative or responsibility even when the occasion needed it. The effect of the innovations introduced by Tippu was, it is stated, that low men and men without abilities were raised to high offices and dignities, while men of rank who had been employed in the highest duties and services were cast down and these latter, in their turn, became the secret instigators of treachery and rebellion. Mir Sadak by various artifices acquired great ascendancy over Tippu's mind, so much so, says Kirmani, that "when he heard complaints against this villain from the mouths of his Amirs, he listened to them but extinguishing the fire of his royal anger with the pure water of clemency and forbearance, he did not in any way discountenance or punish him, but on the contrary, still strove to raise him to the highest dignities and threw the mantle of mercy and kindness over his crimes." Wilks cites an incident which goes to confirm this expression of opinion on the part of Kirmani. On one occasion the ryots of a taluk at some distance from Seringapatam trusting to the authentic evidence of the village accounts and the plain simplicity of their case assembled to the number of 6,000 persons accompanied by the village accountants to submit their grievances to their ruler at Seringapatam. "Their spokesmen were admitted to an audience. The accounts of the sums extorted were indisputable and Mir Sadak frankly admitted the facts but affirmed, though not true, that the whole had been carried to the account of Nuzerana, which in the eyes of Tippu covered any enormity. The minister however was not satisfied with this justification, but in a separate interview with the landholders gave his own explanation of the Nuzerana demanded by necessity, represented to them the Sultan's grief and displeasure at the ingratitude of his subjects, and pledged himself that no further contributions should be levied if they would consent to an augmentation of 30 per cent on the fixed revenue. He then told

them that he had it in contemplation to relieve them for a small commutation from two sources of exaction which he knew to be severe—the money-changers shops of the Government and the monopoly of tobacco. To the Sultan he then returned to represent the ill consequence of countenancing groundless complaints and the admission of the fact which he held in his hand in the spontaneous assent of the husbandmen to add 30 per cent to their annual payments which the deputation at the door was ready to confirm, but that they were particularly anxious for the abolition of the monopoly of the money-changers and of tobacco and that they would perhaps consent on these conditions to a further small augmentation. The Sultan was delighted with the proposal and a compromise was made of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on these accounts, making the whole augmentation equal to  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

“But Mir Sadak was not yet satisfied. After obtaining the assent of the landholders to the formal instrument and presenting it to the Sultan, he took the opportunity of summing up the facts of the case. That persons who could by their own confession and written agreement afford such an augmentation of their payments should assemble in a tumultuous manner to interrupt the ordinary business of Government by a false charge against the officers of revenue was unpardonable, but that as the interests of Government demanded lenity he would only recommend the execution of two of the ringleaders. The chief spokesmen, the most intelligent and active of the patels, were accordingly hanged in the presence of the astonished husbandmen. The whole dispersed. The same exaction was on the authority of this spontaneous increase extended to the rest of the country and no praise was deemed adequate to the merits of a minister who by an operation so simple had raised the land revenue in the extraordinary proportion of  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.” Events such as these gave an unenviable notoriety to Mir Sadak and even at the present day his name has become synonymous in the popular mind for a person who will not stop at any treachery.

In 1796 Chamaraja Wodeyar IX died of small-pox, leaving a son subsequently known as Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar, then

two years old. As long as Chamaraja Wodeyar lived, the customary Dasara durbars were held and the Raja showed himself to the people seated on his throne. On the death of this Raja however, Tippu omitted to instal his young son on the throne.

During all these years Tippu had never forgotten the humiliation to which he was subjected by Cornwallis by the treaty of Seringapatam. Cornwallis left India in October 1793 and was succeeded by Sir John Shore who had received strict instructions both by the ministry in England and by the Court of Directors to avoid intervention in the affairs of the Indian Princes and to maintain an attitude of rigid neutrality. Tippu found it therefore easy to carry on negotiations with foreign courts under various ostensible pretexts but in reality for obtaining aid for the annihilation of the English power in India.

He also found occasion to encourage Ali Jah, Nizam Ali's son who had risen in rebellion against his father. Nizam Ali had some years before rejected a matrimonial alliance proposed by Tippu and the latter's mind had further been embittered by Nizam Ali associating with Cornwallis in the recent war. But before any help could reach him from Mysore, Ali Jah was defeated and taken prisoner by M. Raymond who commanded the Nizam's French contingent of troops. Khadir Hussain Khan, Tippu's agent found that he had arrived too late and the object of his arrival was also suspected. He now, says Wilks, instead of destroying his documents resolved with great impudence to provide himself with proofs of innocence. At this time it was one of Tippu's innovations to seal his letters with wax instead of an impression with ink as was customary and these waxen seals Khadir Hussain very dexterously removed from the letters addressed to Ali Jah and his associates to letters of his own composition addressed to Nizam Ali and some of his courtiers who had influence with him.

Next, in devising schemes for crushing the Mahrattas and the English, Tippu had found means through his agents at Delhi of opening correspondence with the ministers of Zaman Sha, King of Afghanistan. Early in 1796 an embassy was sent to Kabul with

instructions to the ambassadors to conceal their political object, to proceed by the way of Cutch where a commercial factory had been already established, thence to Karachi in Sind on the pretence of establishing another factory, and from there to obtain safe conduct through Baluchistan on the pretext of proceeding to visit the holy tombs in Persia and thus make their way to Kabul. The plan proposed to Zaman Sha in the first year was the conquest of Delhi, the expulsion of the Mahrattas under whose domination the Mughal Emperor Shah Alum was at the time and the consolidation of the Empire of Hindusthan. In the second year, an Afghan army was to invade the Mahratta dominions in the Deccan from the north, while Tippu should assail them from the south and it was considered that when these objects were effected, the destruction of the English power could be easily achieved. Zaman Sha however though he approved of the plans proposed and though he made some preparations for the invasion of India, still on account of internecine quarrels in his own dominions was prevented from proceeding further in his objects. About this time the Crown Prince of Persia on account of the opposition and enmity of a eunuch of his father's court was obliged to quit his own country and in the course of his wanderings arrived at Seringapatam. Tippu lodged him in the suburb of Ganjam and treated him with great liberality and consideration. After some time this prince was invited by several of his amirs to return to his country and at the time of parting Tippu exhorted him to join Zaman Sha and himself to regulate, as he said, the affairs of Hindusthan.

In October 1795 Peshwa Madhava Rao died and Tippu expecting that Baji Rao, son of Raghunatha Rao, his father's old friend would succeed to the place sent a secret envoy by name Balaji Rao to convey his congratulations as well as to conclude an alliance with him against the English. Balaji Rao however on arriving at Poona found that Nana Fadnavis was supporting the claim of a child given out as the son of the deceased Peshwa, while Dowlat Rao Scindia supported the claim of Baji Rao, son of Ragunatha Rao. Balaji Rao contrived to obtain a secret interview with Baji Rao and represented to him that the respective fathers of Tippu and Baji Rao had been close political associates, that Nana

Fadnavis had been the cause of his father's banishment and death and of placing on the gadi a spurious child as the son of the deceased Madhava Rao and had been equally the source of Tippu's misfortunes by promoting the triple confederacy of 1790 against him. Baji Rao however contented himself by giving Balaji Rao general assurances of his good-will towards his master and Balaji Rao had ultimately to leave Poona, carrying to Seringapatam only these assurances.

During this period Tippu also made incessant efforts to obtain help from the French Government in Paris, ascribing his misfortune in 1792 to the jealousy of the English on account of his friendship with the French. In the early part of 1797 a vessel arrived at Mangalore from the Isle of France under the command of a person named Ripaud and solicited help for repair, as it had been much damaged. Gulam Ali, the former ambassador to France was the chief naval officer at this port. He had a conversation with Ripaud and as a result reported to Tippu that this person had been specially instructed to touch at Mangalore for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the Sultan regarding the co-operation of a French force which was ready at the Isle of France for the expulsion from India of their common enemy the English. Under instructions from Tippu, Ripaud was sent to Seringapatam, where in spite of the advice of his ministers who suspected Ripaud as an imposter Tippu purchased his vessel and in October 1797 two envoys with Ripaud were sent to the Isle of France and they arrived at Port Louis on the 19th January 1798.

These envoys were sent in the guise of merchants with a false passport and fictitious commercial orders and were also strictly enjoined to conceal the political character of their mission. General Malartic, the Governor of the Isle of France, however becoming aware of the rank of his visitors received them with open honours. The envoys found that Ripaud was a liar and that there was no force waiting to proceed to India for the Sultan's help. Malartic, however, immediately despatched messages to Paris to the Executive Directory there apprising them of the succour required by Tippu and he also proceeded to raise a corps of volunteers. For

this purpose he published a proclamation on the 30th January 1798 in the Isles of France and Bourbon.

“Liberty! Equality!! The French Republic one and indivisible!!!

“Proclamation by Anne Joseph Hippolite Malartic, Commander-in-chief and Governor-General of the Isles of France and Reunion (Bourbon) and of all the French settlements eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

“Citizens! Having for several years known your zeal and attachment to the interest and glory of our republic, we are very anxious and feel it a duty to make you acquainted with the propositions which have been made to us by Tippu Sultan who has sent two ambassadors to us. This prince has written letters to the colonial Assembly as well as to all Generals employed under this Government and has addressed a packet to us for the Executive Directory.

“He desires to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the French and proposes to maintain at his charge as long as the war shall last in India the troops which may be sent to him. He promises to furnish every necessary for carrying on the war, wine and brandy excepted, with which he is wholly unprovided. He declares that he has made every preparation to receive the succours which may be sent to him and that on the arrival of the troops the commanders will find everything necessary for engaging in a war.

“In a word, he awaits the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India.....We invite the citizens who may be disposed to enter as volunteers to enrol themselves in their respective municipalities and to serve under the banners of Tippu. This prince also desires to be assisted by free citizens of colour. We therefore invite all such who are willing to serve under his flag to enrol themselves.

“We ensure all citizens who shall enrol that Tippu will allow them an advantageous rate of pay, the terms of which will be fixed

with ambassadors, who will further engage in the name of their Sovereign that all Frenchmen who may enter into his armies shall never be detained after they have expressed a wish to return to their own country.

“Done at Port North-West, the 30 January 1798.”

“Malartic.”

This proclamation in spite of all the promises made did not bring to the standard more than 99 volunteers and with these the two envoys Hussain Ali and Sheik Ibrahim landed at Mangalore on the 27th April 1798, one day after the Earl of Mornington, the successor of Sir John Shore, landed at Madras.

To the appeal for help sent to the Directory at Paris, Tippu received the following letter from Napoleon Bonaparte forwarded through the Sheriff of Mecca:—

**Liberty! Equality! Bonaparte,**

*Member of the National Convention,*

*General-in-chief,*

*Headquarters at Cairo, 7th Pulviso,*

*7th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.*

To

THE MOST MAGNIFICENT SULTAN,

OUR GREATEST FRIEND TIPPU SAHIB.

“You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea with an innumerable and invincible army full of the desire of relieving you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you by the way of Muscat and Mocha as to your political situation.

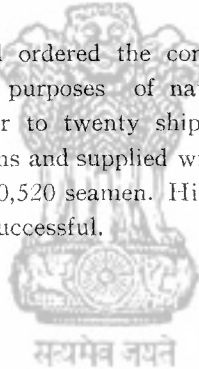
“I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo possessing your confidence, with whom I might confer.

“Bonaparte.”

Various defensive works during this period were also ordered by Tippu including the repair of the fort of Seringapatam. At this time however, the corps of pioneers maintained by Haidar for

military purposes in war and useful labours in peace had been suffered to be reduced to a number not exceeding one thousand. An edict was now issued by Tippu for collecting 20,000 men including masons and this was attempted to be done by seizing certain classes of men with their families and settling them at Seringapatam until the works should be completed. The men thus forcibly collected naturally worked with extreme reluctance and whenever they found opportunities, they deserted their posts. Such desertions multiplying in number, it became necessary in order to fill the vacancies by forcibly seizing in taluks husbandmen not accustomed to such works and without regard to their social standing. This forced labour gave rise to much misery on the part of the people and led to considerable corruption to evade compulsory enlistment.

In 1793 Tippu had ordered the construction of a fleet of one hundred ships for purposes of naval warfare but in 1796 he reduced this number to twenty ships of the line and twenty frigate mounted with guns and supplied with all military provisions and also provided with 10,520 seamen. His attempt in this direction however did not prove successful.



## CHAPTER XXV.

### **Lord Mornington's proposal to Tippu to send an agent to his court and his reply.**

Lord Mornington arrived in Calcutta from Madras in May 1798 and took charge of his high office from Sir John Shore. The latter had begun his career as an officer of the East India Company and on assuming the office of the Governor-General showed himself always ready to carry out the mandates of his masters which were pre-eminently based on the maxims of the counter. His policy as far as it related to the rulers of the Indian States was one of *laissez-faire* or non-intervention with their concerns and his attention was much fixed on securing large dividends to the share-holders of the Company. Lord Mornington's mind was of a far different mould and he was under no obligation to the East India Company. He is regarded with Clive and Hastings as one of the great trio who mainly secured for the British people their Indian Empire. In 1793 Mornington was appointed a Member of the Board of Control and ever after he made it a point to acquire a close acquaintance with Indian subjects. He was 38 years of age when he arrived in India and was in the full vigour of his manhood. His younger brother Arthur Wellesley who became known to history later as the great Duke of Wellington was already in India as commander of a British regiment having arrived in the previous year.

Shortly after Lord Mornington took charge of his office, he found inserted in a Calcutta newspaper of the 8th June 1798 a copy of Malartic's proclamation to which reference has already been made. On the 18th of June a copy of this same proclamation was officially received by Mornington from Lord Macartenev who at that time was Governor of the Cape Colony. Two days later, Mornington wrote to the Governors of Madras and Bombay sending them a copy each of Malartic's proclamation and inviting them to make preparations for war. In October following he also received information from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors who were in communication with the ministry in England that a very large armament of ships with troops and military stores had sailed

from Toulon on the 19th May their destination being unknown, that it was likely that they were intended for India either by way of the Red Sea or by way of Bussora, that the British Government were sending a large body of seasoned and well-disciplined troops to strengthen those already available in India and that if Tippu's designs should prove to be such as the proclamation represented, his attack should not be awaited but war was to be anticipated and carried into the Mysore country.

Mornington's letter to the Madras Government to be ready for war caused them much alarm and a vehement protest was made against any premature attack on the Mysore Ruler on the ground that the troops in Madras were in a disabled condition on account of lack of sufficient supplies and draught cattle as well as the low state of their finances. Mornington however was made of sterner stuff and would not sit quiet folding his hands under what in his opinion was a menacing situation threatening the very existence of the British in India. In a minute which he recorded on 12th August 1798 he reviewed all the facts of the case as they appeared to him and remarked—"This therefore is not the case of an injury to be repaired but of the public safety to be secured against the present and the future designs of an irreconcilable, desperate and treacherous enemy. Against an enemy of this description no effectual security can be obtained otherwise than by such a reduction of his power as shall not only defeat his actual preparations but establish a permanent restraint on his future means of offence." He however at the same time saw the unwisdom of immediately embarking on a war with Tippu and accordingly issued suitable orders for the remodelling of the troops and for other measures being undertaken which would bring success to them in their hostilities against their enemy.

At the same time Mornington took note of the political situation in India as it affected the British interests. A rumour had reached India at the time that Bonaparte with a large French army had landed and taken possession of Egypt with the object of invading India. The French influence had also become predominant both at the court of the Nizam as well as in that of Dowlat

Rao Scindia. The Nizam far from being an independent ruler had become a tributary to the Mahrattas after his defeat and capitulation at Kurdla due mainly to the policy of Sir John Shore who had withheld all help from him. There was a French contingent of 14,000 men at the Nizam's court and the officers of the contingent had possession of a considerable portion of the Nizam's territories adjoining the Carnatic from the revenues of which they paid themselves the cost they incurred. The Mahratta Government of Poona had also become largely incapable of affording such aid to the British on account of internal feuds which had practically placed all power in the hands of Dowlat Rao Scindia. By gaining this influence over the Government of the young Peshwa Baji Rao, Dowlat Rao had enabled himself to extend his power up to the northern frontier of Tippu's dominions. It was doubtful whether Scindia's interests coincided with those of the British at this time. There was also at his court a body of infantry raised, disciplined and commanded by French officers, making it doubtful as to the exact line of conduct Scindia would pursue in case of a war between Tippu and the British. There was also considerable apprehension in the country that Zaman Shah, King of Afghanistan, was making preparations for an immediate invasion of India.

After the defeat of the Nizam at Kurdla, the Mahrattas had compelled him to send back to the Company's territories the British battalions stationed at his capital. The Nizam however subsequently taking advantage of the weakness of the Mahratta Government at Poona had recalled the British battalions to his territories. Lord Mornington entered into a fresh treaty with him on 1st September 1798 by which the Nizam agreed to the increase of British force by four more battalions and to the disbandment of the French corps. When Lord Mornington assumed the Governor-Generalship, he found that though Dowlat Rao Scindia possessed great influence and power over the other Mahratta chiefs, the same had by no means been consolidated. A formidable rebellion prevailed in his territories north of the Narmada encouraged by his uncle Mahadaji Scindia. The confusion in the southern parts of the Mahratta Empire due to the contest for the possession of power at Poona had not also subsided. Scindia however was not uninterested in the

expected invasion of India by Zaman Shah, as the first effects of such an invasion would have been felt by him and his safety therefore lay in his friendship with the British Government. In these circumstances Lord Mornington rightly calculated that in his war with Tippu he need apprehend no danger from the Mahrattas. About this time Mornington also received information of the battle of the Nile in which the French fleet had been totally destroyed by Nelson.

By about the beginning of November 1798 the British army became concentrated and ready for the field and Lord Mornington now assumed an open tone. In a letter addressed by him to Tippu on the 8th November occur these sentences :—“.....In no age or country were the baneful and insidious arts of intrigue cultivated with such success as are at present by the French nation. I wish that no impression had been produced on your discerning mind by that dangerous people, but my situation enables me to know that these people have reached your presence and have endeavoured to pervert the wisdom of your councils and to instigate you to war against those who have given you no provocation. It is impossible that you should suppose me to be ignorant of the intercourse which subsists between you and the French, whom you know to be the inveterate enemies of the Company and to be now engaged in an unjust war with the British nation. You cannot imagine me to be indifferent to the transactions which have passed between you and the enemies of my country. ....Adverting to your reputation for wisdom and discernment, it was natural for me to be extremely slow to believe the various accounts transmitted to me of your military preparations. But whatever my reluctance to credit such reports might be, prudence required both of me and of the Company's allies that we should adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence and these have accordingly been taken, as you will no doubt have observed. The British Government and the allies wishing nevertheless to live in peace and friendship with all their neighbours, entertaining no projects of ambition nor any views in the least incompatible with their respective engagements and looking to no other objects than the permanent security and tranquillity of their own dominions and subjects will always be

ready, as they now are, to afford you every demonstration of their pacific disposition. The Peshwa and His Highness the Nizam concur with me in the observations which I have offered to you in this letter and which in the name of the Company and of the allies I recommend to your most earnest consideration. But as I am also desirous of communicating to you on behalf of the Company and their allies a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, I propose to depute to you for this purpose Major Doveton who is well-known to you and who will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself and the allies of the Company to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion and of establishing peace and good understanding on the most durable foundations. You will, I doubt not, let me know at what time and place it will be convenient to you to receive Major Doveton and as soon as your friendly letter shall reach me, I will direct him to proceed to your presence."

Tippu however put off sending a reply to Mornington's letter till the 18th December and on that date he acknowledged the letter and at the same time congratulated the British on the success of the battle of the Aboukir Bay in Egypt. "In this Sircar," added Tippu, "there is a mercantile tribe who employ themselves in trading by sea and land. Their agents purchased a two-masted vessel and having loaded her with rice departed with a view to traffic. It happened that she went to the Maritius, from whence forty persons French and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers and the rest servants, paying the hire of the ship came here in search of employment. Such as chose to take service were entertained and the remainder departed beyond the confines of this Sircar and the French who are full of vice and deceit have perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ship to put about reports with the view to ruffle the minds of both Sircars. It is the wish of my heart and my constant endeavour to observe and maintain the articles of the agreement of peace and to perpetuate and strengthen the basis of friendship and union with the Sircar of the Company Bahadur and with the Sircars of the Maharaja Sahib Sreemanta Peshwa Bahadur and His Highness the Nawab Asuph

Jah Bahadur. I am resident at home, at times taking the air and at others amusing myself with hunting at a spot which is used as a pleasure-ground. In this case the allusion to war in your friendly letters has given me the greatest surprise. It was further written by your friendly pen that your Lordship is desirous of communicating to me on behalf of the Company and their allies a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties. Your Lordship proposes to depute to me for this purpose Major Doveton who formerly waited upon me and who will explain to me more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to your Lordship and the allies to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all distrust and suspicion and establishing peace and good understanding on the most durable foundations and that therefore your Lordship may trust that I shall let you know at what time and place it will be convenient to me to receive Major Doveton....”

Before the above reply of Tippu could reach Mornington, the latter had left Calcutta on the 25th December 1798 and arrived at Madras on the 31st of the same month. After the perusal of Tippu's reply on the 9th January 1799 when it reached him, Mornington again wrote to him recapitulating all the acts of hostility on Tippu's part and again pressing him to accept an envoy. On the 26th of the same month, the Governor-General also forwarded to the Mysore Ruler a letter addressed to him by Sultan Selim of Turkey, dated 20th September 1798, and received through the British ambassador at Constantinople informing Tippu of the unprovoked attack of the French on Egypt and their defeat at the battle of the Nile and counselling him to develop his friendship with the English who had helped the Turkish Government in the defence of Egypt. Early in February, Tippu acknowledged both these letters in the following terms: “I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your Lordship's two friendly letters, the first brought by a camelman and the last by harkars and understood their contents. The letter of the Turkish Sultan in station like Jumsheid, with angles as his guards, with troops numerous as the stars, the Sun illumining the world of the heaven of Empire and dominion, the luminary giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory and power, the Sultan of the sea and the land,

the King of Rourm, be his empire and power perpetual addressed to me which reached you through the British envoy and which you transmitted has arrived. Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunting, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton slightly attended, about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written.....”

This letter reached Mornington on the 13th February 1799. But two days before on the 11th February the British troops from their camp near Vellore had begun their march on the Mysore territory with General Harris as their commander-in-chief.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

### **The last Mysore War—The English army on the march—Junction with the Hyderabad Contingent—Battle of Siddeswar—Battle of Malavalli.**

Mornington on receipt of Tippu's letter did not consider it prudent to countermand the army from marching further and he merely contented himself by entrusting to General Harris a letter addressed to Tippu expressing his regret that his urgent representations of dangers arising from delay had produced no effect and that the necessities of the season had forced him to set the army in motion for the common security of the allies, that the deputation of Major Doveton was no longer necessary and that General Harris the commander-in-chief of the advancing army had been empowered to receive any embassy that Tippu might despatch.

The troops under General Harris were comprised of 15,000 infantry, 2,600 cavalry, 600 European artillery men, 2,500 gun-lascars and pioneers with 100 guns. An army numbering 6,400 men was also despatched from Bombay under General Stuart to march through the friendly country of Coorg and join the main army at Seringapatam. A fleet under Admiral Rainier was directed to the Malabar coast to meet the French fleet, if any portion of the latter should arrive with reinforcements for the Sultan. A contingent under Arthur Wellesley consisting of 6,500 subsidiary and 3,600 of the old French corps, with 6,000 horse, regular and irregular, also marched from Hyderabad to effect a junction with Harris' troops at a convenient place. Including the large number of followers, the army in the aggregate was estimated to consist of a quarter of a million men and together with the animals was calculated to cover an area of 18 square miles when on the march.

On the 22nd February 1799 General Harris was invested not only with unrestricted military powers but also with all the civil authority of the Governor-General in the new circumstances in which he was placed. At the same time he was provided with the help of a political and diplomatic commission consisting of five members, one of whom was Colonel Arthur Wellesley. Morning-

ton's instructions impressed upon Harris and the members of the commission the advisability of availing themselves of the discontent and disaffection which, it was believed, prevailed among the tributaries and the principal officers of Tippu Sultan. One of the papers sent by Mornington was a memorandum of a most secret and delicate nature relating to the old Hindu Royal family of Mysore. In this connection, the commissioners were required to acquaint themselves with the feelings of the people in Mysore in general with a view to the practicability of restoring that family. He impressed upon the minds of the members of the commission the need of particular discretion and secrecy in this matter for the sake of the personal safety of the surviving adherents of the ancient family of the Rajas of Mysore and even of the Rani herself, as otherwise the most dreadful scene of vengeance and slaughter would be the probable consequence of Tippu's receiving the slightest intimation of the contents of the memorandum which he impressed should be destroyed immediately after perusal.

Lord Mornington was intimately acquainted with the inner workings of human nature and a private letter he wrote to Lord Harris on the 23rd February 1799 bears ample testimony to this trait of his character. In this letter Mornington said that Harris possessed every advantage which the most sanguine mind could expect or the most anxious could desire in the strength of his own army, in the cordiality of the allies, in the comparative weakness and dejection of their enemy, in the support of the Government under which he acted, in the ability of the counsels which he could command and in the unity and simplicity of the object which he was directed to pursue and concluded the letter with these words:—  
 “My dear General,—I take my leave of you (I trust for a very short period of time) in the firm conviction that within a few weeks I shall have the satisfaction of congratulating you on the prosperous issue of a service combining more solid advantages and more brilliant distinctions than the favour of fortune, season and circumstances ever placed within the reach of any British subject in India from the earliest success of our arms up to the present day.”

Tippu on learning that the British army had been put in motion towards the Mysore territory and not having received any

reply from Lord Mornington to his last letter seems to have concluded that it was no longer safe for him to rely on negotiations for the settlement of their differences and accordingly leaving the whole of the Silledar and three thousand of the State horse with some infantry under Syed Sahib and Purnaiya to watch the movements of General Harris, he proceeded with the remainder of his army by forced marches by the route of Kannambadi towards Periapatna, where the Bombay army was expected. This army under the command of General Stuart leaving Cannanore on the 21st February 1799 reached the Mysore frontier about the 2nd March and took up its position in three divisions. The advance division taking its position at Siddeswar 7 miles distant from Periapatna, the remaining two divisions at distances of eight and twelve miles respectively from the advance post. On the morning of the 5th March a British reconnoitering party observed from the top of the Siddeswar hill an extensive encampment being formed on the Coorg side of the fort of Periapatna which assumed a very formidable appearance and covered a great extent of ground before the close of the evening numbering from three to four hundred tents including a tent of green colour indicating the presence of Tippu. On the morning of the 6th March, an attack was launched by the Mysore army against the British force at Siddeswar, but by the timely arrival of General Stuart it was saved from destruction. Muhammad Raza, commonly known as Benki Nawab, which name one of the streets in the Mysore town even now bears was killed in this battle. Tippu was however unable to achieve his object of driving back the enemy and soon after as he received news of the nearer approach of General Harris' army, he struck his tents and reached Seringapatam on the 14th of March. At the battle of Siddeswar the Mysore troops are stated to have been clad in a purple woollen stuff with white squares called a tiger-jacket, a red turban, a waist cloth, sandal slippers and leather crossbelts. They had also French firelocks.

By this time General Harris was almost within sight of Bangalore. On the 17th February five days after the British army began its march from Vellore, a large body of the Nizam's troops,

horse and foot, under Meer Alum joined the main British army at Gudiatham. On the 20th February General Harris and Meer Alum had a meeting in the forenoon in a tent pitched half-way between the two camps at which many of the principal officers of the British army and of the Nizam's cavalry attended. On the 21st February Meer Alum paid General Harris a visit of ceremony in the morning, which the General returned in the afternoon, the Nizam's infantry being drawn out in the form of a street leading to Meer Alum's tent. On the 1st March when the army was halting at Coramangalam, a review was held to give an opportunity to Meer Alum to see the British troops under arms. On the morning of the 5th March a body of troops was sent from Rayakota to take possession of two hill-forts Neeladoorg and an other just within the Mysore boundary at that time. On the 6th March the Mysore frontier was crossed by the allied army and General Harris published a proclamation of the Governor-General entrusted to his hands in which all the reasons justifying the hostile operations against Tippu were found enumerated. The letter of the Governor-General addressed to Tippu was also despatched to him on the same day by the commander-in-chief. General Harris also published a proclamation on his own account as well as that of the allies assuring the inhabitants of the country that they had come not to make war on them, defenceless as they were, but only to frustrate the ambitious designs of Tippu. From Neeladoorg onwards Mysore horsemen destroyed all forage and crop in front as the British army advanced. While the army was on the move to the next camp on the 10th March, several of the Mysore horsemen were very daring, some of them coming within pistol-shot of the head of the advance guard but content only with burning the dry forage in the neighbourhood of the route of the army and the camp. Here an incident is stated to have occurred which exposed to imminent danger Colonel Close who later became British Resident in Mysore and whose name the town of Closepet situated on the Bangalore-Mysore railway line even now bears. Colonel Close having rode up to a village about a mile in front of the army line where there was some forage saw a few horsemen whom he mistook for the Nizam's men and therefore paid no attention to them.

They allowed him to cross them at the distance of a few yards. When however he had turned a corner of the village and they had got between him and the British army, they charged him. Colonel Close clapped spurs to his horse and though for some time his enemies kept close to him, his horse an Arabian getting heated and animated on coming to some rough ground carried him clear off after a pursuit of about a mile. On the 14th March, General Harris' army encamped within sight of Bangalore. On the 21st the army reached Kankanhalli halting on the way at Kaglipura, Harohalli and a few other places. On the morning of the 27th Harris reached Malavalli overcoming all harassments on the way by the Mysore troops.

By this time Tippu leaving Seringapatam had taken up a position about three miles to the west of the fort of Malavalli with the main body of his troops and with his preparations complete to offer battle. Among the officers present with him were Kamruddin, Purnaiya and Syed Sahib. While the ground for the encampment of the English troops was being marked at about 10 o'clock in the morning, a few shots fired by the Mysore troops fell in the lines marked and the measures adopted to ward off these shots soon led to a general action which continued till about 2 o'clock and then ceased by the retreat of the Mysore army towards Bannur, 12 miles to the west. A condensed description of this battle may be of some interest. The attacking body of the Mysore horse of about 1,500 was formed in a compact, wedge-like shape, with the front angle headed by two enormous elephants bearing howdahs filled with distinguished officers. Each of these elephants held in its proboscis a huge iron chain, which it whirled about with great rapidity causing much damage. A vigorous conflict ensued by a discharge on the part of the Mysoreans of their pistols and carbines which was met by the troops on the side of the British by a volley followed by a rapid firing and on the smoke clearing away, a literal rampart of men and horses was seen encumbering the earth, many of them rolling about in agony, while the elephants maddened by their many bullet wounds retreated frantically to the rear treading the dead and the dying under foot and swinging their chains right and left among the fleeing cavalry. The howdahs from

which the leading chiefs had directed the charge were dashed to atoms and several of these brave men's heads hung from the backs of the enraged animals and the scene was terrific with horses rearing and crushing their riders to death, other loose and wounded horses scouring the plain on all sides. A column of the Mysoreans in another part of the field 2,000 strong hurled themselves against a British regiment. But Arthur Wellesley, the future hero of a hundred battles, poured a deadly volley with terrible effect and drove back the Mysoreans. Even Kirmani has admitted in his "Life of Tippu" that "as good fortune and prosperity had turned their backs on the Sultan's army and as the signs of mischance and bad fortune every day manifested themselves more and more, many of the unfortunate soldiers gave up their lives gratuitously and the rest regularly and with slow steps retired from the field. This undoubtedly was all predestined and under the power and control of no one. The English army therefore gained the victory and were much elated."

In contrast to these gloomy observations of Kirmani may be given those of Arthur Wellesley contained in a letter written to his brother Lord Mornington on the day the British army reached Seringapatam—"In the action of the 27th March at Malavalli, Tippu's troops behaved better than they were ever known to behave. His infantry advanced and almost stood the charge of bayonets of the 33rd regiment and his cavalry rode at General Baird's European brigade. He did not support them as he ought having drawn off his guns at the moment we made our attack and even pushed forward these troops to cover the retreat of our guns. This is the cause of the total destruction of the troops he left behind him without loss to us and the panic with which, we have reason to believe, his troops are now affected. His light cavalry and others are the best of the kind in the world. They have hung upon us night and day from the moment we entered his country to this. Some of them have always had sight of us and have been prepared to cut off any persons venturing out of the reach of our camp-guards. We came by a road so unfrequented that it was not possible to destroy all the forage, which would have distressed us much even in that way as would be expected from them. If Tippu

had had sense and spirit sufficient to use his cavalry and infantry as he might have done, I have no hesitation in saying that we should not now be here and probably should not be out of the jungles near Bangalore."



## CHAPTER XXVII.

**Meeting of Tippu and his officers at Bannur—General Harris crosses at Sosalé instead of at Arakere—Siege of Seringapatam—Tippu's ineffective negotiations with Harris for peace.**

Foiled as he was in his attempt to obstruct and protract the enemy's march till the monsoon broke and the Kaveri filled with floods, a great gloom seems to have taken possession of Tippu's mind and he summoned a conference of all his officers on the 31st March at Bannur. At this conference every officer is said to have vowed to sacrifice his life in the Sultan's cause and the scene when parting at the end of the conference is said to have been a very pathetic one. Tippu expected that Harris would take the route to Seringapatam which Cornwallis had taken in 1792 and would cross the Kaveri at Arakere. He accordingly made all his preparations to meet an attack on the north-east side of the fort. To this end, he destroyed all supplies in the country to the north of the island, while preserving them for his own troops on the southern side. Mir Sadak was now sent to superintend the destruction of all the buildings on the esplanade on the side of the expected attack and such of those in Shahar Ganjam as had not already been destroyed.

On the 28th March General Harris left Malavalli to proceed to Seringapatam and camped at a distance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles. He secretly entertained the idea of crossing the river Kaveri at Sosalé and in order to ascertain the feasibility of doing so, sent from his new camp a small reconnoitering party under Major Allan. This officer with his party galloped over a distance of twelve miles without attracting notice and reached Sosalé just as it was getting dark, and after ascertaining the nature of the ford returned to the camp about midnight. It was found that there were a great many inhabitants at Sosalé with all the cattle of the adjacent country. One Srinivasiah who apparently was an interpreter accompanied Major Allan on horseback and spread a rumour that the party had been sent by Tippu to inform the inhabitants to remain where they were. Assured by the results of the reconnoissance of an easy

passage for the army across the river at the ford at Sosalé, Harris started on the 29th and suddenly turning towards the south instead of marching towards the north as expected by Tippu reached Sosalé without meeting any opposition on the way to the amazement of the inhabitants of the country who regarded the party which had visited them the previous day as a friendly party. Immediately on reaching the river, as it was considered desirable to secure the passage at once, a detachment crossed the river and encamped on the other side.

On the 30th the whole of the army crossed the river leaving a small battalion in the fort at Sosalé to guard the rear. A great store of grain was found in the neighbourhood of the encampment and many bullocks and sheep were brought by the followers. On the 1st April General Harris resumed his march and encamped at Rangasamudram. Here a considerable body of Tippu's troops was found on a height at some distance apparently reconnoitering the British army. On the 2nd April the army reached Harohalli from where a number of crimson umbrellas were seen indicating the presence of a number of high officers of Tippu. On the 3rd April the army made a short march and encamped at a distance of about a mile from the island. On the advance guard coming to the ground of encampment, a very large body of Tippu's regular cavalry showed themselves in front on the south side of the Kaveri near the Chendgal ford but made no attempt whatsoever to oppose the enemy. From the ground near the advance piquet of this camp Harris was able to obtain a fine view of Seringapatam. A great many troops were found encamped on the east face of the fort and people were seen moving in all directions in the island. On the 4th the whole force marched to Nava Shahar about 5 miles south of Seringapatam. Except that a few rockets were thrown by the rocket boys of Tippu, nothing material was attempted to molest the enemy. On the 5th April the army marched and took up its ground before Seringapatam about 2 miles and a half from the south-west face of the fort causing surprise to Tippu and his officers who had expected that Harris would take up his position on the south-eastern corner of the island and had accordingly made preparations to meet the hostile army.

Before the main British army took up its position before Seringapatam on the 5th April, an incident which took place during the night previous may be mentioned. Between the camping place of the British army and the walls of Seringapatam stretched a considerable portion of broken ground interspersed with jungly bushes, with granite rocks and ruined hamlets, affording excellent cover for annoying the British lines with rockets and musketry. At the extremity of this and distant one mile from the city was a grove of betel-trees named the Sultanpet Tope, from whence rockets were thrown into the tents of the British army. On the night of the 4th April, General Baird was directed to dislodge these men. He accordingly proceeded with a body of troops at 11 o'clock in the night but after scouring the grove in all directions found that the Mysoreans had quitted the place. Their retreat rendering General Baird's further stay in the tope unnecessary, he prepared to return to the camp, an officer attached to his force undertaking to act as a guide. After some time Lieut. Lambton, one of the officers on General Baird's staff and who had an intimate knowledge of astronomy, informed his chief that the troops were moving in an opposite direction to that which was intended and were in fact marching directly towards the enemy. Baird then took out a compass from his pocket and putting a firefly upon the glass ascertained beyond doubt that Lieut. Lambton's conclusion as obtained from the position of the stars was correct and immediately the troops were faced about to the south and returned to camp.

The next day however the Mysoreans again established themselves in the Sultanpet Tope as well as in some neighbouring posts and General Harris deemed it necessary to expel them from their position. Colonel Wellesley was entrusted with this task and he marched with a body of men at 8 o'clock that night but was instantly attacked in the darkness of the night on every side with musketry and rockets. His men were dispersed retreating in disorder, several being also killed and a spent ball from the Mysorean side slightly wounded Colonel Wellesley on the knee. He became separated from his force and after much wandering in the dark found his way to the commander-in-chief's tent at midnight and reported his failure to capture the tope. On the morning of the 6th

however, General Harris again directed Colonel Wellesley to take possession of the tope and in his second attack Colonel Wellesley was entirely successful. The possession of this tope enabled the commander-in-chief to occupy a line of posts which gave complete security to his camp.

On the 14th April the Bombay army reached Seringapatam and effected a junction with the main army. Major General Floyd had been deputed by the commander-in-chief on the 6th April with a detachment to apprise General Stuart of the main army being at Seringapatam. General Sutart on receiving this information left the Coorg country on the 10th and arrived at Seringapatam on the 14th as stated already, here and there harassed on the way by Kamruddin's cavalry which followed Floyd at some distance. On the 16th the Bombay army crossed the Kaveri and took up its position on the northern bank of the river. The right of the Bombay army was now in a line with the left of the main army and the left extended towards the French Rocks.

The more active operations of the siege commenced from the 17th April. On this date a detachment of the Bombay army attacked and drove the Mysoreans from their posts near the village of Agrahara on the north side of the river. Subsequently by means of operations in other parts, several important Mysore outposts were taken and numerous batteries were erected. Tippu was now much perturbed by the relentless manner in which the commander-in-chief's grip on the fortress was tightening and a letter from him reached General Harris on the evening of the 20th April in which he desired that both for clearing up matters and for concluding a treaty a conference should be held. To this letter, Harris sent a reply enclosing draft of a preliminary treaty containing certain terms on which alone he said he could enter into any negotiations with him. These terms were in the main that Tippu was to pay 2 crores of rupees, half within 24 hours and half within six months, half of his dominions as they existed at the time of the outbreak of hostilities was to be surrendered and eight hostages, four sons of Tippu and four Sirdars, were to be sent to the British camp in security for the fulfilment of the terms of the

treaty. Harris further acquainted Tippu that unless the latter's acquiescence was signified under his seal and signature within twenty-four hours from the moment of his receiving them and the hostages and specie delivered within twenty-four hours more, the allies reserved to themselves the right of extending their demands for security even to the possession of the fort of Seringapatam till the treaty was finally concluded.

These negotiations however did not prevent the building of batteries and the completion of other siege operations. On the 27th the Mysore troops were driven back from their last exterior line of defence. A British officer who took part in the operations at this time has left a stirring record of what took place so far as he was concerned and it is worth quoting here: "On the 25th April it was our turn for the trenches and on gaining our station at sunset, we found it necessary to erect a four-gun battery of 18 pounders on the right flank of a parallel which had previously been finished. Accordingly a working party from the 73rd regiment and the Scotch brigade with some sepoys were employed the whole night and the guns being already in the trenches, the battery was opened in the morning with the usual success and continued to fire the whole of the following day. It being intended to erect the breaching battery still closer than they already were and the enemy being in possession of a four-gun stockaded redoubt and covered way which could infallibly enfilade it when finished, the engineer conceived it necessary to occupy this post or drive them from it. Accordingly it was settled that the 73rd and the Scotch brigade should perform that service before they were relieved.

"Sunset was fixed on for the time and it soon came—too soon for many a brave fellow. All was bustle and noise. General Stuart's and our batteries began a heavy fire of guns and howitzers on the garrison and the enemy returned it with double the number, together with showers of rockets. At last the signal was given and on we rushed. Scarcely had we cleared the battery, when one of our grenadier officers and a number of men fell killed and wounded. I received a smart rap on my left shoulder and thinking I was wounded, put up my right hand to feel, but much to my satisfaction

found that it was my epaulet only that was shot away. I assure you I did not stop to look for it but pushing on soon got the contested post, where I had the instant mortification to see Captain Hay of the Scotch brigade fall killed by my side and soon afterwards two Lieutenants of their grenadiers and their Adjutant were wounded.

“ I was now the only officer in advance and perceived the enemy closing upon us on all sides and in great numbers, our men at the same time falling very fast. I formed the remnant of my party and some more of our officers coming up, we charged and drove the enemy from the post, but to our mortification found there was not the least cover from the fire of the fort, to which we were so near as two or three hundred yards. The enemy likewise perceived the weakness of our numbers and again advanced to attack us. All our ammunition was expended and we expected nothing less than being entirely cut off, when fortunately the flank companies and part of the battalion of the companies and part of the battalion of the 74th regiment arrived to our assistance.

“ At first they kept up a smart fire upon the enemy by subdivisions, but finding it was to no purpose and that our men fell very fast, another charge was determined on.

“ Our men and officers being entirely exhausted with fatigue and having likewise lost their shoes and stockings in the muddy bed of an aqueduct we had previously drained, the 74th regiment fresh and just come to the trenches undertook this service. Accordingly they advanced, while we kept possession of the post and with such success that they drove the enemy with great slaughter to the very gates of the garrison but with the loss of a number of men killed and many officers and men wounded. On returning they jointly occupied the place with us and we now began under cover of night to bury ourselves in the ground notwithstanding a very heavy fire of grape round and every description of shot the enemy could collect and throw in upon us from the garrison.

“ .....We remained pretty quiet and got up a tolerable good covered way till about nine o'clock, when they began to hoist

blue lights on the walls of the garrison which threw an amazing light around, enabling things to be seen clearly even at a distance. It was awfully grand. In an instant every tongue was hush and instead of the spades and pickaxes resounding with the noise of arduous labour, every man was endeavouring to conceal himself from the penetrating eyes of the enemy.

“About 10 o'clock, three very strong columns of troops came out of the garrison apparently determined to drive us off. One column advanced to our front and occupied a strong breast-work at about 12 yards distance; another column gained our left flank and cut off our communication with the trenches; and the third passed over a bridge on our right which we had neglected to take possession of and gained a position in our rear. But fortunately there was a river between us. I believe there were few of us who expected ever to see the camp again. We had orders to defend the post and were determined to do our best.

“Colonel Wallace of the 74th regiment commanded and strictly enjoined the officers not to suffer the men to fire but to keep as snug as possible and if the enemy attempted to enter, then to keep them out with the bayonet. A very heavy fire of musketry and rockets now commenced on us from all sides and continued the whole night. But though very frequently threatened and we invited them to come on, they took care to keep out of the reach of our soldiers' bayonets. In this state we remained during the night and morning only appeared to show our situation from a desperate point of view. The enemy who had fired at us in the dark indiscriminately now plainly saw our situation and taking deliberate aim the soldiers fell very fast without the satisfaction of returning a single shot. The enemy finding that they could not provoke us to fire again, which they wished to do in order to expose us to a more superior fire, advanced to the top of the trenches and lifting up large stones dropped them in upon us, one of which struck me so forcibly on the right arm as to raise a doubt in my mind whether it was not broken. Our brave soldiers at last lost their tempers and irritated by the repeated blows from this kind of attack, jumped up and swore that if they were not allowed to fire, it could be no

harm to throw back the stones and one and all began to return them as fast as they came. Serious as our situation then was, I could not help laughing heartily.

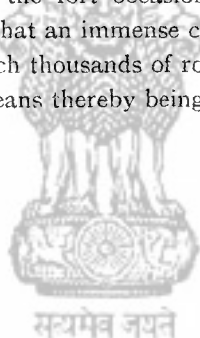
“At last the contest ended in the usual way. A plan being previously arranged about 10 o'clock, the Scotch brigade which was on the left charged down the front, at the same time a party from camp attacked those in the rear and we advancing from the right, they were completely surrounded and received such a severe check as deterred them from advancing to their old ground. In fact they were well employed the remainder of the day in carrying off the killed and wounded, which last description of our own men now drew our attention, for we had no time to look to them before. My share of that business rested with my own company and that of the before-mentioned much-valued friend. I had two graves dug alongside the river, in one of which I laid him and in the other four of the finest soldiers in the light company. They had no parson to read the funeral ceremony but they had the blessings and sighs of their surviving comrades.....

“We now remained unmolested except by the fire from the garrison. But about four o'clock in the afternoon a violent storm of thunder, lightning and rain set in which filled the trenches, so that we were up to the middle in water and I was so cold in my wet clothes after having been scorched to death the whole day previous that I would have given the world for a glass of any kind of spirits, but that was a luxury hardly to be got in camp in our then situation.

“At last the wished for relief arrived and after being in the trenches for the space of 52 hours without the least rest, we returned to camp up to the middle in mud and water along so slippery a track that in some places we could not keep on our feet without much difficulty, and all this while marching without shoes or stockings. About two o'clock the following morning I had the pleasure once again to enter my tent and thanks to a good constitution, I do not feel myself the worse for that or any other fatigue I have experienced during the campaign.”

On the 28th Tippu sent a reply to General Harris' letter of the 22nd in which without referring to the terms mentioned by General Harris he merely stated that he was sending two vakeels to him for personal explanation on the subject. The commander-in-chief however sent back an answer referring Tippu to the terms mentioned in his previous letter as those alone on which he would treat and declining to admit any ambassadors unless accompanied by the hostages and the specie required. To this letter no answer was returned by Tippu and the active operations of the siege went on with accumulating effect.

On the 2nd May the guns on the British side kept up a severe fire and by sunset the breach was considerably enlarged. Soon after the British batteries were opened, it was noticed that a great explosion took place in the fort occasioned by the bursting of a shell in a magazine and that an immense column of smoke ascended, from the middle of which thousands of rockets flew in every direction, many of the Mysoreans thereby being killed and wounded.



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

**Assault on the 4th of May—Capture of the fort—Surrender of the palace—Tippu's two sons sent to Harris' camp—Tippu's dead body discovered and sent to the palace—A night of horrors.**

On the 3rd May the breach was reported practicable. At this time a scarcity approaching to famine prevailed throughout the English camp. Many of the fighting men had been placed on half rations, of the camp followers several were dead or dying and similarly all the bullocks of the army were either dead or worn out by fatigue and want of food. In addition to these difficulties, there was a strong probability from the appearance of the weather that the rains which usually commence in the month of May would swell the river into an insurmountable obstacle to the operations of the besieging army. General Harris in these circumstances thought it essential that the assault on the fort should no longer be delayed and fixed the next day for it. His choice to lead the assaulting party fell on General Baird who had spent a number of years in the fort as a prisoner and was consequently well acquainted with the place. A body of troops consisting of 2,494 Europeans and 1,892 sepoys, total 4,376 men, was placed under the orders of General Baird on the afternoon of the 3rd May and instructions were given to him to direct the different corps to proceed to the trenches at such hours during the night and in such succession as he thought fit a little before daybreak. On the night of this day, the passage of the river adjacent to the breach was examined by Lieut. Lalor and found to be 280 yards in breadth. The bottom was very rocky and rugged but there was no great depth of water, although there were many deep pools. Scaling ladders and materials were placed in the advanced approaches to make a lodgment if necessary, after storming the fort the following day.

When the momentous 4th of May which decided Tippu's fate and the future destiny of Mysore dawned, it was found that without exciting suspicion of any extraordinary action on that day the storming party had been placed in their several places and they

awaited only the signal to rush forward. The fire from the English batteries and from the guns of the fort was commenced and kept up as on the preceding days, except that the Mysoreans discharged an increased quantity of rockets into the English trenches which they observed to be more crowded than usual. The object of the British cannonade on this morning was to extend the breadth of the breach, to demolish any remaining defences and to destroy any repairs which the besieged might have effected during the preceding night. Some time later in the morning, General Baird received intimation from the commander-in-chief that the assault on the fort was to begin at 1 p.m. and this hour was fixed as it was supposed that the Mysore troops would be occupied in taking their refreshments and having some repose, least expecting that the Europeans were capable under a severe midday sun of the exertions needed for storming the fort. At about 11 o'clock Baird intimated to the troops in the trenches calling on them to be ready to proceed to the attack at 1 o'clock. Each European received a cheering dram of liquor and a biscuit, and arrangement and formation of the attack immediately commenced. It was determined to make the assault in two places at the same time, namely, on the right and left of the breach, the former point of attack being on the southern rampart and the latter on the northern. Colonel Sherbrook and Lt.-Col. Dunlop were placed in respective command of these two divisions, Lieut. Lalor undertaking the guidance of the troops across the Kaveri. A forlorn hope of twelve men and a sergeant with a party of officers was also formed ready to advance to the breach in front of each division. Preceding the hour of attack, the storming party waited with anxiety considering that their own existence and that of the British interests in India alike depended on the issue of the enterprise before them. Equally with others General Harris was not without anxiety. It is related that sometime prior to the attack Harris was found by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm seated alone in his tent, rapped in deep thought, and that thereupon Malcolm in a vein of pleasantry hinting at chances of a peerage for Harris addressed him,—“Why, my Lord, so thoughtful?” “Malcolm,” the General is reported to have said sternly, “this is no time for compliments. We have serious work on hand. Don't you

see that the European sentry over my tent is so weak from want of food and exhaustion that a sepoy could push him down. We must take this fort or perish in the attempt. I have ordered General Baird to persevere in the attack to the last extremity. If he is beaten off, Wellesley is to proceed with the troops from the trenches. If he also should not succeed, I shall put myself at the head of the remainder of the army, for success is essential to our existence."

Before proceeding to a description of the attack on the fort by the British troops, it will be convenient here to dwell at some length on how Tippu was engaged during the period of the siege. On the day of General Harris' final encampment before Seringapatam, Tippu caused a small tent to be pitched for personal accommodation on the south of the fort, whence he directed the operations of his troops. When General Stuart passed the river to the northward, the Sultan moved his headquarters to the western angle, whence he superintended the operations undertaken to dislodge that army from its northern position. On the opening of the first English batteries, he removed himself from this exposed situation and fixed his headquarters in the northern face in an apartment formed by an old gateway which had for some years been closed by an exterior revetment. The troops on duty inside the fort at several works numbering 13,750 were regularly relieved and the general charge of the angle attacked had been committed to Syed Sahib assisted by Syed Gaffar who was formerly in a British regiment but subsequently had taken service under Tippu. The Sultan's eldest son Fathe Haidar with the whole of the cavalry and Silledar horse numbering 4,300 assisted by Purnaiya commanded a detached corps to disturb the northern attack and were encamped at Karighat. Tippu's second son commanded the Mysore gate of the fort on the southern side, while Kamruddin was detached with a body of 4,000 troops to cut off the supplies and reinforcements of the English and their confederates.

On the eventful morning of the 4th Syed Gaffar's keen eye detected that the British trenches were unusually crowded and that it would not be very long before the assault was delivered. His warnings however went unheeded and Tippu contented himself by

merely saying that it was proper to be on the alert but that the attack would, he believed, be made in the night and not during the day. At about 9 o'clock in the morning Tippu proceeded to his palace, bathed and presented a number of gifts to mendicants and various other people. Having finished these ceremonies about the hour of noon, he returned to his tent and had eaten but a morsel of food, when intelligence was brought to him of the death of Syed Gaffar. The Sultan abstained from further eating, washed his hands and hastened towards the breach along the northern rampart.

When the hour 1 p.m. fixed for storming the fort arrived, General Baird sprang upon the parapet, drew his sword and stood for an instant on the top attracting the attention of his men by his splendid soldier-like figure and bidding them follow him, he rushed to the river bank. As the stormers, according to the account of an eye-witness, made their way splashing through the water, they were met by a very heavy fire of musketry and one or two discharges of grape from the fort. Among the first to be wounded was John Best, a servant of General Harris who had joined the storming party as a volunteer but who nevertheless sat on a boulder and cheered on the attackers as they passed him. The ditch was found to be filled to a large extent by debris and presented no serious obstacle to the survivors of the forlorn hope who now hastened panting up the slope of the debris towards the summit of the breach. To meet them, a number of gallant Mysoreans came down and bayonet clashed with sword as defenders and stormers met in a fierce hand to hand conflict. Few of the forlorn hope survived to reach their goal but Sergeant Graham of the Bombay army, Union Jack in one hand and sword in the other, hacked his way to the top of the slope and planting the end of the flag-pole firmly in the rubbish at the summit of the breach cried out exultingly: "Here is success to Lieutenant Graham" and with that was shot dead. Within six minutes of leaving the trenches, the Union Jack was placed on the summit of the breach and in a few minutes more, the breach a hundred feet in width was thronged with breathless, sweating, excited soldiery who after being hurriedly reorganised into two parties were despatched one to the right under Colonel Sherbrook and another to the left along the ramparts under

Lt.-Col. Dunlop according to General Baird's instructions, the General himself accompanying the right column.

The attack being so sudden and even unexpected, made as it was in the broad noon of the day and at the general hour of dinner for Indians, the assailants met with no very considerable resistance, though the left column had not such an easy way as the right column. General Baird who accompanied the right column discovered a second ditch full of water within the outer wall and was at first staggered with this insurmountable difficulty of overcoming this new impediment. Fortunately as the column marched forward along the ramparts, a scaffolding was discovered raised for the use of the workmen repairing the wall. General Baird readily availed himself of this Godsend and thereby crossing the inner ditch reached in less than an hour the Bangalore gate in the centre of the eastern face of the fortress, where he halted his men to allow them breathing time and to have some refreshments.

The left column which was to scour the western and northern ramparts was more vigorously opposed than the right column on account of Tippu's presence in this part of the fortifications. Lt.-Col. Dunlop commanding this column was severely wounded in a personal combat with a Mysorean swordsman as he climbed up the slope to the breach and the senior officers who in turn took his place being also disabled, the command devolved upon Lieut. Farquhar who led the attack till he was killed. His place was then taken by Lieut. Lambton who led the column till the end. The Mysoreans fiercely contested the possession of a number of traverses on these western and northern ramparts but they were taken in reverse by a body of troops led by Captain Goodall who had succeeded in crossing from the outer rampart to the inner one which ran parallel to the outer rampart throughout the defences.

We may turn now to Tippu who, as we already know, had left his tent and proceeded in the direction of the breach on hearing that the assault had begun. As the British troops advanced, he had to fall back from traverse to traverse along the northern face of the fort. At one of these places Tippu complained of pain in one of

his legs, the result of a wound received in years gone by. He could have easily escaped from the fort through the water-gate which was nearby. But apparently he did not want to do so. Mounting his horse, he proceeded towards the gateway leading from the centre of the northern ramparts to the interior of the fortress. On arriving at the gateway however, he became exposed to the fire not only of the assailants on the northern rampart but also of Captain Goodall's detachment which had worked round until they could fire into the gateway from the inner side. Under this fire the Sultan's horse fell dead and the Sultan himself received another wound in the chest, in addition to those he had already received. Half fainting as he was, he was placed by his attendants in a sitting position on the edge of his palanquin. The scene here now grew horrible. The assailants who were now in possession of the major portion of the ramparts turned the guns of the ramparts upon Tippu's broken and flying ranks who now from all quarters indiscriminately rushed to the gateway where Tippu was and dropped from the broken walls or threw themselves into the ditch. At the same time, crowds of the terrified inhabitants mixing with the soldiery and pressing to the gates attempted to quit the town and were indiscriminately slaughtered, so that the place became heaped up with the killed and the wounded. In this gateway as well as in other places the dresses of the dead catching fire from the paper of the cartridges of English soldiers blazed forth with a violence equal to that of an immense furnace and continued burning till the gates and the mangled mass of bodies piled up against them were consumed together.

The palanquin in which the Sultan was placed by some of his surviving adherents was kept under the arch on one side of the gateway and he had scarcely been there for a few minutes, when some British soldiers entered the gateway and one of them attempted to snatch the Sultan's sword-belt which was of value. Furious with rage, the Sultan made a cut with his sword inflicting a wound on the knee of his assailant who promptly raised his musket and shot him dead. Among other important men who lost their lives on this day were Syed Sahib and Mir Sadak. While three officers of the British general staff Majors. Allan, Beatson and Dallas were

passing along the northern rampart, they observed two men lying desperately wounded near the inner ditch, one of whom by his dress appeared to be of distinction. Suspecting that it might be the Sultan, they descended to the place for the purpose of closer examination, but Major Dallas recognised him as Syed Sahib whom he had seen at Mangalore in 1784. Syed Sahib, it is stated, supported by the officers raised himself and clung round Major Dallas' knees in the most affecting manner imploring compassion for himself and for his family. The officers were in the act of placing him in his palanquin which had tumbled down into the ditch and had sent for a surgeon to dress his wounds, when a renewal of a heavy fire of musketry compelled them to attend to other duties and he soon afterwards expired. Mir Sadak, according to Kirmani, wishing to quit the fort about the time Tippu and his horse were wounded near the sallyport or the gateway arrived at the Ganjam gate, where he was attacked by a man who abusing him in foul language for all his misdemeanours cut off his head with his sword and threw his body into a heap of filth closeby. Here every passerby who noticed it, it is stated, spat at it and that some also loaded it with shoes.

The only place not now in the possession of the British was the palace. Tippu's fate at the hands of an unknown soldier not having been noticed by any persons on the side of the British, it was suspected that Tippu was in his palace and that there he would make his last stand. From one of the bastions on the south side it was observed that several persons were assembled in the palace, many of whom from their dress and appearance seemed to be of distinction and one person was noticed prostrating himself before he sat down, from which circumstance it was concluded that Tippu with such of his officers as had escaped from the assault had taken shelter in the palace. General Baird now finding that his men had been refreshed and had some rest directed Major Allan to proceed with a detachment to the palace and inform the inmates that their lives would be spared on condition of their immediate surrender but that the least resistance would prove fatal to every person within the palace walls. Major Allan having fastened a white cloth to a Sergeant's pike proceeded to the palace and found that several of

Tippu's people were in a balcony and communicated to them the instructions given to him by General Baird. In a short time the Killedar Nadeem Khan who was an officer of consequence came over with a servant to the terrace of the front building and descended by an unfinished part of the wall. Allan pressed on the Killedar the danger of their situation and the necessity of allowing him to enter the palace on his pledge of protection for him and for those inside. The Killedar however was averse to this proposal but Major Allan insisted on his going with him as it was no time for indecision. Allan with two other officers then ascended by the broken wall and all three lowered themselves down on a terrace, where a large body of armed men were found assembled. Major Allan explained to them through one of the officers accompanying him who spoke Hindusthani well that the flag which he held in his hand was a pledge of security provided no resistance was made and strongly to impress them with this belief, he took off his sword and insisted on their receiving it. The Killedar and many others affirmed that the princes and the family of Tippu were in the palace but not the Sultan. On Major Allan plainly informing them that they were surrounded by a body of infuriated troops for whose conduct he could not make himself responsible, they left him and soon after people were observed moving forwards and backwards in the interior of the palace. The people on the terrace begged Major Allan to hold the flag in a conspicuous place in order to give confidence to those in the palace and prevent the English troops from forcing the gates. Long delay having occurred on the part of the Killedar in bringing back an answer, Major Allan sent word to the princes warning them of their critical situation and intimated to them that his time was limited and the answer came back that they would receive him as soon as a carpet was spread for the purpose. Shortly after, the Killedar came to conduct Major Allan to the presence of the princes, two of whom he found seated on the carpet surrounded by a great many attendants. The succeeding part of the story may now be given directly in the words of Major Allan.

“They desired me to sit down, which I did in front of them. The recollection of one of the princes Mohiuddin whom on a former occasion I had seen delivered up with his brother as hostages to

Marquis Cornwallis, the sad reverse of their fortunes, the thought that however much their father deserved our resentment they were blameless, their fears which notwithstanding their struggles to conceal were but too evident excited the strongest emotions of compassion in my mind. I took Mohiuddin to whom the attendants principally directed their attention by the hand and endeavoured by every means in my power to remove his fears and to persuade him that no violence would be offered to him or his brother nor to any other person in the palace. I then entreated him as the only means to preserve his father's life whose escape was impracticable, to inform me where he was concealed. Mohiuddin after some conversation with his attendants assured me that the Padsha was not in the palace. I requested him to allow the gates to be opened. All were alarmed at this proposal and the princes were reluctant to take such a step but by the authority of their father to whom they proposed to send. At length, having promised that I would post a guard of their own sepoy within and a party of Europeans outside, having given them the strongest assurances that no person should enter the palace but by my authority and that I would return and remain with them until General Baird arrived, I convinced them of the necessity of compliance. I wrote a note in their presence which I begged Captain Fraser one of the officers with me to deliver to General Baird as soon as possible. I again spoke to them to quiet the mind of the princes and I was happy to observe that they as well as their attendants appeared to rely with confidence on the assurances I had given them."

On the gates of the palace being opened, it was found that General Baird had arrived with several officers and a large body of troops. Baird seemed to be much irritated and extremely incensed and said he would not enter the gate and insisted on the princes being brought out to him and that Tippu should be found or he would search every part of the palace and no soul should escape alive. There were not wanting persons who urged on General Baird to put his threat into execution at once and a crowd of officers also attempted to rush into the palace. Major Allan stopped them and told General Baird that he had pledged his word to the

princes that no one should enter the palace except by his authority and begged that he might be permitted to return to the palace with Colonel Close and bring out the princes to him. Now resuming the narrative in Major Allan's own words,-----"On their being apprised of the General's wishes, the princes showed great alarm and repeatedly objected to go out of the palace. It required considerable argument to overcome their alarm and at last they were persuaded to give their consent. On catching sight of the princes who were approaching him, General Baird though scarcely yet cooled from the fury of the storm showed rare moderation and humanity in receiving them. He repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult would be offered to them and then he gave them in charge to Colonel Agnew and Captain Marriot to conduct them to the camp of the commander-in-chief escorted by a body of troops. As the princes passed, the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presenting arms. It should however be stated that as neither a horse nor a palanquin could be procured, the princes were obliged to proceed to the commander-in-chief's camp on foot. The several gates of the fort being on fire and no regular path attainable, it became necessary for them to climb over the breach, wade the ditches and the river and make their way through the batteries and trenches in the midst of a shocking spectacle of the killed and the wounded which everywhere struck their attention. The princes who generally had not walked a hundred yards were now forced to walk on foot a distance of about 4 miles thoroughly fatigued by the time they arrived at their destination late at midnight."

For General Baird it was important to know where Tippu was or the fate that had overtaken him. He accordingly determined to search all parts of the palace and as a precaution all of Tippu's troops who were in the palace precincts were disarmed. Though the closest search was made even by bursting open many of the apartments, Tippu's whereabouts remained unknown. The Killedar was then threatened that if he had any regard for his life he must disclose the place of concealment of Tippu. But this officer putting his hand on the hilt of the sword of Major Allan solemnly swore that the Sultan was not in the palace, at the same time revealing that he was lying wounded in the gateway on the northside of the fort,

General Baird on obtaining this information lost no time in proceeding to the place mentioned by the Killedar, which was however covered with many hundreds of the slain. The number of the dead and the darkness of the place made it difficult to distinguish one another and the scene was altogether shocking. As the political importance of the confirmation of Tippu's death was great, the bodies were ordered to be dragged out for examination. This task however appeared to be endless and as it was becoming quite dark, a light was procured and Major Allan proceeded to the gateway with the Killedar. During the search here, a wounded person was discovered who was afterwards identified as Raja Khan, one of Tippu's most confidential servants and who had attended his master during the whole of the day, and this man on being made acquainted with the object of the search pointed out the spot where the Sultan lay. It was however difficult for the Killedar to recognise the features in the faint glimmering light, but the body being brought out was satisfactorily proved to be that of the fallen Sultan. The eyes were still open and the body was so warm that for a few moments a doubt arose as to whether the Sultan was not still alive but that doubt was removed on feeling the pulse and the heart. He had three wounds in the body and one in the temple, the ball having entered a little above the right ear and lodged in his left cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz and a crimson cloth of silk and cotton round his waist. A handsome pouch with a red and green silk tassel hung across his shoulder. His head was uncovered, his turban evidently being lost in the confusion. He had an amulet on his arm but no ornament whatever. A little Koran enclosed in a silver case was also found lying closeby which the Sultan used to constantly wear round his neck. The body was placed in a palanquin and sent to the palace where it was deposited for the night and where it was recognised as that of the Padsha. Thus terminated, it is written, the glory of a man who had left the palace in the morning as a powerful Sovereign of an independent State but who was brought back at night as a mere lump of clay bereft of consciousness, his kingdom overthrown, his capital taken and his palace occupied by his enemies.

Major Allan after Tippu's body was deposited in the palace went back to his tent in the British camp and reached it about midnight. His reflections contained in his diary afford sad reading. On ruminating on the events of the day, he says, they looked more like fictions of the brain than realities and that it was impossible at the time to form a calm and connected idea of them. General Baird who had been very much exhausted laid down for rest on the verandah of the palace. But he had hardly gone to sleep, when he was awakened and was informed that several fires had been started, that the camp followers had broken into the town and that looting was taking place on a wholesale scale. But his efforts to restrain the plunderers proved of little avail. Many of the troops after the storming left their ranks, and the followers of the camp under pretext of taking refreshment to their masters also poured into the town and the whole of the night was occupied by them in plunder. Many persons were beaten and threatened with death in order to force them to disclose their property. The women collected in the streets and stood there all night in large groups with a view of preventing any insults to them by their exposed situation. The soldiers and sepoys possessed themselves in a few hours after entering the town, of very valuable effects in gold and jewels, the houses of the chief sirdars and shroffs being completely pillaged. Though guards were placed in charge of Tippu's treasury where an immense amount of treasure and jewels existed, several of the troops managed to break into this treasury by an unguarded entrance and the officers themselves were found, while running about and shouting to their men to stop looting, filling their own pockets with valuables.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

**Surrender of Abdul Khalik, another son of Tippu—  
Funeral of Tippu—Heavy thunderstorm at the close—  
Colonel Arthur Wellesley on the real cause of the war.**

On the morning of the 5th May, Abdul Khalik, the second son of Tippu and one of the former hostages in the hands of Lord Cornwallis surrendered himself to General Baird. He was on the previous day in command of the southern face of the fort but had managed to escape when the storming party entered the fort. Colonel Dalrymple who was posting guards at the Daria Dowlat Bagh on observing a small party of horsemen on the north bank of the river waving a white hand-kerchief sent his Brigade-Major Captain Gerard to learn what they wanted. One of the horsemen approaching the Captain informed him that one of the sons of Tippu was desirous of delivering himself up to the English on obtaining assurances of personal protection and the preservation of his honour. Gerard pledged himself for the observance of these stipulations and met the prince in the middle of the river and repeated these assurances. Abdul Khalik was then conducted to General Baird who is said to have received him with every mark of kindness and accompanied him to General Harris' camp. After meeting General Harris who also assured him of protection, Abdul Khalik met Meer Alum with whom he took some refreshments. On his way to the fort he was informed by some of his servants of the fate which had befallen his father and on entering the palace he was permitted to see the body. Turning to Colonel Wellesley who happened to be there, he requested him to hasten the burial and suggested that the body might be placed by the side of Haidar Ali in the Mausoleum in the Lal Bagh. The same forenoon the two princes were sent back to the palace from Harris' camp and when they were informed of their father's fate were extremely affected.

In the meanwhile, General Harris had requested Meer Alum to make every preparation needed for the funeral of the deceased ruler in the afternoon with all the honours due to his distinguished

position. The head Khaji was sent for and the body being covered with fine muslins and rich cloths was placed in the State palanquin. The bier carried by the servants of the palace was preceded by two companies of British troops and immediately followed by Abdul Khalik on horseback, accompanied by the Killedar and a great number of Mussalmans on foot and with two companies in the rear. During the procession the Khaji chanted verses from the Koran in which the attendants joined. The streets were crowded with the inhabitants, many of whom prostrated themselves as the corpse passed and were loud in their lamentations. Meer Alum and other officers of the Nizam's service with Captain Malcolm and a great number of officers of the army were at the gate of the Lal Bagh and having paid their respects to the corpse joined in the procession.

As the procession approached the Mausoleum, the British troops lined themselves on either side and as the bier passed, presented arms. A salute of minute guns corresponding in number to the age of the deceased was also fired. The body was then placed next to that of Haidar Ali and the usual prayers and ceremonies being performed, 5,000 rupees which had been given by order of Colonel Wellesley for the purpose was distributed by the Khaji among the fakirs and the poor who attended.

Several elegiac verses were composed on the occasion and the following is a translation of one of them:—

‘Tippu Sultan was slain unexpectedly. He shed his blood for the sake of the religion of the true God on Saturday the 28th Zikad. The Day of Judgment manifested itself at the seventh hour from the morning. Blood flowed from every wall and door in the streets of Seringapatam. His heart was ever bent on religious warfare and at length he obtained the crown of martyrdom, even as he desired. Ah! at the destruction of this prince and of his kingdom, let the world shed tears of blood. For him the Sun and the Moon shared equally in grief. The heavens were turned upside down and the earth darkened. When I (the poet) saw that sorrow for him pervaded all, I asked Grief for the year of his death and an angel (Hatif) replied—‘Let us mourn his loss with burning sighs and

tears, for the light of the religion of Islam has departed from this world! An inscription was also placed on Tippu's tomb, the translation of which is as follows:—'The light of Islam and the faith left this world. Tippu became a martyr for the faith of Muhammad. The sword was lost. The offspring of Haidar was a great martyr.' All these phrases in the original produced on adding up the numerical value of the words composing them the year 1213 of the Hijira or the year 1799 of the Christian Era. Scarcely had Tippu's remains been committed to the earth, when a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning and rain commenced and continued its violence for some hours. So fatal was the effect of lightning that some lives were lost. It is curious to observe how this one and the same event received two opposite interpretations based on preconceptions. An English writer remarked that it looked as if the demons of air were rejoicing over the downfall of Tippu, the Tiger of Mysore, while a Mahomedan writer considered that for him the Sun and the Moon shared equally in grief and the heavens were turned upside down and the earth darkened. Thus ended the house of Haidar after a brief rule of about 40 years, during which period the Mysore Kingdom reached the zenith of its glory and fell to the deepest depth of degradation almost touching the verge of extinction.

Whatever may have been the animosities and prejudices which existed in the minds of Englishmen at the time against Tippu, it should now be conceded that the primary cause of his destruction was the rivalry that existed between France and England for ascendancy in India. Colonel Arthur Wellesley who arrived in India towards the end of 1796 in a private letter to his brother Lord Mornington, long before there was any prospect of the latter being appointed Governor-General of India wrote as follows regarding the situation in India:—"People say that Tippu Sahib has an army on foot, which I do not believe. As I have observed since my arrival here, he is a constant object of fear to the English and whenever they want to add a colouring to a statement of danger, they find out that he has an army in motion..... As long as the French have an establishment here, Great Britain cannot call herself safe in

India. They consider that they must be particularly guarded against another war, as that swarms of Frenchmen, aristocrats, democrats, moderates will come here to seek service in the armies of the native princes, and all Frenchmen in such a situation are equally dangerous. They would shortly discipline their numerous armies in the new mode which they have adopted in Europe than which nothing can be more formidable to the small body of fighting men of which the Company's armies in general consist and in the end they would force us to increase our armies and of course our expenses to such a degree that the country could not be kept or indeed would not be worth keeping."

This opinion of Arthur Wellesley receives support from some of the opinions expressed by others in previous years. Edward Moore who was with the army of Lord Cornwallis in the third Mysore War in a book named "Operations of Captain Little's Detachment" written by him and published in 1794 speaking of Tippu recorded this opinion of him:—"Of late years, indeed, our language has been ransacked for terms in which well disposed persons were desirous to express their detestation of his name and character. Vocabularies of vile epithets have been exhausted and doubtless many have lamented that the English language is not copious enough to furnish terms of obloquy sufficiently expressive of ignominy, wherewith they in justice deem his memory deserves to be branded ..... Those, however, who do not choose to be carried away by the torrent of popular opinion, but in preference to thinking by proxy venture to think for themselves, can find the same excuse for the restlessness of Tippu as for that of any other ambitious sovereign and on the subject of his cruelties venture to express a doubt whether they may not possibly have been exaggerated..... When a person travelling through a strange country finds it well cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increasing and everything flourishing so as to indicate happiness, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of government congenial to the minds of the people. This is a picture of Tippu's country and our conclusion respecting its government." Major Dirom another writer of the same period has recorded the following

opinion of Tippu—"Whether from the operation of the system established by Haidar, from the principles which Tippu has adopted for his own conduct, or from his dominions having suffered little by invasion for many years, or from the effect of these several causes united, his country was found everywhere full of inhabitants and apparently cultivated to the utmost extent of which the soil was capable, while the discipline and fidelity of his troops in the field were testimonies equally strong of the excellent regulations which existed in his army. His government, though strict and arbitrary, was the despotism of a politic and able sovereign who nourishes, not oppresses, the subjects who are to be the means of his future aggrandisement, and his cruelties were in general inflicted only on those whom he considered his enemies."

Almost the first thing that Lord Mornington did after he took charge of his high office was to call upon Tippu to receive an envoy to discuss matters relating to the Malartic proclamation in Mauritius. His minute of 12th August 1798 affords clear proof of his conviction that the presence of the French in India was a menace to the British and that the reduction of Tippu to the position of a subsidiary ally, if not his extermination altogether, was essential for their safety and the result of this conviction was the appalling tragedy enacted at Seringapatam on the 4th of May 1799. Though it is now more than a century and a quarter since the rule of Tippu ended in Mysore, yet posterity has continued to treat his memory with respect and compassion, forgetting his defects of character, especially his obstinacy in his own judgment. Syed Gaffar one of the most devoted adherents of Tippu bitterly complained a few minutes before his death that his master was surrounded by self-seekers and sycophants and that he would not change his belief that the assault would not take place during the day. His father Haidar had very early in the beginning of his ascendancy perceived that the great strength of the English was their navy and that it was prudent to cultivate friendship with them, though his attempts to do so were frustrated by the obtuseness of the members of the Madras Government at the time. The disaster which befell Tippu in the war of 1792 should have been a sufficient warning to avoid involving himself in further complications, especially when to the helm of



## CHAPTER XXX.

### **Tippu's day-to-day administration.**

Before proceeding further to the events which succeeded the funeral of Tippu, we may close his period with a short description of his day-to-day administration. On the day Seringapatam fell into the hands of the British, there was, as we have seen, considerable looting in the town and also conflagration on a large scale in various parts and Tippu's palace was no exception. In this conflagration many of the State papers preserved in the palace among his records also were destroyed. There were however some papers left, of which an English translation was published by Colonel Kirkpatrick in 1811. The following extracts from this translation give a general idea of the daily administration of Tippu, though somewhat imperfect.

On a report being received from the Superintendent of the Elephant Stables at Nagar, Tippu replied on 17th February 1785—“The humble address you sent us has passed under our view and the circumstances admitted therein are duly comprehended. You write that the Mutsaddies attached to you have adopted habits of ease and lounging in Nagar pretending that it is necessary for them to see and confer with the Talukdar, the consequence of which is that fifteen days are consumed in preparing the accounts of one and that nothing is done excepting at Nagar..... This representation has caused us the utmost surprise. Whenever the Mutsaddies belonging to your department cease to yield you proper obedience, you must give them a severe flogging.....”

In a letter dated 21st February 1785 to Muhammad Ghayas Khan, Tippu wrote—“Your letter of the 5th of February has been received and the whole of its contents are comprehended. The fixed or regulated money is ready. Whenever the chiefs of that place (Poona) demand it, bankers' bills to the amount shall be forwarded. Representations of the contumacious conduct of the Zemindar of Nergund were frequently transmitted by us in the course of last year to Noor Muhammad Khan, who, no doubt, must

have communicated the same to all the chiefs there (Poona). If a petty Zemindar and a subject of our government, like this, may not be punished, how shall our authority be maintained? The justice of this argument was admitted even by Rao Rasta. Thus the chastisement of this Zemindar became necessary. If he is brought to reason from thence (i.e., by the Mahratta chiefs), it will be well; otherwise he will be exterminated. Let the Gumastha of Appaji Rao receive a monthly stipend of four pagodas. You must not admit the Brahmins to a participation in the conduct of any secret negotiation. You and Noor Muhammad Khan alone are jointly to transact all such affairs. If the chiefs of that place forgetting our past favours should despatch an army to the assistance of the Zemindar of Nergund, what will it signify? We have, under the divine blessing, sent a strong force to reduce Nergund and are in no fear of its suffering any misfortune from their army."

In a letter dated 27th February to Turbiyat Ali Khan and Raja Ramchander, Tippu wrote—"Your letter has been received. You write that the European formerly taken prisoner in the Payeenghat and whose original allowance of two fanams a day had been in consequence of his misbehaviour reduced to one being skilled in mortar practice, you propose converting him to the faith and wished for our orders on the subject. It is known. Admitting the aforesaid to the honour of Islamism, you will continue to pay him as before two fanams a day. Let him also be employed in firing at the flag. We have ourselves, however, brought the mortar practice to that degree of perfection that children of ten and eleven years of age are taught to hit the point of a spear. You may, as you propose, engage a sweeper at the monthly wages of ten or twelve fanams and employ him in sweeping out the Rung-Mahal and the public halls of the Dewany and Ehsham."

On the 3rd March 1785 the Daroga of the Dewany Cutcherry of Gutti reported that he had advanced the bazaar price of the Kurg pagodas by 1 fanam and four annas and issued them at that rate. Tippu ordered its being raised by only 1 fanam and issued it at that rate to the servants of the State.

*Letter to Muhammad Ghayas and Noor Muhammad Khan,  
dated 7th April 1785.*

“You must not communicate in writing to Rao Rasta every proposition you may have to make to him or to transmit to him copies of our despatches to you. On such occasions, you have to send for Rao Rasta’s mutsaddi and make him commit to paper whatever may be proper to be written. By this means you will avoid pledging yourself under your own hand.”

*Letter to Raja Ramchander, dated 10th April 1785.*

“You write that wishing to marry your daughter and there being none of her caste in this country to contract her to, there is a necessity of sending for a proper person for the purpose from the Payeenghat; and you therefore solicit passports for the ingress and egress of parties whom it will be requisite to invite on the occasion according to the list which you have enclosed..... A passport for the persons who are to come from the Payeenghat to Bangalore on this occasion is enclosed. You will therefore send for some person of your caste and giving your daughter in marriage to him, detain him near you. Where is the necessity for sending him back to the Payeenghat? If this however should not be practicable, you must seek for one of your own caste in this country to betroth her to, when having found such a one you will celebrate their nuptials.”

*Letter to Raja Ramchander, dated 29th April 1785.*

“If the manufacturers of the district under you decline to weave the stuffs required, they may be compelled by menaces to prepare the number of cloths required, with the utmost expedition, agreeably to the pattern sent. If they still did not comply, they should be flogged.”

*Letter to Mir Kamruddin and Burhanuddin, dated 1st May 1785.*

“Two letters from you have passed under our view and the particulars therein stated are duly perceived. With respect to the war which you two are conducting in conjunction with three Siphadars, our desire is that acting in concert together you should pursue the object of chastising the enemy with the utmost vigour and sagacity and in an effectual and glorious manner. Accordingly

we have transmitted strict orders to this effect to the aforesaid Siphadars who will, in consequence, be obedient to you and co-operate on all occasions with you.

“What you say of the scarcity of grain in your army notwithstanding your having a Cotwal and so many Lambanies with you has astonished us. You must therefore denounce the heaviest threats against the said Cotwal and make him provide abundance of grain agreeably to your regulations on this head, to the end that your people may suffer no distress for that article.

“By the Divine favour your health is now re-established and it is consequently no longer proper that you should have a physician attending you or that you should take any more medicines. Let him therefore be sent back to Savanoor.

“After chastising the enemy in a signal manner and driving him to the other side of the Krishna, you will take up a position for the attack of Nergund.

“Your sending away your baggage is a proceeding in no respect proper. You must keep it with you. Indeed where is the great quantity of baggage belonging to you, seeing that you have nothing besides tents, pals and other such necessary articles ?

“The cavalry attached to you have been very remiss in skirmishing and marauding and in having suffered the enemy to flee without making booty of any of their horses and finally to escape by the pass of Ramdoorg, although they might have taken numberless horses. It is well. You must now give the most peremptory orders to the Risaldars of cavalry to go forth on separate parties and exert themselves properly to make prize of the enemy's horses, the present being a favourable opportunity for getting together a great number of horses. Scouring likewise the enemy's country, they must seize on all the grain they can discover.”

*Letter to Muhammad Ghayas at Poona, dated 1st May 1785.*

“What you write regarding the variations of the temperature in your quarter is revealed. Our physicians have thoroughly

ascertained the proper mode of treating the disease in question. The first thing to be done is to draw off by bleeding all the corrupt humours, by which means an effectual improvement will be produced in the general constitution of the patient. The body of the diseased party being thus completely brought under subjection, the next step must be to expel from it every remaining seed of the distemper, administering in the meanwhile whatever medicines may be found necessary."

*Letter to the Kazi of Nagar, dated 9th May 1785.*

"Your letter has been received. You have written that nine Frenchmen, together with their captain, have embraced the faith and that the said captain humbly hoped to be honoured with the command of a Risala of Ahmedies. It is known: and our pleasure is that ten rupees be given to each of them and that they be all despatched under an escort to the Presence, where on their arrival the aforesaid captain shall receive the honour he solicits. Peremptory orders for the payment of the above stipends and for furnishing the necessary escort have been sent to the Killedar of Nagar."

*Letter to Kamruddin, dated 17th May 1785.*

"You write that the quantity of powder as well as of eighteen and twenty-four pounds shot with Burhanuddin's army is inadequate to the service going forward and request us to send orders to the Killedar of Dharwar to despatch a further supply of those articles. It is known. We have already written and now again write to say that all stores arriving from the taluks of the Sircar are to be divided equally between you and Burhanuddin.

"We enclose an order for the shot required to the Killedar of Dharwar, to whom you will forward it. On receiving this supply, deliver half of it to Burhanuddin. In like manner, take the half of all other supplies that arrive, and attacking Nergund from one side while Burhanuddin attacks it from the other, let the fortress be speedily reduced."

*Letter to Muhammad Ushruf, dated 17th May 1785.*

"Your letter accompanied by a statement of the receipts, disbursements and balances of the taluks of Gutti, Bellary and Ananthapur has been received and the particulars set forth therein are understood.

"You write that there are large balances outstanding in the taluks of the Sircar and particularly in Gutti and Bellary, where only a thousand pagodas have been collected notwithstanding four horsemen have been employed as Suzawuls (a kind of bailiffs employed to enforce payments due on account of revenue. They were maintained, while they were employed, at the expense of the defaulters); and you therefore desire that peremptory orders may be issued on the occasion from the Presence. You must scourge the defaulters severely and by this means speedily realise the dues of the Sircar."

*Letter to Muhammad Ghayas at Poona, dated 5th June 1785.*

"Whenever letters are received from you, the proper answers to them are deliberated on and written accordingly. Thus in the present case our writing in the manner we have done to Rao Rasta was the result of expediency; and sometime hereafter the utility of the proceeding will appear."

*Letter to Muhammad Ghayas and Noor Muhammad who had reported against one Sadasiva a harkar, dated 9th June 1785.*

"What question or debate therefore can arise with him and why should he be made privy to any secret affairs. You must require of him what it is his duty to perform and no other."

*Letter to Muhammad Ghayas, dated 18th June 1785.*

"If they should allow Noor Muhammad Khan to depart, then you must despatch him hither and practising procrastination you will yourself remain behind for some time, writing us occasionally the news of that quarter. In the event however of their not giving the aforesaid Khan his audience of leave, you must both of you continue there; and continue by one means or another to amuse

them for a certain time and to deceive them by speeches calculated to flatter their selfish views or to work upon their avariciousness.”

*Letter to Munzoor Ali Khan attached to the Mughal Court of Shah Alum at Delhi, dated 23rd June 1785.*

“Many Mussalmans are in the habit of carrying about their persons (in pockets and the like) for their convenience or to answer occasional calls gold mohurs and rupees. But inasmuch as the gold and silver coins stamped with the names of the rulers of the age contravene the prescriptions of our liturgy, I have on this account devised and coined and caused to be circulated a new and superior kind of gold mohur in which the names of God, of the Holy Prophet and of the august Prince of Sanctity and of Sages are introduced. Of this new coinage is my nuzur to His Majesty composed; and I have likewise sent in token of friendship twenty-five of the same sort of gold mohurs for your acceptance.”

*Letter to Sheik Ahmed, dated 28th June 1785.*

“On your arrival here, you shall in all things experience our care and protection agreeably to your wishes and be appointed to the charge of the mercantile concerns. A proper place shall be assigned you for a factory and such advances of money be made to you as may be requisite for enabling you to carry on your trade advantageously, all the profits of which shall rest with you for a term of two years, during which time also we promise to grant you an exemption from all duties on your merchandise. Repair therefore to our Presence without fear or distrust.”

*Letter to Raja Ramchander, dated 2nd August 1785.*

“You write that in conformity with our orders you have established shops on our behalf in every taluk under your authority and engaged in our service a shroff and accountant for conducting the concerns of each, but that in some districts the object of profit is completely frustrated, while in others the gains are so very small as to be inadequate even for the monthly pay of the shroffs and accountants, owing, as you say, to the more considerable towns where heretofore gold and silver bullion and specie to the amount of thousands of pagodas used to be brought for the purposes of traffic

being now forsaken by the traders, who taking alarm at the establishment of our shops or warehouses resort in consequence to other places; none but the poorer classes, in short, ever dealing with them and then only to the amount perhaps of six or seven fanams.

“It is known. Admitting that the profits, for instance, are only seven pagodas and that the expense on account of the shroff and accountants amount to ten, how long can this last or the dealers continue to carry their money and bullion to other places? They will finally come and make their purchases at our warehouses. You will therefore proceed to establish shroffs and accountants in every taluk according to the amount of its saleable produce.

“You suggest the establishment of banking-houses on the part of the Sircar and the appointment of a banker with a salary to superintend them. You also propose, with our permission, to open warehouses for the sale of cloths at Bangalore, Hoskote and other places..... There is no regulation issued by us that does not cost us in the framing of it the deliberation of five hundred years. This being the case, do you perform exactly what we order, neither exceeding our directions nor suggesting anything further from yourself.”

*Letter to Mohiyuddin Ali Khan, dated 31st August 1785.*

“It has been reported to us that you sit constantly at home without ever appearing at the cutcherry. This is not well. You must pass a proper portion of your time daily in the cutcherry and there diligently apply to the affairs of the Sircar, without suffering any one to come to you at your own house on public business....”

*Letter to Syed Muhammad, Killedar of Seringapatam, dated 12th September 1785.*

“It has been reported to us that the mutsaddi of the Jyshee, Krishna Rao, has been bitten by a mad dog. We therefore wish to desire that you will give the aforesaid mutsaddi in particular charge to the physician Muhammad Baig who must administer to him the proper medicines in such cases and restore him to health. He must

also be told not to let the discharge from the wound stop but to keep it open for six months."

*Letter to Noor Muhammad Khan, dated 14th September 1785.*

"We have, of late, repeatedly heard that Rao Rasta having sent for you, you declined waiting upon him on account of a dispute that had arisen respecting a woman belonging to some Mussalman, returning for answer to his message that if they would let the woman go you would attend him. This account has occasioned us the utmost surprise and astonishment. This is a domestic disturbance among the inhabitants of their own country. Where was the necessity of your interfering in this matter or your refusing to wait upon Rao Rastá when he sent for you, thereby throwing our affairs into confusion. It seems to us that old age must have produced this deviation in your conduct and rendered you thus unmindful of your lives and honour. It would have been most consonant to the state of the times and to the regard you owed to our interests, if considering their dissensions as beneficial to Islam you had secretly encouraged the Mussalmans in their proceedings, while you apparently looked on as unconcerned spectators, instead of interposing with such an extraordinary recommendation as you did and which was altogether unworthy of your understandings. When the Nazarenes seized upon hundreds of Mussalman women, where was the zeal for the support of Islamism, which you are now so desirous of manifesting there. For the future, it will be proper that you should never take any share in their domestic concerns but attend exclusively to whatever may promote the success of our affairs....."

*Letter to Gulam Haidar, dated 12th October 1785.*

"You write for instructions with regard to the prices at which you should buy certain articles for use, in order that you may regulate your prices accordingly. Old age has certainly made havoc on your understanding; otherwise you would have known that the Mutsaddies here are not the proper persons to determine the market prices there. It is the Mutsaddies there and the instructions given to them on this head which should be referred

to on this occasion. Seek the necessary information from the Dewany Cutcherry and act accordingly."

*Letter to the Imaum of Muscat, dated 11th November 1785.*

"A Dow, the property of Rutnjee and Jeevan Doss, merchants of Muscat, having in these days been dismasted in a storm, came into Byte Koal (Bhatkal). Although, in such cases, it is customary for the Prince or the ruler of the place where a ship happens to be wrecked to take possession of it and whatever it contains, yet as there is no distinction between the country of the Sircar and Muscat and as the above mentioned merchants declared themselves to be your subjects, the vessel in question, together with all the stores contained in it, has been restored to the aforesaid merchants and is accordingly now despatched to you along with this friendly epistle....."

*Letter to Meer Kazim, Daroga or Commercial Consul at Muscat, dated 18th November 1785.*

Juzeerah Diraz (Long Island) is in that quarter. Sūk-worms and their eggs are produced there. We wish you to procure some of both and despatch them to us, together with five or six men acquainted with the proper mode of rearing them.

*Letter to Meer Kazim, dated 25th November 1785.*

"Having ascertained in what part of Long Island saffron is cultivated, engage two persons in our service and send them thither to purchase one or two maunds of seed, which when procured is to be despatched to us.

"You have still on hand, of former importation, both sandalwood and black pepper. You will now receive more of each. This stock you must not immediately expose to sale, but give out that you have received our orders to discontinue the sale thereof at Muscat and to despatch it to Juddah (where also we have a factory) and that you are in consequence about to do so. Having circulated this report, you must keep the goods by you, till the price of them advances twenty-five or thirty pagodas the candy, when you will sell them without further delay."

*Letter to four Armenian merchants, dated 26th November 1785.*

“We have lately learnt that you have it in contemplation to come with ships laden with merchandise to our ports for the purpose of trading and that you wish to sail under English or Portuguese colours and to obtain our special license for these purposes. We highly approve of your intention and desire you will repair in the utmost confidence with your merchandise either to the port of Mangalore or to the port of Calicut, where landing your goods, you shall in the first instance supply us at a fair price with such articles as we may want from the list of goods to be sent to us by you, after which you shall be at liberty to sell the remainder at your pleasure and to take your departure when you like. We have accordingly written and herewith enclose two Parwanas to the above effect, one of them to Urshud Beg Khan, the Foujdar of Calicut and the other to Gulam Haidar, the Amil of Mangalore, to either of which ports you may resort as you shall think proper.”

*Letter to Mohiyuddin Ali Khan, dated 5th January 1786.*

“You write that you have recently discovered a vein of lead the ore of which resembles that formerly found, that you have sent us seven pieces of it by the post and that you wish to be instructed whether to despatch the lead you may obtain by hired bullocks or wait the arrival of some persons from the Presence. You must collect the said lead in the fort of Sidhout. It is usual for a silver mine or silver-earth to be found under a lead mine. You must therefore send for the said earth and collect it together in the before mentioned place. Persons skilled in such earth will be shortly sent from the Presence to examine it.”

*Letter to Gulam Ali Khan, dated 7th January 1786.*

“The camphor tree has been recently discovered in this part of the Sircar’s country. We have sent two bottles of the essential oil made from it for your use. You must rub your feet with it and also take it inwardly in meat-broth, putting about a tola weight of it into a basin of broth. Inform us what benefit you may receive from the use of it.”

*Letter to the Raja of Pegu, dated 22nd January 1786.*

Tippu stated in the letter that he sent in token of friendship by the hands of two of his servants Muhammad Kasim and Muhammad Ibrahim a present for the Raja consisting of two horses and a Mehataby dress (a dress made of a particular kind of silver tissue). He further said that his view in sending those persons was for the opening of a commercial intercourse between the two States of Mysore and Pegu, whereby an exchange of the commodities of each might be established to the mutual convenience and advantage of both. Tippu next invited the Raja to communicate to his agents, as also from time to time by letter, what articles he might wish to be supplied with from his country, in order that the same might be forwarded to the Raja. Tippu further said that having heard that rubies of high value, of fine colour and of a superior kind were to be had in Pegu, he had in consequence directed his agents to purchase through the medium of the Raja's ministers a certain number of stones weighing each from ten to thirty fanams weight. A request also followed that the Raja would accordingly order his ministers to assist his agents in purchasing the rubies required at as cheap a price as possible.

*Letter to Gulam Ali, dated 1st March 1786.*

It is our wish to obtain possession of the port of Bussorah in farm. Consequently we are for several reasons well pleased at your taking the route of Bussorah while proceeding to Constantinople. Proceeding thither, you will examine into the state of things there and make every necessary enquiry respecting the port, where you will at the same time dispose of your merchandise. From thence you must repair straight to Nujuf where you must represent to the priests in charge of the holy shrine whether it would be agreeable to them to have an aqueduct brought to Nujuf from the Euphrates and if they signify their pleasure to that effect, we will in the following year send the necessary people and money for its construction."

*Letter to Badru Zamuan Khan, dated 5th March 1786.*

"What you write concerning the death of five hundred Coorgs from small-pox is understood. The whole country thereabouts is

covered with underwood. They must be kept where the climate may best agree with them."

*Letter to Gulam Ahmed, Khaji of Nagar, dated 12th March 1786.*

"We understand what you have represented regarding a certain Mussalman inhabitant of Luckwalli who was in the habit of worshipping images in the manner of the Hindus and whom you in consequence upon hearing of the matter seized together with his wife and children, despatching what money as well as gold and silver trinkets they possessed to the Cutcherry of the Ehsham and keeping them under a guard till you should receive our orders respecting them. You will deal with the aforesaid offender according to law and then let him go. In matters relating to our holy law, you are authorised to act as you think proper."

*Letter to Gulam Munsoor, Amil of Silcotah, dated 5th May 1786.*

"Your letter reporting that the Jamedar Syed Amin had beaten the Bukshy Nawaz Baig in such a manner as to occasion the death of the latter and that you had in consequence secured the aforesaid Jamedar by putting irons on his legs and arms. Our special retinue will arrive the day after to-morrow at Great Balapoor. Securing the murderer's arms and legs well in fetters, you must place him in a dooly and bring him along with yourself under a strong guard to the Presence."

*Letter to Raja Ramchander, dated 1st November 1786.*

"What you have represented regarding the flight of the ryots belonging to Great Balapoor on account of the increase of six or seven thousand pagodas produced in the revenue in consequence of our having fixed the exchange of the Royal Pagoda at 12 canteroi fanams, together with the excuse which you have offered for the ryots on the occasion is understood. Where is the hardship or difficulty in a ryot having to pay an additional fanam or two upon his rent, which is the most that can fall upon the individual, when the tax complained of is divided among the whole."

*Letter to Turbiyat Ali Khan, dated 2nd December 1786.*

"Your representation with regard to our not honouring your letters with regular or early answers is understood. That great

person (meaning Turbiyat Ali Khan) eats two or three times a day, sits at his ease and amuses himself with conversation. We on the other hand are occupied from morning to night with business. Whenever we have leisure, we attend to the answering of your despatches."

*Letter to Monsieur Lally, dated 11th December 1786.*

"You must allow no more than a single shop to be opened in your camp for the vending of spirituous liquours and over that you must place a guard for the purpose of preventing the sale of spirits to any but the Europeans belonging to you, it being a rule in our victorious army that no shop of this kind shall be permitted to be established.

*Letter to Monsieur Cossigny, dated 29th December 1786.*

"There is a book which comes from Europe and which treats of the thermometer wherein it is written that at certain stated times the quicksilver rises a certain number of degrees, and that if at such times a person afflicted with any one of certain stated disorders shall during a paroxysm of his complaint place his hand on the thermometer, the degree to which the quicksilver may in consequence ascend will indicate the state or height of such person's disorder. Get this book translated into Persian and send it to the Presence."

*Letter to Shamsudeen Khan, dated 17th January 1787.*

"In addition to the camels which were sometime ago sent to you for the conveyance hither of certain articles of our special camp equipage, we have now despatched fifty others for the purpose of bringing treasure. You must accordingly despatch the tents on the former and on the latter the treasure."

*Tippu's instructions to some of his spies—Gulam Ahmed,  
Daroga of Harkars and Syed Ali, Daroga of Couriers  
and Meer Baker, Daroga of the Paishkheema: Shama Naik,  
Shaisa Naik and Sadasiva Naik.*

"You the above mentioned Harkar Naiks must during the period of one month at a time place spies throughout the whole fort

in the town of Ganjam and in the two camp huzars etc., and also over the gates of the great Meers' houses and by these means gain intelligence of every person who goes to the dwelling of another and of what people say and acquire knowledge of the true state of things. You three darogas must write the occurrences of everyday in three separate Persian reports with your own hands and you three Naiks must with your own hands three separate Kanada reports and bring and deliver them to the Presence. But first you must give intelligence to all persons that it is the order of the Presence that no one shall go to the house of another to converse but that whatever they may have to say must be communicated in their respective cutcherries. If notwithstanding this order any person should go to the house of another, you must upon his returning out of the same bring him that moment to the gate of the palace and report the circumstance to the Presence."

The following is a sample of a report by a spy, Muhammad Mukhdum, the son of Lala Meea—"Cherisher of the World! Health be unto you! Your slave as he was coming from the house of his brother happened to meet in the way with Gulam Haidar. Sitting down together, he told me that the household effects of Hussain Ali were about to be sent off that very day. I answered that I had heard the same thing but not from any authority to be depended upon. Now however that your slave has received the orders of the resplendent Presence for the purpose, he will be careful to obtain every possible information and to report to the sublime Presence such authentic intelligence as shall reach him."

*Letter to Urshud Baig Khan, Foujdar of Calicut,  
dated 2nd February 1787.*

"You must give the most strict orders to all the merchants and other inhabitants of that place (Calicut) neither to buy any goods of the English factor who is come thither, nor sell grain or any other articles whatsoever to him. How long in this case will the above named remain? He will in the end despair of making either sales or purchases and depart from thence."

## CHAPTER XXXI.

**Colonel Arthur Wellesley appointed commandant of the fort—Establishment of order—Surrender of Kamruddin, Purnaiya and Fateh Haidar—People generally reconciled to the change.**

Special attention was now needed to re-establish order in the town. It was midnight before Major Allan, as has been already stated, could return to his tent from Tippu's palace on the memorable day of the storming of the fort. It was not an occasion, however, for him to take rest for any length of time. Early on the morning of the 5th May, Major Allan seated in his palanquin and accompanied by the Killedar and Syed Sahib's brother on horseback went into the fort and first visited the place where Syed Sahib had lain wounded the previous day. His body was not there but his brother finding one of his slippers picked it up and burying it in his bosom manifested immense grief. The party then went to Syed Sahib's house which they found plundered of every article of value and found also that the women and children had been roughly handled during the previous night. On receiving information that Syed Sahib's body was in a neighbouring house and on going there they found the corpse laid out and a fine boy of 8 years of age Syed Sahib's son and some other relations weeping over it. The corpse was taken and buried at Syed Sahib's house in a specially prepared grave. The family of Kamruddin was found in a miserable enclosure for sheltering cattle, his house having been burnt the preceding night.

Colonel Arthur Wellesley was on this day appointed to the command of Seringapatam and relieved General Baird of his charge. The first thing that Wellesley did after his assumption of charge was to send guards to the houses of the principal men of the town to secure safety for their families. Another task, though an unpleasant one, which he had to attend to was the disposal of a number of tigers chained in Tippu's palace. These beasts were found starving without anybody to attend to them and had consequently become violent. Meer Alum was asked if he would take care of them

and on his expressing inability to do so, these poor animals were shot. Next, Wellesley found that he could not hope to stop the plunder that continued in the town without executing some of the plunderers. Soldiers and sepoys were found crowding into the town at all hours and several of the officers also were no exceptions. The influx of these people increased the confusion that already prevailed in the town and added to the terror of the inhabitants. To give assurance to the people, cowls or peace flags were hoisted in different parts of the town and public notice was given that severe example would be made of persons detected in the act of plundering houses or molesting the inhabitants. It was not however until four men were executed that perfect tranquillity was restored. Colonel Wellesley himself went to the houses of the principal officers and his visits soon inspired general confidence. In order to prevent depredations being committed on any large scale, a body of troops was stationed at a little distance from the fort. Consequent on the sudden and complete dissolution of Tippu's Government, the dispersion of all the public functionaries and the helpless situation of the Sultan's family, it also became necessary to appoint a civil officer for the performance of civil functions under the control of the commandant. The soldiers and sepoys of the regiments as well as officers except those on duty were prohibited for a time from indiscriminately entering the town and by their behaviour adding to the terror of the inhabitants.

The disposal of the dead was a huge task. Besides the Sultan, a considerable number of his chiefs and confidential officers had been slain and within forty-eight hours after the attack nearly 11,000 dead bodies floating in the moats or remaining concealed among the ruins were also buried, not to mention those left partially consumed by the conflagrations under the archway of the sally-port and other gates. Among the slain were included men, women and children of all ages.

Thus, to the terrified people of Seringapatam Wellesley proved himself a real protector and peace-giver. It was considered a jobbery on the part of General Harris to have appointed Colonel Wellesley to this important command, because he happened to be

the Governor-General's brother. Whatever the reason was for the appointment, the succeeding events justified the selection and the disorders incidental to a town captured by storm were vigorously suppressed, the fugitive inhabitants who had sought refuge in adjacent fields, woods and villages returned, and business and life began to flow into their usual channels to a large extent. It was a true observation that Colonel Wellesley made, though on a later occasion, that nothing except a battle lost was half so melancholy as a battle won.

We have already mentioned of the surrender of Abdul Khalik another son of Tippu on the 5th May and of his presence at the funeral of his father. On the 6th letters were sent to Fateh Haidar, Kamruddin and Purnaiya offering them protection if they would deliver themselves up and assist in settling the new government. On the 8th Kamruddin Khan who commanded 4,000 horse and whose father's sister was Tippu's mother sent Ali Raza Khan, one of the vakeels who negotiated the peace of 1792 with Marquis Cornwallis, with a message to General Harris that he considered that after the fall of Tippu the only honourable course left to him was to tender his submission unconditionally to the British. General Harris sent an answer with assurances of respect for his character and attention to his claims. On the 10th May Kamruddin came to Seringapatam from near French Rocks to pay a visit to General Harris. Captain Macleod was sent to meet him and when the latter reached the British camp, Colonel Close received him and conducted him to General Harris' tent. It was a mere formal visit and after the usual ceremonials and presents, the Khan took his leave. He then visited Meer Alum and was afterwards conducted to the fort, tents having been pitched by his desire for him in his garden.

On the 11th May Purnaiya sent a message to General Harris expressing his desire to pay his respects to the General and regretting that he had been prevented from doing so earlier by the rising of the river. On the 12th May Purnaiya paid his visit and General Harris had a long conversation with him regarding the settlement of the country. Purnaiya suggested that for the sake of

immediate peace the Silledars should be directed to go to their respective inam lands granted for their maintenance and to remain there until final arrangements were made, that their horses should be taken for the Sircar and the men be paid until otherwise provided for. Purnaiya also urged the dignity of the family of Tippu and the propriety of granting to the members decent allowances, not to speak of the creation of a fresh principality for one of his sons. General Harris and the other officers present were, it is said, much impressed with Purnaiya's personal character and by his general reputation for shrewdness and ability.

On the 13th May Fateh Haidar came to the north bank of the river from beyond French Rocks and halted there. The next day Captain Malcolm was sent to meet the prince and to conduct him to General Harris. The commander-in-chief received Fateh Haidar with every mark of attention but the latter was found to be much depressed and affected no doubt by the change in his fortunes. All the sirdars and chiefs of regular horse are stated to have shown great deference to this prince by their all seating themselves on the ground while Fateh Haidar was seated in a chair. The visit was a painful one to all present, and after some silence Amid Khan one of the sirdars rose up and in a loud voice addressed General Harris maintaining at the same time a perfectly respectful and dignified attitude. He said—"Behave in such a manner that your fame for justice may go as far as your fame for victory. The whole world acknowledges that the English are brave, show that you are equally generous." After dresses had been presented to Fateh Haidar and to the principal sirdars, the prince retired and was conducted by Captain Malcolm to a house in the fort prepared for his reception. A French force which was not more than 120, twenty of whom were officers who had remained with Fateh Haidar surrendered along with him.

Letters were sent to the Killedars of all forts calling on them to surrender their charges and most of them readily responded to the call and parties of troops were sent to take possession of such forts. The people in general far from showing any reluctance to offer their submission to the British officers, it is stated, voluntarily came

forward expressing joy for the termination of hostilities and for the establishment of peace in the country. The first fort which so surrendered was that of Maddur\* about 50 miles from Bangalore on the Mysore road. Major Allan who was at Maddur on the 20th May has recorded in his dairy that the inhabitants furnished all that he and his troops required and that they seemed quite reconciled to the change that had taken place.

\*An idea of the military stores generally contained in the forts may be obtained from what was found in this fort. This fort contained 373 guns, 60 mortars and 11 howitzars of brass, 466 guns, 12 mortars and 7 guns unfinished, of iron; in all 929 pieces of ordnance, of which 287 were mounted on the fortification. 4,24,400 rounds of shot, 5,20,000 pounds of powder, 99,000 muskets, carbines etc., of which 30,000 stand of French and 7,000 of the Company's arms. There were also powder magazines, 2 buildings for boring guns and muskets, 5 large arsenals, and 17 other buildings filled with swords, accoutrements, rockets and a variety of small stores.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### **Partition of the territories of Tippu Sultan among the allies and the reconstitution of the Mysore State.**

The death of Tippu Sultan relieved Lord Mornington of any embarrassment that might have been caused to him if the former had survived. General Harris was equally relieved of all immediate care by the surrender of Tippu's family and of his principal officers and he was able thereby to establish peace in the country and to consolidate his position. The practical suggestions made by Purnaiya also went far to help the commander-in-chief for the proper disposal of the wreck of Tippu Sultan's army without the possibility of their roaming in the country as free-booters.

In a letter addressed to the Court of Directors in London on the 11th May Lord Mornington while expressing his satisfaction at the success that had attended his efforts to subjugate Tippu Sultan, at the same time stated that though the dreadful fate of the fallen ruler could not be contemplated without emotions of pain and regret, yet it should serve as a salutary lesson to Indian princes and should prove the danger of violating public engagements and inviting foreign invasion for the prosecution of schemes of ambition and hatred against the British Power. It was at first the intention of Lord Mornington to himself proceed to Seringapatam for the final settlement of affairs there and as a preliminary he sent his private secretary Henry Wellesley another brother of his and Lt-Col. Kirkpatrick, his military secretary with such orders as appeared immediately requisite for the guidance of General Harris. Mornington was in some fear at this time of a possibility of a French invasion of India from the Red Sea and consequently directed General Harris to detach the Bombay army and send it to the West Coast to take possession of Canara as soon as possible. General Harris was also directed to send another body of troops to take possession of the Coimbatore country and Baramahal.

On the 15th May Lord Mornington again wrote to General Harris to convey to Kamruddin of the Governor-General's great satisfaction for his unconditional submission to the generosity of the

British Power and to assure him that his claim for the jahagir of Gurumkonda would receive sympathetic consideration. He also enclosed for delivery to him a letter under his own hand and seal believing that it would tend to inspire additional confidence. The commander-in-chief was also required to inform all the sirdars and persons in high office in the Government of Tippu that the degree of favour and protection to be extended to them by the Company and the allies would be regulated according to the fidelity with which they rendered an account of all the property of the Sircar under their charge, referring in particular to the stable horse, to the draught and carriage cattle and to all arms, ordnance and stores belonging to the late Government. The Asophs and Amils were also required to hold public property of every description in their charge as well as the revenue collected at the disposal of the allies and were also apprised that a regular account of all the property and revenue would be taken with the greatest accuracy as soon as circumstances permitted. General Harris was also impressed with the immediate necessity of securing to persons of every description the safe and undisturbed possession of their private properties.

Later it was found inexpedient and unnecessary for Lord Mornington to proceed to Seringapatam for the purpose of personally settling the future of the country and he therefore appointed a Commission to assume charge of this task under his direction, consisting of General Harris, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Colonel Kirkpatrick and Lt-Col. Close with Captains Malcolm and Thomas Munro as joint secretaries and laid down the following principles for their guidance :—

1. That mode of settlement was to be preferred which should unite the most speedy restoration of peace and order with the greatest practicable security for the continuance of both.
2. For this purpose not only the interests of the Company but also those of the Nizam, of the Mahrattas and of the leading chieftains in Mysore were to be conciliated,

3. The military power of Mysore was to be broken and to be absolutely identified with that of the Company.
4. Seringapatam was to be a British garrison town under whatever nominal authority it might be placed.
5. The Company was to retain the whole of the Sultan's territory in Malabar and also in Coimbatore and Dharapuram with the heads of the passes on the table-land of Mysore.

The commissioners assembled at Seringapatam for the first time on the 8th June 1799 and were bound by oaths to keep their proceedings secret. Agreeably to Lord Mornington's instructions, their first task was to make provision for the chiefs of Tippu's army. Gurumkonda a jahagir yielding 70,000 canteroi pagodas which had formerly belonged to his father was settled on Kamruddin and his relations and he left Seringapatam on the 19th June to Gurumkonda. The chief officers were allowed the same pay as they had received from Tippu and suitable provisions were made for the families of those who had fallen during the war. As both humanity and policy required the conciliation of Tippu's sirdars, suitable pensions, hereditary or for life as circumstances indicated, were allotted to them and when this announcement was made to them at a meeting held for the purpose on the 12th June 1799, they received the same, it is said, with the liveliest sensations of gratitude. Through the persuasion of Purnaiya the Silledars without giving any trouble returned to their lands. The stable horses were allotted to complete the deficiencies in the different corps of the Company's cavalry, while others not fit for that service were transferred for the use of the Nizam. The Frenchmen in the service of Mysore were sent as prisoners of war to Madras. Thus the Sultan's army was almost entirely broken up.

Regarding the division of the Mysore territories, Mornington was guided mostly by considerations of expediency and in part by those of justice. In a despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 3rd August 1799, he summarised these considerations and said that the Company and the Nizam by their conquest had derived an

undoubted right to dispose of the conquered territories either by dividing the whole between themselves or by allowing others also to participate on grounds of humanity or policy in such division. The Mahrattas, in his opinion, having taken no share in the war had forfeited every pretension to participate in the advantages which had accrued. The numerous progeny of Tippu Sultan, he further said, could plead no title which had not been superseded by the conquest of the kingdom. Nor was it possible in estimating their claims to forget the usurpation of Haidar Ali and the sufferings of the unfortunate Hindu royal family displaced from the throne of Mysore. To the free and uncontrolled exercise of the right of conquest vested in the Company and the Nizam no obstacle existed in the internal state of the Kingdom of Mysore, the whole body of the inhabitants of the country having manifested the most favourable disposition to submit to the Company's Government. The policy of Tippu Sultan had been to concentrate not only the whole authority of the State but the whole administration of the Government in his own person, with the result that the numerous Mahomedan Sirdars and others employed by him possessed neither individual weight nor collective force. Many of them had been killed either at Malavalli, Siddeswar or Seringapatam during the course of the war. Most of the survivors together with their families were actually concentrated in the fortress of Seringapatam entirely dependent on the clemency of the Company's Government. Lord Mornington finally concluded that the approved policy, interests and honour of the British nation required that the settlement of the extensive territories now at their disposal should be based on principles acceptable to the inhabitants of the conquered territories, and that such settlement should be just and conciliatory towards the contiguous Native States and indulgent to every party in any degree affected by the consequences of the success of the British arms.

It was considered that an equal division of territory between the Nizam and the Company would afford strong grounds of jealousy to the Mahrattas and would augment the Nizam's power beyond all bounds of discretion. Further, such a division would place in the hands of the Nizam many of the strong fortresses on the northern frontier of Mysore and would expose the Company's

frontier in that quarter to every predatory incursion, besides laying the foundation of perpetual differences not only between the Mahrattas and the Nizam but also between the Company and both those powers. At the same time, it was obviously unjust and inexpedient to allow the Mahrattas who had borne no part in the expenses or the hazards of the war an equal share along with the Company and the Nizam, not to speak of the danger accruing from a considerable expansion of the Mahratta empire. It was however deemed advisable to enlist the goodwill of the Mahrattas by offering to them such portions of the territory as might give them an interest in the new settlement without offence or injury to the Nizam and without danger to the Company's possessions. It was equally advisable to limit the territory retained in the hands of the Company and of the Nizam within such bounds of moderation as would bear a due proportion to their respective expenses in the contest and to the necessary means of securing the safety of their respective dominions. In these circumstances all considerations pointed, in Lord Mornington's eyes, to the expediency of the establishment of a central and separate Government in Mysore under the protection of the Company and the admission of the Mahrattas to a certain participation in the division of the conquered territories. Such a solution, it was considered, would reconcile the interests of all parties and would secure to the Company a less invidious and more efficient share of revenue, resource, commercial advantage and military strength than was obtainable under any other method.

Under the distribution carried out according to this pronouncement of Lord Mornington, to the Company's share fell Canara, Coimbatore and Dharapuram with all the territories lying below the Ghauts between the Company's territories in the Carnatic and those in Malabar. These acquisitions were useful to the Company not only on account of their intrinsic value in point of revenue but also because they secured an uninterrupted tract of territory from the coast of Coromandal to that of Malabar, together with the entire sea coast of the Kingdom of Mysore and the base of all the eastern, western and southern Ghauts. To these were also added the forts and posts forming the heads of all the passes above

the Ghauts on the table-land inasmuch as it was regarded that the possession of the base of the Ghauts alone formed no effectual barrier to incursions from the table-land but that the possession of all the entrances of the passes situated above the Ghauts would afford such security against every possible approach of danger from the table-land. This acquisition also afforded the Company's Government ample means to curb the refractory spirit of the palegars and other turbulent and disaffected people in the Carnatic and on the coast of Malabar. The whole island of Seringapatam became a British possession securing thereby communication between the Company's territories between the two coasts and also consolidated all lines of defence in every direction.

To the Nizam was allotted the districts of Gutti and Gurumkonda bordering on the division of the Mysore territory obtained by him in 1792, together with a tract of country bordering along the line of Chitaldrug, Sira, Nandidoorg and Kolar, excluding however those fortresses to the southward forming the frontier of the new Government of Mysore. To the Peshwa were reserved Harpanhalli, Soonda and Aneundi with parts of the districts of Chitaldrug and Bednore above the Ghauts. It was made a condition, however, that before allowing possession of the allotted territory the Peshwa was to accept a subsidiary force to be stationed at Poona by the Company's Government and to agree to the arbitration of the Governor-General for the settlement of the differences then existing between him and the Nizam. Further, the Peshwa was to give his consent to dismiss the French contingents under him as also to bind himself not to employ any Europeans in his service without the consent of the Company's Government.\*

The rest of the Mysore territory as it existed at the fall of Seringapatam was reconstituted into the now existing State of Mysore, slight alterations being made in its limits in later years.

---

\*As the Peshwa did not agree to these conditions, the territories reserved for him were divided between the British and the Nizam. Incidentally it may also be stated here that subsequently in 1800 the Nizam ceded to the British the territories acquired from Mysore both in 1792 as well as in 1799 in return for a force of British troops to be stationed at Hyderabad.

A treaty on the above lines was concluded between the Company and the Nizam in which the Peshwa was also included conditionally and this treaty was signed on the 22nd June 1799 by the commissioners on behalf of the Governor-General and by Meer Alum on behalf of the Nizam. Lord Mornington ratified this treaty on the 26th of the same month at Madras and the Nizam did the same at Hyderabad on the 13th July of the same year. By this partition treaty the Company's revenue was augmented by about 7 lakhs of Star pagodas annually, a star pagoda being Rs.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in value and that of the Nizam by about five lakhs of Star pagodas, while the revenue of the territory allotted for the new State of Mysore was calculated to yield 25 lakhs of Star pagodas. The revenue of the territory reserved for the Mahrattas was reckoned at about three lakhs of Star pagodas.



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### Prize-money and its distribution.

By the unrestricted plunder of the town of Seringapatam and its neighbourhood, several of the men of the army became, it is stated, rich beyond the dreams of avarice. Colonel Arthur Wellesley in a letter to his brother Lord Mornington informed him that nothing exceeded what was done on the night of the 4th May, that scarcely a house in the town was left unplundered and that in the camp bazaars jewels of the greatest value, bars of gold and numerous other articles of value were offered for sale by soldires, sepoys and followers of the army at indiscriminate prices or exchanged for articles of nominal value. Single pearls of great value are said to have been offered in exchange for a bottle of liquor. An army doctor was able to purchase from a soldier two bracelets set with diamonds and the less costly one is said to have been valued by a Hyderabad jeweller at £30,000 sterling. The other bracelet the jeweller is said to have declared, was of such superlative value that he could not fix a price. In spite of these enormous gains, the officers and men were further eager for a distribution among them of all the properties captured in the palace and Arthur Wellesley warned his brother that every one in the army beginning from General Harris himself was eager for an immediate distribution of these spoils and that none were so inflammable as a successful army which had no work to busy itself with.

Under the notion that all the captured properties belonged to the army General Harris appointed a prize committee with General Floyd as president. In the meanwhile, Colonel Wellesley had presented Tippu's State sword found in his bedroom to General Baird with a graceful note accompanying the gift. General Floyd after his appointment took objection to this action of Colonel Wellesley inasmuch as the sword, in his opinion, belonged to the prize committee and that the latter wished the presentation to be made on their behalf by the commander-in-chief at an open meeting to General Baird and this was accordingly done, no doubt causing

some mortification to Colonel Wellesley. These prize agents behaved, in Colonel Wellesley's eyes, as veritable sharks and went so far as even to sell the ornamental doors of the palace and Tippu's clothing. "The prize agents," wrote Colonel Wellesley in a letter to his brother, "have got a large quantity of clothes belonging to and worn by the late Sultan, which unless prevented they will sell at public auction and these will be bought as relics by the discontented Mussalmans of this place. This will not only be disgraceful but unpleasant; and I therefore recommend that the whole may be bought by the Government and either given to the princes, or anything done with them that you may think fit." The prize committee also went to the length of searching the apartments of the zenana lest there should be any property concealed in them. But Lord Mornington on hearing of this action took strong objection to the course adopted by them and the prize commissioners were obliged to justify themselves by explaining that before the zenana was searched for treasure, separate apartments were assigned for the ladies and that no precaution was omitted to secure them from the possibility of being exposed to any inconvenience.

Another incident in connection with these prize properties is not without some humour. After the capture of Seringapatam and before any portion of the country was assigned to the old Hindu royal family, some brass idols of Hindu gods and goddesses which were in Tippu's Tosheekhane were distributed among a number of temples by order of General Harris. The prize agents subsequently required payment for them and said that if they were not paid for, the committee would charge the value of 500 pagodas against the temples. As this claim was put forward after the reconstitution of the Mysore State, Butché Rao, Purnaiya's deputy, in the absence of his chief at the time stated that as the idols were given to the temples by the order of General Harris before the country was given to the Raja, it was not proper that any payment should be made for them. Colonel Wellesley to whom the prize committee had sent their demand advised Butché Rao to send a receipt for the idols and leave it to the Resident Colonel Close to settle as to who was to make the payment—the Raja, the Company, or General Harris,

The prize committee also found in the palace an enormous and astonishing mass of wealth consisting of lakhs of specie, gold and silver plate, jewels, rich and valuable stuffs and various other articles of great price and rarity. All the numerous and extensive buildings except the zenana and the State Durbar hall had been appropriated for depositing them. The jewels were found kept in large dark rooms strongly secured and were deposited in boxes closed under the seal of Tippu or that of Haidar Ali. In the same manner were stored the greater part of the gold plate, both solid and in filigree, of which last manufacture there was almost an endless variety of beautiful articles. The jewellery set in gold was in the form of bracelets, rings, necklaces, plumes and other articles. An upper and very long apartment contained the silver plate, solid and filigree, of all dimensions and fashions and in one of the galleries were two elephant howdahs entirely of this metal. Many massive pieces of silver plate were richly inlaid with gold and jewels. It was believed at the time that these treasures must have belonged to the Hindu Royal House as well as to several of the minor Rajas and palegars subjugated by Haidar or Tippu. The repositories of fire arms and swords were most magnificently adorned with gold and jewels. Among the State palanquins were found those which had been presented by Marquis Cornwallis to the two hostage princes. There were also a number of ornamental heavy articles, particularly several door-posts of ivory of exquisite workmanship. In addition to this accumulation of treasure, there were also in various and extensive apartments rich furniture, costly carpets, cloths and other stuffs. The bales of the finest muslins, cambricks, long cloths, silks and shawls were reckoned at the enormous quantity of five hundred camel-loads. There were also telescopes and optical glasses of every size and sight, with looking-glasses and pictures in unbounded profusion, while of china and glassware there was sufficient, it is said, to form a large mercantile warehouse. In a room was found a curious piece of mechanism made of wood representing a royal tiger in life in the act of devouring a prostrate man and within the body of the animal was a row of keys of natural notes acted upon by the rotation of certain barrels in the manner of a hand-organ and which produced

sounds intended to resemble the cries of a person in distress, intermixed with the roar of the tiger. A large library in excellent preservation also existed, the volumes being kept in chests and each book having a separate wrapper. Many of the books were richly adorned and beautifully illuminated.

In these apartments was also found a most superbly decorated throne of enormous value and a superb howdah and the following description has been given of this throne.—“The seat of the throne was supported on the back of a tiger, the solid parts being made of a heavy black wood entirely covered with a coat of the purest sheet gold about as thick as a guinea, fastened on with silver nails and wrought in tiger stripes curiously indented and most beautifully and highly polished. The floor of the throne about eight feet in length and five in width was raised four feet from the ground, and besides the massy tiger which formed its central support stood upon richly ornamented uprights of the same materials placed at the outer angles. The ascent to it on each side was a ladder in the manner of a coach-step of solid silver gilt, with silver nails and all the other fastenings of the same metal. Intermixed with the ornamental workmanship of the howdah were hundreds of Arabic sentences, chiefly from the Koran, superbly stamped being raised and polished with the most beautiful effect. The canopy was formed of a lighter wood entirely cased with sheet gold in the same manner as the body of the throne and as highly ornamented with a thick fringe all round it, composed entirely of fine pearls strung on threads of gold. The central part of the roof was surmounted by a most curious and costly figure of the Hummah (the fabulous royal bird of the East) formed of solid gold nearly the size of a pigeon and covered over with the most valuable jewellery, its beak being one large and beautiful emerald with another suspended to it, its eyes two brilliant carbuncles, the breast covered with diamonds, and the wings expanded in a hovering position completely lined with diamonds. On the beak were many large jewels variously and fancifully disposed and the tail somewhat resembling that of a peacock was also studded in the same manner, the whole so arranged as to imitate the most dazzling plumage and so closely set that the gold was scarcely visible,”

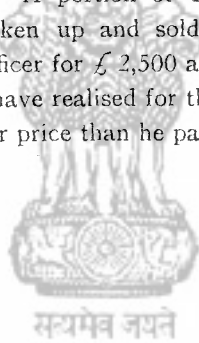
This superb throne being too unwieldy to be conveyed from the spot without damage and too valuable for any probable purchaser was broken up in the palace and the magnificent bird described was sent to the Queen of England as a present from Lord Mornington.

There were twenty granaries and seven godowns containing immense quantities of paddy, ragi, salt, pepper and horse-gram. The oldest paddy is recorded to have been of 11 years duration and in a good state of preservation. Nearly 1,000 pieces of brass and iron ordnance were found in the fort and island of Seringapatam. The number of iron shots, *viz.*, round, grape and of other descriptions amounted to more than five lakhs, besides about 12,000 shells, grenades and cases filled with grape. About 60,000 stand of small arms were found to be in an effective state. The number and quantity of other descriptions of arms, ammunition and military stores were in proportion and included between four and five thousand draught and carriage bullocks. In the stables were found only a few fine stallions and brood mares, Tippu's cavalry being then in the field. A great number of the iron ordnance and nearly all the brass six pounders numbering 51 were English manufacture and the others were in general cast in Tippu's own foundry where a degree of perfection, it is stated, had been attained in every stage of the process and even what was then the recent invention of boring guns perpendicularly had been introduced, the machinery being kept in motion by water.

The library was at first ordered to be given to the Court of Directors for the foundation of a library of eastern literature, the duplicate copies being sent to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. But subsequently, except one copy of the Koran, the greater part of the library was transferred to the then newly founded college at Fort William, Calcutta. The copy of the Koran written in beautiful characters with elegant ornamentations is now said to be preserved in the library of the Windsor Castle in England and is said to have formerly belonged to the Emperor Aurangzeb and to have cost Rs. 9,000. The rest of the library contained many curious and interesting manuscripts classified as follows—Koran and

commentaries on the same, Prayers, Traditions, Theology, Sufism, Ethics, Jurisprudence, Arts and Sciences, Philology, Astronomy, Mathematics, Physics, Philosophy, Lexicography, History, Letters, Poetry, Hindi and Dekhani Poetry, Hindi and Dekhani Prose, Turkish Prose and Fables. Some of these manuscripts are said to have belonged to the Kings of Bijapur and Golconda, but the majority were acquired when Chittoor, Savanoor and Kadapa were taken. The total number of volumes was 1,070.

A diamond star, some ornaments, and another sword of Tippu were presented to Lord Mornington on behalf of the British army. Tippu's war turban, one of his swords and a sword of Morari Rao were sent as presents to Marquis Cornwallis. General Harris the commander-in-chief received £ 1,42,902 or one-eighth of the total amount of prize-money. A portion of Tippu's throne which, as already stated, was broken up and sold in separate pieces was purchased by an army officer for £ 2,500 and when he subsequently sold the same is said to have realised for the gold and silver portion alone a very much larger price than he paid.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### **Removal of Tippu's family to Vellore and ultimately to Calcutta.**

As previously stated, it was settled by Lord Mornington that the Mysore State should be reconstituted with reduced dimensions. But it however became a somewhat difficult question as to who should be selected as ruler of this re-established State. The usurpation of Haidar and Tippu had, it was considered, become complete and it was at one time feared that the Mahomedan interests were too strong to exclude Tippu's family from the throne. The jealous policy followed by Tippu in concentrating all administrative power in his own hands and using even his high officials as mere executive instruments to carry out his behests however facilitated the solution of what at first sight appeared to be a thorny problem. It was found that the Mahomedan officials had really no great influence in the country and that they would be satisfied if their personal interests were attended to. The following extract from a letter written by Lt.-Col. Close, one of the commissioners appointed to settle the affairs of Mysore, fully confirms this view. "That Tippu loaded the departments of his Government with dronish Mussalmans cannot be denied, but the characteristic of his domination was to reserve all power to himself and allow no hereditary claims or fixed offices that might in any shape oppose the dictates of his will. Individuals holding the principal offices of the State doubtless exercised authority and from such cause possessed some influence, but of these how many remain? Burhanuddin was killed at Seringapatam, the Benki Nawab fell at Siddeswar, and Syed Sahib, Mir Sadak and Syed Gaffar at the storming of Seringapatam. Purnaiya is forthcoming and rests upon our will. Kamruddin rests upon our generosity and is perfectly at our devotion. Where then is the Mahomedan influence to embarass us or to give a turn to our politics? Tippu's infantry are discharged, his Silledar horse are dissolved, his Killedars pay us obeisance, his Asophs if so disposed have not the means to resist us, the stabel horse remain and look to our pleasure for subsistence and at best they are but so many loose

individuals connected by no head and kept apart by separate interests. They are ours for actual service at a nod."

If any one of Tippu's sons was placed on the throne of Mysore, it was impossible, Mornington considered, that he could forget the grandeur and glory of his two predecessors and that he must ever feel the humiliation of his own position as contrasted with that of his illustrious progenitors. Further, such a prince could not be expected to think with calmness of those to whom was due the downfall of his family greatness from mighty power and royal independence, and it was quite possible that when an opportunity occurred he would endeavour to recover his lost dominions, the control of which had rendered his father and grand-father the terror of the Deccan and the Carnatic.

On the other hand, it was regarded that policy, humanity and generosity all combined to favour the restoration of the ancient Hindu royal family to the throne. It was not unnatural to suppose that they would be grateful and attached to that power which rescued them from unmerited obscurity and oppression and restored them to their rightful place. Sensible that their continuance on the throne depended upon the British Government they would, it was believed, maintain at all times cordial friendship with the British to whom they owed gratitude for the great service rendered to them. Accordingly, Lord Mornington's verdict was given in favour of the reinstatement of the Hindu royal family.

Both decorum and consideration for the feelings of the deposed family required, it was thought, that before the installation of the Hindu Raja on the throne of his ancestors Tippu's family should be removed from Seringapatam to another place. The Nizam had expressed a desire that a part of the family should be allowed to reside in his dominions but Lord Mornington did not agree to such a plan both on grounds of political expediency as well as consideration for the feelings of the family as a whole. Accordingly he chose Vellore in the Company's territories as the place of residence and appointing Lt.-Col. Doveton as the commander of the fort impressed upon him to spare no reasonable expenditure to render

the habitation of the dispossessed family suitable to their former rank and expectations. Colonel Arthur Wellesley had also drawn the attention of the Governor-General to the advisability of maintaining as much state as possible about them and by allowing them whenever they went out an escort as well to keep off the crowd as to do them honour. There were more than 600 women in the zenana belonging to the families of Haidar and Tippu and the latter's surviving children numbered 25, 12 daughters and 13 sons, the eldest son Fateh Haidar being 26 years old and the youngest child being 18 months. The family also was allowed to be accompanied by such attendants as they selected, provided the number were not so great as to endanger public tranquillity or to form a point of union to the adherents of the late Sultan. A sum of 2,40,000 Canteroi pagodas (3 rupees per pagoda) was allowed annually for the maintenance of the family.

The detailed arrangements for removing the deposed family were entrusted to Colonel Arthur Wellesley who was believed to combine in himself both feelings of humanity as well as prudential precautions. It was decided to remove first the four elder sons of Tippu with their families, as it was found not possible to remove the whole family at once on account of deficiency of carriage. Having made the necessary preparations for the departure of the four elder princes, Colonel Wellesley waited on the 16th June upon Fateh Haidar the eldest of the four and communicated to him the instructions he had received for the removal of a part of the family to start with.

Colonel Wellesley first explained to Fateh Haidar that after due consideration the Governor-General had not thought it compatible with the interests of the British nation and of its allies to place him or any of his family upon the musnud. Fateh Haidar's conduct in voluntarily surrendering himself had not passed unnoticed and that in consideration of his conduct as well as that of the other members of the family the Governor-General had decided to give them a liberal allowance of Rs. 7 lakhs a year. To soften the unpleasantness of this decision, Wellesley observed that it must be unpleasant to his feelings to see the government

of this country pass into the hands of others, and that for his own sake as well as for the ease and convenience of the Government to be established in Mysore, it was desirable that he should remove into another country, announcing at the same time that his departure from Seringapatam had been fixed for the next day. Fateh Haidar expressed surprise at the peremptoriness of the order, especially as he had surrendered himself under the protection of a cowl and he also referred to the usual practice of the British Government in India of restoring to the conquered their governments as were done in the cases of Tanjore and Oudh. At the same time Fateh Haidar further urged that even supposing it was not thought proper to retain him as the ruler, there was no reason why he should be removed from the country itself and that he would never consent to move from the tombs of his father and grand-father, nor to leave his father's family and asked emphatically what was to become of them if he should leave them.

Colonel Wellesley in reply said that he did not conceive there was anything in the cowl which had been sent to him, to give him hopes that he would be permitted to govern this country or that prevented the Governor-General from exercising the power that all Governments in India had of ordering their subjects to quit one place and reside in another. "I admitted that the British Government," continued Colonel Wellesley, "had shown generosity in the instances to which he had alluded, but in the present case such generosity was not compatible with its interests, especially when Tippu and his family were intimately connected in politics with the irreconcilable enemies of the British with the sole object of driving the British out of India. Further, I observed that there was no intention of separating him from the families of his father and grand-father longer than was necessary to procure conveyances for the latter to the Carnatic and that, in the meantime, they would be under my protection and that they had not suffered and he had no reason to fear that they would suffer from his absence upon the present occasion. I then told him that what had been proposed was for his sake as well as for the ease of the government of the country, that he must be aware that he would be an object of

suspicion at all times and that he must expect that the smallest indiscretion on his part would occasion the detention of his person. He still quoted the cowl, and having expressed an anxiety to know what part of the allowance for the family he was to have, I told him that it was to be half a lakh of rupees annually. He then said that he would consult some of his friends upon the subject and I told him that what I had said to him was the commander-in-chief's order which it was my duty to see obeyed and that I would send Captain Marriot to him in an hour to take his directions respecting the carriage of his baggage and family.

"Next I repeated what I had said to Fateh Haidar to the other princes, and Abdul Khalik and Moizuddin expressed no anxiety excepting about the amount of their allowance. The other Moieuddin said that he would consult his friends. I told him that I conveyed orders and that whatever might be the result of the consultation they must be obeyed. He agreed that they should. Fateh Haidar and Moieuddin called upon me in the evening and expressed a desire to carry away half of the family of Haidar Ali and half of that of Tippu Sultan. I told them that they might carry away as many as they pleased, but that the carriage at present was calculated and provided for the members of their own families and that it had been thought most advisable to defer sending the families of their father and grand-father to a future opportunity. In the morning they called again with a long list of dhoolies, camels, elephants, bandies, etc., which they wanted for the removal of the families of Haidar Ali and of Tippu, but having informed them that we had means of carriage for their own families, they expressed themselves satisfied and prepared to depart."

On the 18th June the four princes named and their suite, attended by Captain Marriot and escorted by detachments of troops numbering about 1,500, quitted Seringapatam on their route to Vellore.

Captain Marriot a little time before he began his return journey after handing over his charge to Lt.-Col. Doveton visited each of the princes to know if they had any wishes to be communicated to the authorities at Seringapatam. All the brothers are said to have

generally expressed satisfaction at the accommodations provided for them and the arrangements made for their comforts, but at the same time each expressed some particular wish or made some remark indicating thereby their natural dispositions and habits. Fateh Haidar showed himself restless and jealous of his family privileges and requested to have a tract of country as *jahagir* from which he could procure his own supplies of straw, firewood and other articles. He also observed that as he had brought his mother and other female relatives with him who properly belonged to his father's establishment, he expected that some additional allowance would be made to him for their maintenance. Abdul Khalik who was careless of show and to some extent unprincipled in his ideas and apparently extremely avaricious only pointed out that the great difference in the prices of rice might be considered between the bazaars of Seringapatam and Vellore. Sultan Moieuddin amiable, engaging and attentive to everything which constituted true politeness only expressed that apologies might be made for any apparent negligence on his part in not replying to the complimentary letter he received from the Governor-General on leaving Seringapatam, stating that as he had with his brothers been since wholly occupied with the journey, it was more owing to want of opportunity than to any want of respect. Moizuddin passionately attached to his amusements, particularly his horses and to the society of Englishmen, and heedless of everything else observed that Captain Marriot was perfectly acquainted with his situation and that he had no request of any kind to trouble him.

Thus ended the rule of the house of Haidar after a short period of about 40 years and the awful tragedy which brought about the termination of the rule of that family, on reflection even at this distance of time, appears more like a natural catastrophe than as a mere resultant of the conflict of human passions showing themselves in overt acts of blood and rapine. Whatever might have been the feelings of the contemporary generation towards Tippu, it cannot be denied that his family hurled in so short a time from a position of lustre and glory to the depths of misery and utter dependence were entitled to the fullest sympathy on the part of those who witnessed their fall.

Before proceeding to the succeeding events, it may be mentioned here to satisfy the curiosity of our readers that one of the members of Tippu Sultan's family having been found to have had a share in the incitement which brought about the Sepoy Revolt of 1806 at Vellore, the whole family was removed to Calcutta.





### THIRD PERIOD

Krishnaraja Wodeyar III till the establishment of  
the British Commission.

1799—1831

सत्यमेव जयते



सत्यमेव जयते

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### **Installation of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar—Part played by Rani Lakshmi Ammanni in regaining the lost power of her family.**

On the departure of Tippu's four elder sons with their families from Seringapatam to Vellore, communications were opened with the Hindu royal family to place on the vacant throne of Mysore the son of the last Raja Chamaraja Wodeyar who died in 1796. The Commissioners proceeded to the young Prince's residence on the 24th June 1799 with Purnaiya whose presence at the first interview, it was considered, would be helpful. A portion of the apartment in which the Commissioners were received was marked off by a curtain, behind which the Rani and the other female members of the family were seated. The family resided at the time in a house near the north face of the fort, adjoining that of Mohiuddin, fourth son of Tippu. The Commissioners were received by the male part of the family with Nandi Raja the maternal uncle of Krishnaraja Wodeyar at their head with expressions of great joy and gratitude. The general outline of the proposed arrangements and the intentions respecting the Raja were communicated to Rani Lakshmi Ammanni, widow of Krishnaraja Wodeyar II. The Rani in reply expressed her lively sense of the generosity of the British Government which had raised her and her family from the depths of misery to their former station of elevation. The young Raja is described as possessing at the time a bright and expressive countenance, though somewhat delicate in health. He is reported to have shown symptoms of alarm at first on the arrival of the Commissioners but they soon disappeared.

To instal the Raja at Seringapatam was considered inexpedient, because it could only be done in the Mahomedan Palace where there were still a number of ladies belonging to Tippu's Zenana and his remaining children and a function of the kind in their vicinity was considered both cruel and improper. Bangalore was next thought of, but there was objection on the ground that it was in a corner of the territory assigned to the Raja. In the end, it

was found that Mysore was the only place where the ceremony of installation could conveniently take place. But in old Mysore it was found that not a single house was standing and in the new Mysore built by Tippu there were a number of houses but very bad ones and water was at the distance of half a mile from the Nazarbad fort. However, as there was no alternative, it was decided that the ceremony should take place at Mysore which was also fixed as the capital of the Raja and the day chosen for the ceremony was the 30th of June, it being regarded as an auspicious day.

The Raja and his family had sometime before removed themselves from Seringapatam to Mysore where the best arrangements which the circumstances admitted had been made for their accommodation. General Harris reached Mysore on the 29th June attended by his suite and an escort of European cavalry for the occasion. On the morning of the 30th June the Commissioners with Meer Alum and an escort of European regiment proceeded to the residence of the Raja and brought him to the pavilion which had been specially constructed near the Lakshmiramana Swamy temple in the old fort. The ceremony of placing the Raja on the musnud took place about noon and was performed by General Harris as senior member of the commission and Meer Alum, each of them taking a hand of His Highness on the occasion. General Harris delivered to the Raja the seal and signet of the Raj, while also announcing publicly in the Durbar the appointment by the Governor-General of Purnaiya as Dewan. General Harris then impressed upon Purnaiya that he should loyally advance the interests of his master and of the country till the Raja reached the age of discretion, when he should abide by the pleasure of the Raja. The new Dewan then received the sannad of his appointment at the hands of the enthroned Raja. Butché Rao was appointed finance minister and Badami Bishtopunt as Bakshi of the cavalry force, while Khan Jehan Khan was nominated as Bakshi of the Barr Cutcherry or infantry force. The annoucement was also made of the appointment of Lt-Col. Close as Resident at the Court of Mysore on account of his extraordinary talents, proficiency in the Indian languages and familiarity with Indian manners and customs. After

the installation was over, three volleys of musketry from the troops on the spot and a royal salute from the guns of Seringapatam were fired. In a letter addressed by the Commissioners to Lord Mornington, it is stated that the deportment of the young prince during the ceremony was remarkably decorous considering the untoward circumstances which had preceded his elevation and confirmed the opinion which had been formed of him at the first visit. Gulam Ali Khan, Ali Raza, Badru Zumaun Khan, Syed Muhammad Khan and some others of rank spontaneously attended on the occasion. The inauguration having taken place under an open pandal, Harris' letter also referred to the large number of spectators that were present at the time and to the joy visible in their countenances.

Previous to the installation, a formal letter signed by the Rani Lakshmi Ammanni and Rani Devajammanni, widow and mother respectively of Immadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar, was sent to the Commissioners on the 25th June after the interview on the previous day. "Your having conferred on our child," said the letter, "the Government of Mysore, Nagar and Chitaldrug with their dependencies and appointed Purnaiya to be Dewan has afforded us the greatest happiness. Forty years have elapsed since our Government ceased. Now you have favoured our boy with the Government of this country and nominated Purnaiya to be his Dewan. We shall, while the sun and the moon may continue, commit no offence to your Government. We shall at all times consider ourselves as under your protection and orders. Your having established us must for ever be fresh in the memory of our posterity from one generation to another. Our offspring can never forget an attachment to your Government on whose support we shall depend."

Some days after the installation, a treaty known as the Subsidiary treaty of Seringapatam between the Company's Government and the minor Raja of Mysore was signed on the 8th July on behalf of the Raja by Lakshmi Ammanni and Purnaiya.

Thus was now fulfilled the long-cherished wish of Rani Lakshmi Ammanni to regain the kingdom for her family. We have

seen that the Hindu royal family of Mysore never quietly acquiesced in the unrestricted exercise of power by their Dalavoyos or in the complete usurpation of their authority by Haidar and Tippu. Rani Devajammanni's efforts in 1760 to free the royal family from the shackles of Haidar had only ended in rivetting the fetters tighter and in the disaster that befell Khande Rao. This failure, however, had never discouraged this lady nor her still more heroic daughter-in-law Rani Lakshmi Ammanni from continuing to maintain the hope of regaining their power some day. The latter lady though secluded in the zenana showed herself as undaunted as she was sagacious and some of her letters to her agents and to the well-wishers of her family go to show her quiet faith in the mercy of Providence to relieve her and her family from their misery and her resolve to put forth all efforts needed for the accomplishment of her purpose. The regard of the people for their old royal family had never abated even during the darkest hour of their misery as may be seen from a letter written by an English prisoner of war in 1783, i.e., 23 years after the loss of their power when Tippu had succeeded to the place of his father and was being approached by the Madras Government for the conclusion of peace to terminate the second Mysore War. The letter, it may be stated, was written during the annual Hindu national festival of the Dasara :—

“The annual Gentoo feast commenced this evening (23rd September 1783) which was continued according to custom for 9 days. The King of Mysore made his appearance in a verandah in front of his palace about 7 o'clock. It is only on the occasion of this anniversary that he is visible to his nominal subjects.

“This young prince in whose name the family of Haidar Ali who assume only the title of Regent carry on the administration of Government is allowed for himself and his family an annual pension. He is treated with all those marks of homage that are paid to crowned heads. In his name proclamation is made of war or of peace and the trophies of victory are laid at his feet. Like kings, too, he has his guards. But these are appointed and commanded by the usurper of his throne whose authority and safety depend on the prince's confinement. Yet such is the

reverence that is paid by the people of Mysore to the blood of their ancient kings and so formidable are they rendered in their present state of subjection to the most vigorous character as well as powerful prince in the peninsula of Hindusthan, that it is thought by the present Government of Mysore not to cut off the hereditary prince of Mysore according to the usual policy of despots but to adorn him with the pageantry of a crown.

“The spacious palace in which the young King of Mysore resides stands in a large square in the very centre of Seringapatam in an angle of which our prison was also situated. Hence we had an opportunity of enjoying the sight of this annual festival in which we were indulged during the whole time that it lasted. The curtains with which the gallery was hung being drawn up discovered the king seated on a throne, with numerous attendants on each side, some of whom fanned him, while others scattered perfume on his long black hair. The verandah was decorated with the finest hangings. The Raja was adorned with resplendent precious stones, among which a diamond of immense size and value shone with distinguished lustre. On an extended stage in the open square along the front of the palace, musicians, balladiers, and a species of gladiators entertained the king with his train in the gallery and the multitude that filled the square with music, dancing, tumbling, wrestling, mock engagements and other pantomimical diversions. The ladies of His Majesty’s harem as well as the European prisoners were on this occasion indulged with greater freedom than usual, being allowed to enjoy the spectacle through lattice windows as well as other subjects of Mysore..... The king sat motionless in great state for several hours, rose up and when he was about to retire, advancing to the edge of the gallery showed himself to the people who honoured him with marks of the most profound and even superstitious veneration. The curtains then dropped and His Majesty retired to the inner parts of the palace.”

‘RANA’ Laxmi Ammanni, as she is called in the letters of General Meadows, Governor of Madras and others, or ‘Maha Matrusrī’ Lakshmi Ammanni as she is uniformly designated in the Mysore records was a daughter of Katti Gopal Raj Urs whose

name we have heard in connection with the military operations connected with the cession of Trichnopoly by Muhammad Ali to Mysore. She was married in 1759 to Immadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar and took her place in the palace as his queen. Immadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar died in 1766 and he was first succeeded by his eldest son Nanjaraj and then by his second son Chamaraja Wodeyar who died in 1776. Haidar then prevailed upon Rani Lakshmi Ammanni to adopt, as has been stated already, a young child of three years Chamaraja, son of Devaraj of Arikuthara now known as Chamarajanagar. Lakshmi Ammanni however found that Haidar's hold on his power never slackened and she secretly sent emissaries to Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras, with overtures for help to recover her lost power. Shortly after, she appointed as her agent at Madras Thirumala Rao who had left Seringapatam and settled there after the fall of his patron Anche Shamiah. In return for the services of the English, the Rani undertook to pay one crore of rupees for the expenses of the English army and thirty lakhs as reward to influential persons. The arrest and displacement of Lord Pigot interrupted the negotiations and Thirumala Rao retired to Tanjore. The devastations of Haidar Ali and the serious danger with which Madras was threatened in the second Mysore War with the English induced Lord Macartenev, Governor of Madras, to authorise John Sullivan the Resident at the court of Tanjore to conclude a treaty through Thirumala Rao with the Rani of Mysore. This treaty was concluded on the 28th of October 1782 and bore the signatures of Thirumala Rao and Narayana Rao as Mysore Pradhans and of John Sullivan the British Resident, together with the attestation of Rev. Schwartz who, as we know, had formerly been deputed to Seringapatam by the Madras Government as an envoy to Haidar. Subsequently peace having been concluded with Tippu by the English, this treaty became inoperative.

Lakshmi Ammanni however did not abandon her attempts for the restoration of her family. In 1790 on the occasion of the 3rd Mysore War, she reopened negotiations with General Meadows, Governor of Madras, and he informed her that if victory was theirs the British Government would be very happy to restore the kingdom to the rightful rulers and that the question of the distribution of

territories could only be considered later. Lord Cornwallis having concluded peace with Tippu much against the will of General Meadows, the Rani's efforts brought her no substantial results on this occasion also.

Lakshmi Ammanni's unfailing pertinacity of will and faith in the justice of her cause were such that she never despaired of ultimate success. Writing to Thirumala Rao a few days after the death of Chamaraja Wodeyar in 1796, she commended him for having enlisted the goodwill and support of Mr. Sullivan and many other English officers. She also sent a copy of the agreement made by Tippu with the French and concluded the letter by saying that unless the English troops arrived before the French, danger to the English dominions could not be averted. If any delay occurred, she also said, as on former occasions, the alliance between Tippu and the French would be like that between fire and wind and that the whole country would be devastated and the people ruined. Her final words were—"There are no able military commanders to oppose the English troops and everybody wishes that evil should befall Tippu..... If you will employ your usual ability and tact now, God Sri Ranga will help us."

In February 1799 Rani Lakshmi Ammanni sent a letter to Lord Mornington recapitulating the negotiations carried on with the Company's Government for help and concluded with these words :—"We have recently heard that the Almighty conferred on you high distinctions and sent you to this country, doubtless, to relieve us from our miseries. We have also heard that you are generous, good-intentioned and pious. We therefore seek your protection. Restore our country to us according to former agreements." Josiah Webbe, Secretary to the Madras Government, in acknowledging this and other letters on the 16th April 1799 assured the Rani of the pleasure that her letters had given and concluded by saying,—"Your Pradhan Thirumala Rao has for a long period continued to give us every information respecting you, and His Lordship solemnly promises to serve you—a fact which your Pradhan must have mentioned to you. You may rest assured that there will be no end to our friendship. We have now declared war

against Tippu. But we know not what will be the result. God only knows it. I cannot write much on that head, but after the war is over, they will attend to your business. There is no doubt."

Events followed rapidly after this date. Seringapatam fell on the 4th of May. Tippu's family and his officers surrendered unconditionally and the whole country was in the hands of the Governor-General in a very short time. The Partition Treaty between the Nizam and the British was signed on the 22nd June and the young rightful descendant of the old Hindu royal family was installed on the throne on the 30th June and Rani Lakshmi Ammanni had the proud satisfaction of her labours being successfully terminated when she signed the Subsidiary Treaty on the July 8th following on behalf of her minor grandson Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar. At a time when the French arms were still successfully coping with those of the English, she had the acumen to perceive that an alliance with the English alone would securely seat her descendants on the throne of Mysore.



## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### **The Subsidiary Treaty of 1799 between Krishnaraja Wodeyar and the East India Company.**

In effecting the division of the territories of Tippu, Lord Mornington chose to base the division on the right of conquest by the allies. Lt.-Col. Kirkpatrick had proposed that the whole of the territories should be restored to the Raja of Mysore and such portions as were needed by the allies should be received back from him in the shape of assignments. Lord Mornington, however, did not agree with this view, and to avoid future misunderstanding preferred to base all his arrangements on the right of conquest. Lord Mornington was both a humane man as well as a just man. For political reasons he excluded Tippu's family from any share in the partition of the territories, but he fully realised that the sons of Tippu Sultan, especially the four elder ones, had been born in a state of royalty and educated with the proudest and most exalted expectations of sovereignty and power and would be sensible to the sudden change of their condition and to the unexpected disappointment of their splendid prospects. He therefore assigned to the family an annual allowance of 2,40,00 canteroi pagodas which was regarded as very generous at the time and with which the family also under the circumstances in which they were placed appeared to be content. At the same time, though the usurpation of Haidar and Tippu had existed for a fairly long period, the old Hindu royal family had never abandoned their struggles for regaining their lost dignity nor had the de jure right of this family to the sovereignty of Mysore been openly denied by either Haidar or Tippu even in the days of their brightest prosperity. The annual Dasara celebrations which have entirely a political character and which are the outward symbol of this right of sovereignty continued without interruption till Chamaraja Wodeyar IX died in 1796 and were in suspension only for three years till 1799. It was not unnatural therefore that Lord Mornington felt that it was unjust to embark on any measure that would lead to the perpetual exclusion and degradation of the legitimate Hindu sovereigns of the country. It is to his credit, therefore, that although political exigencies compelled him to give

the colour of generosity to the restoration of the old Hindu family, he was not insensible to the moral obligation which rested on the Company's Government towards a family which had long maintained friendly relations with the British and had eagerly wished for success to them.

With these introductory remarks, we may now enter upon the provisions of the Subsidiary Treaty which was concluded on the 8th July 1799 between the Raja of Mysore and the Company's Government at the Nazarbad fort. Article 4 of the Partition Treaty between the Company and the Nizam had provided for the establishment of a separate Government in Mysore as well as for the installation on the throne of Krishnaraja Wodeyar, son of Chamaraja Wodeyar IX. In Article 9 of the same Partition Treaty provision had also been made for the maintenance of a subsidiary force for the assistance of the Maharaja exclusively by the Company's Government according to the terms of a separate treaty to be immediately concluded between the Company's Government and the Raja.

This Subsidiary Treaty consisted in all of 16 articles. Article 1 declared that the friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties were to be considered as friends and enemies of both. Article 2 provided for the payment of an annual subsidy of 7 lakhs of Star pagodas for the maintenance by the Company's Government of a body of troops for the defence and security of the Maharaja's dominions, the disposal of the said sum together with the arrangement and employment of the troops to be maintained being entirely left to the Company. The 3rd Article related to the increased expenses to be borne by the Maharaja whenever hostilities or preparations for such purposes were undertaken for the defence and protection of the territories of either of the contracting parties, the exact amount to be paid being fixed by the Governor-General, bearing however a just and reasonable proportion to the actual net revenues of the State. The 4th Article provided that for purposes of effectual security against any failure of funds for the payment of either the permanent military force in time of peace or extraordinary expenses to be borne when hostilities were

undertaken, it was open to the Governor-General whenever he had reason to apprehend any such failure either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he deemed expedient for the internal management and the collection of revenues, or for the better ordering of any other department of the Government of Mysore, or to assume and bring under direct management of the servants of the said Company such part or parts of the territories of Mysore as should appear to him necessary to render the said funds efficient and available either in time of peace or war. Article 5 contained a provision that whenever the Governor-General acted under the terms of the 4th article the Maharaja was to issue such orders as would tend to carry out the Governor-General's directions and if he failed to do so within ten days, the Governor-General was to be at liberty to issue orders on his own authority either for carrying out any regulations or ordinances required by him to be introduced or for assuming the management of the collection of revenues as he should judge most expedient for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the military funds and of providing for the effectual protection of the country and the welfare of the people. It was however incumbent upon the Governor-General that whenever he assumed the management of any part or parts of the country to render to the Maharaja a true and faithful account of the revenue and produce of territory so assumed. It also contained the stipulation that in no case was the Maharaja's actual income to fall short of one lakh of Star pagodas, together with one-fifth of the net revenues of the territories ceded to him by the 5th Article of the Partition Treaty, under the guarantee of the Company's Government.

Article 6 imposed the obligations on the Maharaja of guiding himself by a sincere and cordial attention to the relations of peace and amity between himself and the Company and its allies and further of non-interference in the affairs of any state in alliance with the Company or of any state whatever without the previous knowledge and sanction of the Company. By Article 7 it was made incumbent upon the Maharaja not to admit any European foreigners without a proper passport into his service without the concurrence of the Company and also to undertake to apprehend

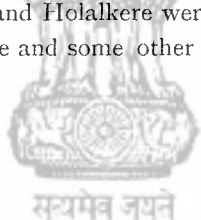
and deliver up at once to the Company's Government all Europeans of whatever description who should be found within the Mysore territory.

By Article 8 the Governor-General was vested with the complete liberty to garrison any fortress or strong place in the Mysore territory with British troops and officers either in time of peace or in time of war in whatever manner he deemed proper. By Article 9 the Governor-General was invested with complete discretion to dismantle, destroy, strengthen or repair any fort or strong place in the Mysore territory whenever for purposes of defence such a course was necessary, the expenses incurred being shared in equal proportions by the two parties. By Article 10 it was agreed that on the application of the Maharaja the Company's Government as it deemed fit could allow the regular services of its troops for enforcing and maintaining the authority and government of the Maharaja, except that such troops could under no circumstances be employed in the ordinary transaction of revenue.

Article 11 related to certain provisions for the officers of Tippu at the time. Article 12 referred to the entry of all provisions and other articles required for the use of the British garrison at Seringapatam free of any duty, tax or impediment whatever. Article 13 referred to the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the two Governments as should be beneficial to the subjects of both the Governments. Article 14 contained the broad injunction that the Maharaja was at all times to pay the utmost attention to all such advice as the Company's Government occasionally judged necessary to offer to him with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry or any other subjects connected with the advancement of His Highness' interests, the happiness of his people and the mutual welfare of both States. Article 15 provided for any possible rectification of frontier by exchange of territory or otherwise, whenever in the future it was found necessary. Article 16 contained the names of the signatories on behalf of the Governor-General, namely, General Harris, Colonel Arthur Wellesley,

Henry Wellesley, Lt.-Col. William Kirkpatrick and Lt.-Col. Barry Close. On behalf of the Maharaja were the names of Lakshmi Ammanni and Purnaiya. The article also recited that the treaty was to become binding on both the parties on ratification by the Governor-General, which, it may be stated, was done on the 23rd of the same month at Madras.

An extent of territory estimated at the time to yield annually a revenue of upwards of 25,000 Star pagodas assigned to the Maharaja was bounded to the north by a strong line of hill-forts and posts forming a powerful barrier towards the southern frontiers of the Nizam and of the Mahrattas from Punganoor on the line of the Eastern to Bednore on that of the Western Ghauts, and in other directions by the Company's territories both above and below the Ghauts, the Company holding the fort of Seringapatam on the table-land in its own sovereign right. With reference to Article 15 it may be added here that there was a rectification of the frontiers of the Mysore and Company's territories in the years 1801 and 1803 and Maikonda, Harihar and Holalkere were incorporated within the Mysore frontier, Budikote and some other parts being transferred to the Company.



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### **General and economic conditions of Mysore in the early part of the 19th Century.**

Before proceeding to give a sketch of the administration of Mysore by Purnaiya during the minority of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar, it may be of interest to give a short description of the general condition of the country and dwell at some length on its agriculture, manufactures and industries, its population and a few other matters. The luminous report containing the result of the investigations made by Dr. Francis Buchanan in 1800 and 1801 is the main source of information for the purpose mentioned. Buchanan was a surgeon in the East India Company's Service on the Bengal medical establishment and appears to have been gifted with a mind well-fitted for acute observation and also equipped with the requisite scientific and technical knowledge. The Governor-General Lord Mornington now elevated to the rank of a Marquis and known as Marquis Wellesley selected this officer to travel through and report upon the State of Mysore and the country which fell to the share of the Company.

Buchanan left Madras on the 23rd April 1800 and travelling via Poonamalai, Sri Perambathur, Conjeevaram, Wallajapet, Arcot, Vellore and Venkatagiri reached on the 5th May 1800 Bethamangala, the first place on the Mysore table-land where he halted for some time and reached Bangalore on the 10th May. Bethamangala contained at the time about 70 houses fortified by a mud wall and some towers in a ruinous state. At the south side were the remains of a large fort of no use and on the north side was another fort not so far decayed. One end of this fort had been repaired as a last resource of defence against depredators prowling about the country. There existed also an old temple, the roof of which as an additional defence had been surrounded by a parapet of mud. The country around was exceedingly bare and the population scanty. Even the smallest village of five or six houses was found fortified. The defence of a village consisted of a round stone wall about 40 feet in diameter and six feet high. On the top was a parapet of mud

with a door in it to which the only access was by means of a ladder. In case of a plundering party approaching the village, the people ascended into these towers with their families and valuable effects and having drawn up the ladder defended themselves with stones in throwing which even the women were found to be experts. Larger villages had square forts with round towers at the angles. Takal, Buchanan found, was a strongly fortified village at the end of a small hill of granite and had a triple wall, each line strengthened with various defences. The houses about a hundred in number were very poor and hardly filled up the space between the outer and second line of defence. About 60 houses were occupied by Mussalmans, among whom was the Amildar. There were eight families of Brahmins who were in possession of all the other offices of Government. Malur contained about 500 houses and most of them were white-washed within and painted red and white without. Many of them were terraced with mud and several were roofed with tiles. The houses were in general clean and had no windows. The town consisted of a fort and of a pettah. The outer wall was surrounded by a strong hedge of mimosa or Shikai or soapnut. The town was badly supplied with water. On the 8th May 1800 a weekly fair or santhe was held at this place and Buchanan found that provisions of all kinds, coarse cotton cloths, blankets or Kumbliies, and articles of iron for the country use and the like were exposed for sale. A small duty was levied on all persons frequenting this fair, bearing a certain proportion to the value that each brought for sale. At Kadigodi and its neighbourhood the villages were surrounded by hedges which were very high and thick so as almost entirely to conceal the mud wall 3 or 4 feet high and 20 feet in diameter which improved the prospect, especially as there were a good many mango trees well cared for.

On the morning of the 10th May Buchanan reached Bangalore and visited the fort the same day. The entrance of the fort towards the pettah or town was a very a handsome building of cut granite. The place also contained many well-constructed magazines and also huts for the accommodation of the troops but there was no good building except the Mahal or palace constructed by Haidar. Although it was constructed of mud, it was not without some

degree of magnificence. On the upper storey it contained four halls each comprising two balconies of state for the prince and each balcony faced a different cutcherry for transacting business. At each end of the cutcherry was a balcony for officers of the highest rank. Inferior officers occupied a hall under the balcony of the prince open in front and supported by columns as high as the roof of the upper storey. The populace were admitted into the open court in which there were fountains for cooling the air. At each end of the halls were private apartments which, in Buchanan's view, were mean, small and inconvenient. The public rooms were neatly painted and ornamented with false gilding. The bath consisted of a small room in which a person could sit and have water poured on him. There were two apartments for the ladies. The one for the principal wife contained the hall where she gave audience to the ladies of the harem and to the wives of the Mussalman chiefs. Before the palace was a large square court with a Noubat Khana or stations for the band music in front.

Buchanan also visited the gardens of Haidar and Tippu where the present Lal Bagh is situated. He found them extensive and divided into square plots separated by walks, the sides of which were ornamented with fine cypress trees. The plots were filled with fruit trees and pot herbs, a separate kind of plot being allotted for each kind of plant such as the roses, pomegranate and so forth. The walks were not gravelled. Want of water was much felt. Some portions of the garden were supplied from three wells, the water of which was raised by the Kapilay or leather bag fastened to a cord passing over a pulley and worked by a pair of bullocks which descended an inclined plane. Some portions of the garden were watered without the assistance of any machinery. In the climate of Bangalore Buchanan observed that the cypress and the vine grew luxuriantly and apple and peach trees both produced fruit. Some pine and oak plants introduced from the Cape of Good Hope were also found thriving.

At Bangalore Buchanan found many Mussalmans in great distress owing to the change of Government, thrown out as they were from their military occupations under Tippu's Government.

and unwilling to take up civil occupations or to attach themselves to the military service of the new Government. Some of them, however, who had a little money were found betaking themselves to trade, while the poorer classes had begun to earn their livelihood by agriculture.

Leaving Bangalore on the 12th May 1800, Buchanan reached Seringapatam on the 17th of the same month. Round about Bidadi the villages were found to be small and poor and were not fortified, the woods by which they were surrounded being regarded as sufficient to keep off the irregulars that attended the invading armies. In case of invasion the villagers were accustomed to take refuge in the neighbouring hill-fort of Ramgiri. On the way to Chennapatna there were a number of bamboo trees, the grains of which were gathered for food by the poorer inhabitants in the neighbourhood. Chennapatna was an open town containing about a thousand houses with a stone fort at a little distance. On the way to Maddur there were extensive plantations of cocoanut palm and fruit trees. Many of the fields were surrounded by hedges, which however were not in good repair. There were also wild date trees from which toddy was extracted both for drinking as well as for making jaggery which was used by the poorer classes. The country was found much depopulated, the miseries of war having driven away about two-fifths of the cultivators. None of the villages was fortified, the vicinity of the capital being found sufficient to scare away the marauders. Mandya was a poor village fortified by a mud wall. On the evening of the 16th May a flight of locusts passed over the town. It extended in length probably about three miles. Its width was about a hundred yards and its height fifty feet. The insects passed from west to east in the direction of the wind at the rate of 6 or 7 miles per hour. The whole ground and every tree and bush was covered with them but each individual locust halted for a very short time on any one spot. They went in a very close body and left behind them very few stragglers. In an hour after the flock had passed, few were to be discovered in the neighbourhood of the town. It was stated to Buchanan that the locusts were very hurtful and often devoured entire crops. The noise of this immense number of insects some-

what resembled the sound of a cataract. At a distance they appeared like a long, narrow, red cloud near the horizon which was continually varying in shape. Each was as large as a man's finger and was of a reddish colour.

On the 19th May Buchanan had an interview with Purnaiya and was assured of every assistance to complete his mission, an official also being appointed with orders to call upon every person who was required for interview. Buchanan stayed at Seringapatam for a fortnight to survey the place. On the south bank of the river was a bridge which served also as an aqueduct to convey from the upper part of the river a large canal of water into the town and island. To Buchanan the island had a dreary and ugly appearance. The town of Seringapatam was very poor and the streets were narrow and confused, the generality of the houses being very mean, although many of the chiefs were well lodged after their own fashion. Numbers of houses which had been abandoned by the Mussalman officers of Tippu who had migrated to the Carnatic were occupied by the officers of the garrison.

The Mussalman palace at Seringapatam was found to be a very large building surrounded by a massy and lofty wall of stone and mud but outwardly of a mean appearance. There were in it, however, some handsome apartments which had been converted into barracks. The private apartments of Tippu formed a square in one side of which were the rooms that he himself used, the other three sides being occupied by warehouses. In these warehouses were lodged at the time the five younger sons of Tippu who had yet to be removed to Vellore. These were good-looking boys and were permitted to ride and exercise themselves in the square when they were desirous of doing so. They were also allowed to view the parade and to hear the music of the bands belonging to the troops in garrison. Outside the fort were two buildings the Lal Bagh and the Daria Dowlat Bagh occupied respectively by the Resident and the Commandant of the British force. Close to the Lal Bagh palace was the Mausoleum of Haidar in which Tippu also was buried. The tombs were covered with rich cloths and there was also an establishment of Mullahs to offer up prayers and

of musicians to perform the Noubat. Outside the fort the greater part of the island was covered with the ruined mud walls of the suburb of Shahar Ganjam but a new town was springing up with broad and regular streets unlike the old Ganjam. There were 4163 houses and 5499 families in the fort and 2216 houses and 3335 families in the Shahar Ganjam. Besides this population, there was also a large garrison with its numerous followers.

Buchanan while staying at Seringapatam also paid a visit to Mysore where he found the reconstruction of the old palace had so far progressed as to have made it a comfortable place of residence for the young Raja. He found the Raja very much recovered in health and though he was only between 6 and 7 years of age, he spoke and behaved with great propriety and decorum. On account of etiquette the Raja endeavoured in public to preserve a dignified gravity of countenance but when his countenance relaxed, Buchanan noticed that he was very lively and interesting. The Sovereign Raja of Mysore was called the Kartur as distinguished from the Dalavoy who was also at the time popularly called Raja.

Between 5th June 1800 and 13th June 1801 when Buchanan finally left the Mysore country, he made three trips from Seringapatam and travelled according to an itinerary prepared for him in different parts of the Mysore territory as well as in the Company's districts of Coimbatore, Malabar, Canara and other parts. His first trip from Seringapatam occupied the interval between 5th June and 1st September 1800 and diverging from the old route at Ramgiri included such places as Magadi, Bangalore (second time), Kolar, Sidlaghatta, Chikballapur, Doddaballapur, Madhugiri, Sira, Tumkur, Gubbi, Chiknayakanahalli, Thuruvekere, Nagamangala, Melkote, French Rocks. The second trip was between the 5th September 1800 and 5th October following and included Palhalli, Linga Rajana Chatra, Periapatna, Heggadadevankote, Nanjangud, Mysore, Malingy, Sivasamudram, which he left on the 6th October 1800 and after travelling in the Company's territories re-entered the Mysore territory at Chandragutti on the 18th March 1801. From here travelling through Keladi, Ikkeri, Sagar, Nagar, Mundagadde, Shimoga, Kudli, Basavapatna, Harihar, Davangere,

Chitaldrug, Hiriur, Hosadurga, Banavar, Halebid, Belur, Hassan and Chennarayapatna, he reached Seringapatam on the 3rd June 1801. In his final trip he left Seringapatam on 4th June 1801 and visited Bannur, Sosalé, Malavalli, Sathnur, Kankanhalli and Maralvadi which was the last place he visited in the Mysore territory and from here he travelled via Krishnagiri, Vaniambadi, Amboor, Vellore, Wallajapet and other places, till he reached Madras on the 5th July 1801.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### **General and economic conditions of Mysore in the early part of the 19th Century—(continued).**

In his first trip from Seringapatam which he left on the 6th June 1800 Buchanan adopted the usual route as far as Ramgiri from where he diverged to Magadi. On the way he found deserted Savandoorg which had been captured by the British in the campaign of Lord Cornwallis. The road to Magadi passed through a wild and romantic country which consisted of low hills intermixed with little cultivated valleys having only dry crops. The country round Thavarekere was well cleared and seemed to have suffered little from the wars. On the 21st June Buchanan reached Bangalore and found much of the intervening country covered with bushes. The greater part of the arable lands around Bangalore was cultivated. But at some distance from it many fields were waste due to paucity of cultivators.

The inhabitants of Bangalore had been, according to Buchanan's information, kept shut up by Tippu within a hedge which surrounded the town to a distance of about 3 miles on the ground of their having been friendly to the English in the campaign of Lord Cornwallis. On the approach of General Harris' army however the guards having withdrawn, the inhabitants immediately dispersed and the place continued deserted for some months. The people were found at the time of Buchanan's visit returning to the place from all quarters and trade and manufacture were increasing apace. Here almost every coin of India was found current, but all accounts were kept in Canteroi Pagodas and Fanams. The exchange was fixed by an officer of Government once a month and when that was done the whole neighbourhood adopted the rate so fixed which was called *Niruk* even though under a different jurisdiction.

Vakkleri which Buchanan reached on the 6th July contained about a hundred houses and was fortified by a wall and a tower both of mud and had no hedge. The reason assigned by the inhabitants for living thus shut up was the frequency of robbers who lived in

the hills and woods and who in the night plundered everything that was not well secured. Between Vakkleri and Kolar rice and ragi formed a very large proportion of the crop, but the country was very poorly watered. Kolar was surrounded at the time by a large mud fort which was being repaired. The town contained seven hundred houses, many of which were inhabited by weavers. A handsome mausoleum erected by Haidar in memory of his father existed in the town and nearby there was a mosque with a college of Mullahs or Mussalman priests. The hill-fort above Kolar was in a ruinous condition. On the top of the hill were four small villages which had their fields, gardens and tanks. There was a spring of water issuing from the hillside through stones forming a resemblance to a cow's mouth. The place was regarded holy and was frequented annually by about 10,000 people. The villages round about were generally surrounded by small fortifications as defence against the Bedars who posing as servants of the neighbouring pategars made incursions at night times into the villages. Whenever such people were found prowling about, one or two men kept watch in a tower and on the first alarm all the men flew to their arms and from the tower fired upon the robbers who attempted to carry away the cattle.

A great part of the country around Sidlaghatta was over-grown with stunted bushes though fit for cultivation. Sidlaghatta contained 500 houses, many of them being occupied by weavers. There were also two fine tanks and also a number of gardens watered by them. Much of the country between Sidlaghatta and Chikballapur, though arable, was found uninhabited. Chikballapur contained 400 houses, of which more than a hundred were occupied by Brahmins. The country beyond the Nandi hill was more desolate than near Chikballapur, one-third of what was formerly cultivated being still unoccupied. Many of the villages were entirely deserted and continued to be so from the time of Lord Cornwallis' invasion. The inhabitants complained that they were afflicted with a number of evils, the principal ones being scarcity of rain followed by that of corn and the march of one defending and three invading armies, all of whom plundered the country which prevented transport of grain and led to the perishing of a large

number of people from starvation. A large number of cattle had also perished from infectious diseases communicated by the cattle of the invading army. The country between Chikballapur and Doddaballapur was almost entirely unoccupied.

The fort of Doddaballapur built entirely of mud was very large and quite strong, all within however being a heap of rubbish and confusion. The Ashur Khana of Abbas Kuli Khan who was dispossessed by Haidar was, however, a handsome building. On one side of the fort there were a number of gardens, while on the three other sides were the houses of the inhabitants which numbered 2,000 and were surrounded by a mud wall and a hedge. In this town was born Mir Sadak, the detested minister of Tippu. Madhugiri which had suffered considerably in former years was found reviving under the care of Purnaiya's brother-in-law who was the Amildar of the place. On the way from Madhugiri to Sira, Buchanan noticed large groves of date trees and in spite of the Sultan's orders to eradicate them to put a stop to drinking, they were found flourishing as before. Sira was a place of importance at the time. Here Buchanan was informed that Tippu removed from this part of the country 12,000 families for the new town of Shahar Ganjam which he had founded. Many of the villages in the neighbourhood were destroyed by Parasuram Bhow and Hari-panth when they passed through those parts and many of the villages were still in ruins at the time of Buchanan's visit. In Sira 2000 houses had been built and many of its former inhabitants whom Tippu had removed to Seringapatam had returned and many others also were found coming in from the country that had been ceded to the Nizam. The only building worth noticing at the time was the monument of a Mussalman officer who was in military command during the Mughal Government. The town also contained a very large number of tombs of men who were regarded by the Mahomedans as saints.

Tumkur formed the headquarters of an Amildar and contained from five to six hundred houses. The fort was well-built and in excellent repair. The pettah stood at some distance. A large extent of land was under ragi crop and there were also many rice

fields. Gubbi was a small town containing 360 houses but was a mart of some importance. It contained 154 shops. The houses in their external appearance were very mean and the place was extremely dirty. But many of the inhabitants were thriving and trade was considerable. Muganayakankote contained about 190 houses and was strongly fortified with mud walls. On the occasion of Cornwallis' invasion the Mahrattas destroyed the market which was of handsome construction. When Parasuram Bhow and Haripanth left this neighbourhood, their people are said to have carried off all the handsome girls that fell into their hands and swept the country so clean of provisions that three-fourths of the people perished of hunger. On the 19th August at night Buchanan was awakened by a prodigious noise in the village which was at some distance from his tent. On enquiry of the sentry he was told that there was no one near except himself, every other person having gone into the village as soon as the uproar commenced. In the morning Buchanan was informed by his interpreter that one of the cattle drivers had been possessed by a "Pisachi" or evil spirit and had been for some time senseless and foaming at mouth and the noise he heard had been made to frighten away the devil. But it proved obstinate and ultimately was subdued by a Brahmin throwing some consecrated ashes on the victim, at the same time uttering some Manthrams or incantations. Buchanan on examination however found that the paroxysm which overtook the man was due to an attack of epilepsy.

Chiknayakanahalli was a large, square town strongly fortified with mud walls and having cavaliers at the angles. In its centre was a square tower fortified in a similar manner. In the outer town a wide street ran all round and on both sides there were short lanes to the outer and inner walls. The houses were very mean and dilapidated and did not occupy the whole space. They were in number about 600. The place was plundered by Parasuram Bhow when he was on his way to Seringapatam to join Lord Cornwallis, but very little was obtained as the inhabitants had secreted their most valuable effects and withdrawn to the hilly country. When the Mahrattas returned to Sira, they sent for the inhabitants with assurances of protection and began by making small daily

distributions of charity to the Brahmins. By this means they inveigled back a considerable number of the inhabitants and no sooner had they got the leading men into their power than they put them to torture until the wretched men revealed where their properties were hid and thus they are said to have procured five lakhs of rupees. Thuruvekere consisted of an outer and an inner fort strongly defended by a ditch and a mud-wall. It had besides, at a little distance, an open suburb and contained 700 houses but had not been completely rebuilt. It had no merchants of any note but contained twenty houses of Devangas or weavers and 150 of farmers. At Kadahalli Buchanan found a sheep-fold strongly fortified by a hedge of dry thorns and containing four huts of the shepherds. These people were alarmed at the appearance of Buchanan and his party and suspecting that they came to take away their flocks for the use of the army did not approach the village that night but preferred exposing their cattle to the danger of tigers which were said to have been numerous at the time.

Nagamangala had a large, square mud fort and contained in its centre a square tower which like that of Chiknayakanahalli left room for the outer town for one street with short lanes on each side. In the inner fort were two large temples and some other religious buildings in good repair and a Mahal or palace, a cutcherry or public office and several large granaries in ruins. Before the invasion of Parasuram Bhow, the place is said to have contained 1,500 houses which had been reduced to 200 at the time of Buchanan's visit scattered in the midst of ruins.

After passing through Melkote and Thonnur, Buchanan reached Seringapatam on the 1st September 1800 and remained there for four days.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### **General and economic conditions of Mysore in the early part of the 19th Century—(continued).**

Buchanan left Seringapatam on his second tour on the 5th September 1800 and adopting the route already mentioned he left Sivasamudram on the 6th October. He then travelled in the Company's districts of Coimbatore, Malabar and Canara and re-entered the Mysore territory at Chandragutti on the 18th March 1801.

Palhalli is said to have at one time contained a thousand houses. But during the last siege of Seringapatam, as it was in the immediate rear of General Harris' camp it was entirely destroyed. At the time of Buchanan's visit, a hundred houses had been rebuilt and a number of inhabitants had returned. There were before the siege many cocoanut gardens but they were wholly destroyed by the British army in order to procure materials for the trenches and firewood for cooking. They were however being replaced. A good deal of sugarcane was grown here at the time and jaggery was manufactured largely and sugar also was attempted to be produced by some people. More than half of the dry fields were found waste, the stocks being sufficient only to cultivate the watered lands.

In the villages near about the Lakshmanathirtha river at some distance from Palhalli there were found a number of Mussalmans who preferred to earn a living as day-labourers or farm servants or as petty traders to enlisting in the service of the Company along with the non-Mussalmans. Katte Malalavadi contained about 50 houses. Formerly it was stated to have been a flourishing town. On account of the ravages of the army accompanying Lord Cornwallis the town had become desolated and had not recovered subsequently. In the last war the town was burnt by orders of Tippu and the fort was dismantled so as not to afford shelter to the Bombay army. At Periapatna the fortifications were all in ruin, the Sultan having blown up the best works. In the inner fort there were no inhabitants and tigers had taken entire possession of its ruins. The outer fort contained a few houses of Brahmins who on account of fear of

tigers were forced to shut themselves up at sunset. The pettah was recovering faster, though the ruins yet occupied by far the greater space and the small number of inhabitants were only able to form pathways through the rank vegetation that occupied the streets.

From Periapatna Buchanan went to Heggadadevankote and from there reached Nanjangud. At this holy place the temple of Nanjundeswara was under repairs at the expense of Butche Rao the Naib Dewan. The fort was in ruins and contained at the time 120 houses of Brahmins and 200 belonging to other classes. Between Nanjangud and Mysore a very large proportion of the fields lay waste and several of the tanks were out of repair. At Mysore however there were two remarkably fine tanks. Tayur where next Buchanan halted had a well-built mud fort and formed the headquarters of an amildar. It contained 141 houses with 11 in a suburb. Between Tayur and T-Narsipur the country was very beautiful and well cultivated. Every field was enclosed with quickset hedges, the whole being dry ground without rice fields. The stocks at the time being inadequate, only the richer grounds near the villages were cultivated. T-Narsipur contained about 200 houses mostly inhabited by Brahmins and the houses were better built than in the neighbourhood and had two large temples. Of the villages Buchanan passed in this part of the country Calur was the last place in the Mysore territory.

On the 4th October 1800 Buchanan went to Sivasamudram and visited the two grand waterfalls of the Kaveri river Gagana Chukki and Bhara Chukki. There were two Mussalman hermits at Gagana Chukki and the hermitage was a hut open all round, placed opposite to the tomb of Pir Wully, and surrounded by some neat, smooth areas and a number of flowering and aromatic trees introduced from the neighbouring forests. One of these hermits at the time was absent on business and the other had no defence against tigers which frequented the place. The hermit's confidence however in the holiness of the place and in his own sanctity is said to have been so great that in them he considered he had sufficient defence. He is stated to have told Buchanan with great complacency that he had offended Major Macleod by not answering that gentleman's

questions having been at the time more inclined to read the Koran than to converse with a layman. From here Buchanan passed on to the Company's territory and finishing his investigations in Coimbatore, Malabar and Canara re-entered, as already stated, the Mysore country at Chandragutti after an absence of nearly five and a half months.

From Chandragutti Buchanan went to Sagar. The latter was a trading town and was the headquarters of an amildar. The temple at Ikkeri was under repair at the time and workmen from Goa had been brought for the purpose but the place was mostly in ruins. In the amildar's opinion, Tippu's Government when compared with that of the Mahrattas was excellent and notwithstanding all the evils the people suffered from the extortions of the Asophs and the attacks of the invading armies they enjoyed comparatively great security. The Government never subsisted by open plunder, whereas among the Mahratta chiefs there were very few who did not support their troops by avowed robbery.

On his way from Sagar to Nagar, Buchanan found the country extremely hilly and overgrown with woods in which there were fortified defiles and passes that were guarded by armed men in the service of the Mysore Government. At Nagar there was a British garrison stationed for the defence of the country around. The palace although rebuilt by Tippu was almost in ruins. There were about 1,500 houses besides huts and 150 new houses were under construction and merchants were resorting to it from all quarters. The mint was maintained and every encouragement was given to merchants. Buchanan however prophetically declared at the time that the place could not be expected to attain its former greatness as it was neither the seat of court nor of any public works and possessed no manufactures, its mainstay being only trade. He left Nagar on the 29th March 1801 and reached Shimoga on the 2nd April leaving behind the forest-clad hilly country of Kavaledoorg, Mahishi, Tudur and Mandagadde. Shimoga at the time of Buchanan's visit contained about 500 houses and was increasing fast. It had suffered considerably at the hands of Parasuram Bhow and Dhondoji Wagh. Parasuram Bhow at the time of

Cornwallis' campaign is stated to have destroyed almost all the houses in the town numbering about 6,000 and his men are said to have ravished several women and carried away the handsomest. The Mahratta troopers did not spare even the matam of the Kudli Swami who was their Guru or religious head. But the enraged Swami held out to Parasuram Bhow threats of instant excommunication and thereupon is said to have been pacified by a present of 4,00,000 of rupees. On the fall of Seringapatam, Shimoga became once more a prey of Dhondoji who remained for 15 days plundering the inhabitants and burning the neighbouring villages.

From Shimoga Buchanan passed through Kudli, Sasivehalli, Basavapatna and reached Harihar on the 8th April 1801. The fort of Harihar contained a temple and a hundred houses of Brahmins, while the suburb contained 300 houses of other castes. Many families were found living within the walls of the temple and the area was defiled by cowdung, mud broken bricks, straw, dung-hills and other impurities. Davangere contained above 500 houses and a new bazaar was under construction. In the centre of the town was a small mud fort. Some years before, it was a poor village and its rise was owing to the encouragement given to settlers by Appaji Rao, Haidar's agent, who had obtained this place as a jahagir. Even after Appaji Rao's death, Tippu continued to give encouragement to this place and hence its rise. The country between Davangere and Chitaldrug was thinly peopled and poorly cultivated and it had also suffered from the ravages of Parasuram Bhow. Hiriyur possessed several temples, one of which, that of Gunavathi was of considerable size. During the time of Haidar the town suffered largely from the Mahrattas and was later plundered by Parasuram Bhow. The ravages of this chief were followed by a dreadful famine which swept away most of the inhabitants. In 1799 about 50 houses had again been occupied. Some of the dealers in grain that followed the camp found their way even to this distance and plundered the wretched inhabitants. At the same time Bharamanayak a member of the old palegar family of Chitaldrug assembled some followers and entered the territories of his ancestors to try his fortune. He had constant skirmishes with the Sultan's garrison in Chitaldrug

and in each of these two or three villages were plundered by one or the other of the parties. On protection being given to the town after the fall of Seringapatam, 300 houses were rebuilt. Leaving Hiriur on the 2nd May 1801 Buchanan passed through Muthodu and Hosadurga and reached Banavar on the 10th May.

Banavar had a mud fort and owing to its strength it had escaped from the ravages of the Mabrattas. The ruins of the palace of one of the old palegars occupied considerable space and was surrounded by a high wall which was in good repair. The buildings within however were dilapidated. On the fall of Seringapatam, an uncle of the Tarikere palegar seized the fort and remained in possession for two months and a half. But on the approach of the British detachment, his followers dispersed and the amildar who was in the neighbourhood with Candachar peons seized and hanged the palegar immediately. The country around Halebid was found deserted. The famous temple there had gone so far to decay that it could only be repaired with great difficulty. Belur had a fort built of stone and a suburb which contained about 600 houses. The Kesava temple at Belur was in good repair and was a large building which although inferior to those of Halebid was much ornamented. Near about the village of Haltoray, robbers were numerous and were of Mahratta extraction. They went in bands of 12 to 20 and possessed themselves of whatever came in their way. Murder and torture were frequently added to their other outrages. At the time of Buchanan's visit they were all in the service of the Ballum palegar and the Mysore troops were unable to prevent small parties of them from issuing out of the woods and committing occasional depredations.

At Hassan the fort was by far the best constructed of mud and rough stones and was in excellent repair. Haidar made a covered way and a central battery or cavalier which served as a tower. When Buchanan visited, there were only 500 houses in both the fort and the pettah, of which 100 were occupied by Brahmins and 20 by Jains. At this place there were scarcely any trade or manufactures. Chennarayapatna had a weekly fair and a well-built fort. In the neighbourhood was Sravanabelagola and

contained the colossal image of Gomateswara on a hill adjacent to the place and was then as now a celebrated seat of Jain worship. There was a Jain matam in the village and a handsome tank.

Buchanan reached Seringapatam on the 3rd June 1801 after his long journey and found the place recovering apace, though it was still a sink of nastiness. The suburb Shahar Ganjam was found increasing rapidly and care had been taken to form the streets wide and straight. Trade had begun to revive and considerable quantities of produce of Malabar passed that way. The lands were increasing in value and the people who had formerly deserted to adjacent districts were returning with the utmost eagerness and were reclaiming their former possessions. The climate however was very unhealthy, the Resident Colonel Close himself suffering from illness at the time.

Buchanan left Seringapatam on his return journey to Madras on the 4th June 1801. At Malavalli he found a large fort separated into two portions by a transverse wall. The upper portion inhabited by Brahmins was in good repair but the other portion was in ruins. Malavalli had been given by Haidar as a jahagir to Tippu and consequently it enjoyed considerable favour. Adjoining the town was a fine reservoir that gave a constant supply of water to a fruit garden which the Sultan had planted. This was of great extent, but the soil was poor and in some places it was indeed so bad that the trees had died and the ground had been again converted into rice fields. There were 2,400 trees of which one-half were mango trees and these were loaded with fruits at the time of Buchanan's visit. The oranges also were very fine. In the centre of the garden was a small but neat cottage from which grass-walks diverged in all directions. Halaguru was an open village which contained about 120 houses. Both during the invasions of Lord Cornwallis as well as during that of General Harris the place had been burnt. Kankanhalli was the residence of an amildar and had a petty fort. Maralvadi before the invasion of Lord Cornwallis is said to have contained 300 houses. Tippu in order to prevent it from being of use to his enemies burnt it and most of the wretched inhabitants perished from hunger and disease.

Though it was left unmolested in 1799, the place had not recovered its former prosperity containing as it did only 68 houses. On the 14th June Buchanan quitted the Mysore State and re-entering the Company's territory reached Madras on the 5th July 1801.



## CHAPTER XL.

### **Land tenure—Modes of cultivation—Wages of labour— Distribution of crop.**

The general tenure of land in the Mysore State did not materially differ from that prevailing in the surrounding country. It was generally accepted that the cultivators and their heirs had the right of continuing in possession of such lands so long as there was no default in the payment of the customary rent, with the implication that if the land was not cultivated the cultivator thereby rendered himself *ipso facto* unable to pay the rent and that the Government was entitled to resume the land and confer it on others. In Nagar or Bednore and Manjarabad or Ballum however, the proprietorship was regarded as vested in the landholder and was hereditary, the rent being paid in money and the officers of Government having no further interference with the ryots than to receive the rent. This system of hereditary proprietorship and fixity of rent generally attributed to Sivappa Naik a former Raja of Bednore continued in vogue till the time of Haidar. But military service was at all times an additional condition of tenure in Bednore. In 1763 when Haidar discovered the conspiracy against him mentioned in the previous pages, he commuted the military service into a money payment holding the country in subjection by a force of 25,000 men. This assessment continued till 1792, when Tippu having lost half of his territories attempted to compensate himself by a proportional increase in assessment on his remaining possessions. Purnaiya however reverted to the assessment of 1764 and continued to keep a force in that part as before.

The province of Ballum had never been effectually conquered until military roads were opened through the forests by General Wellesley in the year 1801—2. During the time of both Haidar and Tippu the land assessment had fluctuated and the presence of an army was always necessary to enforce payment of revenue. Purnaiya however fixed the land-tax at a standard which was acceptable to the landholders. This minister had an adequate idea of the advantages accruing both to the Government and to the ryot from a system of hereditary property and fixed rents instead of the

Somewhat precarious tenures which prevailed at the time in other parts of Mysore. Throughout the country he also confirmed the property of the soil to the possessors of plantations of areca, cocoanut and others which were not annual. In the case of gardens and plantations however which had gone to decay or which required time for recuperation and in the case of new plantations which needed time for growth, he treated them as temporary exceptions. He showed a general disposition to accede to the proposals of individuals for fixing the rent and encouraging proprietorship of every description of land. But he did not press it as a measure of Government which the ryots always received with suspicion holding the opinion that people should be made gradually to understand and wish for such a measure before it could be conferred and received as a benefit.

The whole of the revenue was under the Amani or direct management of Government. The cultivators of dry lands paid a fixed money rent calculated to be equal to about one-third of the crop and those of the wet or rice lands paid nominally in kind of about one-half of the crop but generally paid in money at the average rates prevailing in the neighbourhood which were settled as soon as the state of the crop admitted of an estimate being made of the yield. When however the amildar and the ryot did not agree on the money payment, it was received in kind. In the central and some other parts of Mysore this mode of adjustment was found impracticable on account of the uncertain nature of the water-supply.

The mode of estimating the extent of land in Mysore was not by actual measurement but by quantity of seed-grain required to sow the land. The term 'Kandy,' a dry measure, was that which was universally applied in describing a portion of land and a 'kandy' of land signified that extent of land in which a kandy of seed-grain was sown. As however any given extent of wet land required about four times the quantity of seed that could be sown with advantage in the same extent of dry land, a kandy of dry land was four times as large as a kandy of wet land. According to Colonel Wilks, the share of the Government in the gross produce of land was about 40 per cent, while 60 per cent remained to the

cultivator to reward him for his labours and to recoup his cost. He had also the profits arising out of live-stock.

A few concrete examples chiefly taken from Buchanan's report may be given here of the distribution of produce and the modes of cultivation prevailing in different parts of the country to further elucidate what has been said above. At Seringapatam the arable lands were classed under four heads. Firstly, a very black soil containing a large proportion of clay and 'Eré' or 'Krishna' or 'Mucutu'. Secondly, a very red soil containing also a few small pebbles or loose rounded stones without injuring the quality of the land. Thirdly, 'Maralu,' a light brown-coloured soil with a large proportion of sand and fourthly, 'daray' consisting of much sand and angular nodules of stone so compact that the plough penetrated it with difficulty. The articles grown on wet lands were rice, sugarcane, 'uddu,' 'Hesaru,' 'Walle Ellu' and 'Tadagani,' rice being the most important of these. The cultivators here raised an annual crop in two different seasons of the year as it suited their convenience and these crops were known as 'Caru' and 'Hainu.' A crop grown in the rainy season was called 'Hainu' and the one grown in the dry season was called 'Caru.' The grounds were formed into terraces quite level and surrounded by little banks for the purpose of retaining water. The tanks or reservoirs not being numerous in the Patna Ashtagram and the canals being completely filled in the rainy season only, the 'Hainu' crop of rice was by far the most copious. The small supply of water in the dry season was reserved for the cultivation of sugarcane. There were three modes of sowing paddy. In the first mode the seed was sown dry on the fields known as 'Bara Bhatta' or 'punaji' cultivation. In the second mode the seed was allowed to vegetate before it was sown and the field when fitted to receive it was reduced to puddle and was known as 'Mole Bhatta' cultivation. In the third mode the seed was sown very thick in a small plot of ground and when it had shot up a foot high, the young one was planted into the fields where it was to ripen and this was called 'Nati' cultivation. Of the different kinds of rice grown, the important ones were 'Dodda Bhatta,' 'Kembuthi,' 'Yalaki Raja,' 'Dily Sanna Bhatta,' 'Putta Bhatta.'

When the paddy crop was ripe, it was cut and put into a Rasi or heap, this being marked with clay and carefully covered with straw and a trench was also dug around each heap to keep off water. For twenty or thirty days till the division of the crop between the Government and the cultivator took place, the corn was allowed to remain in the heap. By far the greater part of the land had too small a supply of water to suffice for two crops of rice and the ryots were therefore content with only one crop of rice and another of some kind of pulse or dry grain where possible. A considerable quantity of sugarcane was also raised by the farmers of Ashtagram. It was of two kinds 'Rastale' and 'Patta Patti' and from the latter was generally manufactured 'Bella' or jaggery. The 'Patta Patti' is stated to have been introduced from Arcot by Mustapha Ali Khan who during the time of Haidar was Tosheekhane Bakshi or Paymaster-General. On dry fields ragi was the commonest crop grown and it formed the staple diet of the masses. Other crops grown were 'Avare,' 'Thogari,' 'Jola,' 'Kambu,' 'Same,' 'Haraka,' 'Navane,' 'Hurali,' 'Kadale,' 'Haralu' and 'Huchellu.'

Of the gardens there were four kinds, namely, 'Tharakari Thota' or kitchen-garden, 'Thengina Thota' or cocoanut-garden containing also many other kinds of fruit trees, 'Yele thota' or betel-leaf garden and 'Huvina Thota' or flower-garden.

The cattle chiefly bred in the vicinity of Seringapatam were cows, buffaloes and the long-legged goats. Horses, pigs and the common goat were in too small a number. The oxen that were bred were by no means numerous enough for the use of the cultivators. The supply came chiefly from Alumbady, Tirupattur, Cowdaballi, Kankanhalli, Ramgiri and Magadi. The farmers in general kept no more stock than the number required to cultivate their lands, with a few cows or more commonly buffaloes for obtaining milk.

A great deal of attention was paid to manuring the soil. Every farmer had a dung-hill which was prepared by digging a pit of sufficient extent. In this was collected the whole of the dung

and the litter of the cattle from the houses where the cattle were kept, together with all the ashes and soil of the family. The farmers who lived within two miles of the city sent bullocks with sacks and procured from the 'Halal' or sweepers the ashes, ordure and other soil of the town. The leaves of various wild trees were also used as manure.

Near Seringapatam the farms in general extended to two or three ploughs of land. One plough was a poor stock, the possessor of 4 or 5 was a great farmer and the possession of 6 or 7 was reckoned as indicating affluence. The total want of a land measure and the scattered disposition of the plots of which each farm consisted, according to Buchanan, stood considerably in the way of exactly ascertaining the extent of a plough of land. Generally the extent of a plough land was not considerable and the ploughings given to the same field were very numerous and spread over a considerable portion of the year. A plough worked by a pair of bullocks did not generally cover daily more than one-seventh of an acre. A farmer living near the town and owning five ploughs is stated to have required about 10 servants owing to the scarcity of forage but at a distance from Seringapatam five men were deemed sufficient. In harvest and seed time more labourers were needed, chiefly women, and more bullocks also.

Instead of dividing the crops as usual in other parts of the country, the farmer at Seringapatam cultivated his watered lands as he pleased and paid for each kandaga of ground a fixed quantity of paddy. He had also to give an allowance to the gods and to the Panchangis, Talavars and other village officers in lieu of the share which they were formerly wont to receive on a division of crops. The rent of dry fields was paid in money according to an old valuation formed on an estimate of its produce. With five ploughs a man cultivated about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  acres of watered land and 25 acres of dry land. The Government was bound to keep the tanks and canals in good repair.

The ryots had no property in the land. But it was not usual to send any man away so long as he paid the customary rent. The

Gowdas or village headmen here were not hereditary but were appointed by the amildar with the consent of the ryots and the amildar never put in any person contrary to the wishes of the people. The Gowdas received a fixed pay of 20 fanams or equal to about Rs.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  a month and performed the functions which in other places were usually performed by the hereditary headmen of the villages.

The hire of farm-labourers at Seringapatam and generally within two miles of that place when employed throughout the year was 10 Sultani fanams or about Rs.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per month. The servant lived in his own house and it was customary for the master on extraordinary occasions such as marriages to make an advance of money to the servant and this debt had to be repaid before the servant could leave his master. In case of the servant's death his sons were bound to pay the debt or to continue to work with their father's master and if there were no sons, the master could give the daughters away in marriage and receive the presents usual on such occasions. In the harvesting season the daily hire of a man was 6 seers of paddy. A woman transplanting paddy crop got daily one fourth of a Sultani Fanam or about one anna and four pies. At a distance of six or seven miles from Seringapatam the monthly hire of a servant was 8 fanams or a little less than three rupees. Farther, the hire was one fanam and eighty seers of grain, of which one half was ragi and the remainder such kind as it was convenient for the farmer to give.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### Land Tenure—Modes of cultivation—Wages of labour— Distribution of crop—(continued).

At the village of Agaram near Bangalore the ryots received advances from the merchants of Bangalore to pay their rents who generally took one-half of the crop for the advance made as well as for the interest which accrued on it. These advances were sometimes made six months before the crop was reaped.

The manner of dividing the crops between the Government and the cultivator here was generally typical of what prevailed in several other parts. Taking 20 kandagas as the average quantity of a heap, the division was :—

1.	For the priests who worshipped the images in the temple	...	...	5 seers.
2.	For charity, i.e., for Brahmins, Jungums and other mendicants	...	...	5 „
3.	For the astrologer or Panchangi	...	...	1 seer.
4.	For the poor Brahmin of the village whose office was hereditary	...	...	1 „
5.	For the Nainda or barber	...	...	2 seers.
6.	For the Kumbar or pot-maker	...	...	2 „
7.	For the Vasaradava who was both a carpenter and blacksmith	...	...	2 „
8.	For the Agasa or washerman	...	...	2 „
9.	For the Alathegara or measurer	...	...	4 „
10.	For the Terugara or Adduka who watched the heaps...	...	...	7 „
11.	For the Gowda or the village headman	...	...	8 „
12.	For the Shanbogue or accountant	...	...	10 „

The heap was then measured and for every Kandaga that it contained the Gowda, and the Shanbogue further received 45 seers, each at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  seers a kandaga. The Toti and the Talwar received together  $\frac{1}{2}$  a seer on each Kandaga or 10 seers for both. The Nirganti who regulated the supply of water then took the bottom of the heap which was about an inch thick and which gave him about 20 seers. The Shanbogue was also given for every Kandaga of seed sown two men's loads of straw with the grain in them.

The above division of a heap of 20 kandagas or 160 seers each generally amounted to a little over 5 per cent of the gross produce. Of the remainder the Government took first 10 per cent and then a half, so that it received 55 per cent of the net produce and the farmer received 45 per cent. The reason for this difference was that formerly the country was managed by officers who were called Deshmukhs or Zamindars receiving 10 per cent from the heap before division. When these offices were abolished by Haidar, he took the ten per cent and paid the salaries of the new officers appointed in their places. In dividing jaggery a kind of scramble took place among the same persons who shared in the heap of paddy and in this the farmer also partook. During this scramble about a fourth part of the jaggery was taken away in handfuls and the remainder was divided equally between the Government and the farmer.

All the dry fields were let for a money rent. But besides this rent, the farmer had also to pay the following dues :—

1. To the barber, 30 seers for every heap of grain.
2. To the pot-maker for pots from 20 to 30 seers.
3. To the ironsmith, 20 seers for every plough.

While the farmer supplied all the materials, the smith made all the implements of husbandry and assisted in building and repairing the farmer's house. To the washerman for a family consisting of two men and two women or under that number were paid 50 seers, for a family of 4 men and 4 women 100 seers and for a larger family 150 seers.

Then for every heap of ragi which upon an average contained 10 kandagas the farmer gave :—

1. To the Gods	...	...	...	10 seers.
2. To the mendicant Brahmin	...	...	...	20 „
3. To the hereditary poor Brahmin of the village...	10	„		
4. To the astrologer	...	...	...	10 „
5. To the Shanbogue (per plough)	...	...	...	20 „
6. To the watchman	...	...	...	10 „

Other grains paid one-half of these deductions.

Where the farmers could not be induced to take the dry fields on a money rent, the officers of Government were forced to let such fields on a division of crop and the division generally amounted to a little over 8 per cent of the total crop. The practice in this division of crop however was not uniform in all parts of the State and it varied according to the facilities which could be commanded for the cultivation of the land. For instance, round about Nagamangala the Gowdas partly rented the villages and partly collected on the public account whatever could be had from the ryots. The farmers had a fixed property in the land from the possession of which they could not be ejected so long as they paid the rent. Land that had not been occupied for some time was let on Shraya or progressive rent, paying no rent for the first year of cultivation, paying a fourth part every succeeding year and the full rent at the end of 5 years. In the neighbourhood of Periapatna in a betel-nut garden while the trees were growing the owner paid for every 100 plantain trees regarded as a catch-crop 3 fanams for a year or 15 fanams for a kandaga land. After the trees came to maturity, the Government got one-half of the boiled betel-nut equal to about 15 maunds of that commodity for a kandaga land. This was worth 75 fanams equal to a rent of Rs.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per acre to Government or about 25 rupees for 1,000 bearing trees.

In the Tayur taluk in some of the villages the Gowdas were hereditary and in others the renters themselves were called by that

name. The hereditary Gowdas were preferred both by the farmers as well as by Government as they were naturally acquainted with all the inhabitants and as their directions were cheerfully obeyed. Having been long residents in the place they had better credit to enable them to borrow money for making up their rent at the fixed terms of payment. The rent of the dry field was paid in three kists or instalments which became due before the ragi harvest. In the case of failure in the payment of these instalments the crops were seized and sold by the Parapathegar. This officer also sold the Government's share of the crops at three different periods as by selling the whole at once the market was likely to be overstocked.

In the Malnad parts of the country pepper, cardamom, rice and arecanut were grown on a large scale. The only crops grown on the watered ground were rice and sugarcane, the latter of a variety called 'Mara Cabbu.' On 'Hakalu' or 'Mekke' lands bordering on rice grounds and situated on the lower part of the hills were grown 'Uddu,' 'Huchellu,' 'Hurali' and 'Haralu' to a small extent.

The arecanut gardens were then as now of great importance in the Malnad and they produced about one-third of the revenue. The cultivation of these gardens was generally in the hands of Haiga or Havyaka Brahmins. A kandaga of areca garden contained about 300 trees but in the revenue account it was regarded as containing only 100 mature trees, the rest being regarded as being young and yielding no fruit. When the trees were 16 years old, pepper vines were supported on them. A garden of 1,000 mature areca trees in a good soil was reckoned as capable of producing 25 maunds of betelnut, each maund containing 60 seers of 24 'duddu,' (a duddu being equal to 4 pies). The quantity of pepper realised from such a garden was generally 4 maunds of the same weight. A garden rated at 2,000 trees was reckoned a fairly large one. Five thousand areca trees constituted a large one. Four men were reckoned as sufficient to work a garden of 2,000 trees and to collect the fruit and pepper. Ordinarily it was estimated that to bring such a garden to completion 1,000 pagodas were required with an additional 100 for the tank, of which total amount the Government generally advanced

one-half and the only return until the garden became productive was from the catch-crops. The areca gardens could be sold or mortgaged and on this account they were looked upon as more the property of the cultivators than rice fields. The tax on areca gardens varied according to the nature of the soil from 8 to 24 Canteroi pagodas for every thousand mature trees. A garden was usually mortgaged for an amount from two to three times of the tax and could be sold outright for twice the amount of the mortgage.

The corn lands were regarded as the property of the Government but no cultivator could be dispossessed as long as he paid the rent and this rent was also considered as fixed. The Gadde or rice ground only was taxed and each farmer had annexed to this an extent of Mekke or dry field on which no impost was levied. The cultivator could neither sell this land nor let it on mortgage. If he was unable to pay his rent, he left the land. But if he or his descendants recovered stock enough, they were entitled to claim their heritage and on such occasions the new occupants, if any, were obliged to relinquish the property. The rent was paid in money according to a valuation made by Sivappa Naik and for each kandaga of land according to its quality the rent varied from 3 to 10 Ikkeri fanams. The extra taxes imposed by Tippu were all repealed by Purnaiya and he reverted to the rates of Haidar's time which did not differ very much from those of Sivappa Naik.

Most of the cultivation was carried on by the families of the cultivators and there were very few hired servants. To the farms of Brahmins and some others however were attached certain families who were more or less serfs on whom their masters had many claims. A serf got annually Rs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  for a blanket, 3 rupees worth of cotton cloth, one-fourth rupee for a hand-kerchief, 6 kandagas of rough rice worth four rupees to procure salt, tamarind and some other articles, and daily  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kolagas of rough rice. A woman serf got 365 kolagas of rough rice at one kolaga a day and 3 kandagas at harvest, 2 rupees worth of cloth and one-fourth of a rupee for a jacket. The marriage of a serf cost about 10 pagodas. The widow and the children of a serf continued after the serf's death under his master,

At Hiriyr most of the labour on agricultural lands was performed by the families of the occupants. Some of these however hired men-servants by the year and employed women-servants by the week in seed and harvest time. A man got from 50 to 70 fanams in cash a year and he also generally obtained accommodation for himself and his family in his master's house. A woman received 1 fanam a week.

Near about Banavar, Honnavalli, Kadur and Chennarayapatna tobacco was grown largely and was exported to the north and west. It was sown in the dry fields, a crop of ragi intervening between the crops of tobacco.

At Haltoray and its neighbourhood at some distance from Belur there were a number of arecanut gardens owned by Sankethi Brahmins. As soon as a garden began to produce, the proprietor paid one-half of the nut as rent to the Government. He bore the whole expense of rearing the trees and of forming the wells and tanks from which they were watered. The Government got no share of the yield from plantain and betel trees which were also grown. A man might sell his garden but if he allowed it to become waste, the soil became public property. A garden of 300 bearing arecanut trees was estimated to produce 10 maunds of boiled betel-nut worth one Bahaduri pagoda a maund.

At Kankanhalli there were a number of cocoanut plantations on the banks of the Arkavathi river. The cocoanuts were sold to the people of the Baramahal. The ground was the property of the Government but the trees belonged to the cultivator and so long as these were kept alive the Government's right to the soil was suspended. A tree produced annually 10 to 200 cocoanuts which were worth five fanams a hundred and of the produce Government took one-half. Some of these trees were planted on dry fields and others on watered lands and the land under the trees was cultivated with appropriate grains. If the trees were sufficiently thick and the crop of grain was poor, the farmer was allowed to keep the whole. But if he neglected his garden and if the trees were scattered in a large space, the Government took one-half of the grain also,

## CHAPTER XLII.

### **Manufacture and Trade in the early part of the 19th century.**

In the early years of the 19th century agriculture was the largest industry in Mysore as now. There were a number of other industries no doubt, such as the weaving of cloths, production of earth-salt, of articles of iron but they all took a secondary place. Equally the trade of the country was on a very limited scale as compared with what it is at present. A few typical examples will be given from Buchanan's report in illustration of these statements.

At Takal earth-salt was manufactured. In the dry season the surface of the earth was scrapped off and collected in heaps. In front of these heaps the salt makers constructed a semicircle of small round cisterns, each about 3 feet in diameter and a foot deep. The sides and floors of these cisterns were made of dry mud and each at its bottom on the side towards the heap of saline earth had a small aperture with a wooden spout to convey the brine into an earthen pot that was placed in a cavity under it. The bottoms of the cisterns were covered with straw and then the saline earth was put in, till it rose nearly to the tops of the walls. Water was then poured on the surface of the saline earth and in filtering through into the pots carried with it all the salts. The inert earth was then thrown out behind the cisterns and new earth was put in with more water. In the meantime, the brine was emptied into a cavity cut in a rock and the evaporation was entirely performed by the sun. This salt was sold at the rate of 20 seers a Sultani fanam, while the same sum procured only 8 seers of Madras salt.

In the villages round about Malur coarse woollen blankets or cumblies were woven from the wool of the sheep. Twelve sheep were reckoned to give as much wool as was necessary for a blanket 6 cubits long and 3 wide.

At Kadagudi or the present Whitefield the burning of the calcareous nodules into quicklime of a beautiful white colour was the occupation of about 10 families. The stones were brought from

a distance of five miles, some on oxen, the greater part on men's heads. The lime was burnt in kilns about 6 feet high, at the bottom about 4 feet and at the top about 2 feet in diameter. The structure was of a mud wall and in order to give admission to air it was perforated in many places through its whole height. The fuel used was charcoal, the making of which was the duty of the men and bringing it home that of the women.

At Kengeri it was alleged that Tippu's regulations prohibiting trade to the dominions of the Nawab of Arcot were very ill observed and that passports were privately given to traders by the principal officers of Government. Tippu's table was served with country salt, but others largely with sea-salt. At Maddur and in some adjacent villages a kind of jaggery was manufactured from date toddy which was substituted for sugarcane jaggery by the poor.

The manufactures of Seringapatam and its vicinity were never considerable. They were chiefly military stores and camp equipage. At the time of Buchanan's visit weavers were seen assembling in considerable numbers in Shahar Ganjam. The trade of the place was almost entirely confined to the importation of provisions, clothing and luxuries for the court and army and the returns were almost wholly made in cash. Under certain arrangements made by Tippu, it is stated that broad cloth, papers, watches and cutlery were manufactured but the processes were kept secret.

In the stone quarries near Seringapatam stones were cut into pillars with tolerable facility by the workers and these pillars were also cut into several shapes. Good workers in stone got from 40 to 50 fanams a month.

At Chennapatna glassware was one of the manufactures. It was made by two operations. In the first, from the raw articles were formed masses of glass. In the second, these masses were wrought up into small bottles and ornamental rings for the arms of women. Another manufacture for which Chennapatna was celebrated was that of steel wire for strings of musical instruments which were in great esteem and were sent to remote parts of India. One rupee weight of this wire was sold for one Sultani fanam.

A family of Linga Banajigaru caste at Chennapatna were acquainted with the process of making very fine white sugar but the process was kept a profound secret. The sugar was made for the sole use of the palace and the maker was allowed 27 fanams a maund. This family also possessed a village rent-free.

In many parts of the country there existed iron forges for the manufacture of iron. The iron was made partly from the black sand which was found in the rainy season in the channels of all the torrents in the country and partly from an ore at Ghattipura. During the four months of heavy rains four men were able to collect as much sand as a furnace could smelt during the rest of the year. These men got 10 fanams a month.

At Bangalore almost every coin of India was current but all accounts were kept in Canteroi pagodas, Fanams and Duddu. The first was an imaginary money and the second exchanged for 18 'Duddus' or dubs as they were in some places called. The rate of exchange was fixed generally once a month by an officer of Government. The cutcha seer of this place weighed  $25\frac{1}{2}$  rupees, so that the maund of Bangalore was equal to  $42\frac{1}{2}$  seers of the Seringapatam standard or to a very little less than 26 lbs. Every weighable article except such as were brought from Seringapatam were sold wholesale according to this weight, but in retail sales the Seringapatam standard was used. A bullock load was reckoned at 8 maunds or nearly 206 lbs. The 'Pukka' seer measure was the same as that of Seringapatam. The Kandaga contained 160 seers. In order to avoid confusion, grain was seldom sold by the Kandaga but by the 100 seers or palla. Betel-nut was sold at  $20\frac{1}{2}$  fanams per maund of  $42\frac{1}{2}$  seers. Best jaggery at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fanams a maund. Ghee at 18 fanams a maund of 40 seers. Cleaned cotton at  $13\frac{1}{3}$  fanams a maund of 44 seers. Madras salt was sold at  $26\frac{1}{2}$  fanams per kandaga of 200 seers. Best rice at  $66\frac{1}{2}$  fanams per kandaga of 200 seers.

The Pattegar and Khatri caste people were silk weavers and prepared very strong and rich cloths. They dyed much of their silk. Where the goods were in much demand, it was customary for the merchant to advance one-half or even the whole of the

cost of the goods commissioned by them to be manufactured. When however the demand was small, the weavers borrowed money from the merchants at 2% a month and wove cloths which they sold to them on their own account. The silk was all imported in raw state by the merchants. The master weavers kept from two to five servants who were paid by the piece. Weavers who worked on cotton cloths with silk borders made daily about a fanam or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  annas. Those who worked in cloth consisting entirely of silk made rather less. It was not usual for the weavers, except of the Panchama caste, to employ part of their time in agriculture. The Khatris were more opulent than the Pattegars and these again were more wealthy than weavers of other castes.

The weavers of cotton cloth obtained advances from the merchants in the same manner as the silk weavers and sold their goods to merchants or private customers and never carried them to public markets. None of them followed any other occupation and several of them were in good circumstances. The servants were paid by the piece and earned about 20 fanams or from Rs. 6 to 9 a month.

The Togataru were a class of weavers who made a coarse, thick, white cotton cloth with red borders which were used by the poorer classes. The same people also made handkerchiefs from 3 to 5 cubits square which were commonly used as a head dress. The weavers of this class were poor and were not able to make the cloths on their own account. They generally received the thread from people in the neighbourhood and worked the same into cloth for hire. For weaving a piece worth 8 fanams or Rs. 3 they got  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fanams or about 14 annas. This occupied the workman about 4 or 5 days, so that his daily remuneration was from 3 to 4 annas.

The Holiar weavers made a coarse, white, strong cloth called Parakali which served the poorer male inhabitants throughout the country. Weavers of this class lived scattered in the villages and and frequently hired themselves out as day-labourers to farmers or others who gave them employment. At the weekly markets the

cotton wool was bought by the poorer women of all classes except Brahmins for spinning it into threads and the surplus thread not wanted by the family was sold to the weavers.

Buchanan's remarks regarding the weavers of Bangalore are even now instructive and interesting. "The weavers of Bangalore seem to me," he wrote, "to be a very ingenious class of men and with encouragement to be capable of making very rich, fine, elegant cloths of any kind that may be in demand, but having been chiefly accustomed to work goods for the use of the court of Seringapatam they must now labour under great disadvantages, for it could never be expected that at the court of Mysore there would be the same extent of demand as existed at the court of Seringapatam, nor could the English officers ever demand the native goods as much as the Mussalman Sirdars did. The manufacturers of this place can never therefore be expected to equal what they were in Haidar's time, unless some foreign market can be found for the goods. Purnaiya being very desirous of the re-establishment of this city of Bangalore has forwarded by me samples of cotton and silk cloth that accompany this account with a request that they may be presented in his name to the Marquis Wellesley and I beg leave to recommend that the attention of the Board of Trade may be directed to them with a view of forming some commercial arrangements that may assist in restoring a country which has suffered so much."

All the raw silk required for cloths was imported. A small duty was levied on every loom and it was judiciously diminished in the case of those who kept many in order to encourage men of wealth to employ their capital in that way. A man that kept one loom paid annually a duty of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  fanams, for two looms he paid 5 fanams, and where more than two were kept 2 fanams each. The remarks of Buchanan regarding the possibility of establishing silk industry in the Mysore country are interesting and go to credit him with much foresight. "The silk manufacture seems especially favourable for a country so far from the sea and from navigable rivers as the cost of long carriage on such a valuable article is of little importance. I see no reason why

silk should not be raised in Mysore to great advantage. Tippu had commenced a trial but his arbitrary measures were little calculated to ensure success. Some of the mulberry trees however that remain in his gardens show how well the plant agrees with this climate."

The sugar-candy made at Chikballapur was equal to the Chinese and the clayed sugar was very white and fine. The process was introduced by Tippu Sultan at Seringapatam and was kept secret. The price of this article placed it beyond the reach of the common people, as the Chinese sugar-candy was sold cheaper at Seringapatam. In Tippu's time, however, the prohibition of commerce with the lower Carnatic made the manufacture a profitable one. The actual price of the fine sugar-candy made at Chikballapur was 10 Company's Rupees for a maund of 24 lbs. and of the fine, soft sugar 25 Sultani fanams a maund. The common brown sugar-candy the original manufacture of the country sold for Rs. 5 a maund and the common brown, soft sugar at Rs. 3 a maund. From the farmers the sugar-makers purchased the juice of the cane after it had been boiled down to a certain degree and paid Rs. 2 for the produce of 2 maunds or 80 seers of jaggery.

At Madhugiri, Chennarayadoorg, Hagalavadi and Devaraya-doorg and other places iron was smelted either from the black sands which the small torrents formed in the rainy season or from an ore called "Canny Callu." The work people in the smelting house were four bellows men, three men who made the charcoal and three women and one man who collected and washed the sand. They worked only during four months of the year when the sand was to be found. The four men relieved one another at the bellows and the most skilful of them took out the iron and built up the furnace on which account his allowance was greater. In each furnace the workman put first a basket of charcoal and he then took up as much of the black sand as he could lift with both hands and put in double that quantity. He then put in another basket of charcoal and the fire was urged by the bellows and this process was repeated as often as necessary. The whole quantity of sand put in at one smelting measured 617 cubical inches and weighed when dry about  $42\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. This gave a mass of iron which when forged made 11

wedges, each intended to make a ploughshare. The workmen were paid by a division of the produce of their labour. The rent of the furnace was 15 fanams. The sheds in which the smelting and forging took place were not costly and were put up at the beginning of the season by the workmen in the course of a day.

The stone ore was made into iron in the same manner. The iron from the stone ore was reckoned better for all the purposes to which malleable iron was applied but it sold lower than the iron made from the sand, for this last was the only kind that could be made into steel. The stone iron was sold at 6 pieces per fanam and the workmen were paid daily wages. The iron made from sand sold at 10 pieces a fanam, each of the pieces weighing about 3 seers. To enable the workmen to give them a supply of steel the merchants frequently made advances, for almost the whole was exported. This steel was used for making stone-cutter's chistle, sword blades and strings of musical instruments.

At Muthodu glass was manufactured which was used for making bangles worn on the wrists of women. All the materials for making glass were found in the neighbourhood. The glass however was very coarse and opaque and was of five colours—black, green, red, blue and yellow and the first was in most demand.

In almost all the larger towns of Mysore weekly fairs or Santhes were held to which people went in great numbers from all the neighbouring parts. A small duty was levied on all persons frequenting the fair bearing a small proportion to the value that each brought for sale. It was not considered burdensome. The articles for sale generally were cotton cloths, blankets or cumblies, articles of iron for country use, food grains and the like.

Tippu, as we know, besides being the ruler of the State also acted as a merchant and traded on his own account. For this purpose he had a large quantity of goods stored at Seringapatam in his palace and these goods were often distributed among the amildars with instructions to sell them for a profitable price, which they did by forcing them upon men who they thought were capable

of purchasing them and this method caused much oppression and loss to those who were thus forced to purchase.

At Bangalore the trade carried on with Mangalore was considerable to which were sent cotton cloths both white and coloured in return for raw silk and silk cloths. The trade to Calicut consisted of coloured cotton cloths and the imports were all kinds of foreign goods brought in by sea. The trade with the country ceded to the Nizam and the Mahrattas south of the river Krishna was carried on chiefly by the merchants of Bellary, Adoni, Dharwar, Hubli, Nargunda and Navalgunda. The agents of merchants trading in these and other places resided at Bangalore, received goods from their principals and sold them to the merchants there. The chief imports from the territories of the Nizam and the Mahrattas were cotton-wool with some coarse cotton thread both white and red, white, red and blue coarse cotton cloths, muslins, Dotras or cotton cloth with silk borders, blankets worth from two to three pagodas each, wheat, red dyes. The returns from Bangalore were chiefly made in money, but some coloured cotton and silk cloths were also sent.

Some Gossai merchants from Poona brought shawls, saffron and musk from Kashmir and Persian pearls from Surat and the returns were made in money and Mannar pearls. From Hyderabad and places around, Pathan and Gujarathi merchants brought red cotton cloth flowered with gold and silver, turbans and fine manufactures of cotton and the returns were in money and pearls. The trade between the dominions of the Nawab of Arcot and Bangalore was carried on at Wallajapet chiefly by the merchants of Bangalore who maintained agents there for the purpose. The imports were salt, sulphur, tin, lead, zinc, copper, European steel, paints and glue, nutmegs, cloves, camphor, raw silk, Burhampur silk cloths, English woollen cloth, Goni cloth, English and Indian paper, English hardware, glassware, Bengal sugar, dates and almonds. The returns from Bangalore were chiefly betel-nut, sandalwood, black pepper, cardamoms, shikai and tamarind. Considerable trade was also carried on with places in the western parts of Mysore, the chief exports being betel-nut, black pepper,

sandalwood and cardamoms and the imports were grain, tobacco, tamarind, blankets, muslins, turbans, coloured cotton stuffs and silks. Goods of all kinds were transported on the backs of animals including buffaloes and asses.

Kolar was one of the centres of trade in the early years of the 19th century. The merchants of Sidlaghatta went to Mangalore and Nagar for betel-nut and black pepper and sold in those parts cotton cloths manufactured and tobacco grown in their neighbourhood. They also traded with Wallajapet in betel-nut and black pepper. From the lower Carnatic they brought back raw silk and other goods imported to Madras by sea.

The trade at Doddaballapur had been reduced to an inconsiderable extent owing to Tippu's caprice. He had forced upon the merchants of this place a quantity of goods at an extravagant rate and removed them to a new town which he was building at Nandidoorg now reduced to a village and known as Sultanpet. When Nandidoorg was taken by Lord Cornwallis by storm, these merchants lost most of their valuables and were reduced to great poverty. The merchants of Sira carried on trade as far as the country ceded to the Nizam south of the Krishna, to the country near Dharwar ceded to the Mahrattas, to Chitaldrug and Nagar, Bangalore and Seringapatam. At Gubbi was held one of the great weekly fairs in the country and it was frequented by merchants from great distances. Gubbi was also an intermediate mart for the goods passing through the peninsula from Canara, Coorg and Malabar. The merchants of Sagar exported pepper, betel-nut and sandalwood to the dominions of the Nawab of Arcot and to the country south of the Krishna and the returns from these countries were chiefly in cloth. The quantity of betel-nut exported from Sagar annually was about 8,000 bullock loads and that of pepper about 500 loads. The trade at Nagar had considerably diminished on account of the removal of the court and the stoppage of the extensive public works which were being undertaken when it was a kingdom. It was never the seat of private manufactures but even in 1800 had considerable trade and several wealthy merchants resided there who exported the produce of the country, such as

pepper, betel-nut and cardamoms. The Mahratta merchants purchased cardamoms, pepper and sandal and sold in return a great variety of cloths, thread and cotton-wool and various grains and other articles. Trade was also carried on with Mangalore, the Nizam's territories south of the Krishna, Chitaldrug, Bangalore and Arcot. From Harihar cotton and thread were largely exported. Two months before the crop season the merchants advanced to the poor cultivators and charged for interest  $\frac{1}{2}$  a fanam on each pagoda or about  $23\frac{1}{3}\%$  per annum.

Davangere was a place of considerable trade and was the residence of many merchants who kept bullocks and sent goods to distant places. Some of the merchants hired their cattle from Sivabhaktas, Mussalmans and Mahrattas who made the carriage of goods a profession. The load was reckoned at 48 cutcha seers and the hire was estimated by this quantity whatever load the owner chose to put on the cattle. The hire for any place was 1 fanam for distances of between 12 and 14 miles. For distant journeys however there was a fixed hire; for instance, from Sagar to Wallajapet it was 3 pagodas, the distance being about 320 miles. The trade carried on here was as in other places in betel-nut, pepper and various other articles, foreign and internal. The trade at Davangere chiefly consisted in exchanging the produce of one neighbouring country for those of another including Nagar, Sagar and other places.

Far from considering the customs exacted at different places on the road as a burden the traders considered them as advantageous, for the custom-house was bound to pay for all goods that were stolen or seized by robbers within their respective jurisdictions.

Colonel Wilks' remarks on trade in general in Mysore may here be noted: "It is not surprising that in a country destitute of seaports, canals and navigable rivers commerce should have attracted little attention on the part of its rulers. Haidar Ali first obtained his seaport in 1764. His notions of commerce were entitled to the negative praise of not being altogether so barbarous as those of his successor and no useful encouragement or security

appears to have been afforded to commerce during the remaining 35 years of that dynasty. Towards its close every respectable sowcar and merchant was plundered of all his visible property and the greater number were absolutely ruined. The practical means of opening the minds of men to the public benefits of commerce are certainly not numerous or obvious in Mysore. Purnaiya's conceptions on this subject are accordingly more limited than any other on which I had occasion to discuss with him."



## CHAPTER XLIII.

### **The people of Mysore in the early part of the 19th century.**

The Mysoreans were reckoned a healthy, stout race of men and rather above the size of the Indians on the coast of Coromandal. Most of them lived on ragi as at present and an individual was allowed one seer of flour at a meal and two meals were usually taken each day. As in other parts of India, in Mysore also there were various castes and occupations and some of the occupations were peculiar to particular castes. Among the Mussalmans there was much variety and many of them were soldiers by profession and when out of employment they are said to have idled their time rather than follow any other occupation. A few of them however were engaged in easy handicrafts or attempted at a little trade but they carefully avoided everything that required much bodily exertion. The population in several parts of the State was very low especially in the northern parts.

Higher learning was limited mostly to Brahmins, but the generality of people who learnt anything were content with a little common arithmetic, reading and writing. Dramas relating mostly to episodes in the Ramayana and Mahabharata were acted and these lasted at a time for seven or eight nights beginning generally at 7 in the evening and continuing till daylight. The female parts were always acted by boys, some of whom performed their parts with so much skill that it was difficult to realise that they were not of the female sex. In every drama a buffoon was introduced and no class of people, not even the ministers of State, were spared from the sarcasms of this actor.

In this period quarrels between people of various castes among the Hindus were very frequent, especially the castes coming under the general designations of Yedagai or left-hand and Balagai or right-hand. The castes comprehended in the left-hand faction were generally Panchalas, Devangas, Hegganigars, Bedars, Madigaru and a few others. To the right-hand faction mostly belonged Banajigas, Vokkaligars, Jotiphana, Rungare, Ladaru, Kurubars,

Agasas, Bestas, Naindas, Upars and Holiards. The different castes of which each faction was composed were not united by any common tie of religion, occupation or kindred, and it was more or less based on a struggle for honorary distinctions. The Brahmins and several other classes remained neutral and took no part in these quarrels and sometimes acted as arbiters in the differences which the two factions had to settle between themselves. When one faction trespassed on what was regarded as the rights of the other, tumults arose and sometimes spread over large tracts affording facilities for excesses of every kind and generally ending in bloody conflicts. Abbe Dubois a French missionary attached to the Pondicherry Catholic mission and who frequently travelled in Mysore adopting the dress and mode of life of a Hindu Sanyasin and whose experience extended to a period of 30 years has made the following observations on these quarrels between the right and left-hand factions in his book known as 'Hindu Manners and Customs.' "I have several times witnessed instances of these popular insurrections excited by the mutual pretensions of the two factions and pushed to such an extreme of fury that the presence of a military force has been insufficient to quell them to allay the clamour or to control the excesses in which the contending factions consider themselves entitled to indulge. Occasionally when the magistrates fail to effect a reconciliation by peaceful means it is necessary to resort to force in order to suppress the disturbances. I have sometimes seen these rioters stand up against several discharges of artillery without exhibiting any sign of submission and when at last the armed force has succeeded in restoring order, it is only for a time. At the very first opportunity the rioters are at work again regardless of the punishment they have received and quite ready to renew the conflict as obstinately as before. The rights and privileges for which the Hindus are ready to fight such sanguinary battles appear highly ridiculous. Perhaps the sole cause of the contest is the right to wear slippers or to ride through the streets in a palanquin or on horseback during marriage festivals, sometimes it is the privilege of being escorted on certain occasions by armed retainers, sometimes that of having a trumpet sounded in front of a procession or of being accompanied by native musicians

at public ceremonies. Perhaps it is simply the particular kind of musical instrument suitable to such occasions that is in dispute or it may be the right of carrying flags of certain colours or certain devices during these ceremonies."

The Koramars or Kalla Bhantas were professional thieves and Abbe Dubois' description of them is interesting if for nothing else, at least for the sake of such people having become rare at present. "These people make a study of the art of stealing and all the dodges of their infamous profession are instilled into them from their youth. To this end their parents teach them to lie obstinately and train them to suffer torture rather than divulge what it is to their interest to hide. Far from being ashamed of their profession the Kalla Bhantas glory in it and when they have nothing to fear, they take the greatest pleasure in boasting of the clever thefts they have committed in various places. Those who caught in the act have been badly hurt or who have been deprived by the magistrates of nose, ears or right-hand show their scars and mutilations with pride as proofs of their courage and intrepidity and these men are usually the chosen heads of their caste. They always commit their depredations at night. Noiselessly entering a village they place sentinels along the different roads, while they select the houses that can be entered into with the least risk. These they creep into and in a few minutes strip them of all the metal vessels and other valuables they can find, including the gold and silver ornaments which the sleeping women and children wear round their necks. They never break open the doors of the houses, for that would make too much noise and so lead to their detection. Their plan is to pierce the mud walls of the house with a sharp iron instrument specially made for the purpose with which they can in a few moments easily make a hole large enough for a man to creep through. They are so clever that they generally manage to carry out their depredations without being either seen or heard by anybody. But if they happen to be surprised, the Kalla Bhantas show desperate resistance and do their best to escape. If one of their number is killed in the scrimmage, they will run any risk to obtain possession of the corpse. They then cut off the head and carry it away with them to avoid discovery.

“Tippu who governed Mysore had a regular regiment of Kalla Bhantas in his service attached to his troops whom he employed, not to fight but to despoil the enemy's camp during the night, to steal their horses, to carry off any valuables they could find among the officers' baggage, to spike the enemy's guns and to act as spies. They were paid according to their skill and success. In times of peace they were sent into neighbouring states to pilfer on their own account and also to report on the proceedings of the rulers. The minor native chiefs called Palegars always employed a number of these ruffians for the same purposes.

“In the provinces where these Kalla Bhantas are countenanced by Government the unfortunate inhabitants have no other means of protecting themselves from their depredations than by making an agreement with the head of the gang to pay him an annual tax of a quarter of a rupee and a fowl per house, in consideration of which he becomes responsible for all the thefts committed by his people in villages which are thus, so to say, are insured.”

Among Hindus marriage had a stronger hold on their minds in the beginning of the 19th century than at present. An unmarried man was looked upon as almost a useless member of society. He was not consulted on any important subject and no work of any consequence was given to him. A Hindu who became a widower was looked upon in the same manner and he was forced therefore to speedily re-marry.

The ideal for a woman was to know how to cook, pound rice and to give birth to children. The rank of a caste was determined by the prohibition of widow marriages.

The horrid custom of Sahagamana or Suttee as it was commonly called, though it had become rare in the peninsular part of India still existed\* and there was no legal prohibition for a widow to burn herself with her husband if she was willing to do so.

---

\* To Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Lord William Bentinck we owe the absolute prohibition of this barbarous and inhuman custom at a later period. To realise what a blessing this legal prohibition has conferred on the women of

Abbe Dubois bears ample testimony to the general poverty of the people of the country intensified as it was by the frequency of wars and the consequent havoc wrought by such wars. His observations on the classes among whom poverty mostly prevailed go to show that almost half the population were possessed of little property and lived from hand to mouth. Among the rest, barring a small minority the others could lay no claim to any kind of affluence and could only be regarded as being able to keep off starvation when any calamity overtook the country. In Abbe Dubois' eyes, India was not at all the land which flowed, as traditionally believed, with milk and honey and where the soil yielded all that was necessary for the existence of its happy people almost without cultivation.

More than half the population could not boast of property worth even Rs. 50. In this class came mostly the Panchamas, a considerable portion of the Vokkaligars and multitudes of vagrants and beggars. Most of the people belonging to these classes hired themselves out as agricultural or other labourers and are said to have been required to do the hardest work for the smallest wage. Some of the younger members of this class hired themselves out without wages on condition that after they worked faithfully for seven or eight years their masters were to bear the cost of their marriage. As soon as the children born of such marriages reached the age of eight or nine, they joined the same master who employed their father, the boys looking after the cattle and the girls cleaning the house, grinding the corn and doing other kinds of domestic work. Some of the members of this class who worked on their own account were carriers and coolies or casual agricultural labourers. When the wage was paid in money, it varied from 9 pies to one and a half anna a day. Such people owned a habitation which consisted of a wretched hut twelve or fifteen feet long, five or six broad and from four to five feet high, often full of

---

India, a case of Suttee actually witnessed by Dubois is given in the note at the end of this chapter. Till some years ago, there existed in Veerangere in the Mysore city a Brindavan popularly known as Kenda-Konda which used to be pointed out as the spot where a widow immolated herself along with the corpse of her husband. But this Brindavan no longer exists at present,

vermins and of awful stench. Their belongings consisted of a few earthen vessels, one or two sickles, a few silver bracelets worth three or four rupees worn by women and two or three cows. These independent labourers also rented Government lands on which they paid a tax. These people sometimes when they were in actual want went to the woods and there gathered leaves, shrubs, roots and bamboo shoot which they boiled and with which they appeased their hunger.

A little above this class stood another class composed mostly of agriculturists on their own account. Their poverty did not allow them to hire any servants under them. They cultivated Government lands and paid yearly a rent of from Rs. 6 to 25. Their property consisted of a few cattle, a few small gold and silver trinkets, one or two copper vessels for drinking and a few more for eating purposes and some iron farm implements. They lived in mud houses rather more commodious and a little less filthy than of the above class. A large number of weavers, barbers, washermen and other workmen were included in this class. The cultivators of this class often found it hard to make both ends meet and were obliged to sell considerable quantities of their crop in advance before the harvest at low prices to enable them to pay the taxes and their dues to the money-lenders who exploited them. In such cases the cultivators had left to them food to last six or eight months in the year and for the remaining portion of the year they borrowed grain from their neighbours at 25 per cent interest even though the period was less than a year.

Besides those mentioned above, there existed various other grades of the population differing in their economic standing. About a tenth of the total population farmed lands large enough to require two, three or even four ploughs, paying a yearly rent of from hundred to three hundred rupees. They lived in fairly comfortable circumstances and had stores of grain lasting for the whole year and even leaving a surplus. Their dwelling houses were better and they and their wives had a change of dress which was rare among those below them. Their property consisted of a few gold and silver trinkets, some copper vessels, and a number of ploughs and other farming implements, some cotton spinning

wheels and various primitive tools of small value. Cattle was their chief source of wealth. Most of them were debtors as well as creditors and they were in no greater hurry to pay their creditors than their debtors were in a hurry to pay them. In times of distress these people, says Dubois, were able to keep their body and soul together on the smallest pittance of food consisting of millet, gruel and water. Other people including Brahmins also about 7 per cent of the population kept servants to aid them in cultivation, also traded in grain or other commodities and lent small sums of money at higher rates of interest. To this class belonged Gowdas or headmen of the villages who acted in their villages as rent collectors of Government, petty magistrates and public arbitrators. As these Gowdas were held responsible by Government for the payment of all taxes due to it, they were obliged to conciliate the villagers to prevent their secretly migrating elsewhere and thereby throwing out the lands from cultivation and disabling these headmen from discharging their obligations in full to Government.

About one-thirtieth of the total population were possessed of property worth from one thousand to two thousand rupees and consisted mostly of Brahmins and Vaisyas with a few others. Their main occupations were agriculture, trading in grain and money-lending on such usurious terms as twenty-five, thirty and even fifty per cent interest. Most of them lived in decent houses which were kept neat and tidy. About 1/50 of the population owned property worth from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 5000 and Brahmins formed quite half of this class and the remainder generally was made up of the best men of the other classes. Their wealth consisted partly of *manyams* or lands exempt partly or wholly from taxation and partly of gardens planted with areca, cocoanut and other fruit trees and partly also of trinkets, money and cattle. Some of them also traded, while several others occupied posts in the Government Service. People worth more than Rs. 5000 generally lived in Agraharams and towns where they had opportunities for money-lending and trading on a fairly large scale. Persons worth from Rs. 5000 to Rs. 10000 or more did not exceed even a hundredth part of the total population and most of them, it is said, were Brahmins,

The women of certain castes were liable to be sold for committing adultery, such as the Lingayats and Kurubars. The women of the Hyga caste of Brahmins at Ramachandrapur were liable to be made over to the matham at that place if they were found guilty of adultery, in which case the people of the matham were privileged to sell them and some of them were compelled to labour in menial offices within the building. The Amildar and Sheristadar instituted an inquiry and if the charges were proved, they took charge of the women on public account. The patel, talari, the shanbogue and the revenue peons in each village were employed in bringing information to the public officers relative to the women.

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER XLIII.

In 1794 in the village of Pudupet in the Tanjore District a wealthy Vaisya merchant died and his widow expressed a desire to depart with her husband. Thereupon she received compliments from all and sundry for her resolve to fulfil her last duty to her husband as a faithful wife. A large concourse of people flocked together on the day when the ceremony took place. When everything was ready for the ceremony and the widow had been richly clothed and adorned, the bearers stepped forward to remove the body of the deceased which was placed in a sort of shrine ornamented with costly stuffs, garlands of flowers etc., the corpse being seated in it with crossed legs covered with jewels and clothed in the richest attire and the mouth filled with betel. Immediately after the funeral car followed the widow borne in a richly decorated palanquin. On the way to the burning ground she was met by an immense crowd of people who made prostrations to her and uttered loud cries of joy. As this ghastly procession moved along, the spectators, especially women, approached close to her and in virtue of prescience with which such a widow was credited solicited her to predict the happy things that would befall them. With a gracious and amiable mein she declared to one that she would long enjoy the favours of fortune, to another that she would be the mother of numerous children, to a third that she would live long and happily with a husband that would love and cherish her, to a fourth that her family was destined to attain much honour and dignity and so forth. She then distributed betel leaves among them which were received with extraordinary eagerness. When the widow reached the fatal spot, the calm demeanour which she had hitherto maintained was observed to have deserted her and she was found plunged in gloomy thought with no attention whatever to her surroundings ready to faint away. The priests who conducted the ceremony and the widow's near relatives encouraged her to keep up her courage. The people then near

her dragged her to a pond close by and plunged her into the water with her clothing and her ornaments. Immediately after, she was led to the place where her husband's body was on the funeral pyre. The pyre was surrounded by priests each with a lighted torch in one hand and a bowl of ghee in another. Her relatives and friends, several of whom were armed with muskets, swords and other weapons stood in a double line. At length the priest gave the fatal sign and the widow was instantly divested of all her jewels and dragged more dead than alive to the pyre. There she walked three times round the fire, two of her nearest relatives supporting her by the arms. She is stated to have accomplished the first round with tottering steps, during the second her strength forsook her and she fainted in the arms of her conductors who were obliged to complete the ceremony by dragging her through the third round. At last almost unconscious she was cast upon the corpse of her husband. At that moment the air resounded with acclamations. The priests emptied the contents of their vessels on the dry wood, applied their torches and in the twinkling of an eye the whole pyre was ablaze. Three times the unfortunate woman was then called by her name and when she made no answer, it was concluded that she had been translated to the region of her husband.



## CHAPTER XLIV.

### **Personnel of the new administration—Political position of the new Mysore State.**

It has been already stated that Lord Mornington selected Purnaiya, Tippu's Finance minister, as the Dewan of the newly constituted State of Mysore. Purnaiya however was not without rivals whose claims were put forward as intrinsically just, but it was the unanimous opinion of all whose opinions weighed at the time that no better selection than that of Purnaiya could be made for the Dewanship, especially when the Dewan had to combine in himself on account of the minority of the Raja Mummadi Kirshnaraaja Wodeyar more or less the functions of a Regent also. Purnaiya did not disappoint the expectations formed of him and later events went to prove that the selection was beneficial not only to the Mysore State but also to the Company's Government in its days of military troubles.

The early life of Purnaiya is somewhat obscure. It is believed that he was born in the year 1746 at Thirukambur in the Kulitalai taluk of the Trichnopoly district. This village is within two miles from Mayanoor Railway station on the Erode-Trichnopoly section of the South Indian Railway. His father's name was Krishnacharya of the Madhva sect of Brahmins who was known as a good Sanskrit Pundit. Lakshmi Amma was his mother's name. Krishnacharya died when Purnaiya was about 11 years old. The family was very poor and the mother had to work in private households for the maintenance of herself and her two sons Purnaiya and Venkata Rao. Purnaiya and his brother received the ordinary education common in those days. About the year 1760 the family migrated to Satyamangalam and there Purnaiya became a clerk under one Ranga Setty a trader by profession. Ranga Setty had dealings with a wholesale merchant named Annadana Setty who was at Seringapatam. This latter merchant was the chief supplier to the palace of Haidar Ali and it was usual for Ranga Setty to go to Seringapatam once a year for the settlement of accounts. Purnaiya used to accompany his master on these tours and his first

visit to Seringapatam seems to have been in the year 1764. The acute intelligence, sound commonsense and the business habits of Purnaiya soon attracted the notice of Annadana Setty and it was not long before Purnaiya was transferred to the service of Annadana Setty. He proved quite equal to his now extended sphere of duties and the singular success with which he managed the business soon made him a great favourite of his new master and secured to him the highest place in his master's mercantile establishment.

At this time the Tosheekhane or treasury was in charge of one Krishna Rao whose official designation was Sheristadar. In his office was a clerk by name Venkataramaniah. It was this clerk who had charge of Annadana Setty's business so far as it related to Haidar Ali and he came in frequent contact with Purnaiya in the periodical settlements of Annadana Setty's dealings with Haidar Ali. Annadana Setty always selected Purnaiya whenever occasions arose for the settlement of accounts between himself and Haidar Ali. At one time it is stated that a difference arose as regards the exact sum due on a certain account, each side maintaining its own correctness. Ultimately it was found that Purnaiya was correct to the very last figure in what he had quoted from memory which produced a favourable impression on Haidar's mind. On another occasion it is stated that Haidar observing a log of timber floating down the Kaveri river, out of curiosity put a question to those around him as to how it was that while a log of such weight floated, a piece of stone even of little weight went down to the bottom. The courtiers looked at one another in blank despair to find an answer to Haidar's question, but the intelligence of Purnaiya who happened to be with the party rose above that of the courtiers and the ingenious answer came from him that it was because the timber while growing had been nurtured with water and it was well-known that noble minds abhorred returning evil even to their ungrateful wards. Haidar was struck with the readiness and novelty of this reply and thereafter always regarded Purnaiya with favour.

In course of time a sort of parental interest grew up in Venkataramaniah towards Purnaiya and through his influence Purnaiya was appointed as a clerk in the treasury about the year

1770. After the death of Venkataramaniah, Purnaiya was appointed in his place. During his service in the treasury Krishna Rao frequently sent Purnaiya to Haidar Ali in connection with various public matters and Haidar became more intimately acquainted with the brilliant abilities of the young man, so much so that he after some years placed Purnaiya in a co-ordinate position with Krishna Rao as an additional head of the Daftar the accounts of which were to be kept in Kanada in contradistinction to the accounts kept in Marathi in Sheristadar Krishna Rao's department. Purnaiya henceforth was allowed all the privileges and honours of a State minister and became one of the foremost members of Haidar's Durbar. A village by name Marahalli in the present Heggadadevankote taluk was later given to Purnaiya as jahagir and it continued in his enjoyment till he obtained the jahagir of the Yelandur taluk in 1807. Haidar also allowed Purnaiya the honour of a golden umbrella.

In the year 1780 Purnaiya accompanied Haidar's army as officer in charge of the commissariat and was with the army till the termination of the war. A remarkable instance of Purnaiya's perfect calmness of mind even in the midst of extremest danger occurred during the campaign of Lord Cornwallis when the British army from the side of French Rocks made a night attack on the island of Seringapatam. At this time Purnaiya had been badly wounded by a musket ball, but he managed without notice by the English troops to take back from the north bank of the river through the ford a number of camels which were laden with coins intended for the pay of the troops. With the first alarm the bags of coin were ordered to be loaded up and Purnaiya with the camels crossed over into the island without losing even a single rupee.

The one great virtue of Purnaiya was his thorough loyalty to the master under whom he happened to serve at the time. Even during the time of Haidar Ali, Purnaiya seems to have been approached to help the Hindu royal family to regain their power. But while not opposed to their interests, he prudently refrained from following the path of Khande Rao. It was this characteristic of his unswerving devotion to the interests of those whom he served that

induced Maharani Lakshmi Ammanni to acquiesce in the choice of Purnaiya as chief minister of the revived Hindu Kingdom.

Purnaiya was at the head of the Mysore State for a period of more than 12 years from June 1799 to the end of 1811 and during this period earned the unqualified encomiums of the Company's Government for his wise and beneficial administration of the country, his loyal co-operation with the British on all occasions when such co-operation was needed, and his circumspect conduct towards his young master and the other members of the royal family. Almost during the whole of this period till she died in February 1810 Maharani Lakshmi Ammanni a lady, as we know, of remarkable ability, wide experience and great acumen was at the head of the Maharaja's household and managed the palace affairs with smoothness and discipline.

The British Residents during the same period were Barry Close, Josiah Webbe, John Malcolm, Wilks and A. H. Cole who were all men of remarkable ability and tried officers of experience and who gave their unstinted support to the new Government of Mysore. Barry Close was regarded as the ablest man of the time in the diplomatic service in India and his knowledge of languages was extraordinary and superior to that of any other European in the country. The town of Closepet 30 miles distant from Bangalore on the railway line to Mysore bears the name of this distinguished first Resident. It was founded in 1800 by Purnaiya for the greater security of the high road which there passed through a wild and jungly tract and named after Barry Close. Even now there exists a pillar in the town bearing an inscription commemorating his name. Webbe's memory was perpetuated by Purnaiya in 1804 by the erection of a monument in the shape of a stone pillar which even now stands on an elevated spot to the north-west of the fort of Seringapatam at a distance of about 2 miles on the Seringapatam-French Rocks road and bears the inscription "Erected to the memory of Josiah Webbe, Esquire, by Purnaiya, Dewan as a tribute of veneration and respect for splendid talents, unsullied purity and eminent public virtue." The Government House at Mysore reminds visitors of Sir John Malcolm having held

at one time the British Resident's post at the court of Mysore. In 1807 on the occasion of his marriage Sir John Malcolm built the great banquet hall of this building which is not only a handsome and imposing structure but has its roof unsupported by any pillars and is also regarded as the largest room in Southern India of that kind. It was while living in this house that Sir John Malcolm commenced to write his "History of Persia." Wilks whose name has so often occurred in the previous pages was the author of the first history of Mysore in English.

Another celebrity who was connected at this period with Mysore was Arthur Wellesley, the conqueror of Napoleon, the future Duke of Wellington and the man who in Tennyson's language "gained a hundred fights nor ever lost an English gun." After the fall of Tippu, Arthur Wellesley was, as we know, appointed Civil and Military Governor of Seringapatam. That portion of Tippu's territories annexed by the East India Company was constituted a distinct military command and Colonel Arthur Wellesley was appointed to this command also. His connection with Mysore continued till 1805, when he left India for good. A building in the Mysore City adjacent to the west gate of the Government House where Arthur Wellesley stayed for about two years even now bears the name of 'Wellington Lodge.'

The altered political position of Mysore as a subordinate ally of the British Government and the long minority of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar during which period the administration was expected to be in the hands of the Dewan led the Governor-General to issue in September 1799 certain instructions to Lt.-Col. Close the first Resident at the court of Mysore for the regulation of his conduct towards the Government of Mysore as well as for efficiently giving effect to the provisions of the Subsidiary Treaty. These instructions help us to understand not only the political position assigned to Mysore at the time they were issued but also the subsequent course of events. It was pointed out to the Resident that the strength of the subsidiary force to be stationed in the Mysore State had been left deliberately undefined in order that the armies of both the Governments might be considered as

common and mutually available for employment. When a larger British force than was available at the time in Mysore was required by the Resident, he was to apply to the Government of Madras under whose political supervision the Mysore State was placed. With respect to the distribution of British forces in Mysore, it was impressed that invariably garrisons of a respectable number were to be stationed at Seringapatam and Chitaldrug and of ordinary number at Bednore, Sira and Pavgada, the remainder of the force being kept in a general camp or cantonment in a state of readiness to move at all times in whatever direction or in whatever service they were required. The next subject to which the attention of the Resident was invited related to the conduct and management of the Raja's minister in connection with the general administration of the country. The Resident was diligently to be on the watch with a view not only to the punctual realisation of the subsidy but also to the improvement of the resources of the country and to the prevention of any necessity on the part of the Company's Government to assume charge of the country.

As regards the expenditure required for the Raja's household, the Governor-General while bearing testimony to the care with which Hindu households were generally managed, at the same time emphasised the need that existed on the part of the Resident to keep a constant eye on such expenditure and inculcate the propriety of practising due economy. Regarding alienations of land to individuals or to religious institutions for personal support or general maintenance, the Resident was directed to be careful that no embarrassments arose in the future by allowing any profusion and that every augmentation in that direction was to be jealously watched. It was essential that all forms of respect and courtsey due to the Raja and the members of his family were to be strictly maintained, so that none of the family should ever have any just cause of complaint afforded to them on the score of personal ease and comfort or on any other account. While by the 6th Article of the Subsidiary Treaty the Raja was precluded from interfering in the affairs of any State in alliance with the Company or any other State whatever without the previous knowledge of the Company, it was explained that this prohibition was not meant to operate in

absolute rigidity even to the extent of debarring the Raja from a social intercourse by letters with his neighbours.

The effect of these instructions was that not only were wide powers of interference in the management of the affairs of the country vested in the hands of the Resident but also raised the latter to the position of a sort of appellate authority over the Dewan. Purnaiya had therefore not only constantly to maintain harmonious relations with the Resident but also by previous discussions and friendly talks with him obviate all necessity for interference on his part. Anyhow there were frequent appeals to the Resident from interested people for his interference in the decisions of the Dewan on the alleged score of their arbitrariness or oppressiveness. Whenever such complaints were made, Purnaiya evinced the greatest readiness for their investigation and Wilks who was Resident in Mysore for some time has borne testimony in a letter addressed to the Governor-General that in all the cases he investigated except one he found absolutely no truth in the allegations made and even in the one solitary case as soon as the Dewan had become aware of the circumstances, he had taken action to grant redress.



## CHAPTER XLV.

### **Form of Administration—Territorial divisions of the State—Departments of Government—Taxation—Criminal and Civil Justice—Military and Kandachar force.**

At the time the country came under the management of Haidar Ali the affairs of each taluk were being attended to by an amildar. Haidar clubbed together 7 or 8 taluks and formed a number of divisions over each of which he placed a superior officer. Tippu Sultan next made two appointments to control the officers of the several divisions, the one an Asoph and the other a Foujdar. The first was at the head of the revenue and the other was the military commandant who also occasionally superintended the duties of the local police. After the fall of Seringapatam the office of Asoph was abolished but that of the Foujdar continued and by degrees the Foujdar who had already the control of the police came to have the control of the revenue also.

The Mysore territory after the boundaries became fixed in 1799 and by the rectification of the frontiers later consisted of three divisions—Patna Ashtagram, Chitaldrug and Bednore or Nagar. These divisions were all under the Dewan with three officers known as Subadars for purposes of general superintendence stationed at Bangalore, Chitaldrug and Nagar respectively. There were in all these three divisions from 115 to 120 taluks or sub-divisions taking the changes made from time to time into account, each sub-division being in charge of an officer called Amil or Amildar. The total area according to a survey made in later years was a little over 29000 square miles and the population was estimated at a little less than 22 lakhs.

The Civil Government was divided into three departments, Finance, Revenue and Miscellaneous including all other branches of work. The military establishment was however placed separately under two departments Cavalry and Infantry. The Kandachar to which were entrusted police functions was also a separate department and partook both of civil and military

functions in its relation to the police, the post office and the army. The Dewan was regarded as personally presiding over every department. The operations of the department of Finance were extremely simple. Each taluk had its chief Golla who kept the key of the treasury. The Sheristadar kept the accounts and the Amildar affixed his seal and the treasury could not generally be opened except in the presence of these three persons. The Shroff examined all the coins received at the treasury, affixed his seal to the bags of treasure despatched to the general treasury and was responsible for any deficiency in the quality of the coins. A similar process sanctioned by the sealed order of the Dewan attended the disbursement of cash at the general or Huzur Treasury.

The revenue of the Government was derived from four sources, Land assessment, Sayer, Toddy and spirituous liquors and lastly tobacco. The collection and the improvement of revenue were entrusted under the guidance of Subadars to the Amils whose territorial charges were so limited in extent as to afford sufficient time and opportunity for frequent itineration and diligent supervision. Under the head of land tax was comprised, besides the land assessment, the house-tax and the plough-tax of one canteroi fanam on each house and on each plough. In Bednore, Ballum and Tayur gardens or plantations of trees not annual paid a fixed rent in money. Dry lands all over the State paid a fixed money rent amounting to about one-third of the value of the crop, there being generally no uncertainty about the crop or its yield. The Amildar did not as regards dry land concern himself with the extent of land cultivated but only watched as to whether the ryot put forth sufficient exertion to be able to pay the rent. All Amildars were authorised to make Takavi advances to the ryots where needed for cultivation purposes or for the improvement of their holdings. In the case of rice lands though it was generally supposed that they paid the dues imposed on them in kind, yet such dues were discharged in money according to the average rate prevailing in the neighbourhood except where the Amildar and the ryot could not agree on the money rate, when the assessment was accepted in kind.

Regarding the second head of revenue namely the Sayer, it may be stated that as the different parts of the State were formerly governed by different authorities, there were considerable differences both in the rates as well as in the articles on which they were levied. The Sayer was in some taluks given out on contract, while in others the collection was made directly under Government agency. These duties were mostly derived from levies on articles included in the internal trade of the country, the external trade being generally negligible for want of sea-ports and navigable rivers.

The third head of revenue was derived from liquors. Toddy was mainly drawn from date trees growing wild in the country and to a limited extent from bagani trees. The tapping of cocoanut trees for purposes of drawing toddy was entirely prohibited as tending to destroy the fruits. Arrack was principally prepared by distillation from the macerated bark of the white thorn or Byala Chakke. The revenue derived from this source was generally given out on contract. The fourth head of revenue was generally received from contractors. Betel leaf produced revenue in one town only Chitaldrug, where the tax existed previous to its annexation by Haidar.

The third department Miscellaneous comprised two principal heads; firstly, the regulation of the Raja's establishment of State and of his household and secondly, the custody of the judicial records. Besides these two main functions, to this department were also assigned several indefinite duties which did not relate definitely to other departments. Over the Raja's household presided Rani Lakshmi Ammanni who regulated the ceremonial part with great sense and due attention to splendour and economy, the forms of the Raja's court being regulated according to the customs of his ancestors. The personal respect to be paid by the Dewan to the Raja and to his relations was, as has been already said, commended to the Resident by the Supreme Government as an object of particular attention. At first for want of accommodation at Mysore the principal Mint, the General Treasury and the

Huzur Cutcherry were all continued at Seringapatam but later they were all removed to Mysore.

Regarding the administration of justice as in other departments also due regard was paid to the ancient institutions of the country and to the doctrines of the Hindu Law. There existed no separate department for the administration of justice and the executive officers of Government performed the functions relating to this department also. In several of the principal towns however, there existed officers known as Khajis whose duties were limited to the adjustment of ecclesiastical matters among the Mahomedan inhabitants. Matters of the same nature among the Hindus were usually determined according to old, long-established precedents and where no such precedents were found, by the injunctions contained in the Dharma Shastras if any.

The Amil of each taluk decided all minor cases of complaint for personal wrongs, while the Subadars directed the proceedings in all important cases criminal or civil. On the apprehension of any person accused of a criminal offence the Amil or the Subadar as the case might be, if he saw cause for a public trial, ordered a Panchayet or a commission of five to be assembled in the open cutcherry. All the inhabitants of respectability and unconnected with the party had the right of sitting on this Panchayet. The proceedings of this Panchayet in which were included the defence of the prisoner and the evidence of such persons as he chose to summon to speak in his behalf were forwarded to the Dewan with a special report by the Subadar or Amil concerned. In cases of difficulty or when the life or liberty of a prisoner was concerned, the case was fixed for final hearing before the Dewan who pronounced his sentence in consultation with the Resident. The penalty of death was inflicted only in cases of murder or plunder on the frontier. Theft and robbery were punished with imprisonment and hard labour for periods proportioned to the nature of the crimes. Fines were discouraged as a dangerous instrument in the hands of subordinate officers and corporal punishment was prohibited.

The administration of civil justice was conducted in a manner analogous to that of the criminal. To the Amil was entrusted the power of hearing and determining in open cutcherry and not otherwise all cases of disputed property not exceeding 5 pagodas in value. Where the value was higher, the cases were heard and determined by a Panchayet and in order to guard against any miscarriage of justice, respectable inhabitants were encouraged to attend as assessors according to their leisure and convenience. In cases where both the parties were Hindus, the Panchayet was composed of Hindus, but where the parties belonged to different sects the Panchayet was formed of two persons from the general sect of each party and a fifth from the particular sect of the defendant. In plain cases where no difference of opinion existed among the members of the Panchayet, the Amil confirmed their award and forwarded the proceedings to the Dewan. In cases of difficulty or of difference of opinion, the proceedings were forwarded with the report of the Subadar or the Amil concerned to the Dewan who pronounced a final decision in communication with the Resident or ordered a re-hearing before himself if necessary. In all cases however, the parties had a right of appeal to the Dewan, his frequent tours in the country facilitating the exercise of this right.

Before the trial commenced, the plaintiff first and next the defendant were each required to give a connected narrative of the transactions and this narrative was twice read over to the party who was allowed to correct what had not been properly recorded and then the document was authenticated by the signature of the party as well as by the signatures of two witnesses and of a public officer. The close agreement of the facts contained in these narratives with those subsequently established was considered to constitute strong circumstantial evidence in favour of the party and their disagreement on any material points led to the presumption of a fictitious claim or a false defence. Evidence was received first for the plaintiff and then for the defendant and the members of the Panchayet as well as the witnesses called for the purpose deposed to matters of general knowledge. The Panchayet in cases of difficulty usually prefixed to their award a statement explaining the

grounds of their verdict. It was a fixed rule of evidence to suspect as false the testimony of every witness until its truth was otherwise corroborated.

It was an invariable rule with Purnaiya in case of abuse of power, defalcation or other delinquency in service of the State to dismiss the Amildar or other officer found guilty of such conduct and he was also declared incapable of being re-employed ever after in the Government Service. In the early years the rigid observance of this rule is said to have caused considerable embarrassment to Purnaiya, but later when it became known that the minister was unyielding in this respect, the purity of the public service gradually improved and the welfare of the people was efficiently promoted.

In 1805 feeling the necessity for a separate department for the administration of justice Purnaiya established a court under the designation of Adalat Court consisting of two judges, two Sheristadars and six persons of respectability who formed a Standing Panchayet with one Khaji and one Pundit to assist them in the regular administration of justice and the first two judges were a Brahmin named Vyasa Rao and a Mahomedan named Ahamed Khan.

The military consisted of two separate departments, one the infantry and the other the cavalry. The Infantry or Barr Sepoys were disciplined after the manner of the Company's Sepoys. In 1804 the establishment consisted of 2000 horse and 4000 Barr Sepoys. The cavalry was inclusive or exclusive of 500 Stable horse belonging entirely to Government according to circumstances. Approximately the force maintained totalled 10500.

The sixth department was the department of Kandachar peons whose duties were partly of a military and partly of a civil nature. Kandachar peons were so called as opposed to Attavane peons who were employed in the Revenue Department and were attached to the various offices under the supervision of that department. The Kandachar force represented in origin the ancient militia or irregular foot maintained for the preservation of general peace in the country. They were variously armed but principally with

matchlocks and pikes. These men though trained from their infancy to military exercises were also cultivators of the soil. During the vacant part of the year when they had no agricultural operations on hand and when they were not employed in active military service often took to committing depredations. Purnaiya considered it essential to effectually restrain these men from their evil ways by creating in them an interest in the stability of Government by adequate rewards to them to enlist their faithful service. Purnaiya's scheme was to engage one individual from each such family in some kind of active service of the State with due regard at the same time to the obligation resting on the family to render military service whenever so required. Wherever possible one-half of their pay was given in the shape of money and for the other half waste lands were assigned. Their civil duties consisted mainly in taking their turns of guard in the little forts or walled villages to which they were attached and in being ready at all times to perform police duties whenever called on. They were also allowed frequent relief according to their domestic needs. Some of them performed the duties of dooly-bearers, while a number of others were employed as postal runners. In the early years of Purnaiya's administration the number of Kandachar peons employed was more than 20000. But later as circumstances permitted, it was reduced to a little over 15000 men.

सत्यमेव जयते

## CHAPTER XLVI.

### **Establishment of internal tranquillity—Dhondoji Wagh— Venkatadri Naik, Palegar of Aigoor.**

We have seen how Colonel Arthur Wellesley by the drastic steps he took effectually suppressed the disorders that arose in the island of Seringapatam immediately after its capture by the British troops. These disorders were not however confined only to this limited area. There arose in all parts of the country palegars and pseudo-palegars who laid claim to almost every part of the State. Even patels and police officers and ryots who could pay bribes by various devices procured entries of lands in the village accounts though not belonging to them and where an unfortunate Amildar made any attempt to check such lawless conduct, he was secretly assassinated. The turbulent character of several of the lower classes of people also added to the difficulties of evolving order out of the chaos that had ensued. In these circumstances, it was of primary importance to establish tranquillity in the country. Purnaiya who in addition to a vigorous mind possessed an intimate knowledge of the country rose to the occasion and devised suitable measures to meet the embarrassing situations that arose from time to time. Colonel Close the British Resident though he had powers of unlimited interference in all the internal concerns of the State was sagacious enough to perceive that where limited authority was not upheld by influence of public opinion such authority was likely to fall into disrepute by frequent interference on his part and therefore maintained a discreet forbearance, allowing Purnaiya generally a free hand in the execution of the administrative measures he deemed necessary to adopt. It may also be added that Arthur Wellesley who had now become Major-General deemed it prudent to guard with parental care the authority of the Mysore Government.

The first act of Purnaiya on his assumption of the administration for suppressing the unruly characters who were disturbing the peace of the country was to issue a proclamation remitting all uncollected balances and restoring old Hindu rates of assessment,

This measure had the effect of bringing back most of the landholders who had fled from the country unable to withstand the tyrannical exactions of Mir Sadak and enabled them to settle in their old places and to pursue peacefully their avocations. The next step taken by Purnaiya was to restore all the old inam lands and cash allowances to temples, mutts and dargas and other places of religious worship or institutions of charity which had been appropriated in the later days of Tippu. This measure also had a conciliating effect on the minds of the people in general. For the maintenance of public authority a small but select body of cavalry, infantry and peons were collected from the remnants of Tippu's army and also a large body of Kandachar peons was enlisted to secure tranquillity in the rural and outlying parts. Haidar had employed large numbers of these Kandachar men in his armies and garrisons, while Tippu had increased his regular infantry by reducing the Kandachars. The effect of such reduction was that private depredations by the Kandachars aided by other restless men became frequent in the country and the ryots were forced to the necessity of saving themselves from plunder by paying a portion of their crops as the price of non-interference with them. Purnaiya ordered the re-enlistment of one member at least from every Kandachar or other military family and gave adequate remuneration for their services according to old usages. When the Kandachar force was properly organised, the country became relieved from marauding gangs and these Kandachars also became readily available for all police work as well as for the suppression of local outbreaks. The Dewan and the Resident frequently made tours in the State with a small body of troops and readily gave redress to the grievances of the people, thereby tending also to restore quiet. On the 26th May 1801 General Wellesley went so far as to record in a letter to the Private Secretary to the Governor-General that the Raja's Government was in a most prosperous state, the country had become a garden where it was inhabited and that the inhabitants were returning fast to those parts which they had been forced to quit. In a letter to Colonel Close in December previous the Governor-General had borne testimony to the wisdom of Purnaiya's administration in these words—"The Dewan seems to

pursue the wisest and the most benevolent course for the promotion of industry and opulence, the protection of property and the maintenance of internal tranquillity and order in Mysore."

Notwithstanding the vigorous enforcement of suitable measures to maintain tranquillity, it became necessary to start military operations against some of the free-booters and pategars who infested the country. Of the free-booters the most noted was Dhondoji Wagh, a native of Chennagiri in the present Shimoga District and a Mahratta by caste. This insurgent chief, it must however be said to his credit, was a gifted leader of men and he was only overcome by superior force ending in his death. He had a strong hold on the minds of the men of his generation and even now a formidable-looking, double-edged sword preserved in the temple of Hutharaya Swami at Shikarpur is shown to visitors as a relic belonging to him and bears testimony to his great bodily strength.

In 1780 Dhondoji enlisted himself as a horseman in Haidar's army. During the campaign of Lord Cornwallis he deserted and went to Dharwar with a few followers and with as much booty as he could gather and he lived there by plunder till 1794. He was then induced to go to Seringapatam with the prospect of being re-employed in Tippu's service with his followers of 200 horsemen. There on his refusing to embrace Islam, he was forcibly converted and thrust into prison. Tippu however was not unmindful of his military qualities and by the payment of 10 fanams a day and by employing a teacher to instruct him in the Mahomedan customs and religion tried to conciliate him. At first he was named Sheik Ahmed but later at his own request he came to be called Mallik Jehan Khan. On the day of the capture of Seringapatam he was found chained to the wall of his prison like a wild beast and was released by a British soldier.

Dhondoji thereupon escaped from Seringapatam and assembling a number of men began to commit depredations in various parts and possessed himself of Shimoga and parts of the Bednore country. A detachment of the British army was

immediately sent to Hassan in order to check any possible incursion into that part of the country from the Bednore side. Another detachment under Colonel Dalrymple marched towards Chitaldrug and after taking possession of that fort on the 14th July 1799 came upon a party of Dhondoji's men who were found plundering the country about 20 miles from Chitaldrug. They were immediately attacked, defeated and dispersed. As the marauders were guilty of many atrocities, of the 40 prisoners taken 39 were hanged and one man was released after he had witnessed the execution of his comrades to create fear in the country by relating the terrible fate that had overtaken some of Dhondoji's men. On the 8th of August 1799 Shimoga and Honnali which were in Dhondoji's hands were attacked and taken possession of by two other detachments of British troops.

Colonel Dalrymple pursuing Dhondoji found him at Shikarpur with 1200 horse and 200 infantry. On receiving news of Colonel Dalrymple's approach, Dhondoji formed his infantry and cavalry in battle order behind the small stream named Kumudvathi which swelled by the rains had become unfordable on account of the depth and rapidity of the current. Dhondoji's horse steadily withstood for some time the attacks of the cavalry belonging to the British army but were ultimately forced to cross the river, leaving 600 men and horses killed or drowned. Colonel Dalrymple's infantry assaulted and took the fort of Shikarpur by storm and the killedar was seized and hanged on the walls in sight of his troops who in consequence fled in disorder.

Dhondoji was pursued as far as the frontier of the Mahratta country, which he reached on the 20th August 1799. On the very night that Dhondoji crossed the Mysore frontier into the Mahratta country his camp was attacked by the Mahratta commander Dhondoji Punt Gokhla who dispersed his remaining followers and captured his elephants, camels, bullocks and guns. Dhondoji however soon collected most of his followers and was also reinforced by a large number of disaffected persons from Hyderabad and Kadapa. He obtained possession of several places in the southern Mahratta country and threatened to re-enter Mysore. In 1800

Colonel Wellesley was ordered to collect a field force and to pursue Dhondoji either in the Mahratta country or elsewhere. A body of Nizam's troops as well as a body of the Peshwa's troops co-operated with the British troops and Dhondoji now became a fugitive and fled from place to place eluding the pursuit of his enemies and avoiding a pitched battle. On the 30th June 1800 Dhondoji Punt Gokhla the Mahratta Commander with 10000 horse, 5000 foot and 8 guns was suddenly attacked by Dhondoji in the vicinity of Kittor, defeated and slain. It is said that Dhondoji in fulfilment of a vow of revenge taken after his defeat by that chief in the previous year dyed his moustaches in the heart-blood of his enemy. Colonel Arthur Wellesley steadily pursued Dhondoji and at last overtook him on the 10th September 1800 at a place called Konagal in the Nizam's territories. Dhondoji had at the time a force of 5000 cavalry and though taken by surprise he withstood the charge of the British troops with coolness and courage but was defeated and slain. His troops then broke up and dispersed themselves in small bodies all over the face of the country.

Next coming to the palegars. Before relating the measures taken to bring them under control, a short explanation may be given of their origin. In the palmy days of the Vijayanagar kings it was usual with them to make grants of large tracts of waste lands to their adherents who had rendered faithful service to them, in order to increase the wealth of the country by attracting people to settle in those tracts and thereby bring more lands under cultivation. The people who received such grants formed what were called Palayams and Palepats and came to be known as Palegars. They more or less corresponded to the feudal barons of England and in course of time whenever the central authority showed signs of weakness they defied the authority of their overlords, waged wars on their own account and behaved as independent chiefs. Abbe Dubois who was an eye witness to the ravages committed by these palegars has some interesting remarks on them. "The palegars in many respects resemble the European barons of the Middle Ages who from their strongholds ventured boldly to defy the royal authority. They were fairly numerous in the various districts of the Peninsula and much more numerous before the great European

Power extended its dominions over the territories in which they were established and subdued the greater number of them. These petty despots waged incessant war against one another. Safely ensconced in deep jungles or on inaccessible mountain-tops, they were able to defy the princes whose territories surrounded them, and the latter unable to suppress these turbulent vassals for fear that they would pillage and devastate their own States tried to live amicably with them.

“ These palegars or self-styled princes made war according to methods of their own. The use of cannon was unknown to them, their only arms being arrows, pikes and flint-locks. They never risked a pitched battle. They rarely possessed any cavalry, the smallness of their revenue and the character of the country they inhabited rendering it almost impossible to maintain this branch of the military service. When attacked by a superior force, they took refuge in the jungles or on hill-tops. Their object mainly was to surprise the advancing enemy in defile. Lying in ambush behind tress or thick brushwood, they poured well-directed volleys upon their opponents forcing them to retire in disorder with considerable loss.”

When Haidar Ali subjugated several of the palegars, he restored some of them to their old places on condition of their paying a tribute to him and rendering military service when called on. Tippu made it a point to annex all the Palepats belonging to these petty chiefs but the Palayams though shown in the Government accounts as belonging to the Sircar continued really in the hands of their former possessors by collusion with the Amils whose lives were in danger otherwise. On the occasion of the march of British troops to Seringapatam in 1799 many of these palegars were encouraged to make common cause with the British against Tippu and as a consequence on the fall of Seringapatam all these palegars as well as many pretenders put forward their claims for restoration to them of their estates or palepats. Lord Mornington fully aware of the conduct of these men strictly enjoined that none of them were to be placed in possession of the country they laid claim to, whatever other concessions in the form of pensions or otherwise

might be made to them. On the establishment of the new Government under Krishnaraja Wodeyar III a few of the palegars retired to other parts of the country preferring chances of future commotion. A small number who were of a refractory character were imprisoned, while the greater portion of them who were willing to accept reconciliation were granted suitable State pensions or were appointed to civil offices or military commands. It was made a condition that all palegars receiving pensions should invariably reside at Mysore and whenever the Dewan was on tour they were to accompany him. Purnaiya took particular care at all times to respect their feelings by treating them with kindness and courtsey.

Among the refractory palegars against whom military operations now became necessary was the palegar of Aigoor or Manjarabad or Ballum Raja as he was variously called. On the capture of Bednore by Haidar, Ballum was allowed to remain in the hands of its chiefs for an annual payment of 5000 pagodas. Krishnappa Naik who was ruling this part of the country in 1792 joined Parasuram Bhow who was marching with an army to join Lord Cornwallis in his operations against Tippu. On the conclusion of peace however, Krishnappa Naik fearing the wrath of Tippu fled to Coorg but the latter invited him back and gave him the government of Aigoor in the south of Ballum yielding an annual revenue of 5000 pagodas. The country all round was generally mountainous. Tippu also annexed the rest of the Ballum country and built a fort on a central height naming it Manjarabad.

At the time of the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 Venkatadri Naik the son of Krishnappa Naik was in possession of this Aigoor and attempted to extend his authority towards the north showing a spirit of defiance towards the new Government of Mysore. At the distance of about 4 miles from Manjarabad at a place called Arakere situated in the midst of a thick forest Venkatadri Naik fortified himself and resisted all efforts made to dislodge him. In 1800 Lt.-Col. Montessor succeeded in destroying Arakere, which however was later occupied by the Aigoor palegar. He then began to impede considerably, though not successfully, the attempts made

by the Mysore troops for the provisioning of the Manjarabad fort. After the death of Dhondoji Wagh in September 1801, the pursuit of the Aigoor palegar was continued vigorously by both the Mysore and British troops under Colonel Arthur Wellesley, so much so that many of his relatives and principal people fell into the hands of the pursuing army, while Venkatadri Naik himself with a few followers was forced to take refuge in the jungles. To pursue in these jungles was considered profitless and accordingly small bodies of the Mysore troops were dispersed in these jungles as well as in the villages bordering on them, where it was likely that provisions were procured. On the 9th February 1802 the palegar sent some of his men to obtain supplies from a village which had been occupied by some of the Mysore horsemen. Receiving intelligence of the palegar's whereabouts, these horsemen went to the spot and captured him and his men. On the 10th he was executed with six of his men, some of whom had violated the terms of the pardon granted by Purnaiya by helping the palegar with provisions. At the same time it was found that every village in the country was strongly fortified and accordingly steps were taken to destroy such fortifications. Besides, Purnaiya detained three hundred families as hostages consisting of those who had been principally concerned in the rebellion and suffered none to depart till they had delivered up all their arms and paid all arrears of revenue. The amildars were also particularly instructed not to allow trees and hedges once destroyed to grow again and once more furnish strength to the villages. These measures permanently established peace in the country without any further disturbances.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### **Co-operation of Mysore with the British troops in the Second Mahratta War—Bishtopunt and Govinda Rao—Governor-General's acknowledgment of the satisfactory fulfilment of the treaty obligations.**

The death of Tippu and the subsequent partition of his territories relieved Lord Mornington, or Marquis Wellesley as he had now become, not only from the danger which threatened the British Power in India but also enabled him to inaugurate a change in British policy towards the Indian States by gradually extinguishing the maintenance of what was generally known as a Balance of Power. Both the Court of Directors and the Cabinet of ministers in England strictly enjoined on the Governor-General to abstain from interference in the affairs of Indian States as well as from further wars. In issuing these instructions the Cabinet and the Court of Directors were actuated by different motives. The Cabinet found that in acquisition of new territories in India there was no room for colonisation by the surplus population of England as the country had already a large population of its own and little waste space was left for new settlements. On the other hand, the Court of Directors were ever anxious to avoid extra expenditure which the waging of new wars always involved to the prejudice of high dividends to the share-holders of the Company. Marquis Wellesley was a statesman of the first order and he foresaw that it was not possible for the Company's Government to always adopt a policy of non-intervention without danger to British interests in India. He changed this policy of non-intervention in spite of the objections raised by his superiors in England to one of subsidiary alliance with the Indian States which meant that in each Indian State there was to be a British Resident, a contingent of British troops maintained at the cost of the State concerned, and the surrender into the hands of the Company's Government of the management of all external relations. The Nizam of Hyderabad was almost the first to accept this new relationship. It was calculated that as this new policy became more and more acceptable

to the native rulers all danger to the stability of the British Power in India would cease.

Marquis Wellesley's attempt to introduce the subsidiary system at Poona did not at first succeed and the Peshwa, as we have seen, not only took no active part in the war against Tippu but also refused to accept the allotment of that portion of Tippu's territory which had been reserved for him on the conditions specified by the Governor-General. His efforts to induce Dowlat Rao Scindia of Gwalior to conclude a defensive alliance with the British Government against Zaman Shah, King of Afghanistan and grandson of Ahmed Shah Abdali of Panipat fame, had equally failed. But the subsequent march of political events brought about, as will be seen later, the realisation of Marquis Wellesley's wishes in both these courts as well as in that of the Raja of Berar.

In March 1800 Nana Fadnavis the famous Mahratta minister at the court of Poona died and Bajji Rao the Peshwa was thereby released from the ministerial thralldom which had become irksome to him. He then embarked on a wild career of revenge on all those who had given him offence and among the victims was a brother of Jaswanth Rao Holkar of Indore who was put to an agonising death by being dragged through the streets of Poona tied to the foot of an elephant. Jaswanth Rao Holkar upon hearing what had taken place marched on Poona to be revenged on the Peshwa. Bajji Rao in consternation became now half inclined to accept the terms of the treaty offered by Marquis Wellesley but Scindia prevented the alliance for a while by despatching a large force to reassure the Peshwa. The united armies of Scindia and the Peshwa were however defeated by Jaswanth Rao Holkar and Bajji Rao fled to the Western Coast and escaped on board an English ship to the port of Bassein about 20 miles northward of Bombay. Another Peshwa was set up at Poona by Jaswanth Rao and Bajji Rao saw nothing but ruin before him. In this extremity he agreed to accept the obnoxious terms of the treaty which had been proposed by Marquis Wellesley provided the English restored him to his place at Poona. Accordingly the treaty of Bassein was concluded on the last day of December 1802.

Early in 1803 Baji Rao was conducted by a British force from Bassein to Poona and there he was re-established as Peshwa. At the same time an army under General Arthur Wellesley and another from Hyderabad under Colonel Stevenson were stationed in convenient situations both for Baji Rao's protection and for closely watching in the western frontiers of Hyderabad the movements of Dowlat Rao Scindia and of Raghoji Bhonsla who had together designs of establishing their supremacy at Poona. It also looked as if Scindia was making preparations to collect Chouth in the Nizam's territories. His language towards the British Government and its allies became hostile and to the British Resident he said he could arrive at no decision until he had talked the matter over with the Raja of Berar. But at the same time the attempts made by these two rulers to meet the British troops were feeble and undecided. In the meanwhile, General Arthur Wellesley who had been invested by the Governor-General with the necessary political powers insisted upon Scindia and the Berar Raja marching back to their respective dominions. But the reply was that the English ought to set the example. At last General Wellesley arranged with Stevenson to make a combined attack on the united Mahratta forces, but by some accident Wellesley alone came upon the enemy near the village of Assaye on the 23rd September 1803 in the Nizam's frontier. Though the Mahratta force largely outnumbered the British troops, General Wellesley decided to fight single-handed and by his clever manœuvres gained a brilliant victory over the enemy. Thus began the second Mahratta war and ended in December of the same year 1803 by both Scindia and the Raja of Berar sustaining crushing defeats and by the consequent conclusion of peace with the British.

With the above introduction we may now proceed to indicate the extent of the co-operation afforded by the Mysore Government and the part played by the Mysore troops in the military operations during this war which, as already indicated, was one of very short duration. By the third article of the Subsidiary Treaty concluded on the 8th of July 1799 in the event of war or preparations for the same by the Company's Government with any other State or power the Raja of Mysore had been placed under an obligation to

contribute a reasonable sum of money as was determined by the Governor-General towards the increased expenses of such a war. The occasion now arose to call on the Government of Mysore to fulfil this part of their treaty obligations and Purnaiya made a ready response. From the beginning of his Dewanship he had foreseen this contingency and set aside one lakh of star pagodas annually from the State revenue to meet such charges whenever the occasion should arise. On the 31st December 1802 the Dewan was required by the Government of Madras to entertain in service all the Silledar horse in Mysore, their charges being borne by the Company's Government from the time they left the Mysore frontier till their return.

The peace establishment of Mysore at the time consisted of 1500 cavalry, 3000 regular infantry, 2500 peons in constant pay and 12000 Kandachar peons. In the first two months of the year 1803 Purnaiya succeeded in enlisting 1200 Silledar horse. Again on the 23rd August of the same year when a further requisition reached Purnaiya from the Madras Government, he enlisted 1045 Silledar horse by about the month of November. Similarly the infantry which numbered 3000 as a peace establishment and who were paid, armed and clothed in the same manner as the Company's native infantry was increased by 1026. The Kandachar Peons who were 12000 in number were increased by 1000 and an augmentation by 400 was also made of the peons in constant pay who numbered 2500 and who were usually employed to do duty with the regular infantry in the more important forts or stations or in the personal guard of the Raja, the Dewan or the principal officers of the Government. An arrangement was also made to maintain an establishment of 400 dooly-bearers who were regularly relieved, the number of 400 however being kept constant. Purnaiya also readily met all the calls made on him either for the equipment of the corps fitted out from Seringapatam, for the subsistence of the army on its march to the frontier, for the supply of the magazines formed in Mysore and of the departments of the army or for the large quantities of grain required by the cavalry. All the supplies required amounting to about 60000 bullock-loads of grain principally rice and 60000 head of sheep were furnished with a facility unknown before. Purnaiya also continued

to forward supplies to the army in the field under British commanders as fast as the Brinjaries were ready to take them away, besides sending quantities into Canara to enable the collectors there to export larger quantities for supply to other British contingents. The Dewan also took particular care to ensure regular payment of all salaries and allowances due to the Mysore troops serving in the field, with the consequence that their services were at all times available with alacrity. Purnaiya also placed a respectable body of Mysore troops at the frontier near Harihar which he supervised in person.

Turning now to the services rendered by the Mysore troops in the field, we may mention that General Wellesley expressly refers in his despatches to the creditable part taken in the military operations by the Mysore cavalry under their commander Bishtopunt at the battles of Assaye and Argaum, the latter fought on the 29th November 1803. On the 31st October 1803 the Raja of Berar detached a body of 5000 horse to intercept a convoy consisting of 14000 bullocks protected by a detachment of the British infantry and 400 Mysore horse. This convoy was attacked at a place called Unber by the Berar Raja's troops but in spite of the superiority of numbers the Raja's troops were beaten off and the convoy reached its destination safely. The Mysore cavalry also performed all the light troop duties and these duties were performed as testified by General Wellesley with the utmost cheerfulness and zeal. Another Mysore officer who won high commendation from General Wellesley for carrying on all diplomatic negotiations entrusted to him with astuteness and tact was Govinda Rao. These Mysore officers were on the recommendation of General Wellesley given by the Supreme Government life pensions of Rs. 600 and Rs. 1000 per mensem respectively.

Bishtopunt was a Mahratta Brahmin and was Sir Subha of the hill-fort of Badami in the service of the Peshwas at the time it was captured by Haidar Ali. The latter appreciating the military qualities of Bishtopunt gave him a high command in his cavalry force. At the time of the siege of Seringapatam, he had been stationed under the Karighat hill in command of a body of

Mysore horse to intercept the advance of the British army which Tippu expected would cross at a ford nearby. On the re-establishment of the old Hindu royal family on the throne, Bishtopunt was appointed Bakshi of the cavalry. He rendered very great service in the suppression of Manjarabad rebellion and had attracted the notice of General Wellesley. In the second Mahratta War Bishtopunt followed General Wellesley in command of the Mysore cavalry and at the battle of Assaye kept in effective check a large body of enemy's cavalry. At the battle of Argaum the Mysore cavalry took part in the military operations side by side with the British troops. Bishtopunt died in 1808 after a distinguished career, to the regret of Purnaiya and all those who knew him. In the Mahratta campaign Bishtopunt's situation was naturally very delicate but his discretion was equal to his military conduct in avoiding all communications and connections with the Mahratta chiefs who often with sinister motives approached him for the enlistment of his influence with the British officers on their side. Wellesley shortly after the conclusion of the Mahratta campaign acknowledged in cordial terms the excellent character and disposition of Bishtopunt under whose command he had found the Mysore cavalry of the greatest service to him.

Govinda Rao was an officer in the department of Meer Suddur under Tippu's Government and was attached to the fort of Chitaldrug. After the fall of Seringapatam, he was very useful in procuring peaceably the possession of the fort of Chitaldrug for Colonel Dalrymple. General Wellesley found him at Chitaldrug in 1800 when he passed that place in the second campaign against Dhondoji Wagh and took him along with him with the consent of Purnaiya. Subsequently Wellesley met him in the Ballum country at the commencement of the year 1802 and recommended him to the Dewan for his conduct there. In December 1802 Govinda Rao was sent by Wellesley to a number of Mahratta chiefs in the Southern Mahratta country in connection with certain matters and he conducted himself with great propriety and was found very successful on the occasion. After the Mahratta war broke out, he was invited to join General Wellesley and was employed by him as a medium of communication with the different Mahratta chiefs

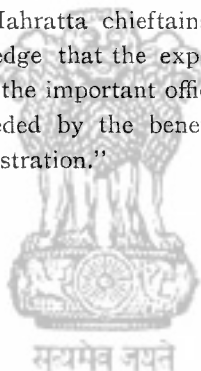
and their vakeels. During the war he was placed at the head of one of the branches of the Intelligence Department which Wellesley had formed. In the negotiations for peace with Scindia and Raghoji Bhonsla he was very useful and was present at every conference that was held.

After the conclusion of the war, the question arose for settlement as to whether Mysore had fulfilled satisfactorily the financial obligations imposed on it under Article III of the Subsidiary Treaty and General Wellesley was commissioned by the Governor-General to proceed to Mysore and after consultation with Purnaiya and the British Resident to formulate his opinion. Accordingly Wellesley arrived at Mysore in July 1804 and collected the necessary information for his report. It was found that the total cost to the Mysore Government in connection with the Mahratta campaign including the amount of presents, rewards and reimbursements to the troops, gratuities and allowances on their return as well as the amount required for pay till the extra troops entertained were discharged amounted very nearly to 4,10,000 star pagodas in 1804. On account of the wise measures adopted by Purnaiya for the improvement of the resources of the country, the annual revenue which was 21½ lakhs of canteroi pagodas in 1800 had increased by 2,40,000 canteroi pagodas and Wellesley found that the Raja's Government without violating economy and without trenching on the amounts needed for the construction and repair of tanks, channels and other improvements could not maintain more than 2000 cavalry as originally fixed by Purnaiya. In these circumstances Wellesley's conclusion was that the Mysore Government had fully carried out the obligations imposed on it by the III Article of the treaty.

The Governor-General Marquis Wellesley accepted this conclusion unreservedly and in a minute dated 5th October 1804 recorded that in his opinion the Government of Mysore had fulfilled the obligations imposed upon it by the 3rd Article of the Subsidiary Treaty in the most complete and satisfactory manner. He also stated that the answer to the question as to whether that Government had completely executed its obligations was to be

determined with reference to its general exertions in support of the common cause as well as by the extent of its pecuniary contributions which, he was of opinion, was as high as could be expected at the time.

Speaking of Purnaiya, the Governor-General said :—“To the extraordinary abilities, eminent public zeal, integrity and judgment and energy of that distinguished minister must be ascribed in a considerable degree the success of the measures which I originally adopted for the settlement of Mysore and the happy and prosperous condition of that flourishing country. The merits and services of the Dewan have been particularly conspicuous in the promptitude and wisdom manifested by him in the application of the resources of Mysore to the exigencies of the public service during the late war with the confederated Mahratta chieftains, and I deem it to be an act of justice to acknowledge that the expectations which I formed in selecting Purnaiya for the important office of minister of Mysore have been greatly exceeded by the benefits which have resulted from his excellent administration.”



## CHAPTER XLVIII.

**Appreciation of General Wellesley's work by the inhabitants of Seringapatam—His return to Europe—His letter to Purnaiya—Observations of Wellesley on some of the topics of the day.**

Major-General Wellesley left India for good in March 1805 after a stay of about eight years during which period he enhanced his reputation by a brilliant display, as we have seen, of his military genius. He was presented with a number of addresses in appreciation of his services and the one presented by the inhabitants of Seringapatam composed of independent sowcars and other persons was specially noteworthy. In this address they conveyed their deep regret for the General's departure from their midst and expressed gratitude for the tranquillity, security and happiness they enjoyed under his auspicious protection. Admiration for the brilliant exploits he had achieved and reverence for his benevolence and affability would, they said, ever remain in their hearts. Among the signatories were three of the sons of Benki Nawab who was killed at the battle of Siddeswar.

On the 4th March 1805 Wellesley replied from Fort Saint George in these terms:—"I have received your affectionate address upon the occasion of my departure for Europe and I am much gratified by the proof which it affords that my endeavours to extend to you the benefits to which the subjects of the Honourable Company are entitled under the existing regulations have been successful and that you are fully impressed with the advantages of your situation. I have had frequent opportunities of observing and reporting your loyalty to Government and I request you to be convinced that I shall not cease to feel the most lively interest in everything which concerns you."

Before his departure, Wellesley also addressed the following farewell letter dated the 2nd March 1805 to Purnaiya:—"Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm will have informed you that affairs having begun to have a more settled appearance in the Deccan, I

have obtained permission to go to England and I shall commence my voyage in a few days. I part with you with the greatest regret and I shall ever continue to feel the most lively interest for the honour and prosperity of the Government of the Raja of Mysore over which you preside.

“For six years I have been concerned in the affairs of the Mysore Government and I have contemplated with the greatest satisfaction its increasing prosperity under your administration. Experience has proved the wisdom of the arrangement which was first made of the Government of Mysore and I am convinced that under no other arrangement would it have been possible for the British Government to derive such advantages from the country which you have governed, as I have shared in the various difficulties with which we have contended since your authority was established. Every principle of gratitude, therefore, for many acts of personal kindness to myself and a strong sense of the public benefits which have been derived from your administration render me anxious for its continuance and for its increasing prosperity and in every situation in which I may be placed, you may depend upon it that I shall not fail to bear testimony of my sense of your merits upon every occasion that may offer and that I shall suffer no opportunity to pass by which I may think favourable for rendering you service.

“Upon the occasion of taking leave of you, I must take the liberty of recommending to you to persevere in the laudable path which you have hitherto followed. Let the prosperity of the country be your great object. Protect the ryots and traders and allow no man whether vested with authority or otherwise to oppress them with impunity. Do justice to every man and attend to the wholesome advice which will be given to you by the British Resident. You may depend upon it that your Government will be as prosperous and as permanent as I wish it to be.

“I recommend to your constant favour and protection Bishtopunt, Govinda Rao, Raghunatha Rao, Ranore and all the Sirdars and troops who served meritoriously with me in the last war, Seshaiiah and the harkars belonging to you who accompanied me. They are all deserving of your favour.

“ You know that for some years I have had under my protection Salabat Khan \* the supposed or adopted son of Dhondoji Wagh. I have given him a sum of money and placed him under the guardianship of the court at Seringapatam and I request you to take him into the Raja's service hereafter, if you should find him to be worthy of your favour.

“ As a testimony of my sense of the benefits which the public have derived from your administration, of my sincere regard and of my gratitude for many acts of personal kindness and attention, I request your acceptance of my picture which will be sent to you from Bengal.”

General Wellesley's observations on several of the topics of the day relating to Mysore are interesting even now and they are given as far as possible in his own language to preserve their freshness and directness.

#### **Destruction of official character.**

“ The clerks in the office at Madras not being aware, I presume, of the value of character write public letters which become public records, whereby with a stroke of their pen they deprive an officer of that valuable gem. It is very easy to misrepresent the best intentions and when they are misrepresented, I don't see any remedy excepting a public appeal and trial which are worse than submitting to the misrepresentations.”

(Letter to Colonel Sherbrooke,  
Dated 7th September 1799).

\* When Dhondoji was killed, Salabat Khan about 4 years old was found concealed among his baggages and taken to Arthur Wellesley who took care of him afterwards till his departure from India. The boy was then placed in the hands of Colonel J. H. Symons, Collector of Seringapatam, with some hundred pounds for his maintenance. When Symons retired, the British Resident A. H. Cole procured for him a post in the Mysore Service. He is said to have been a fine, handsome and intelligent youth. But he did not survive long having died of cholera in 1822.

**Impressment of coolies without payment.**

“Many complaints have been made by Purnaiya that the people of the country are pressed by the officers of the army to act as coolies, they are driven by the sepoys and afterwards dismissed unpaid..... I shall be obliged to you if you will give some general warning against this practice, which, if continued, will be made known to Government and will occasion its severest censures.”

(Letter to Lt.-Col. Dalrymple,  
Dated 11th September 1799).

**Wardrobes to Tippu's family.**

“Since my return to this place, I have received frequent applications from the ladies of the Mahal of the late Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan for a supply of clothes. I have, in consequence, made enquiries upon the subject and have had statements before me of what would be necessary for them for one year and the expense.

“This amounts to a sum exceeding Rs. 29000 and is about equal to the estimated amount for this article which was laid before the Commissioners for the affairs of Mysore. Notwithstanding this and that I am authorised to incur any necessary expense of this kind for the family of the late Sultan, I don't wish to incur so large an expense as this is without apprising the Governor-in-Council thereof and knowing his sentiments respecting it.”

(Letter to Josiah Webbe,  
Dated 29th November 1799).

**Christian women detained in Tippu's Zenana.**

“Within these few days I have received an application from a very respectable man Pere Dubois to have returned to their husbands the wives of about 200 Christians and other unmarried Christian women whom Tippu had carried off from their husbands and friends upon different occasions when he visited the Malabar coast and Canara and who are placed and are now supposed to be in his Zenana. I have refused to comply with this request,

although the refusal is unjust, because the Company having taken this family under protection, it is not proper that anything should be done which can disgrace it in the eyes of the Indian world or which can in the most remote degree cast a shade upon the dead or violate the feelings of those who are alive. Le Pere Dubois has made another request upon this subject which I can do neither and he places it upon such strong grounds that it does not appear to me to be possible to refuse compliance. He says that the husbands of these women who were taken from them in the most tyrannical manner accompanied by acts of cruelty which it is unnecessary here to detail are desirous of marrying again, and he says that he cannot perform the marriage ceremony unless he ascertains whether their former wives are really dead. The means of ascertaining this fact are possible and therefore until they are resorted to, he will not perform the ceremony. This appears to me so reasonable that I have not thought it proper to refuse compliance and I have, accordingly, desired to have a list of the names of the Christian women still alive in the Mahal. Some difficulty has been made in giving it and I have not received it yet, but I hope to get it in a day or two. I understand that many of these women went to Vellore with the Princes and I shall be obliged to you if you will endeavour to procure a list of the names of those who are still alive. I make no doubt but that upon representing the cause of the request and upon giving an assurance that it is not intended to ask for a single woman, the good sense of the young men will induce them to grant what we are obliged to ask. I must observe that although I have given this assurance here and press you to give it at Vellore, I am by no means certain that if the matter came before the Government they would not be obliged to give up every woman of them. Justice and all our prejudices and passions are on the side of the Christians and there is nothing which can induce the Government to refrain from doing what is just excepting the consideration which I have above mentioned has weight with me, which after all is only one of policy and that not of a very urgent nature."

(Letter to Captain Doveton,  
Dated 24th December 1799).

**Indifference of the people as to their Governors.**

“If we allow Scindia to be our neighbour or if the country goes to any other through his influence, we must expect worse than what has passed—thieves of all kinds, new Dhondojis and probably Dhondoji himself again. If we take the country ourselves, I do not expect much tranquillity.

“In my opinion, the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and description of our enemies by depriving of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippu and of the Nizam. Where we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandise ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and of means of subsistence all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies. At the same time by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our Government and of defending ourselves are proportionately decreased..... As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country, I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that ever I met with, if indifference constitutes that character.”

(Letter to Major Munro,

Dated 20th August 1800).

**Dearth of Money.**

“The great want in the country is that of money. There is plenty of everything to bring it into the country. But as it is entirely cut off from the sea and has no navigable streams, there is no commerce and accordingly in many parts of the country the revenue is paid in kind and the common purchases are made by barter. As the Company will take nothing but money in payment of subsidy, I am always afraid that Government will at sometime or other be reduced to borrow upon the crops from the Madras

sharks, and the first time they do that they take a stride towards their downfall which will soon be followed by others."

(Letter to Henry Wellesley,  
Dated 10th October 1801.)

#### **Purnaiya's Ignorance of European Politics.**

It is impossible for a man to be more ignorant of European politics than Purnaiya is. Indeed, he does not appear to me to have had any knowledge of late orders from Europe and the proposed changes of men and measures at Madras which were so likely to affect his own situation. I attribute his salutary ignorance upon these points to his not having any communication with Madras dubashes who know everything."

(Letter to Josiah Webbe,  
Dated 27th February 1802).

#### **Desirability of placing Mysore under the Supreme Government.**

"In respect to Mysore, I recommend that a gentleman from the Bengal Civil Service should be Malcolm's successor there. The Government of that country should be placed under the immediate protection and superintendence of the Governor-General in Council. The Governors of Fort St. George ought to have no more to do with the Raja than they have with the Subha of the Deccan or the Peshwa. The consequence of the continuance of the existing system will be that the Raja's Government will be destroyed by corruption, or if they should not be corrupt, by calumny. I know no person either civil or military at Fort St. George who would set his face against the first evil or who has strength of character or talents to defend the Government against the second. In my opinion, the only remedy is to take the Raja under the wing of the Governor-General and this can be done effectually by appointing as Resident a gentleman of the Bengal Civil Service and by directing him to correspond only with the Governor-General. To fill this office with advantage to the public will not require any extraordinary talents when this arrangement shall be made. Good

character and decent, respectable manners will be far more important."

(Letter to Major Shaw with the Supreme Government,  
Dated 14th January 1804.)

**Rewards to Govinda Rao and Bishtopunt questioned by Purnaiya.**

Regarding the rewards recommended by Wellesley to be given to Govinda Rao and Bishtopunt by the Supreme Government, Purnaiya took objection to the recommendations made without previous reference to the Mysore Government as they were servants of that Government. Wellesley accepted the objection and expressed his apology to Purnaiya through the British Resident.

"I am decidedly of opinion that we ought to be very cautious in our interference with the servants of the Raja's Government and I have always proceeded upon that principle..... I think, however, that it is not inconsistent with the principle not to interfere with the Raja's servants to give rewards to those of them who may serve the Company usefully and with fidelity, particularly if care be taken, as it will be in these instances, to bring forward the Government of Mysore as much as possible and to provide that the rewards given shall go through the hands of the Raja's Government and shall be dependent upon the continuance of the faithful services of the receiver and in a great measure upon pleasure of the Dewan. ....You may explain all this to him and tell him, in fact, that the business had gone so far before I received his letter that I was apprehensive if I should urge the Governor-General not to give these rewards, he would suppose Purnaiya of being insensible of the merits and services of the persons in question towards the Company or that Purnaiya was himself jealous of their services.

(Letter to Captain Wilks,  
Dated 9th September 1804.)

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### Other important matters relating to Purnaiya's administration.

#### Finance.

The income of the State was derived, as has been already stated, from four sources, namely, (1) Land Rent, (2) Sayer, (3) Toddy and Spirituous liquors and (4) Tobacco. The expenditure also came under four heads.—(1) The expenses of the management, (2) Subsidy, (3) Fixed establishments including military charges and (4) Extraordinary expenses. The expenses incurred for the collection of the different items of revenue were, to begin with, deducted from the gross revenue collection of the year and the balance was considered as the net revenue available for expenditure, it being thought that the ordinary expenses of management could never be regarded as a source of supply or an addition to the income.

Taking the receipts and expenditure of the first year 1799-1800, an enumeration of the various items of expenditure will indicate the nature of the objects on which money was spent as well as the sphere of Government activities. The gross revenue for this year was fixed at Canteroi Pagodas 21,53,607 (Rs. 3 per pagoda or 10 fanams). From this amount was, in the first instance, deducted the cost of management 6,35,580 Canteroi Pagodas. From the net revenue of 15,18,027 Canteroi Pagodas were met the following charges—(1) Subsidy 7 lakhs of Star Pagodas (Rs.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per Star pagoda) equal to 8,42,592 Canteroi Pagodas, (2) Fixed establishments including military charges 5,16,552 Canteroi Pagodas and (3) Extraordinary expenses including articles purchased 1,50,832 Canteroi Pagodas. The balance left in the treasury at the end of the first year was 2,38,557 Canteroi Pagodas.

Under expenses of management were included the following items:—

1. Relinquishments of lands for religious purposes, jahagirs and inams.
2. Repair of tanks.

3. Pay of Amildars and subordinate servants.
4. Kandachars.
5. Indefinite expenses such as, expenses of catching elephants, oil and stationery, rewards for destruction of tigers, cost of repairing small forts, opening of pagodas which were shut in Tippu's time, or for the propitiation of deities.

The second head of expenditure Subsidy was the amount paid to the British Government under the terms of the treaty. It had to be paid in cash and in 12 equal monthly instalments. The third head of expenditure Fixed Establishments including military charges consisted mainly of the following items :—

1. 2000 Silledar Horse.
2. 3046 Regular Infantry including officers and guns and tent lascars.
3. 2659 Regular Sepoys in constant pay.
4. 514 Physicians, Surgeons, Harkars, Chopdars, Khidmutgars, Pharash, Washermen, Mashalchis or torch-bearers.
5. The garrison of Manjarabad 175 consisting of Regular infantry, Peons, Gunners and Pioneers not included in the regular establishment.
6. Drivers of bullocks 2003.
7. Men in the garrison of Mysore 1707, including artificers for the repair of forts and for erecting the palace.
8. Civil Establishment for general purposes 87.
9. Gardeners for the Raja's gardens in the immediate vicinity of the capital, together with daily labourers occasionally employed 162.
10. Mustaddies and Subordinate persons employed in superintending and keeping the accounts of the sandal in 46 taluks producing that article 235.

11. The relations and principal officers of the Raja's household 581.
12. The family of the ancient Dalavoy.
13. Persons for the Company's and Raja's establishment of breeding of cows 844.
14. Twenty Mustaddies or clerks for maintaining the accounts of the Kandachar.
15. Twelve Mustaddies for the camp bazaars.

Under Extraordinary expenses were included the following items:—

1. Presents to the Raja of Anegundi and to the palegar of Gudikote.
2. Batta for the Kandachar Peons for service in Ballum.
3. Cost of the materials for the fort and palace of Mysore.
4. Official seals.
5. Pioneers employed in clearing the roads and jungle in Ballum.
6. Zukkum patty to persons wounded in Ballum.
7. Expenses of placing the Raja on the musnud and consequent ceremonials.
8. Charities on the same occasion.
9. Purchase of shawls, jewels, khillats and kinkab.
10. Clothing for a part of the infantry.
11. Purchase of the crown of jewels of the God of Melkote.
12. Purchase of coarse cloth.
13. Horses and camels purchased.
14. A flock of sheep purchased.
15. Grain purchased.
16. Stationery for the Civil Establishment with the Raja.
17. Purchase of lead.
18. Cloth for petty purposes,

19. Clothes for the Raja's family.
20. Rice etc., for the table.
21. Articles of copper and brass.
22. Articles of gold and silver.
23. Hire to tradesmen.
24. Personal expenses of the Dewan.

In some of the future years are found included under extraordinary expenses such items as marriages in the Raja's family, Anavrushti or religious ceremonies to implore a favourable season, charities, maintenance of prisoners, Dewan's pay 500 Canteroi Pagodas a month and commission of 1% on the net revenue, special repair of Bangalore and Chennapatna forts, the bridge over the northern branch of the Kaveri at Seringapatam named after the Governor-General Marquis Wellesley and house for the Raja at Seringapatam. Regarding the calculation of the commission of 1% due to the Dewan on the net revenue, Wilks remarked at the time that it was creditable to Purnaiya that the account of the net revenue was framed in a manner which was unfavourable to the amount of his income.

#### Public Works.

To increase the resources of the country Purnaiya paid particular attention to the repair and improvement of tanks and channels in all parts of the State. In the first five years of the new Government, no less a sum than 52,334 Canteroi Pagodas was spent on irrigation. Under Haidar and Tippu and even earlier the repair of tanks and channels had been woefully neglected and as a consequence they had fallen into lamentable decay. By 1804 every embankment or channel then in use was put in perfect repair and many tanks which were useless or had been overgrown with jungle were also restored. The wisdom of Purnaiya's policy in improving irrigation received much commendation at the time, considering that Mysore was a country with an undulating surface and that as a consequence much of the earth accompanying the water which filled the reservoirs was deposited in them, rendering thereby the

clearing of the reservoirs a more frequent and laborious operation than in flat countries.

The efficient improvements made by Purnaiya of channels drawn from rivers alarmed the inhabitants of the Tanjore country as to whether the water supply from the Kaveri to their lands would not be diminished thereby and on the initiative of the Collector of Tanjore, Colonel Wilks the British Resident as ordered by the Madras Government held an investigation similar to that relating to the Kannambadi Reservoir of later years. Of the 35 channels mentioned by the Collector of Tanjore, Wilks found that seven of them could not be traced. Wilks also found that the extent of cultivation in 1804 the year of his investigation was less than the extent of cultivation in 1789-90 preceding the year of Lord Cornwallis' war. Captain Colin Mackenzie who was surveying the Mysore country at the time and whom Wilks consulted expressed his strong opinion in an elaborate memorandum on the subject that the Tanjore ryots had really no grievance. A new anekāt or dam was constructed at Sagarakatte a few miles from Mysore on the road to Krishna-rajanagar across the Lakshmanathirtha river and to keep up the water to the level required a channel from the Hemavathi river from Thippur to the anekāt 23 miles in length was excavated. From here Purnaiya also excavated a new channel to Mysore  $48\frac{1}{2}$  miles in a winding course with the intention of providing good water supply to the rising town of Mysore but this project proved a failure, though for the time being it gave employment to a large number of restless people who otherwise would have taken to committing depredations in the country. The Lakshmanathirtha anekāt is even now in existence and irrigates lands below to the length of about 20 miles, although the extent irrigated is not large.

The beneficial effects of Purnaiya's improvements in irrigation were subsequently found not confined to the people of Mysore only but extended also to people inhabiting some of the British districts in the neighbourhood. On the occasion of a famine in 1804 in the country between the Thungabhadra and the Krishna rivers, the inhabitants of these affected parts emigrated in great numbers to Mysore and the abundance of grain was at the time so great that

these immigrants were furnished not only with food but also large quantities of grain were exported to the affected British districts. Lord William Bentinck who was Governor of Madras at the time expressed in a letter to Purnaiya on the 4th July 1804 that while lamenting the fatal effects which had been experienced in other parts of India from a deficiency of grain, it was a source of gratification to him to observe that the State of Mysore had been preserved from that calamity and that it continued to enjoy the blessings of abundance, thereby being able to administer to the wants of the neighbouring people and to afford shelter to the inhabitants suffering under the affliction of famine.

In addition to the repair and reconstruction of tanks and channels, the forts at Bangalore, Mysore and Chennapatna were also repaired. The old Hindu palace at Mysore had gone to decay and on the same site the construction of a new palace more or less in the style in which it existed in the past with accommodation for offices was begun in the first year of the new administration and reached completion in about 5 years, the sum spent during that period being a little over 2,47,000 Pagodas. The front which was gaudily painted and was supported by four elaborately carved wooden pillars comprised the Seje or Durbar Hall where the Maharaja showed himself seated on his throne to the people assembled below during the annual Dasara festivities. Another interesting apartment was the Amba Vilas. It was here that Mumtaz Ali Krishna Raja Wodeyar in later years received his European guests and transacted the ordinary business of the day.

#### **Lord Valentia's Visit.**

Lord Valentia, stated to be a nephew of General Wellesley, visited Seringapatam and Mysore on 29th February 1804. Lord Valentia recorded in a published account of his travels that he was received by the Amildar of Maddur and presented with a large quantity of fruits, the jacks and water-melons being remarkably fine. The Kotwal also presented him with fruits and Valentia's palanquin, it is said, became overloaded with them. "I therefore began," says Valentia, "to toss the fruits among the crowds that attended, for which breach of etiquette and want of proper dignity

I was soon punished by the cloud of dust they raised in the scramble." On his way to Seringapatam he was met by Butché Rao, the Deputy of Purnaiya, about two miles from the town with a very large escort who also accompanied him into the town.

On the 1st of March Lord Valentia was visited in Tippu's Durbar Hall at Seringapatam by Narasinga Rao, eldest son of Purnaiya, accompanied by Butché Rao. They conveyed the Raja's congratulations on his arrival at Seringapatam and an invitation to his residence at Mysore. Narasinga Rao also presented a nazar of fruit and shawls and assured him of his father's regret for not being able to be present in person on account of his absence with the army on the frontier. "I in return told Narasinga Rao," says Valentia, "that I had every reason to be gratified by the compliments I had received, but that I hoped he would permit me to pay the bearers who carried my palanquin. He said that he felt much hurt that I should think of such a trifle, that the Raja had ordered these people only to attend who were bound to do so and that he hoped that I would not mortify his father by mentioning it again..... I presented to each a pair of shawls which I put over their shoulders with my own hands."

On their being seated, Major Symons the Collector of Seringapatam who acted as interpreter on the occasion informed Lord Valentia that two of Tippu's nephews had arrived and wished to be presented to him. They were the sons of Abdul Karim Khan, Nawab of Savanoor, by a sister of Tippu's. Haidar Hussein Khan the eldest was about 18 and the other was only 14. Valentia embraced both of them on their entrance and seated them on his left hand. After a short conversation, pan and attar were served to the two visitors.

On the 2nd March Valentia proceeded to Mysore and about a mile from the newly constructed town he was met by Narasinga Rao, Butché Rao and the officers of the Raja's household with elephants, kettle-drums and trumpets and was conducted to a small house usually occupied by the Resident when he visited Mysore. The same day he paid a visit to the Raja who received him in the

verandah to the left of the main entrance. The musnud on which the Raja was seated was of ivory and had much carving. The young Raja was dressed in gold tissue, with some pearls round his neck. On entering, Valentia made his salaams which His Highness returned. Chairs had been placed on the Raja's left hand for the distinguished visitor and his party and opposite to him were other English gentlemen and on his right were Narasinga Rao and Butché Rao. "I paid the usual compliments," says Valentia, "through Major Symons and Narasinga Rao assuring the Raja of the satisfaction I felt at seeing him on the throne of his ancestors and the confidence the British nation had in his friendship." The Raja replied he owed everything to the British and that his gratitude was unbounded.

"I turned the conversation to the new town of Mysore and several indifferent subjects to try if the Raja's replies would be ready. He never hesitated, spoke sensibly, and I was assured by Major Symons that he was not prompted. He is about 11 years old, of middle size, neither tall nor short for his age, not handsome but of an intelligent countenance. He seemed lively. But on such a public occasion it would have been indecorous to have even smiled. He did so once but was immediately checked by a person who stood by him. I enquired of his pursuits and was informed that he was fond of riding and the sports of the field. These were considered as becoming his dignity. But when I observed that he seemed playful, I was instantly assured that he was not so. I therefore ceased my questions as I found that I should not hear his doing anything that was not according to rule. I strongly recommended his learning English and pointed out the advantage it was to the Raja of Tanjore in his communications with the British Government to be able to write and speak in their language. They assured me that it should certainly be done. I regretted that his youth prevented my having the honour of receiving a visit from him at Seringapatam and therefore requested that he would oblige me by accepting from me a sabre as a small memorial. Having procured one for the purpose which had a handle of agate ornamented with rubies after the Asiatic fashion, I delivered it into his own hand and he immediately placed it beside him, assuring me

that it should always lie by him for my sake and that it was particularly a valuable present to him as he was of Kshatriya caste. He, in return, put round my neck a handsome string of pearls from which was suspended a jewel of flat diamonds and uncut rubies. He also presented me in trays which were as usual laid at my feet, two beautiful chowries, two punkhas and two walkingsticks of sandalwood with two bottles of oil which he requested me to accept. Immediately a salute was fired from the wall of the fort and the strings of pearls were put round our necks.

“His mother sent her compliments with inquiries after my health and expressions of satisfaction at my having honoured her son with a visit. Immediately afterwards pan and attar were distributed and we took our leave.”



## CHAPTER L.

### **Other important matters relating to Purnaiya's administration—(continued)—Mutiny of the British troops.**

#### **Bridge across the north bank of the Kaveri.**

The great stone bridge across the northern branch of the Kaveri at Seringapatam constructed by Purnaiya at a cost of 1,40,000 canteroi pagodas and dedicated to Marquis Wellesley after whom the bridge is even now known as the Wellesley bridge was a work of great usefulness. The site for the bridge was fixed by General Wellesley. Purnaiya informed on the 20th June 1804 Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras, on the completion of the bridge that the people were gratified with the facilities the bridge gave both for the passage of goods and for pedestrian travellers. It was constructed, he said, in the strongest manner and was calculated to endure for ages without decay.

#### **Temporary transfer of control to Supreme Government.**

We have known what opinion General Wellesley held regarding the members of the Madras Government and the advice he privately conveyed to his brother Marquis Wellesley as to the need of placing Mysore under the Supreme Government if its political integrity as a State was to be preserved. How far this opinion of General Wellesley influenced the Governor-General in the conclusion he arrived at later, it is difficult to know. Anyhow on the 5th October 1804 the Governor-General issued instructions to Lord William Bentinck intimating to him the transfer of the control over Mysore to the Supreme Government. It will be remembered that in 1799 the Governor-General had thought it advisable to place Mysore in its political relations under the Madras Government with the reservation that the Supreme Government was at all times to be free to hold communications direct with the British Resident at the court of Mysore. Marquis Wellesley now thought that on account of the changed political conditions that had been established after the recent Mahratta War, the time had arrived to place Mysore on the same footing as that of Hyderabad directly under the Supreme

Government. This decision however was later reversed by the Court of Directors in England in December 1806 after Marquis Wellesley's departure from India and Mysore reverted to its old political relationship with the Madras Government.

#### **Introduction of vaccination.**

For the first time in Mysore and probably in India vaccination was introduced in 1806, there having been no remedy against the terrible scourge of small-pox prior to that period. Rani Lakshmi Ammanni wished to celebrate the marriage of the young Raja but the bride not having had the small-pox the ceremony had been deferred. On Major Wilks the British Resident being apprised of the cause, he communicated to Purnaiya the operation known as vaccination which had lately been introduced in England and which alleviated the violence of that pernicious disease. The operation was accordingly performed by the Resident's surgeon and in consequence six mild pustules appeared on the young bride who soon recovered. The Rani is stated to have expressed extreme astonishment at a remedy so easy and surprising for a malady so deliterious. The Government of Madras on knowing this result published a notification in July 1806 commending the example of the Mysore royal family to the general public.

#### **A supplementary treaty with the Company's Government in 1807.**

A supplementary treaty was concluded on the 29th January 1807 when Sir George Barlow was Governor-General. The third article of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799 had imposed on the Mysore Government an indefinite obligation of making a pecuniary contribution according to its resources to the Company's Government whenever hostilities broke out between that Government and another State. By the modification introduced now this obligation was made specific by the removal of pecuniary contribution and the substitution in its place of the maintenance of 4000 cavalry at all times both in peace and war. This treaty was signed on behalf of the Governor-General by Major Wilks the British Resident and on behalf of Mysore by Lakshmi Ammanni and Purnaiya.

**Yelandur granted to Purnaiya as jahagir in December 1807.**

In 1806 Purnaiya expressed a wish that his office should be made hereditary. The Supreme Government considered the proposition inadmissible but at the same time acknowledged that that ambition could not be considered illaudable. The emoluments of Purnaiya from his office amounted to 6000 canteroi pagodas a year with a commission of one per cent on the revenues, amounting on an average to 19000 pagodas per annum or a total of 25000 canteroi pagodas or 80000 rupees. It was also acknowledged that the necessary expenses of the Dewan in holding an office of such onerous duties should necessarily absorb nearly the whole of that amount, and even if it was true that he had accumulated a large surplus it should be regarded as not of that species of provision which should certainly be annexed to an office of that importance. Independently of these considerations, it was also regarded that the extraordinary merits of Purnaiya entitled him to some distinguish-ed reward. Accordingly the taluk of Yelandur was given as jahagir to Purnaiya and sannads in Persian, English and Kanada were presented to him signed both by the Resident Lt.-Col. John Malcolm on behalf of the Company's Government and by the Raja on behalf of the State at a public durbar.

This durbar was held on the 27th December 1807 at which all the officers from Seringapatam and a great concourse of inhabitants attended. The Raja gave the sannad to the Dewan with his own hands, at the same time vesting him with a rich khillat. When the ceremony was over, Lt.-Col. Malcolm rose and mentioned to the Raja the causes which had led the British Government to recommend to His Highness a measure which was as honourable to him as to that valuable servant. Turning next to Purnaiya, Malcolm while congratulating him on the noble and solid mark of approbation which he had received from his sovereign expressed to him the sense which the British Government entertained of his character and how completely all the expectations which had been formed of the benefits resulting from his appointment had been realised. The Resident finally concluded by giving Purnaiya in the name of the Company a present of an elephant, a horse, and a rich khillat. Purnaiya in reply stated that on the first day of his

nomination he resolved on making every effort to do justice to the wise and great policy of that statesman Lord Wellesley by whom the Hindu Government of Mysore had been re-established and by whom he had been elevated to the position he held at the time. The support of that nobleman and his successors, Purnaiya further said, and the kindness and friendship of the several gentlemen who had filled the post of Resident at Mysore had not only enabled him to discharge the duties of his office to the satisfaction of those to whom he was responsible but in a manner considered worthy to receive the magnificent reward that had been bestowed on him that day.

In connection with the grant of a jahagir to Purnaiya the Supreme Government laid down a principle which may be quoted here.—“We deem it highly advisable on this occasion to fix the principle on which any future grants of a similar nature should be made. If the Mysore Government were quite at liberty on this point, a weak, bigoted, designing Prince or minister might assign grants to an extent which might seriously affect the stability of that State to perform its engagements to the British Government, while on the other hand it would seem foreign to a wise and liberal policy to deprive it altogether of the exercise of a power so essential to a Government as that of efficiently rewarding great and distinguished services. In our judgment the best rule that could be prescribed would be that no grant of land above a certain value should be made from the territories of Mysore either for life of an individual or as a hereditary tenure without the acquiescence of the Company's Government.”

#### **Survey of Mysore.**

Under the orders of Marquis Wellesley, Lt.-Col. Colin Mackenzie whose name is connected with the collection of ‘Mackenzie manuscripts’ began a survey of Mysore in 1799 and completed the same in 1800 and the first accurate map of Mysore was laid down by him in 1808.

#### **Fresh Co-operation of Mysore with the British Troops.**

Prior to the Mahratta campaign, the Nairs of Waynad rose in rebellion against the British authorities and committed much havoc.

A body of Mysore cavalry was sent along with the British troops which proceeded from Seringapatam for the suppression of this rebellion which was soon quelled. The Mysore State besides sending troops also helped materially in the organisation of the commissariat under Purnaiya.

In 1809 an occasion again arose for the Mysore troops to co-operate with the British troops under somewhat strange circumstances. In this year a mutiny broke out among the European troops under the Madras Government on account of the abolition of a monthly allowance known as tentage granted to the officers of the army and various acts of disobedience to the orders of the Madras Government were openly committed by the officers concerned. In order to ascertain who among the Company's officers could be depended on, it was resolved to apply a test in the form of a document, copies of which were sent to the commanders of stations with instructions to require the signatures of all to it. When an attempt was made to obtain the signatures of the European officers of the garrison at Seringapatam to this document, they rebelled at once. After driving the King's troops out of the fort, they seized the treasury, drew up the bridges, loaded the guns, formed a committee of safety and sent out a detachment which captured a sum of 30000 pagodas on its way to the paymaster. The mutinous officers also summoned to their assistance two battalions from Chitaldrug and Bednore. The troops which on the 9th July were ordered by the Madras Government to march from Seringapatam to Bangalore delayed their movements until the 20th and then refused to leave the place.

Colonel Davis under instructions from the Government of Madras proceeded from Mysore to Seringapatam and found the garrison in a state of ferment and agitation. The officers of the garrison came to know that Colonel Davis had arrived to remove the recalcitrant officers and thereupon he was required to confine himself with his staff to the house in which they had been lodged but ultimately was allowed to return to Mysore.

These acts of violence and outrage induced the acting Resident A. H. Cole to apply to Purnaiya for assistance and to advise him

to adopt such precautions as might be necessary to prevent an attempt on the part of the mutineers to seize the fort of Mysore and the person of His Highness the Raja. Purnaiya immediately directed a body of 3000 silledar horse to proceed to Seringapatam, to invest the fort and cut off all supplies going to it. A detachment consisting of 1500 Mysore infantry and 3000 silledar horse was consequently sent to impede the progress of the battalions proceeding from Chitaldrug and Bednore for the aid of the mutineers.

On the 6th August Lt.-Col. Bell commander of the Seringapatam garrison intimated to Col. Davis that the fortress of Seringapatam was in danger of being attacked by the Mysore Government and that he had determined not to deliver it up. At the same time Col. Bell despatched a letter to the Dewan complaining of his preventing provisions from passing into the fort of Seringapatam, accusing him of having broken the treaty with the British Government and threatening him with vengeance if he persevered in his operations against the garrison. In answer to this letter Purnaiya with great propriety referred him to the Resident as the proper channel of communication with the Mysore Government. This answer led to the placing of a guard over the Dewan's house in the fort in which the whole of his private property was deposited.

The body of Mysore troops despatched to intercept the Chitaldrug and Bednore battalions was under the command of Bakshi Rama Rao, an able and spirited officer, nephew of Bishtopunt being his brother's son. Rama Rao met the troops from Chitaldrug near Nagamangala at a distance of about 30 miles from Seringapatam. Captain Mackintosh the commander asked for a conference and Rama Rao himself chose to visit him and informed the officer of his orders to intercept him and his troops. Captain Mackintosh informed Rama Rao that he was at liberty to act as he might judge proper but that he was determined not to draw his sword or adopt any offensive measures. Thereupon Rama Rao applied for instructions and Col. Davis intimated to him that he should use every endeavour to prevent Captain Mackintosh from proceeding further until the expected help from Bangalore should arrive,

In the meanwhile, the detachment of King's troops under Lt.-Col. Gibbs intended for the help of Col. Davis marched from Bangalore and arrived within three miles from Seringapatam on the 10th August. No collision took place that day and Captain Mackintosh resumed his march at 10 o'clock the same night, and next morning when about 10 miles from Seringapatam the rear-guard was attacked by the Mysore Horse, a few men were wounded and the baggage taken. When the troops in front arrived at their destination, they were simultaneously attacked by the troops which had arrived from Bangalore and by the Mysore Horse. The place where this engagement took place being not far from Webbes' Monument previously referred to, this monument has since come incongruously to be known among the people of the country as "Rana Kamba" or war pillar.

#### **Abandonment of Seringapatam as a military station.**

Seringapatam from the beginning had proved unhealthy to the British troops. In 1805 there was a proposal to destroy the fortifications and remove the garrison to Bangalore which had a salubrious climate. Major-General Wellesley was strongly opposed to this measure and wrote a memorandum in which he reviewed the military situation of the peninsular part of India in the light of the events of the war with the French in Europe and strongly opposed both the removal of the garrison from Seringapatam as well as the destruction of the fortifications. Notwithstanding this powerful plea to leave things as they were, its unhealthiness proved a very strong reason against the continuance of the British troops and they were finally removed to Bangalore in 1809 where a cantonment for the purpose was established. The glory of Seringapatam as the capital city of an empire had departed when Tippu was overthrown and the Hindu Raja's capital was fixed at Mysore. Now when the garrison was withdrawn from that place, its decline was further accentuated.

## CHAPTER LI.

### Retirement and death of Purnaiya.

Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar attained the age of sixteen years in the early part of the year 1810 and was considered to have reached the age of discretion to assume the government of the country under his management. Krishnaraja Wodeyar expressed his wish to do so to the British Resident the Hon'ble A. H. Cole and this officer considered the time opportune to enlist the young Raja's interest on the side of the British Government by complying with his wish. Cole believed that at a time when the Raja's mind was keenly alive to every impression and open to every friendly act, the moment was opportune for the British Resident and the Dewan to acquire the Raja's confidence to the exclusion of all evil advisers. Accordingly he gave a ready ear to the Raja's desire and conferred with Purnaiya on the matter who expressed his readiness to resign or to continue to serve the Raja as the Resident advised. Subsequently in an interview with the Raja at which the Resident was also present, Purnaiya expressed his readiness to submit all papers to the Raja and matters were considered to have been amicably settled. Maharani Lakshmi Ammanni's wise guiding hand no longer existed in the palace at this time, she having died in February 1810 and a party inimical to Purnaiya had formed itself and constant rumours came to be spread that the Dewanship was to be perpetuated in Purnaiya's family and that the Raja was to be treated as a mere figure-head. The Resident assured the Raja that there was no such intention on the part of the British Government and that, as a matter of fact, a permanent provision had been created for Purnaiya by the assignment of a jahagir to him in 1807. Purnaiya himself was at this time more than 65 years old and the incessant toil he had undergone in the service of the State had to some extent shattered his constitution and he had been given to fits of irritation now and then. His enemies took advantage of this disability and represented to the Raja trifling incidents which occurred at unguarded moments as acts of deliberate discourtesy and Cole had not penetration enough to grasp the situation in its true bearing. His mind invested unwary acts

of no significance with the seriousness of a political crisis and all sorts of rumours were brought to him when it was found that unlike his predecessors he accepted them at their face value. The only person that preserved perfect calmness of mind during this period was Krishnaraja Wodeyar himself who never lacked in his efforts to maintain friendly relations both with the Resident as well as with the Dewan.

Cole reported to the Madras Government the differences that had arisen between Purnaiya and the palace party and that Government after a silence of seven months advised the Resident to bring about a reconciliation. The Supreme Government, however, took strong objection to Cole's action and passed severe strictures on him. It was pointed out by the Government at Calcutta that the Resident's action was precipitate and that it was wrong on his part to have neglected to afford to the Dewan on the establishment of the new arrangements those compliments on the virtues of his administration and those assurances of the continued estimation and future favour due to him from the British Government. Further, they pointed out that no change should have taken place in the relative conditions of the Raja and his minister without the formal solemnity of a previous sanction obtained from the Madras Government. The Supreme Government also expressed the opinion that the conduct of the Raja as manifested during the whole of what no doubt was an unpleasant period was commendable and exhibited a maturity of judgment, a depth of understanding and a magnanimity of spirit which did honour to him and to those by whom he had been trained up.

The Supreme Government also expressed satisfaction on learning that the Raja had generously assigned to Purnaiya a life pension of 6000 canteroi pagodas per annum. The Madras Government at the suggestion of the Supreme Government sent a letter of congratulation to the Raja on his assumption of the administration of the State and a second letter to Purnaiya permitting him to retire and wishing him ease and comfort during the remainder of his life. Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras, in the letter addressed to the Raja, dated the 23rd December 1811,

conveyed his congratulations in these terms:—"The British Resident at the court of your Highness having reported for my information that your Highness has assumed the management of the affairs of your Government, I have to express to your Highness my congratulations on this happy occasion. I have learnt with particular gratification of the prudence and ability which your Highness has so eminently displayed in the exercise of the important functions of your exalted station. Such proofs of sound judgment and understanding reflect the highest honour on your Highness and afford a happy presage of the continuance of those great and manifold advantages which have resulted from the connection which has subsisted between the British and Mysore Governments since your accession to the musnud of your ancestors."

In the letter addressed to Purnaiya, Sir George stated that it would have been extremely satisfactory to the British Government in India if he could have continued to serve His Highness in the same capacity of Dewan with the same cordiality, zeal and success which had so long distinguished his conduct, but that as the infirmities occasioned by his laborious exertions in the service of the State had induced him to express a wish to resign the office, the Supreme Government had permitted him to do so with all marks of honour and respect so justly due to his character and services. Rama Rao who had succeeded his uncle Bishtopunt on his death in 1808 as head of the cavalry branch was now appointed Dewan in place of Purnaiya on the recommendation of Cole.

Purnaiya did not long survive his retirement. He died on the night of the 27th March 1812 in his house at Seringapatam. The Maharaja on learning of the sad news at once placed his house there at the disposal of the late minister's family for the performance of the funeral ceremonies and manifested much sympathy in their bereavement. He also continued Purnaiya's pension of 500 canteroi pagodas a month to his eldest son.

No further appreciation of this great statesman's work is needed here than what were expressed by the illustrious men who

were his contemporaries and who had not only a personal knowledge of him but also close opportunities of witnessing his work. He was born of poor parents, as we know, and only by the aid of his intellect and his high moral principles he rose to distinction and used all his power and influence to advance with the utmost loyalty the interests of the rulers whom he served and the good of the people of the country who were placed under his care. While maintaining his loyalty to the memory of his Mahomedan masters, his political foresight told him that the cordial friendship with the British Government begun by Lakshmi Ammanni afforded the only bond of security for the maintenance of the Mysore State and he ever laboured to earn the goodwill of the successive British Residents who were associated with him during his period of office and thereby to further cement the friendly feelings that the British Government had shown in restoring the old Hindu royal family to its rightful place.



## CHAPTER LII.

### **Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.**

**The disadvantages under which Krishnaraja Wodeyar laboured—Further co-operation of Mysore troops in British campaigns—Establishment of the town of Chamarajanagar.**

Never did a ruler deserve a better fate than the one which befell Krishnaraja Wodeyar III in 1831 when he was divested of ruling powers by Lord William Bentinck who was the Governor-General at the time, and never did a ruler more heroically struggle against this fate and ultimately vanquish it than this same Krishnaraja Wodeyar. At the time he was allowed to assume the ruling powers in 1810 by the officiating British Resident the Honourable A. H. Cole, Krishnaraja Wodeyar was, as we have seen, only 16 years old. The British Government had not the same ideas of their responsibility at the time towards the native States as they came to have subsequently. At present when the ruler of a State is a minor, it is the special solicitude of the Suzerain Government to arrange for the suitable education of the young ruler and for the efficient administration of his State during his minority. Special care is also taken when such a ruler reaches the age of majority and is invested with ruling powers by the Suzerain Government after due and formal ceremony, to keep near his person known men of ability and rectitude. No such precautions were taken when a young prince like Krishnaraja Wodeyar took the reins of Government into his hands. He was allowed to assume the administration of his State as if he succeeded to a private patrimony, by the British Resident practically on his own authority. It was fortunate that Krishnaraja Wodeyar was by nature a man of robust commonsense and goodness of heart. Nevertheless, he was utterly lacking in worldly knowledge and worldly experience and he was more or less left to himself to judge correctly the characters of the men surrounding him at a time when he most wanted honest advisers. No doubt he had received the education that was considered suitable for princes in those days. But this education by itself could not make up for his lack of

worldly knowledge and there were also not wanting men around him to exploit the inexperience of their master. It was also unfortunate that within a short interval of each other both Lakshmi Ammanni and Purnaiya departed from the scene of their labours. The former, as has been stated, died in February 1810 and from that time a party began to form itself against Purnaiya and embarked upon intrigue and calumny to oust him from his position. It was also unfortunate that Purnaiya survived but 3 months after his retirement and the benefit of his counsel became thereby denied to the young Maharaja still in the early years of his youth. It should also be stated that all the large-hearted Englishmen whose generous help and statesmanlike views had helped Purnaiya to successfully pilot the State in the first decades of the establishment of the new Mysore Kingdom had withdrawn from India. The days of the generous-minded Marquis Wellesley, of his keen-sighted brother General Wellesley, and of British Residents of the calibre of Barry Close, Webbe, Wilks and Malcolm had gone and to their place had succeeded other men who had different ideas.

Sir George Barlow was, as has been already stated, Governor of Madras at the time Krishnaraja Wodeyar assumed the administration. He was not an independent nobleman conversant with European politics but a civil servant of the Company of a pliant disposition. On receiving Cole's report as to the assumption of power by the Maharaja, Barlow's one idea was that Purnaiya should be continued as Dewan not because a man of his ability and experience was needed by the side of the Raja of as yet little worldly experience but because Purnaiya's services had been helpful to the consolidation of the British Power during the Mahratta wars. The Supreme Government in Bengal rightly accepted the Maharaja's succession to power as a mere corollary of the position in which he had been established in 1799 but took objection to it only as being the individual act of the British Resident instead of coming in the shape of a formal investiture by the Governor of Madras. Cole seems not to have regretted the retirement of Purnaiya but to have thought that the occasion afforded a good opportunity for the British representative to gain ascendancy over the young Raja's mind and thereby further

to strengthen the Raja's goodwill towards British interests. In the meanwhile, the Raja was left to his own resources and was at the same time expected to govern the country efficiently to the satisfaction of the Suzerain Government. It also happened that none of the high officers near him, namely, Bargir Bakshi Balaji Rao, Rama Rao, Govinda Rao, Himmatyar Khan and others possessed that moral courage to express freely and fearlessly their opinions which Purnaiya possessed of defying even the future Iron Duke when the latter without the previous knowledge of the Mysore Government recommended two of its officers for British pensions. At this time the Raja was also imbued by those near him with the idea of some of his predecessors having been dispossessed of their power by their ministers and of the necessity of avoiding such a contingency by asserting himself as the real ruler of the country.

The Madras Government also impressed upon their Resident that a clear distinction was to be drawn between the capacity in which the British Government acted during the Raja's minority and that in which they were placed after the Raja personally began to exercise his power. In the former period the British Government, they said, was in fact the guarantee on the part of the minor Raja for the conduct of his minister who was accountable to the British Government in that capacity and that relation having ceased, the right of interference was to be exercised only in the more delicate form of counsel and advice. Cole on finding that under the instructions issued to him his sphere of interference in the affairs of the Mysore State became considerably circumscribed surrounded himself with informers and listened also to the tales of officials in his own office, with the result that much irritation was felt by the Raja though his personal regard towards Cole did not wane. In spite of these disadvantages the Raja established a good record of work for himself and on the 30th September 1814 the Court of Directors in England observed in a despatch to the Government at Calcutta that it was highly satisfactory to know that the maturity of judgment already manifested by the Raja afforded a happy presage of the continuance of the important advantages which had resulted from the connection between the British and Mysore

Governments. It may be said here once for all that during the whole period of his life, whether in sunshine or in gloom, Krishnaraja Wodeyar never swerved from that undeviating loyalty which he regarded as due to the British Power which had established him on the throne of his ancestors.

In October 1811 the Raja paid a State visit to Bangalore with the British Resident. He was accompanied by a large number of Barr Infantry and Silledar Horse and his march partook of a triumphal progress and pleased the inhabitants of the country through which he passed. At Bangalore he was received with suitable military honours by the British representatives and on the 14th of the same month when the Raja visited the horse races that were held at the time, the townspeople both European and Indian welcomed him by giving him a grand reception in a specially erected pandal. On the 15th the Raja held a special durbar in Tippu's palace in the fort at which all the prominent Europeans with their ladies were present.

Between the years 1810-1818 the Mysore horse had again opportunities of co-operating with the British troops in some of the military campaigns of that period. In 1810 Amir Khan the Pathan free-booter professing to act in the name of Holkar but really to collect funds for the army under his command invaded Nagpur and a contingent of Mysore horse 1500 strong took part in the operations against him under the command of Barry Close and were present when Amir Khan's capital Seronje in Malwa was captured.

In January 1817 the Mysore horse was engaged in the operations against the Pindaries in the Nizam's territory. These Pindaries are described as pests to society in the early part of the 19th century. Every villain who had escaped from his creditor or was expelled for flagrant crimes or was disgusted with an honest and peaceable life was found in their ranks. These Pindaries generally invaded a country in bands varying from one thousand to four thousand men. On reaching the frontier of the country which they had marked out for their

operations, they generally dispersed in small parties of two or three hundred and advanced with such rapidity that the unfortunate inhabitants became aware of their approach only by their depredations. They were not encumbered with tents or baggages but carried only their arms and slept on their saddle cloths. Both men and horses were accustomed to long marches and they never halted except to refresh themselves, to collect plunder, or to commit the vilest outrages on the female population. They subsisted on the grain and provisions which they found in the villages, took everything that was valuable and wantonly destroyed all that they could not carry away. On the 14th January Major Robert McDowall while moving with a body of troops in the country near Beder in the Nizam's territory accompanied by a body of Mysore cavalry under Annaji Rao received information that a Pindari force was at a distance of eight miles from him. Major McDowall immediately marched with a small body of his own men and 1000 Mysore horse and surprised the Pindaries in their camp and dispersed them with considerable loss.

In November 1817 the Mysore cavalry took part in the battle of Mahidpore in which Holkar and his Pindari allies were defeated. In this battle the Mysore horse under Bakshi Bhima Rao, nephew of Bishtopunt, captured much booty in the shape of elephants, camels, jewels, horses and money valued at about twenty-six lakhs of Star Pagodas exclusive of one and a half lakhs presented to Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar. A sword and belt belonging to Holkar formed part of the capture and these were presented by Krishnaraja Wodeyar to Sir John Malcolm in acknowledgment of the kindness and consideration with which he had treated the Mysore auxiliary troops.

In the last Mahratta war when Peshwa Baji Rao on being overthrown took to flight, Sir John Malcolm pursued him with a detachment of his army in which were included 2500 Mysore horse under Bakshis Rama Rao and Bhima Rao. After the war concluded, Bakshis Rama Rao and Bhima Rao returned to their own country with the Mysore horse. Krishnaraja Wodeyar ordered a grand reception to them and conferred various marks of

honour on the two Bakshis. Two jahagirs yielding 6000 and 4000 rupees respectively per annum were conferred on them. An elephant was also presented to Rama Rao on which he was allowed to ride seated in a howdah. The Governor-General Marquis of Hastings more than once congratulated Krishnaraja Wodeyar on the splendid services rendered by the Mysore horse and a Kharita dated 27th March 1818 addressed to His Highness contained the following passage:—

“Your troops who were serving under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop and Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm have now reached the Deccan and most of them wish to return home. Accordingly, I take this opportunity to express my pleasure at the distinguished services rendered by the Mysore troops and on account of the zeal and sincere love shown by your Highness towards this Government and I hope that your Highness has by this time become fully aware of the success achieved by your troops along with the British forces. I am also informed by the British officers about the valour and tactfulness which your troops have shown in performing their duty which it gives me great pleasure to bring to your Highness’ notice. Bakshis Rama Rao and Bhima Rao have already won distinction and become popular, your Highness having conferred on them royal gifts in appreciation of their services. I must assure your Highness that this Government will ever keep in view the welfare and progress of your people which will, of course, bring both the Governments nearer and closer to each other.” Sir John Malcolm in his “Political History of India from 1789—1824” referring to the Mysore horse has stated that during the campaigns of 1817 and 1818 in the countries of Malwa and Rajputana they served with as much zeal, fidelity and gallantry as they had before displayed in the Deccan during the Mahratta War of 1803.

In 1821 the Maharaja went on a tour and was absent from Mysore for about three months. He visited during this period Subrahmanya, Udipi and various other religious places and returned to Mysore passing through Shimoga, Bababudan and other places. In memory of the visit to Shimoga a street in that town is

even now known as Krishnarajpet. During this period considerable support was also given to several religious institutions of all denominations and several charities were established.

It was in this reign that the town of Chamarajanagar was established in the year 1824 in memory of Chamaraja Wodeyar IX, father of Krishnaraja Wodeyar. Prior to the town being named Chamarajanagar, there existed a small village known as Arikuthara or Arakotara as commonly known and this village was rebuilt and extended on all sides with a palace and a temple in the centre and thereafter made the headquarters of a taluk and it attracted to itself much trade and many people from all sides.



## **CHAPTER LIII.**

### **Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.**

#### **General Administration of the State.**

The form of administration of the country after Krishnaraja Wodeyar succeeded to power differed to some extent from what it was in the time of Purnaiya. Purnaiya during his period of office practically combined in himself the functions of a regent as well as those of a minister. After Krishnaraja Wodeyar began to take an active part in the administration, the Dewan's functions became limited to the nature of his office, while those of a regent during a minority came, of course, to be exercised by the Raja. The form of Government also began to partake the nature of a personal autocracy with indefinite limitations imposed only by custom or tradition or by the obligations contained in the treaty with the Suzerain Power. Krishnaraja Wodeyar throughout the period of his active rule took considerable share in the daily administration of the country, though in later years to his misfortune he came to be surrounded by a set of inefficient or self-seeking advisers.

In the opening years of his rule Krishnaraja Wodeyar was a recipient of much commendation from the British Government. On the 12th May 1811 only six months after His Highness' assumption of power, Cole informed the Madras Government that the conduct of the Raja was everything that could be expected from a sensible and grateful mind, that his attention to business was almost indefatigable and that his attachment and devotion to the British Government were not to be improved or surpassed. As an illustration, Cole quoted the case of a relation of the Maharaja whom His Highness readily discarded when it became known that that person was misusing his position on the staff of his master to his own advantage. "This was done," wrote Cole, "not from a frigid, ungracious feeling of submission to authority but as the deed of a mind grateful for instruction and confident that the Resident's advice was intended for public benefit and that he had only the Raja's interest at heart." Cole was a man of extremes however

and of a confiding nature. Being prohibited by the Madras Government from interfering in the internal affairs of the State, he began to act on the secret information received from untested private sources and to represent the Raja as extravagant and indolent. Even Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, was led away by these accounts and in writing to the Marquis of Hastings on the affairs of India generally in 1817 mentioned that the Raja of Mysore was indolent and prodigal and had already, besides the current revenue, dissipated about 60 lakhs of pagodas of the treasure laid up by the late Dewan, regarding the existence of which Munro himself came to feel doubts later.

The daily routine of business for the Raja commenced with a perusal of all the letters handed over to him by the Anche Bakshi or head of the postal department. On many of these letters, immediate orders where possible were recorded. Where however the letters dealt with matters of importance, they were reserved for consideration and consultation with the ministers. The Anche Bakshi was also helpful to His Highness in other ways. It was part of his duty to obtain information of what was going on in the districts from the Anche Mutsaddies or postal officials in the taluks and to report to the Huzur (His Highness) the contents of the communications he was daily receiving. The Anche Mutsaddies in addition to their duties of receiving and transmitting letters were also charged with the duty of reporting to headquarters the general state of the country as it fell within their observation and also forwarding complaints regarding other officials conveyed to them by private people either orally or in writing. An express tappal reached Mysore from Shimoga in 40 hours, but the time ordinarily taken was two days for a distance of about 260 miles. Sometimes when urgency arose to send the post expeditiously, more runners were employed as well as riders on camels. In this way all events of importance occurring in outside places became known at the capital within a short period of their occurrence.

After the Maharaja who, of course, had no compeers, the official gradation in the rising order was Amildar, Foujdar and Dewan. The duties of the Amildar consisted in annually arranging

for the cultivation of lands. They were required to constantly visit the villages and after disposing of such lands as readily fetched money-rents distributed the remaining land for Batayi or crop-sharing cultivation. It was to be their particular care to see that all lands under tanks were duly cultivated and they were required to use every means in their power to produce a good harvest and to prevent any loss of revenue which otherwise might be caused. Under the Amildar in each taluk there were a number of Shekdars or Revenue Inspectors whose duties were to collect the revenue, to superintend the cultivation and to provide supplies. The Foujdar was expected to attend to the complaints of the ryots and to realise the collections at stated periods of payment. When there was a decrease in the revenue, it was the duty of the Foujdar to institute an enquiry and to enter in the accounts what had been omitted and to make all necessary remissions of revenue. If there were robberies committed or any disturbances in the district, it was the Foujdar's business to proceed thither with some troops and to make the necessary arrangements to quell them.

The Raja held the seal but the Dewan was the official head of the general administration. Whenever appointments of amildars had to be made, if the Dewan happened to be at the headquarters he submitted to His Highness the names of persons whom he recommended for the office and brought the nominees before His Highness who examined them and gave *neroops* of appointment. When the Dewan was not at headquarters, he wrote *arzees* stating that he had appointed certain amildars and sheristadars who were the assistants of amildars and requesting *neroops* of sanction. Whenever also the Dewan intimated that he had removed any persons for any offences and had appointed others in their stead, *neroops* were accordingly sent.

#### **Finance.**

The finances of the State were classified under two heads—Ayne and Sivayi Jemma as in the days of Purnaiya. The Ayne consisted of all prescribed items of revenue, such as Land Revenue, Sayer, Excise, Forest, Bajebab or miscellaneous taxes. The Sivayi Jemma consisted of items such as unclaimed property, amounts realised by

the sale of women who had forsaken their husbands, fines collected, amounts realised by the sale of stray cattle, nuzerana or presents, the value of grain belonging to the lapsed jahagirs, embezzled money recovered, unauthorised appropriations of money and bribes taken. Sometimes certain of these items were classed under a sub-head known as Pattawalli, especially items relating to official corruption. Stamps for revenue purposes were for the first time introduced in the year 1828.

The noticeable heads of expenditure were :—

1. Subsidy.
2. Sowar.
3. Barr.
4. Adalat.
5. Palace.
6. Attawane or Revenue Branch.
7. Kandachar or Police Branch.
8. Anche or Post.
9. Amrut Mahal or Cattle Department.
10. Foujdaries.
11. Dewan's Office.
12. Tosheekhane or Jewellery and Presentation Department.
13. Khazana or Treasury.
14. Collection of taxes.
15. Mutfarkhath or Miscellaneous.
16. Stipends to palegars.
17. Muzrai.
18. Maramat or Public Works.

#### **Criminal trials and punishments.**

The Amildars examined all criminals who were in custody and sent up the proceedings to the Huzur with a letter. If they received instructions to send the prisoners to the Adalat Court or Committee Cutcherry as it was popularly called, they did so. If

however the orders were to keep the prisoners in confinement at the spot, they were conformed to. Sometimes the prisoners were ordered to be sent to Kabballoor. In a case of murder the Amildar in the presence of some of the principal men of the place formed a Panchayet and examined the witnesses. If the murder was proved, a report of the same was made to the Huzur and when an order arrived to inflict punishment on them, the same was carried into effect. In the meanwhile, the prisoners were detained in irons. All the members of the court signed the proceedings. There were no regulations defining the number of days during which the prisoners were to be kept in confinement. In cases where murder was proved, the culprits were in some cases hanged and in some cases imprisoned for life. Brahmins were not hanged nor women of any caste whatsoever. But they were kept in confinement from one to three years and then released. It was usual on the opening day of the Dasara festival when the Maharaja took his seat on the throne for the relations interested in the condemned men to place themselves before His Highness in the open yard below and vociferously intercede for the release of the prisoner and obtain either a pardon or a reduction of sentence as it pleased His Highness at the time to grant.

In cases of burglary or highway robbery the prisoners were tried by the Amildar with the help of a Panchayet. At the trial the person robbed gave a list of goods stolen from him. If it was proved that the articles mentioned had been sold by the prisoner or had been found on his person, the Panchayet gave a verdict accordingly and the proceedings were forwarded to the Huzur. The articles were restored to the person robbed and the thieves kept in confinement, some being imprisoned in the hillforts, while some were put to labour on the roads. In the case of prisoners confined in forts, on the Killedar reporting that the sentence against a prisoner had expired, an order was sent from the Huzur for the release of the culprit. In a case of theft or affray the patels summoned the parties and if the case proved to be one of minor importance, the offender was dismissed with a caution, but if aggravated, the delinquent was entrusted to the custody of the menials of the village. If the matter fell within the jurisdiction of the

Shekdar, the prisoner was placed in confinement, put in stocks or was given corporal punishment. But if it was beyond his jurisdiction, the prisoner was forwarded to the Amildar. The Foujdar also had power to inflict corporal punishment, to place the prisoners in confinement and to impose fines in all cases that came before him. No person but the Raja had authority to order capital punishment. No regulations existed clearly defining the powers of each authority dealing with these matters. The rule however was that murder, highway or other aggravated robberies were to be reported to the higher authorities and this was well understood throughout the country. When a prisoner was apprehended in a taluk and sent to the Committee Cutcherry or Adalat Court, an enquiry was made by that court but His Highness gave the decision.

#### **Civil Disputes.**

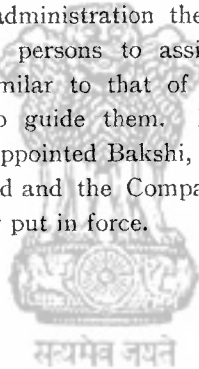
Civil disputes were referred for settlement either to the village Patel, Shekdar, to an assembly of Brahmins or of merchants, to the priests, to the Amildar, to the Foujdar, to the Adalat Court or to the Kotwal. There was also another system according to which disputes were referred to a court of Panchayet by whom an enquiry was held and a decision arrived at. The plaintiff and the defendant were then required to exchange Fareekhats (deeds of release or discharge) being first signed by all the members of the Panchayet. If the parties were not satisfied with the first Panchayet, they were at liberty to appeal to a second.

When a person instituted a suit against another, he was obliged except in case of a Government official to go to the defendant's place of residence to have it settled. No fees were levied in these cases. But when a decision was passed, it was usual for the parties to offer a sacrifice to the deity.

When a person repaired to a village with a complaint against any individual, the headman of the village summoned a Panchayet and gave instructions to investigate the matter in dispute. The Panchayet consisted of ten persons, some being chosen by the plaintiff, some by the defendant and some conjointly. The Panchayet then required both plaintiff and defendant to give a

written or verbal agreement to abide by their decision, after which the plaintiff's case was first heard and sometimes taken down in writing. Next the defendant was heard in like manner. Witnesses were also heard and any further enquiry that was necessary was made. If a witness was not present, he was either sent for or a written statement of his evidence accepted. The mutual Fareekhats were then duly signed and interchanged, the members of the Panchayet having affixed their several signatures in testimony of their assent to the recorded decision. In cases in which decisions had been given by public officers an appeal lay from the Shekdar to the Amildar, from the Amildar to the Foujdar, from the Foujdar to the Adalat Court and finally from that to the Huzur.

During Purnaiya's administration the Adalat Court consisted of a Bakshi and some persons to assist him. Their form of proceeding was very similar to that of a Panchayet having no particular regulations to guide them. But in the Raja's time Bakar Ali Khan being appointed Bakshi, the evidence and decision were written and recorded and the Company's regulations relating to these matters partially put in force.



## CHAPTER LIV.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.

#### **Persons of influence at the court of the Maharaja.**

During the twenty-one years that Krishnaraja Wodeyar was actively engaged in the government of his country he had a number of Dewans and other advisers. The Dewans in the order in which they held that office after Purnaiya were Bargir Bakshi Balaji Rao, Sowar Bakshi Rama Rao, Babu Rao, Siddaraj Urs, Lingaraj Urs and Venkataraj Urs.

Rama Rao was an officer of experience and distinction who had served under both the Mahomedan rulers of Mysore as commander of cavalry and under Purnaiya during the first part of his administration in a civil office and afterwards as Bakshi of the Sowar Cutcherry or commander of the cavalry. This latter office he continued to hold under Krishnaraja Wodeyar also, at the same time being one of the 'Huzur Moosahibs' or persons habitually consulted by the Raja on public affairs. Rama Rao virtually held the office of Dewan during the three years next after the administration of Purnaiya and adhered to the plans of his predecessor maintaining his system without any striking departure.

Rama Rao originally came from a place called Badami in the Mahratta country and was accompanied by two of his relations Bhima Rao of Annigere and Krishna Rao of Hanagal. He was appointed Foudar of Nagar in 1799 by Purnaiya and held that office until 1805. By his influence the public situations next in importance to his own in that Foudari became mostly filled with his relations and the members of the Annigere and Hanagal families, and a powerful party entirely in his interest was thus formed in this part of the State which maintained itself in strength till the commencement of the insurrection in 1830. Rama Rao's successors in the office of Foudar from 1805 to 1825 with only an interruption of a few months were persons nearly allied to him by blood or marriage, namely, Survotham Rao twice Foudar whose son was married to Rama Rao's niece, Poinpiah, Rama Rao's

nephew, Balakrishna Rao his grand-nephew and Krishna Rao another nephew.

Babu Rao was a prominent Government officer both during the Mahomedan period as well as in that of the Raja. In Haidar's time from the year 1779 Babu Rao for seven years was Sheristadar in the Sowar Cutcherry of Kadapa Mir Sahib who had command of 6000 horse. After Mir Sahib was killed in an action fought by General Coote, Babu Rao became immediately attached to Haidar at the end of 1781-82. In December 1782 Haidar died and from that time till November 1786 Babu Rao was continued in the sheristadari, after which he received amanat or supernumerary pay for eight months and was then appointed Sheristadar of the Chela Cutcherry in which he remained till 1789. From the following year till 1799 he was Sheristadar in the Dewan's Cutcherry. In that year he accompanied Colonel Reade Munro to Bangalore. When Krishnaraja Wodeyar was placed on the throne, he entered the Raja's service and from that time forward remained in it. Under the Raja's administration Babu Rao was first Sheristadar in the Dewan's Cutcherry. In the year 1818 his son was appointed Sheristadar and Babu Rao was nominated to the Dewanship which he held for seven months. He then drew amanat pay until the year 1821, when he was again appointed Dewan and held that office for about a year. Again he reverted to amanat pay till the year 1825, when on the recommendation of Cole he was again appointed Dewan and held that post till the following year, when he was again placed on amanat pay and continued till May 1832, when the office of Dewan to the British Commission was conferred upon him.

The last Dewan Venkataraj Urs was first Amildar of Sira, then Foujdar and finally Dewan.

Of the Moosahibs or advisers to the Maharaja, Veene Venkatasubbiah who came to prominence from the year 1819 held the first rank and dominated over the rest by his shrewdness and ability, divested as they were of all moral scruples. His relations were amildars of seven taluks in the Nagar Division and one was a

customs officer at Kavaladoorg. Venkatasubbiah placed and displaced the officials as he liked in these seven taluks. There was a private understanding between him and Hanagal Krishna Rao that when any complaint was made against any amildar who was a protege of Venkatasubbiah or of Krishna Rao, he was to be removed to a taluk under the Foujdar and *vice versa*. Venkatasubbiah held no particular appointment and at one time it coming to the knowledge of Cole that he was an evil counsellor, he was removed from his place. Venkatasubbiah, however, managed to secure support in the Residency through Ramaswamy Mudliar, Jahagirdar of Sivasamudram, who had much influence with Cole at the time and got back to his place as Moosahib.

Chowdiah the Residency Sheristadar was originally a shanbogue or village accountant of Hirisave in the taluk of Kickery. Then he became a clerk in the taluk of Gudibande on a salary of three pagodas a month. Next he became a clerk to the Residency surgeon at Mysore. At the same time he paid court to Ramaswamy Mudliar and through the latter's influence with Casamaijor he was appointed Sheristadar in the Resident's Office. Chowdiah also succeeded in getting his relative Belavadi Subba Rao (Chowdiah's son's father-in-law) appointed as his colleague in the same office. Chowdiah by virtue of his appointment made himself an indispensable factotum of Casamaijor who succeeded Cole as Resident and he also became generally the medium of communication between the Resident and the Raja. Casamaijor under the semblance of non-interference is stated to have suffered his agent to meddle and dictate in everything, much to the latter's advantage. At this time Chowdiah came to be courted by Veene Venkatasubbiah and others who were supposed to be working in the interests of the State and this individual was thereby able to secure various lucrative appointments in the Mysore Service for his relatives and dependants.

Ramaswamy Mudliar held at first a small appointment in the private service of Major Wilks when he was Resident in Mysore. After Wilks left Mysore, he became Dubash to Cole and subsequently through Cole's support he became Anche Bakshi or

Postmaster-General under the Raja's Government. Shortly after, the Company conferred on him the jahagir of Sivasamudram as a reward for the construction of a bridge over the Kaveri at that place. During Casamaijor's time Ramaswamy Mudliar though holding no office made himself very popular by his lavish entertainments and acquired very considerable property also. This friendship with Casamaijor secured for him easy access to the Raja's presence and through that influence he secured appointments as amildars for a number of people who managed to find a place in his favour.

There were also others who may be regarded as secondary lights as contrasted with the above persons. One such was Motikhane Narasinga Rao. He was the son of Arunachalapunt who had held important situations during the days of Haidar and Tippu and was Foudjar of Manjarabad in the days of Purnaiya. Arunachalapunt had eight sons and Purnaiya out of regard for the father gave an amildari to every one of these sons. Narasinga Rao who was the cleverest of the number secured the support of Veene Venkatasubbiah and was appointed Bakshi of the Motikhane or the palace Store Department.

Gangadhara Rao was another lesser light. He was the son of Butché Rao, a man of note and considerable influence in the days of Tippu Sultan and subsequently deputy of Purnaiya. Gangadhara Rao after his father's death became a Moosahib to the Raja, besides being in charge of the Tosheekhane Branch. He did not interfere in matters outside to him and conducted himself with great propriety.

Vyas Rao another adviser filled the situation of Bakshi in the Adalat Court. When the Raja took the government into his own hands, as Vyas Rao had become old he was made a Moosahib or councillor. He was required to be in attendance on all occasions when the Raja gave a hearing to the petitioners who resorted to his presence to represent their grievances. Vyas Rao's duty also consisted in laying before the Maharaja the substance of all the complaints received with proper answers which after approval

by His Highness were transmitted under His Highness' signature to the respective parties. Vyas Rao in the time of Haidar Ali was for five years in the Barr Cutcherry. Next for nearly eighteen years he was in the service of Tippu Sultan, fifteen years in the Motikhane and Mir Miran Cutcherries and three years in his household service. Under Purnaiya he was an Amildar for two years and was afterwards Bakshi of the Shagird Pesha (Department of subordinates and menials) and Adalat Cutcherries for ten years in which situation he remained under the Raja's administration, until from old age he was relieved by his son.

Tosheekhane Nanjappa another officer immediately connected with His Highness' court was not a man of any noticeable ability or of respectable heredity. It was mainly through Venkatasubbiah's influence that Nanjappa obtained his position. The object of Venkatasubbiah was to use Nanjappa as an informant of what occurred during his absence from the palace.

Anoo Rama Rao who was also attached to the palace was at first in the household of Butché Rao. During the reign of the Raja he became head clerk in the military office. Then through the influence of Venkatasubbiah he became one of the Moosahibs or confidential advisers.

Chowdiah and Veene Venkatasubbiah were in league and often did not scruple, it is said, to fabricate communications between the Maharaja and the Resident to serve their own ends. They also prevented proper information reaching the ears of the Maharaja or of Casamaijor.

Venkataraj Urs the last Dewan was not a very competent man and he made himself a mere tool in the hands of Venkatasubbiah, so that the Maharaja could not look to him for help in finding safe and satisfactory solutions for several of the knotty questions which frequently engaged His Highness' attention. Venkataraj Urs however was supported by Casamaijor till the latter obtained a real knowledge of him after the insurrection broke out.

The Maharaja was considerably handicapped during the whole period of his direct rule by the absence of capable and honest ministers by his side. While Purnaiya, experienced as he was, was subject to the supervision of the Resident in all his administrative acts, the Maharaja when still a youth was left to himself. The Madras Government expressed strong objection to the Resident's interference in what they regarded as exclusively the Maharaja's concern.

There were only two Residents during the period of Krishnaraja Wodeyar's direct rule A. H. Cole and J. A. Casamaijor. Cole continued as Resident for the long period of more than fourteen years after power became vested in Krishnaraja Wodeyar. He was the fourth son of the Earl of Enniskillen and entered the Madras Civil Service in 1800 and retired in 1824. His successor James Casamaijor was also a member of the Madras Civil Service. After Cole's departure from Mysore, he took his place as Resident first temporarily and then in 1827 permanently. Prior to his appointment as Resident, Casamaijor had held different appointments at Seringapatam and had also filled several positions in the Residency. Between Cole and Casamaijor one marked contrast became immediately perceptible. While Cole was Resident, though in 1814 the Madras Government had forbidden him to interfere in the internal management of the country at a time when the Raja was only 19 years old, yet as there was considerable friendship between Krishnaraja Wodeyar and Cole the latter's good offices and advice were always accepted with alacrity by His Highness. Cole made full enquiry into all the representations that reached him whether from the taluks, the Silledars, the Barr or any other quarter and furnished his opinions to the Raja which were of great help to His Highness. On Casamaijor succeeding Cole, whenever any representations were made to him he contented himself by saying to those who made such representations that the Raja was their sovereign and that they must seek remedy in that quarter.

## CHAPTER LV.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.

#### Land Assessment and Sharat or Contract System.

During the early years of Krishnaraja Wodeyar's rule, matters progressed smoothly and not only were all the administrative charges met with ease but also all obligations imposed by the Subsidiary Treaty were discharged to the satisfaction of the Company's Government. The Land Revenue which was 60½ lakhs of rupees in 1811 rose to Rs. 71½ lakhs in 1815-16. In 1816-17, however, a drought prevailed throughout the State and a diminution in the annual land revenue began to show itself. As a consequence of this drought, the balance of 7,83,749 C. P. handed over by Purnaiya when he retired from service was also exhausted and it became necessary to seek some means to improve the resources of the State. A large amount of specie was imperatively needed every month not only to discharge the monthly instalment of the subsidy due to the Company's Government but also for the maintenance at all times of 4000 horse which according to the treaty of 1807 was incumbent on the part of the Mysore Government.

The average revenue in the decade between 1810-20 amounted to Rs. 86½ lakhs per year and attempts were made to increase this income by improving the land revenue by a system of Sharat or contract. At the same time, as had been anticipated by Wilks the annual expenditure also showed an increase. In 1804 Wilks had written to the Madras Government that when the Raja assumed the direction of Government on reaching the age of majority, a contingency of that kind was to be expected. The Raja after his assumption of power had necessarily to incur larger expenditure on his household establishments than was required in Purnaiya's time. There was no fixed civil list at the time and as a consequence expenses connected with domestic or other functions in the palace were not differentiated from those relating to public matters. When the Mysore troops returned from the war in Hindusthan, presents had to be given to them and charges had to be

incurred till proper demobilisation could take place. The Raja had also made some land endowments and cash grants for various charitable purposes. But the total alienations so made did not amount to more than Rs. 4 lakhs a year.

Certain economic factors also began to operate in full force at this time to cause embarrassment. In the days of Haidar and Tippu large armies had been maintained with considerable bodies of camp followers for whose sustenance there used to be constant demand for very large quantities of grain and other articles and whatever unsettlement of peace there was in the country, there were no complaints of lack of employment nor was there much diminution in the expenditure of money which went to benefit all classes. Even during the days of Purnaiya there was a large British army maintained in small bodies in various parts of the State, together with considerable numbers of Mysore troops similarly distributed, and cultivators of land, manufacturers, artisans, traders and other classes found ready markets for their articles. By about 1810 however, the number of places in which British garrisons were stationed underwent a marked diminution and the number of British troops also was greatly reduced. As a result, there was a decline in the demand for produce and in the expenditure of money. Simultaneously with this diminished demand for articles, there was an extension of cultivation which brought into the market more grain than could be absorbed resulting in a fall of prices. This fall of prices was also understood to have to some extent been accelerated by the necessity of having to pay the monthly instalment of the annual subsidy in specie.

The Dewans and other functionaries of the period had all been brought up in the midst of military traditions and apparently were not able to diagnose the economic causes for the fall of revenue. The British Residents of the period do not also seem to have possessed sufficient knowledge of facts to understand in full the real causes of this fall of revenue. Throughout their one great anxiety was to watch that the Mysore Government was in a position capable of paying at regular intervals the Company's subsidy under the terms of the treaty. Of the heads of revenue Sayer, Excise and

Bajebab or miscellaneous revenue were equally affected by the diminution of trade, and recourse was necessarily had to the only source left, namely, land where alone there existed a possibility of increase and to obtain this increase a system called the Sharat system was recommended for adoption by the advisers of the Maharaja.

According to this system, generally an annual stipulation was made with each amildar that a certain amount of revenue would be realised for the State and that if the collections fell short of that amount, he was to be responsible for the deficiency. In the written engagements taken from the Sharat amildars certain safeguards were invariably inserted relating to the avoidance of harassment to the ryots in the shape of imposition of arbitrary or unauthorised taxes, or compulsion to purchase the grain which became the property of Government by division of crops, or the exaction of labour from them without payment of wages, or a demand of more than the fixed rent in cases where a money-rent was assessed on lands. It must be said that the Sharat system was not an invention of this period but existed even earlier to Purnaiya. Purnaiya used to adopt the Sharat system only in the case of those amildars in whose ability he did not at the outset place confidence. An agreement was taken from these new amildars before they were allowed to enter upon their office that they would extend the cultivation of land. But this was done merely as a sort of incentive to them. If however no increase of cultivation took place, no further demands were made upon the amildars. In case of complaints from ryots that the amildars were guilty of extortion, due enquiry was made and if the charge was proved, the excess amount was returned.

The Sharat system was on account of the depression that prevailed considered advantageous, because it was thought that the contractors undertaking to give an increased revenue would collect the customary revenue where the ryots had been giving less and would encourage and increase the Warum cultivation. Babu Rao is credited with having encouraged the Sharat system and was largely supported, it is said, in this respect by Venkatasubbiah, Anoo Rama Rao and Gangadhara Rao.

## CHAPTER LVI.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.

#### **Abuse of the Sharat System—Visit of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras.**

The Sharat system as described in the previous chapter did not fulfil all the expectations formed of it by either introducing stability into the annual revenue or by helping towards its increase. The uncertainty of the seasons continued even after the drought of 1816-17 and culminated in a famine of some intensity in the year 1823-24. Besides this uncertainty of the seasons, there began to prevail for the first time in the country after the return of the Mysore troops from Hindusthan the epidemic now known as cholera which caused great havoc among the population of the country, greatly to the prejudice also of all agricultural operations. The Sharat system, however, in the early years proved itself advantageous to the Government in controlling the fluctuations of revenue. But later, heavy arrears began to accumulate and the system virtually transformed itself into an auction of land revenue to the highest bidder for one or two years at a time. This system also enabled the Moosahibs or advisers of the Maharaja to introduce their own relatives and friends into the service of Government more largely. In August 1822 Cole wrote to the Madras Government that the influence of Motikhane Narasinga Rao under the Sharat system had become immense and that his wealth had enabled him to buy off all complaints both against him as well as the amildars who were his proteges. He had seven brothers in service and he himself was in secret charge of ten taluks. Veene Venkatasubbiah's relations became amildars of seven taluks in the Nagar Division. Survotham Rao who was Foudjar of Nagar from 1816-26 employed many of his own relations in the Government service of that division during the long period of more than ten years he held office as Foudjar.

An amildar, especially a Sharat amildar, when he proceeded to his taluk narrowly examined the accounts of the past years and included in his account all sums which he ascertained to have been

fraudulently obtained by his predecessors. In cases where his predecessor had been guilty of large malpractices, the Sharat amildar was considerably benefited by the amount of recoveries being carried to his own credit. But where such sources failed, the new amildar was forced to have recourse to fresh arbitrary assessments, to over-rating of the actual produce from the lands and to raising the selling price of the Government share of the grain and forcing the patels and merchants to accept the land and grain at his own valuation or estimate. The consequence was that not only were the ryots reduced in circumstances but the revenue became embarrassed by large balances remaining uncollected and many of the patels and merchants were also ruined. Though the Sharat amildars were required to give a bond not to harass the ryots, yet after they took charge of their taluks they conveniently forgot their obligations and freely resorted to various devices to collect extra revenue.

On a Sharat amildar assuming charge of his taluk he generally distributed among the different villages the increased amount he had undertaken to pay. One or more villages were rented to contractors who in their turn often sublet them to the patels or others. The Moolchali or agreement given by the contractor included Suvarnadayam or cash collections such as rent on the Kandayam lands and taxes on houses as also the value of Batayi or shares of grain, but Bajebab or miscellaneous revenue was not included in them. The Shekdar furnished to the Amildar from time to time a memorandum showing the individuals from whom rents had been collected and those from whom they were still due. If at the end of the year there was any balance, the patel was held responsible for the collection.

Ordinarily the amildars collected the revenue by detaining or putting an embargo on crops and in cases where there was no crop the defaulter was put under arrest as was common in those days. Sometimes heavy stones were placed on the heads of the defaulters and they were forced to stand in the sun with these weights and it was also not unusual to inflict corporal punishments with a cane or a whip. The properties of defaulters were also sold and where still

a balance was left, it was remitted only after some years. Where the defaulters were present, their wives and children were not interfered with. But if they had concealed themselves, payment was demanded from their family and the members were kept in confinement for four days and if it was found that they were without any means, they were then set free.

Cole almost from the beginning of the Maharaja's direct rule addressed to the Madras Government alarming reports regarding the financial condition of the country. But when explanations were offered by the Maharaja's Government, the Madras Government in May 1815 expressed complete satisfaction. The Resident, however, depending on private information continued to repeat his accusations and in October 1822 in a private letter to the Governor of Madras he informed him that the public servants and troops were in arrears and in the preceding month there was even trouble about the payment of the instalment of the subsidy. Again in July and August 1825 Cole in his letters to the Madras Government urged that the right of interference in the management of the Raja's affairs might be exercised as the only means of correcting the abuses which he supposed to exist.

Sir Thomas Munro who was Governor of Madras at this time deemed it advisable to personally verify the accusations contained in the letters of Cole and he accordingly reached Mysore on the 16th September 1825. The two succeeding days were occupied in visits of ceremony. On the 19th a business interview took place between the Governor and the Maharaja at which Cole also was present. As Sir Thomas Munro himself expressed, the business with the Raja was to draw His Highness' attention seriously to the terms of the treaty and to point out to him in a friendly but firm way the consequences which would certainly result from a failure in their observance. An examination of the finances the instability of which had so much alarmed the Resident revealed that the annual revenue till then from the beginning of the Raja's assumption of power was on an average 26 lakhs of canteroi pagodas and the expenditure about 27 lakhs. During this period the Mysore Government had also incurred extra military charges due to their

co-operation with the British Government according to the terms of the Subsidiary Treaty and had passed through periods of severe depression. It did not therefore appear strange to Munro that under the circumstances the surplus left by Purnaiya of a little over 7 lakhs of canteroi pagodas was exhausted. It was found at the same interview that with a few improvements an annual revenue of 29 lakhs of pagodas could be raised and the disbursements as revised could be reduced to a little over 24 lakhs of pagodas, leaving a surplus of about 5 lakhs which was regarded as not extravagant.

Sir Thomas Munro now suspected that the difference of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of pagodas per annum between the receipts and the expenditure in Purnaiya's time was not sufficient to account for the huge sum of 70 lakhs of pagodas or 2 crores and 10 lakhs of rupees believed to have accumulated in the treasury when Purnaiya resigned his office. In a memorandum prepared after an examination of the accounts by the arbitrators at the time the Raja assumed power in 1810 and signed by Cole himself, it was clearly entered that the total amount due from Purnaiya from the year Sidharti 1799 to the year Promoduta 1810 was 14,15,729 canteroi pagodas of which 6,31,979 canteroi pagodas were remitted by His Highness in favour of Purnaiya and that the latter had paid in cash 7,83,749 canteroi pagodas. To a pertinent question put by Sir Thomas Munro whether the sum of 70 lakhs of canteroi pagodas was separate from this account, Cole could only answer that he had seen this amount mentioned in a paper in the hand-writing of Anantaramappa, one of the sons of Purnaiya. Sir Thomas Munro showed no further keenness to assure himself of the real existence of this large amount and he left the matter there.

It may here be noted, though it is somewhat of a digression, that Sir Thomas Munro had in June 1799 expressed his opposition to Mornington's proposal to re-create the State of Mysore and to place on it the descendant of the old Hindu royal family. Sir Thomas was in favour of equal division of the Mysore territories between the British and the Nizam but he had been overruled at the time. "I doubt much," he had said, "if we should, after all,

gain greater political advantages by establishing a Raja than would result from a fair division of the country with the Nizam. By a division the share that falls to us would come immediately under our own management. We should ascertain its resources, we should know what we had to trust to and we should be able to call them forth whenever any emergency required it..... By establishing a Raja and keeping Seringapatam in our own hands and a strong detachment in Mysore subsidised by him, we apparently get rid of some present expenses. But by leaving the administration to him we remain in ignorance of the state of this country and at some future period when it might be necessary to move our troops in this quarter to meet an enemy, we might find it impracticable from his not being able to furnish the requisite supplies. It is true that we should in some measure have the remedy in our own hands by our always being able to resume the country. But why embarrass ourselves with a complicated scheme of government that may eventually force us to take such a step."

Sir Thomas Munro, however, with that large-heartedness which was characteristic of him and for which his name is even now remembered by the people of Southern India, nobly discarded the opportunity of undoing Mornington's settlement of 1799 and impressed with perfect candour and impartiality of judgment upon the Raja that the treaty imposed certain duties on both the Governments—on the British, to maintain the treaty unimpaired, to defend Mysore and to assist the Raja with advice when it appeared to be necessary either for promoting the welfare of his country or for protecting the people from oppression; on the Raja, to improve his country, to pay his subsidy regularly, and to keep his troops and other establishments efficient by not suffering them to fall into arrears of pay. Munro also impressed that it was the desire of the British Government to avoid interference as much as possible in the internal affairs of Mysore. If however the revenue declined, if the disbursements exceeded the receipts, if the troops from not being paid were discontented, there was danger to the treaty because His Highness in such circumstances would not be able to fulfil his obligations and the Company's Government must for their own security give effect to the fourth article of the treaty. Munro

also pointed out that the best way for His Highness to prevent such an occurrence was to cause annual statements of receipts and expenditure to be furnished regularly to the Madras Government through the Resident. The Maharaja accepted the observations of Sir Thomas Munro as tending to the convenience of both the Governments. Munro also found that no accounts had been called for by the Madras Government after the Maharaja came to power and that the British Resident had sought information regarding the state of the country through various channels which had frequently excited unnecessary suspicion.

In the end, beyond addressing a letter to the Maharaja on the lines mentioned, no material action was deemed necessary by the Madras Government. As long Sir Thomas Munro continued in office, the Raja was able to introduce various improvements and matters progressed smoothly. Munro died of cholera at Gutti in 1827 and Cole between whom and the Maharaja there was much personal friendship had left for England shortly after Munro's visit to Mysore and had finally retired.



## CHAPTER LVII.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.

#### **The outbreak of insurrection and its contributory causes.**

The agrarian discontent due to the abuse of the Sharat system first showed itself in the Nagar Division. There were a number of contributory causes also which gave an impetus to the rising in this part of the country. Through Bakshi Rama Rao's influence both when he was Foujdar of Nagar as well as after he became attached to the court of Krishnaraja Wodeyar in various capacities all the important situations in the Foujdari had come to be occupied, as we have seen, by his relations belonging both to his own family as well as the Annigere and Hanagal families and a family party was thus formed with powerful interests of their own and this party continued to maintain its position till the beginning of the insurrection in 1830. Many of the members of this party were, it was believed, given to commit embezzlements and frauds of various kinds and were also suspected of being in league with gangs of robbers who had sought asylum in the jungles in that part of the country. In the village of Chetnahalli in the Honnali taluk some families of Thugs or Phasegars as they were locally called had settled for several years and about the year 1820 a great number more came from the southern Mahratta country and joined their comrades at the same village and settled also in the neighbourhood. Another still more numerous gang from North Arcot and the neighbourhood of Bangalore settled at Luckwalli situated at some distance from Tarikere. Among these people were found some of the most notorious robbers who were suspected of receiving encouragement from the members of the above powerful family. As an instance it may be stated that in January 1827 a rich merchant's house in the town of Yedehalli (now called Narasimharajapur) was broken into, several persons were killed, and property was carried off to the amount of about three lakhs and a half of rupees and at the time the belief prevailed throughout the country that the gang of robbers employed on this occasion was directed by Annigere Venkata Rao, Amildar of Chennagiri, supported by his

relative Hanagal Krishna Rao, then Foudjar of Nagar. This belief among the people as well as the frequent gang robberies that occurred in various parts of the country accelerated the occurrence of the agrarian revolt on a wider scale than it would have been otherwise possible.

In 1825 Survotham Rao a relation of Rama Rao who was Foudjar of Nagar at the time was removed from his office and the place was given first to Venkataraj Urs and then to his brother Thimmapparaj Urs who between them occupied the place for about 13 months and then retired on account of ill-health. It was now considered expedient to appoint Hanagal Krishna Rao, Bakshi Rama Rao's nephew, as Foudjar and the Bakshi himself was at the same time deputed to the Nagar Division to make inquiries into and settle the outstanding balances of revenue which had accumulated to upwards of thirteen lakhs of rupees. The Bakshi after enquiry made large remissions amounting nearly to Rs. 7½ lakhs and also prepared a list of the balances to be recovered and gave it to his nephew for action. Krishna Rao however showed no activity in the collection of the recoverable dues and in December 1828 he was replaced by Veeraraj Urs.

Veeraraj Urs after he took charge of the Nagar Foudjari began to question some of the remissions granted by Rama Rao which alarmed the ryots and also to enquire closely into several of the balances outstanding against the amildars appointed during the time of Survotham Rao causing dissatisfaction among them. There was now a combination of the relations of both Survotham Rao and Rama Rao and they created various obstacles in the way of Veeraraj Urs recovering any portion of the balances. At the same time Veeraraj Urs became odious to the ryots as under his orders many of them were forced to take up waste lands for cultivation though not possessed of adequate means to do so.

At about this time when much discontent prevailed in the Nagar Division, there appeared two leaders who for their own purposes not only stimulated the discontent but also incited others to join the seditious movement. The first was one Hygamalla

a cultivator by occupation and who calling himself Budi Basappa advanced a claim to the Gadi of Nagar as being the adopted son of the last Raja of Nagar. In reality, however, he was an imposter and was a native of the village of Cheenikatte near Honnali where his mother and elder brother lived.

From his early boyhood Hygamalla had led a wandering life and had found agreeable comrades among the Thugs who lived in the neighbourhood of his native village. Before he was twenty years old, he had been convicted of robbery and had served a term of imprisonment for two years in South Canara. After his release, he applied for a passport to go to his native village and was supplied with one bearing the seal of the Zilla court in which he was described by the designation he had given himself as "Budi Basappa, Nagar Khavind." On the death of the last Raja of Nagar, a Jangam by name Vasanthiah who was the friend and spiritual guide of that Raja had removed himself to a village in the Kumsi taluk with the seal-ring of the Raja in his possession. Hygamalla after his release engaged himself as a servant of this Jangam and continued in his employ till his master died some years later, when he appropriated to himself all his master's property including the seal-ring. He now began to wander about the country exhibiting the passport as a sannad given by the Company's Government recognising his claim to the Gadi of Nagar and successfully practising on the ignorance and credulity of the people around him collected a following among the restless characters in the Nagar Division as well as in the neighbouring British districts. It also happened at this time that Lakshman Rao brother-in-law of Bakshi Rama Rao who was Amildar of Anawutty began to give open support to this pretender with the object of replacing Veeraraj Urs by a more acceptable person in the Foudjari.

In April 1830 in his capacity as Amildar, Lakshman Rao issued an order to the patel of Arehalli village in these words:— "Whereas Srimanth Nagar Khavind, the wealthy or prosperous Raja of Nagar is about to celebrate his marriage in your village, you will supply him with every requisite furnishing him with the

usual articles free of payment. You will personally attend him and see the ceremony duly performed." Subsequently in April 1830 a mock-political ceremony also took place at which a number of village headmen and Government officials were present, when this pretender was installed as the Raja of Nagar. The next move of Hygamalla was to send secret emissaries to various people in the country inviting them to support his cause and promising them the full remission of all the balances and a reduction of the Government demand on their lands to only one rupee for each pagoda they then paid if they espoused his cause and assisted him to regain what he claimed as his hereditary kingdom.

The second person who gave support to the discontent of the ryots was Rangappa Naik, head of the Tarikere palegar's family. It was usual at that time to require all the displaced palegars or their descendants to reside at the capital of the State. Accordingly this Rangappa Naik lived at Mysore. Becoming aware of the discontent in the Nagar Division, he obtaining permission on the pretext of a marriage at Tarikere left Mysore, at the same time informing the British Resident that he had been obliged to leave Mysore on account of harassment from his creditors and that he was willing to reside at any other place. On reaching Tarikere he falsely informed the people of the villages that the Maharaja of Mysore with the assent of the Company had given back his ancestral territory to him for the purpose of establishing order and tranquillity and that if they assisted him in that task he would remit a part of the taxes, but that if they refused him aid he would plunder their houses and punish them in other ways and that they had no reason to be apprehensive of any ulterior danger to themselves as he had also the Company's authority to act as he did. Many of the patels and ryots joined him from fear, while others including a large number recruited in the British districts joined him with the prospect of enriching themselves by plunder.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

**Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.**

### **Outbreak of insurrection in parts of Nagar, Chitaldrug and Bangalore Foudaries.**

In the month of August 1830 one Manappa who was an adherent of the Nagar Pretender encamped in the village of Hosa Sante in the Anantapur taluk with a body of 200 men and his presence gave encouragement to overt acts of disobedience on the part of the discontented ryots living in the surrounding taluks. On the 23rd August 1830 an inflammatory appeal signed by a great number of persons belonging to Nagar was addressed to the ryots of the other parts of the State calling upon them to join in a general revolt against the Government officers. In this appeal occurred the following sentences :—“ You must positively come to us at the rate of one man per house..... If you do not come, the Nad people will go to your taluks and you will be obliged to defray the expenses which may be incurred by them and to feed their retainues..... Taking this into consideration, set out taking with you the Shanbagues, the Jamindars and the other inhabitants with due respect without leaving them behind. You must also bring amildars, killedars, sheristadars with as much disrespect as respect is shown to the former class of people. These officials should be kept in custody and made to walk. No money should be allowed to be collected, no exportation and importation of goods should be allowed. No market or fair-day should be allowed to continue.” This appeal was circulated in the Nagar, Chitaldrug and Bangalore Foudaries and it created considerable restlessness among the ryots.

As a result of the incitement which emanated from the palegars and the appeal to caste superstitions by the Nagar ryots by threats of calling down curses of heaven on the members of the caste by the throwing into their houses of bones, horns and margosa leaves, combined with the approach of the season for the collection of Government dues, a number of disturbances in several parts of the State broke out. The ryots of Chennagiri were the first to manifest

disobedience being incited by one Gopala Rao a member of the Annigere family. In the month of September 1830 on a demand being made in the village of Basavanahalli in the Chennagiri taluk for the annual land assessment, the ryots insolently inquired for whose benefit the assessments were to be paid whether for the benefit of the Raja of Mysore or of the Nagar Raja. The ryots shut the outer gate of the village against the amildar who was thereupon compelled to break them open to effect an entry. A few of the ryots were then arrested, when a hostile mob assembled and the amildar taking the prisoners with him escaped to Chennagiri and shut himself up in the fort. The mob then marched to Chennagiri and some among them scaling the fort walls by means of ladders set free their comrades who had been confined there. The amildar however managed to send intelligence of what had taken place to the Foudjar at Shimoga and when a body of cavalry arrived from there, the mob dispersed.

Veeraraj Urs had entrusted the two taluks of Shimoga and Holehonnur to an amildar of his own nomination, one Katte Thimmiah by name. This amildar found himself unable to make much headway with the collection of the old arrears, whereupon a supernumerary official named Nagappa was sent ostensibly to assist him but practically with independent powers. Thereupon many of the patels and ryots left in a body and temporarily settled themselves at a place called Batterhalli in the Bellary district. Various attempts made by the Government officials to bring back the ryots having failed, the wives and other relatives of the several of the absentees were seized and detained in custody. On this high-handed procedure of these two officials becoming known, several of the ryots of Honnali, Chennagiri, Basavapatna, Oodagani, Shikarpur and Kumsi also joined their brethren at Batterhalli and from there they sent up a petition to the Maharaja saying that they were much harassed by the Foudjar and would not return till they got redress from His Highness. Ranga Rao who was a son-in-law of Survotham Rao was amildar of the taluk of Honnali and it was believed at the time, rightly as it appeared later, that he had secretly instigated the ryots to take up a hostile attitude as he feared that his misdeeds as well as of the other

relatives of Survotham Rao would become revealed if Veeraraj Urs was allowed to have his own course and continued to remain in the Nagar Foudari. On the petitions of the ryots who had congregated at Batterhalli reaching His Highness at Mysore, Bakshi Annaji Rao of the cavalry force and a Kothal Mutsaddi (a supernumerary official) by name Anche Ramaiya were deputed to Shimoga to assist Veeraraj Urs to restore order in that division.

The ryots who had gathered at Batterhalli on being approached wanted a proper investigation to be made, so that all unauthorised contributions levied in the past might be refunded to them and that they might be released from the obligations imposed upon them for the cultivation of waste lands as well as from unpaid labour. Ranga Rao who was one of the party of three deputed to establish goodwill among the malcontents was at heart opposed to all conciliation and the party contented themselves by advising the ryots to approach Veeraraj Urs and Annaji Rao who had arrived at Honnali. On letters of cowl or conciliation being sent, a large majority of those who had joined the exodus proceeded to Honnali and there having received promises of redress returned to their villages. In October 1830 Veeraraj Urs was recalled to Mysore and his place was again given to Hanagal Krishna Rao who had held it two years before.

In the Chitaldrug Foudari where Seshagiri Rao brother of Mothikhane Narasinga Rao was Foudar the ryots of Holalkere were the first to show signs of unrest, this taluk being adjacent to that of Chennagiri. Seshagiri Rao with the intention of pacifying the ryots proceeded to a place called Chitterhalli where news reached him that some of the ryots of the Chitaldrug taluk had assembled at the village of Mavinhalli and were creating disturbances. The following day this body of ryots numbering between 600 and 700 proceeded to Chitterhalli and warned the bazaar people not to sell any provisions either to the Foudar or to his party. Four or five days after, several of the Holalkere ryots numbering more than 500 arrived at Chitterhalli, where they were welcomed by those of Chitaldrug. The Foudar was forced to walk

to a place called Guntanoor where also there was a large collection of ryots and here various other indignities were heaped upon him.

At Doddaballapur in the Bangalore Foudari there were also some disturbances, though none of the people of the taluk participated in them. The amildar of the taluk one Venkatakrishniah had before he went to Doddaballapur been amildar of Maddagiri and had left the place without making proper adjustments of the money he had collected from the people of that taluk. These people now came to Doddaballapur and raised a tumult there. Venkatakrishniah having heard that the mob was preparing to seize him, stealthily escaped to Bangalore.

At Krishnarajakatte and Arakalgud in the Mysore Foudari there were also various acts of high-handedness on the part of the ryots and a large number of officials were subjected to various tortures such as holding lighted torches to their faces, twisting the fleshy part of their thighs with pincers, placing them together in a line with their arms pinioned, putting small stones in their ears and compressing them, seizing them by their ears and lifting them up. The ryots here however were soon conciliated and they departed to their homes after paying a fine called 'Donne Kanike' (literally cudgel offering) in expiation of their violent conduct.

On news of the rebellion in Nagar and Chitaldrug Foudaries reaching the people of Budihal in the Bangalore Foudari, they began to obstruct the passing of 'Irsal' or remittances of Government treasure to Mysore. The Foudar Thimmapparaj Urs on being apprised of these obstructions proceeded to a place called Huliari and summoned several of the ryots for a conference. None of them cared to respond to his call but they gathered to the number of six or seven thousand at some distance from his camp armed with sticks, slings, swords, spears and muskets and plundered the houses in the neighbourhood. About ten of them proceeded to the place where the Foudar was encamped and applied for an interview. But the Foudar sent word to them to say that they should represent their grievances in writing. Dissatisfied with the Foudar's conduct towards them they began

to blow their horns, beat their drums and thereby to create a great uproar. A large crowd of people thereupon arrived and surrounded the Foujdar's tent. The Foujdar had only eighty sowars and eighty Kandachar peons with him. These sowars on seeing the crowd advancing drew their swords, whereupon the crowd stood still and sent a communication to the Foujdar that if two persons who had been kept in confinement for having incited the people of the villages to join the cootum were released, they would disperse. The prisoners were then made over to their charge. The next day however a fresh demand was made for the surrender of the amildar and the sheristadars who then voluntarily went over to the crowd to obviate excesses being committed and the town being plundered.

The Foujdar not only sent reports of these excesses to the Maharaja at Mysore but also referred in his reports to the general attitude of the inhabitants in the neighbouring taluks of Kandikere, Chiknaikanahalli, Hagalvadi, Honnavalli and Budihal where he said that bodies of people blowing horns and beating drums were moving from village to village inciting the residents to join them, or in the alternative, threatening them with curses of bones and horns and that attempts at conciliation had met with failure. These reports were sent to Casamaijor and at his advice Dewan Venkataraj Urs was deputed to bring about a pacification. Venkataraj Urs accordingly proceeded to Chiknaikanahalli on the borders of the Budihal taluk but found his efforts unavailing in establishing tranquillity and reported to the Maharaja that His Highness' presence alone could establish peace.

## CHAPTER LIX.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.

#### Visit of the Maharaja to Chennarayapatna and other places.

On the advice of Casamaijor, Krishnaraja Wodeyar agreed that it was expedient that he should make a personal tour which alone was considered would tend to the effective subsidence of the rebellion. Accordingly His Highness set out from Mysore on the 14th December 1830 for Chennarayapatna and reached on that day the first stage Darsguppe. Casamaijor preceded His Highness by a day with Chowdiah. His Highness was accompanied by Rama Rao Bakshi of the Sowar Cutcherry, Bakshi Putta Basappaji Urs of the Sandal Cutcherry, Bakshi Dasappaji Urs of the Shagird Pesha, Babu Rao, Bakshi Bhima Rao, Annappa of the Sowar Cutcherry with 1000 Sowars and 200 of the body-guard and Mamoo Meyah, Bakshi of the Barr Cutcherry, with three battalions of infantry. The total strength of the Mysore army at this time was 4000 horse and two regiments of Barr sepoys. The discipline of these troops however was not of a high order. On the occasion of Sir Thomas Munro's visit to Mysore in 1825 when he was saluted by a body of Silledar horse, Munro finding that the word of command was given in English by a native officer who was imparting instruction to them in drill similar to that given to the Company's troops had discouraged the introduction of such drill without the previous sanction of the Madras Government and had expressed the opinion that the old Indian method of discipline was enough for the Mysore troops. Besides, these troops were ill-armed. In a Biradari or body of twelve men, half were furnished with pistols, the other half with spears and muskets and all with swords. The Raja at this time is stated to have urged upon Casamaijor the advantage of employing the subsidiary force of the Company to aid him in this difficulty. But the latter was averse to the proposal believing that the Raja should depend upon his own resources and in this view the Madras Government also concurred. As was usual at the time with the Indian princes, the Maharaja

took with him cloths, gold bracelets, necklaces and various other articles to distribute as presents among the people.

At Darsguppe a large body of ryots waited upon the Maharaja at a durbar held the next day. They represented that the renters of betel-leaf and tobacco greatly annoyed them by searching their women and children when they went to the bazaar for the purpose of selling bratties or cowdung cakes and prayed that these duties might be remitted or added to the land-rent. In Purnaiya's time the Government share of the produce had been converted into cash rent at the rate of eleven fanams per candy and in some cases money rents had also been fixed on lands. The ryots now represented that as the selling rates of grain had declined there might be a reversion to the old system of payment as they had been involved in much loss. His Highness on hearing all the representations promised to allow an abatement in the duties paid but saw no reason to reduce the land-rent. On the 16th December the camp moved to Attiguppe (now Krishnarajpet). On the 17th the amildar and sheristadar of Bookankere being found guilty of embezzlement and oppression as complained by the ryots were severely punished and a new amildar was nominated. The Raja arrived at Chennarayapatna on the 18th December and found the Resident with Chowdiah already there.

The next day Casamaijor paid His Highness a visit. On his way to His Highness' tent he saw the ryots of Kickery standing in large numbers on a rising ground armed with swords, sticks and slings and also furnished with horns and drums and advised the Raja to direct the removal of the instruments which the assembled people had in their possession. Basappaji Urs carried out the instructions given to him and also brought ten people to the presence of His Highness. Among this number was one Kusappa who had formerly been a Government official but had now placed himself as a leader of the insurgents and this individual was ordered to be detained in custody. The amildar of Kickery was on enquiry found guilty of oppression and the seals of his office were accordingly taken away from him. The ryots were assured that a new amildar would enquire into all their grievances. Some of the

principal ryots were then given a repast of milk and rice in a tent and others were supplied with split pulse and jaggery with flattened rice and curds.

The next day all the ryots came in a body to obtain leave from His Highness to depart to their homes and were served with *pansupari* and were about to leave, when Venkataraj Urs arrived from Budihal. On meeting His Highness, Venkataraj Urs mentioned to him that the ryots of Budihal, Chiknaikanahalli and other places would not come to terms, that they were guilty of gross misbehaviour and that therefore no consideration should be shown to any of the malcontents. Thereupon His Highness observed that the Dewan's advice amounted to the inauguration of a new policy and that it was desirable to take the opinion of the Resident on the matter. Subsequently Venkataraj Urs returned with Chowdiah after visiting the Resident and a private consultation was then held at which Veene Venkatasubbiah, Dasappaji, Anoo Rama Rao and Tosheekhane Nanjappa were present. After about two hours, the Raja returned to the public durbar tent and sending for Bakshi Rama Rao who was a man of long experience and was acquainted with the working of the past administrations sought his advice on the message brought by Venkataraj Urs and Chowdiah from the Resident. Venkataraj Urs said that it was the Resident's opinion that without some drastic measures such as hanging, whipping, fining and confinement the insurrection might spread even to the Company's territories and that it was therefore necessary to act decisively. Chowdiah added that the Resident had said to him that the Raja was a tender-hearted man but that the necessities of the moment demanded severe action and that His Highness might entrust the whole affair to the Dewan. Rama Rao in reply expressed that he agreed with the Resident and that if permanent peace was to be established, his suggestion should be adopted. Thereupon the Raja gave orders to Venkataraj Urs, Vyas Rao, Mallaraj Urs and Seebiah to institute an enquiry into the affairs of the ryots. On the 20th December Casamaijor informed the Maharaja in writing that if a large number of persons were employed in making the enquiry each person would be talking at pleasure and the enquiry would be prolonged and that it was

desirable that His Highness should order that the Dewan and his Mutsaddies should alone conduct the enquiry and suggested also that the Dewan might wait on the Resident in the evenings and report to him all directions given by His Highness in furtherance of the enquiry. The Resident also visited the Raja and confirmed what Chowdiah had told His Highness. On the same day a durbar was held in the evening, when Chowdiah and Belvadi Subba Rao came to the durbar together with a list of persons to be executed and delivered the same to His Highness. The Raja then handed over the list to the Dewan to act according to the Resident's wishes. At this juncture Motikhane Narasinga Rao prostrating himself before His Highness urged that as the ryots were the children of the Sircar it was cruel to execute any of them and that punishments might be limited to whipping, confinement or fine. Thereupon Chowdiah is stated to have got up in anger and to have enjoined silence on the part of Narasinga Rao.

On the following day a tom-tom was sent round to proclaim that two men were to be hanged at Chennarayapatna and two at Kickery and these executions were accordingly carried out on the same day. It had been settled likewise that two persons were to be hanged at Hole-Narsipur. But one of them was reprieved at the instance of the Resident and the other was hanged. In all eight or nine persons were hanged at different places as a warning to the inhabitants against joining the cootum or seditious gathering.

On the 26th December the Raja left Chennarayapatna and made a halt at Nuggehalli. The Resident also accompanied him. At this place the amildar against whom many complaints were made was dismissed. The next stage was Mallaghatta in the Turuvekere taluk and the other stages were Sampige, Kadaba, Gubbi, Tumkur and Hebbur. In all these places the ryots were conciliated and the usual formality of distributing *pansupari* was observed. At Kadaba the amildar who was found guilty of persecuting the ryots was whipped and deprived of his office. From Hebbur the Resident proceeded to Madras and Venkataraaj

Urs towards Nagar and Chitaldrug for settling the disturbances there. The royal camp moved from Hebbur to Yedeyoor and from there to Nagamangala. Mysore was reached on the 10th January 1831.



## CHAPTER LX.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.

#### Insurrection in Nagar.

We may now turn our attention once more to Nagar. By the time Hanagal Krishna Rao reached Shimoga to take the place of Veeraraj Urs, large bodies of patels and ryots had proceeded to Rani Bannur in the Dharwar district and taken up their residence there. Anche Ramaiya who had been sent by Veeraraj Urs to conciliate them returned with a number of them and halted at Doddakallu in the Honnali taluk near Nyamti. In the meantime, according to the directions of Foudjar Krishna Rao, the Killedar of Honnali had stopped a number of the discontented ryots who were proceeding to the Dharwar district and these also joined the party at Doddakallu.

Krishna Rao now arrived at Holehonnur from Shimoga on his way to Honnali and on this news reaching Doddakallu a body of the malcontents about 2000 in number marched to Holehonnur with the object of preventing him from proceeding further. The Foudjar's attempts at conciliation proved of no avail and the insurgents insisted that all communications should be made through the main body at Doddakallu. They explained that they had arrived there with the object of obtaining the surrender of the amildar of Chennagiri who, they said, had harassed them considerably and who was then in the fort of Holehonnur. The Foudjar now moved out of the fort with a body of troops and an attack was made on the insurgents, with the result that 300 of them were wounded, the rest fleeing to Doddakallu. Krishna Rao next proceeded to Nyamti from Holehonnur with Regimentdar Srinivasa Rao and the body of troops under his command. The Tarikere palegar at this time was observed passing over the bund of a neighbouring tank seated on a white horse with an umbrella held over him. The Foudjar ordered his arrest. But Ranga Rao the amildar of Honnali who was secretly in league with the insurgents procrastinated and allowed time to the palegar to join the crowd collected at Doddakallu,

At this time news reached the Foudar that the ryots of Oodagani had laid violent hands on the amildar and plundered the public treasury and thereupon Krishna Rao immediately started to proceed to that place with a regiment of cavalry. On his way while halting at Honnali, information reached him that the ryots had collected near a hill at some distance and that they intended to slay him. Regimentdar Srinivasa Rao was sent to the place with a small body of cavalry who attacked them and returned with about 40 prisoners. On being questioned as to their conduct, these prisoners explained that they had joined the cootum or rising considering it a caste matter, as they had been threatened with horns, bones and margosa leaves being placed at their doors. The Foudar as a punishment ordered one of the ryots to be hanged and after a slight mutilation of the others, all were released. The Foudar then moved towards Kumsi which had fallen into the hands of the Tarikere palegar. On news of the punishments inflicted reaching Doddakallu, all the persons assembled there moved off to Rani Bannur where the Nagar Pretender had taken up his residence.

In the meanwhile, information having reached His Highness while at Chennarayapatna of the rapid spread of the rebellion in Kumsi, Anantapur and other parts, Annappa who was an officer of great courage and ability was deputed from Chennarayapatna to quell the disturbances. This officer left Chennarayapatna with two risalas of cavalry but had to wait at Kadur for some days till two battalions of infantry with which he wished to be reinforced joined him with a gun. From Kadur Annappa marched to Tarikere and on the way there were a number of skirmishes between his troops and the Tarikere palegar's men. On reaching Tarikere, Annappa received intimation from Krishna Rao to join him and he accordingly did so at Haranhalli. From there proceeding to Kumsi having obtained possession of it, Annappa took Anantapur also having expelled the palegar's garrisons from both these places. At this time Krishna Rao was recalled to Mysore and Annappa was directed to perform the duties of the Foudar also.

Venkataraj Urs who, as we have seen, separated himself from the Raja at Hebbur to proceed to the Nagar Division arrived at Tarikere and after some days possessed himself of a fortified hill known as Kaldoorg, which together with a similar hill known as Kamandoorg, had fallen into the hands of the palegar. While at Kaldoorg, Venkataraj Urs finding that he required more reinforcements to capture the fort of Kamandoorg sent a requisition to Annappa at Anantapur for a battalion of infantry with some guns. Annappa's expostulation that compliance with the requisition would weaken his position proved of no avail. In the meanwhile, it had become clear to Casamaijor that the employment of the subsidiary troops was a necessity as had been pointed out previously by the Maharaja. Indeed, while at Madras in the early part of January 1831 Casamaijor had explained to the Governor that as there was simultaneous disturbance in the British district of Canara, the occasion had almost arisen for using the subsidiary force to suppress the rebellion. But the Governor had overruled him. Casamaijor now became fully alive to the seriousness of the situation in the Nagar country and deputed with the Raja's concurrence Captain Rochfort the officer commanding the Residency escort to Tarikere to help the Dewan in his operations against Kamandoorg. Casamaijor also at this time became aware that an invitation had been sent by the two palegars to Soonda and Company's territories adjoining the Nagar Division for the enlistment of more bodies of armed men and that the proclamations of the palegars inciting the inhabitants of Nagar to rebellion under hopes of obtaining free grants of lands on reduced assessments had also not been without effect. In these circumstances, Lt.-Col. Wolfe commanding the 24th regiment at Harihar was now desired to move upon Kamandoorg, so that a decided demonstration might be made that the Company would support the legitimate authority of the Mysore ruler.

Rochfort reached Kaldoorg on the 26th February 1831 and the same evening the Mysore troops moved off and reached Kamandoorg on the 28th. The palegar not having surrendered the fort though formally called on to do so, an attack was made and the fort fell into the hands of the Mysore troops led by Rochfort on the

3rd March. The palegar Rangappa Naik escaped, but 50 of his followers were killed while throwing themselves to the ground from the ramparts of the fort. On the advice of the Resident the palegar was not pursued and Venkataraj Urs and Rochfort with some of the Mysore troops now proceeded to Shimoga in consequence of information having been received of the intentions of the insurgents to take possession of that place.

While at Shimoga, Venkataraj Urs and Rochfort received orders from Mysore directing them to proceed to Honnali. After Hanagal Krishna Rao's recall, Manappa the Nagar palegar's agent arrived at Honnali with a body of men numbering about 1200 from the Ceded Districts and took possession of the place with the connivance of Ranga Rao. Hence had arisen the necessity of sending fresh troops to Honnali for its recapture. On reaching Honnali Rochfort found that the palegar's men after taking possession of the town had quarrelled about the booty and separated themselves into two parties, one party occupying the fort and the other the temple of Halladamma situated at a short distance. A strong force of the Silledar horse under Regimentadar Chander Rao Ranore was picketed round the fort to prevent those in the fort from escaping, while Rochfort proceeded to the Halladamma temple. This officer rode with 200 Silledar horse, formed them into a line and waved a white handkerchief to show that he was prepared to consider any proposals of surrender. The men in the temple however were under a strong impression that the Company's Government would not help the Maharaja and regarding Rochfort as only a fair-coloured Indian in the uniform of a British military officer began to fire at him. The temple was thereupon attacked by Rochfort and was wrested from the rebels on the 12th March 1831 with 40 killed and 100 wounded on their side, the total number of the wounded and the killed on the side of Mysore being 40. About 200 rebels were taken prisoners including the wounded. At Honnali notwithstanding all the precautions taken by Chander Rao to prevent the men in the fort from escaping, large bodies of them through the machinations of Ranga Rao who though superseded by an other amildar had still remained in the fort jumped into

the river Thungabhadra and escaped, Ranga Rao himself following these men under the pretence of compulsion from them.

Now turning to Anantapur. Venkataraj Urs having withdrawn a number of men for service in Tarikere, the palegar's men were quick enough to perceive the weakness of Annappa confined as he was to the limits of the fort and began to harass him on all sides. There were daily engagements from the 11th January to the 20th February 1831 with losses on both sides. The supplies of the Mysore troops in the fort began to fail as the rebels had blocked up all the roads. Tappals were obstructed and supplies of grain and money were cut off. Being thus reduced to great straits, Annappa addressed the troops saying,—‘Rather than perish by starvation or by falling into the hands of rebels, let us fight and die like soldiers.’ The troops left the fort on the 21st February 1831 and had a running fight till they reached Shikarpur. The palegar had collected in the vicinity of Shikarpur between 4000 and 5000 horsemen from the Dharwar country supplied with guns and ammunition. An action was fought by the Mysore troops with a body of these men with some success. But the Mysore troops had to remain the whole night fasting having had no supplies of articles of food. From here Annappa went to Masoor in the Company's territories where he halted for a few days for replenishing his supplies and then proceeded with his troops to Harihar from where he sent a detailed report of all the events that had taken place to the Huzur office at Mysore. On the 4th March 1831 a reply was received commending him and his troops for their conduct and directing them to proceed to Honnali, where they arrived shortly after the temple of Halladamma had been captured by Rochfort.

On arrival at Honnali, Annappa was placed at the head of the Mysore troops and Venkataraj Urs left for Shimoga with a detachment. Before Venkataraj Urs left for Shimoga, Annappa is stated to have received directions from him to execute such of those as had taken up arms against the Government and to set at liberty the ryots and merchants who had received severe wounds. On the 15th March Annappa released 100 wounded prisoners and detained the remaining 99 for execution. On the 16th, 51 of them were

executed around the temple and the remaining were hanged the next day on the road from Honnali to Shikarpur. The callousness with which these executions were carried out may be understood when it is stated that on the first day when one of the officers who was passing by at the time wishing to witness how the prisoners were hanged and how they died, though the gruesome work had closed for the day, two more men were immediately brought out and hanged in his presence and the sole ground assigned in justification of these horrid acts was that none of those executed were inhabitants of the Mysore State, all of them belonging to the Company's territories. For convenience it may here be mentioned that later when official reports of these executions reached the Maharaja at Mysore, His Highness was horrified at what had taken place and at once sent orders to all the officers concerned not to inflict in future capital punishment without his express sanction.

After the events at Honnali, Lt. Rochfort with the Mysore force proceeded to the western parts of Nagar, namely, Shikarpur, Oodagani and other places meeting with considerable opposition from the insurgents on the way and having to dislodge them from several of the stockades which had been formed and were defended with much obstinacy. Rochfort and Annappa found on reaching the vicinity of Nagar that the place was in the hands of the insurgents. Little resistance however was offered by them and the place was taken possession on the morning of the 26th March by the Mysore troops, having been evacuated by the insurgents the preceding night. Here it was found that under the direction of the palegar of Nagar 22 persons had been put to death, most of them Government officials, after a preliminary repast of rice, milk and sugar which was regarded as an essential ceremony before an execution took place. Some of those executed were found hanging on the trees and others were found lying across the roadside with their throats cut. The next place occupied was Fatehpur and when Anantapur was reached, it was found to be in the possession of the 24th Company's regiment under the command of Col. Wolfe.

This regiment, as we have seen, had been sent from Harihar by the Company's military authorities on the requisition of the

British Resident. It left Harihar on the 28th February. But by the time it reached Shimoga, Kamandoorg had fallen into the hands of the Mysore troops and it was then ordered to proceed to assist Lt. Rochfort and accordingly it was found at Anantapur which had been vacated by Annappa on account of pressure from the palegar's men. Next Sagar and Chandragutty which had been occupied by the rebels were taken from them by the Mysore troops, the latter on the 6th April 1831. From Chandragutty the Mysore troops were despatched in various directions in small detachments for the purpose of surprising parties of insurgents assembled in the vicinity. Lt. Rochfort also detached various bodies of troops to garrison a number of places in order to give confidence to such of the ryots as were well affected towards the Government and to induce them to return to their homes and cultivation. Rochfort then proceeded to Shimoga where he found the Company's 15th native regiment under the command of Colonel Evans. Rochfort later bore ample testimony to the good behaviour of the Mysore troops on all occasions and said that he was especially impressed with the gallantry and decision of Annappa, Syed Salar who was an Infantry Commander and Regimentdar Kadapa Srinivasa Rao. The only instance of hesitation on the part of the Mysore troops was when they were required to escalate the fortified temple at Honnali and this hesitation was, according to Rochfort, caused by want of food and by fatigue, the troops having had no regular meal for 24 hours and not from any want of courage. Their obedience to him, he also said, was perfect.

Colonel Evans had arrived at Shimoga from Bangalore with his regiment in accordance with a requisition from the Resident who had now become further alive to the inadequate number of the Mysore troops to overcome the rebels widely scattered as they were and largely recruited from time to time from the adjacent territories belonging to the Company. The Resident had also become convinced that the greatest embarrassment had arisen from the weakness and supineness of the Dewan and his inattention to the orders received from the Huzur. The Maharaja as desired by the Resident replaced Venkataraj Urs by Balaji Rao, an officer of cavalry and a man of energy.

## CHAPTER LXI.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1811—1831.

#### **Visit of the Governor of Madras to Mysore—Employment of more subsidiary troops in Nagar—Transfer of the administration to the Company.**

Casamaijor now found that the advice he had given to the Maharaja to adopt severe measures against the rebels at Chennarayapatna and other places had not produced the result he had anticipated. He had reported to the Madras Government on the 5th January 1831 that the Maharaja who was always averse to spill the blood of his subjects having been prevailed upon to exercise his legitimate authority and to make examples of some of the principal leaders peace and order had been restored, that the insurrection had been put an end to, and that the ryots had begun to pay their taxes willingly and quietly. As a matter of fact, however, the severe measures adopted at Chennarayapatna were found to have further inflamed the minds of the people and to have induced many of them to throw in their lot with the palegars. The Government of Madras found that far from quiet having been established, the discontent of the people in South Canara also had become intensified and that the palegars had by enlisting adherents in the Company's territories kept up the agitation. Some obstruction to trade with Bangalore which was a military station was also caused by the adherents of the palegars. S. R. Lushington, the Governor of Madras, now thought that it was necessary that he should pay a personal visit to Mysore and satisfy himself regarding the real situation. He arrived at Mysore on the 1st May 1831 and at the interview which followed, His Highness urged on the Governor the inadequacy of the number of Mysore troops to suppress a scattered rising like the one that was going on and the advisability of employing the full strength of the subsidiary force. It was then settled that more of the subsidiary force should be used and that the Resident and the Dewan should proceed to Nagar and that the latter should be invested with full powers to grant cowls and to carry out every

measure deemed essential for establishing peace, especially in the northern taluks of the Nagar Division.

On the 10th May the Resident applied to the Maharaja from a place called Gandasi that he should be authorised to issue cowls in his own name and the Maharaja agreed to the proposal. On the requisition of the Resident at this time, besides the two regiments of native infantry and a brigade of light guns which had already been employed on this service, there were now added a third regiment of infantry, a squadron of native cavalry, two companies of the King's 62nd Regiment and a brigade of 12 pounders. Casamaijor arrived at Holehonnur on the 19th May where he learnt that the adherents of the Tarikere palegars were creating disturbances at Mandagadde and that they had established their headquarters at Luckwalli. He accordingly sent Major Clemons with some Mysore troops also to Luckwalli, together with a cowl neroop. On Major Clemons reaching Luckwalli, there was some fight between his troops and the palegar's men. But the latter after a time quitted the fort and fled, the palegar Rangappa Naik being one of them. This was on the 22nd May and a garrison of 150 Mysore troops with one gun was established at the place. Major Clemons then proceeded towards Mandagadde and on his approach the palegar's men fled into the jungles. The British troops, however, remained at this place for several days for the purpose of establishing confidence among the people in the neighbourhood.

On the 22nd May Casamaijor left Holehonnur and reached a place called Gopala near Shimoga and halted there for eight days to collect supplies for the army and to wait for the Company's regiment. The troops were now divided into five detachments, each consisting of about 1000 men and one detachment was allotted to each of the following places—Nagar, Chandragutty, Shikarpur, Tarikere and Wastara. Annappa was invested with general powers of supervision over all the detachments. Casamaijor then resuming his journey preceded the remainder of the force by one march, inviting the people by conciliatory proclamations to meet him on the march and promising redress of their grievances. Two of the persons employed by the

Resident in circulating the conciliatory proclamations were found murdered and lying close to the road traversed by this force with the proclamations torn open lying by their side apparently in disregard of the authority which issued them. On Casamaijor's arrival at Nagar some of the palegar's people, a few ryots and a number of Halepykas or local militia who were in the fort fled from there and retired into the jungle.

On the 11th June Rochfort was sent to Anantapur to reassure the ryots and to make a proper settlement. Here it was found that the ryots were ready to return to their homes but were afraid of being murdered or of their houses being burnt by the palegar's people. Major Clemons who was also deputed on an errand similar to that of Rochfort fell in at a village called Gouja with a picket of 12 men who on seeing him rushed into the jungle, where they joined the main body. Clemons thereupon taking off his sword and leaving it behind, proceeded unarmed to where the gathering was in order to convince them that his errand was a pacific one. On reaching the main body, Clemons observed considerable symptoms of suspicion and distrust, which he succeeded in disarming by requesting a Pathan who had his matchlock pointed close to him with a match in one hand, to allow him to light his cigar, offering him one at the same time and the effect of this act of courtesy seemed immediately to alter their feeling from one of distrust to that of confidence in him as a friend. He was invited by some of the people to seat himself on a mat which was spread for him and was treated with every respect. Clemons after hearing all their grievances promised to use every effort in his power with the Resident and the Dewan to obtain for them a cowl guaranteeing to them their lives and property if they returned quietly to their villages.

Another commander of a body of subsidiary troops Captain Cameron had as desired by the Resident proceeded to give protection to the taluks of Chikmagalur and Wastara about the latter end of May 1831. Some days before, Hanumappa Naik, son of Rangappa Naik, with 2000 adherents had invested the fort of Chikmagalur. One night after the fort gates had been closed, the

palegar's men approached the ditch around the fort and the sentries who were on the watch opened fire on them, when they retreated a short distance. The Killedar then mounting the bastion of the fort opened fire on them, when the enemy moved forward and surrounded the fort. Thereupon the amildar of the taluk sent for all the public servants and some of the civil inhabitants also and urged them to courage and activity in defence of the town as the only means of preserving their lives and property. As a result, all the adult male inhabitants of the town of every class and caste mounted the ramparts and defended the fort with such energy and courage that several of the palegar's people were killed or wounded and the survivors fled towards Wastara carrying with them the wounded and the dead. Subsequently Cameron on proceeding to Wastara found that an attempt had been made to take that place but on his approach the palegar's men withdrew into the jungles.

In the meanwhile, the Resident and the Dewan interviewed a large number of ryots at Nagar and came to a settlement with them that the taxes should be collected only on cultivated land while remissions were to be allowed on all waste lands and that no 'Bitty' or unpaid work was to be exacted by the officials for their private purposes. On the 30th May the Madras Government was informed by Casamajor that the measures he had adopted since his arrival at Shimoga for the restoration of tranquillity promised the most favourable result and that the contingent of the subsidiary force would not be long required. On the 12th June the Resident believing that there would be no further use for any large number of the Company's troops kept only 300 sepoys under the command of Captain Clemons and sent the rest away to Bangalore and Harihar before the monsoon rains began. At the end of June, however, it was found that the conciliatory measures adopted had not established the anticipated peace and the Raja was informed that the patels and others were still under the influence of the palegar and that the latter's men were committing great outrages in total disregard of the proclamations circulated. About the middle of July, the Resident and the Dewan returned to Mysore judging that tranquillity had been sufficiently restored to enable them to do so, although the Maharaja in a written communication to the Resident

expressed the fear that as the palegars were still at large the return of the Resident and the Dewan as well as of the Company's troops would, inadequate as the Mysore troops were, afford occasions for fresh outbreaks on the part of the rebels.

Later, information having reached the Maharaja that the Nagar Pretender had fled to the country of the Nizam, Annappa was directed to discover his whereabouts. The spies sent out brought information that the palegar had placed himself under the protection of a jahagirdar in the Nizam's territory and that one Siddaramiah an adherent of the palegar was marching towards the Mysore frontier on a marauding expedition with a body of infantry and horse. The Collector of Dharwar having also received intelligence of this expedition issued orders to his subordinates to be on the look out for the enemy. But the marauders succeeded in reaching Savanoor. As desired by the Sub-Collector of Dharwar, Annappa sent a body of his troops to Savanoor who defeated the palegar's men and captured Siddaramiah, though the palegar himself was not found. According to the Sub-Collector's instructions, Siddaramiah was delivered over to the Company's troops and his followers were driven beyond the Company's frontiers. About this time Annappa received information that the administration of Mysore had been transferred to the Company's hands.

सत्यमेव जयते



सत्यमेव जयते



FOURTH PERIOD

The Days of the British Commission up to the  
death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III.

1831—1868

सत्यमेव जयते



सत्यमेव जयते

## CHAPTER LXII.

### Final Suppression of the Insurrection.

We have now approached a period in the history of Mysore when an event occurred which fully confirmed the gloomy forebodings of the Duke of Wellington regarding the effect of the political connection of Mysore with Madras and which was not only to test the presence of mind of Krishnaraja Wodeyar but also to illustrate the weakness of even overwhelming political power when confronted by an undaunted mind backed with a righteous cause. Hardly had Lushington returned to Madras, when rumours regarding the annexation of Mysore began to appear there and calculations began to be made on the number of new civil appointments that would become available in the pleasant climate of Bangalore. It seemed clear to the Madras officials that the Raja had brought himself into a scrape, that his treasury was empty, that he had no credit and that these afforded a sufficient plea for assuming the management of the country.

Colonel Briggs who subsequently became the first Commissioner on the assumption of the administration by the Company and who was consulted by Bentinck prior to the assumption as to the form of administration most suited for Mysore recommended the Satara model of 1818, according to which the British Resident with two English assistants conducted all the business of the State, all orders however being issued in the Raja's name and the Raja's seal being affixed to all public documents.

Prior to his departure to Mysore, Lushington had written to Bentinck on the 12th April 1831 that the payments of the subsidy had been delayed beyond the appointed period and that consequently the troops and establishments were ready to mutiny for want of subsistence, although the Accountant-General's books later showed that no failure in the monthly payments had ever occurred. On the 8th June the Governor-General intimated to the Governor of Madras that though he would wait for the promised report of the Governor before issuing final instructions, his views as they then

were led him to agree to the necessity of taking over the management of the Raja's country into British hands and to govern it by a commission of British officers. On the 4th July the Governor in a minute recorded by him recommended to the Governor-General a recurrence to the system prevailing in Purnaiya's time of a minister appointed by the British Government and having its confidence, exercising full authority in concert with the Resident. To this plan Bentinck was strongly opposed and on the 6th September 1831 he wrote to the Governor expressing his complete dissent from the latter's plan and communicating his own resolution to vest the Government in the hands of two commissioners, the senior to be nominated by the Governor-General and the junior by the Madras Government, the new Government being made subordinate to the Madras Government. This scheme of the Governor-General is stated to have caused great disappointment to the Governor as he had assumed that the conduct of Mysore affairs, the patronage and the credit of any success would as directly fall into his own hands as in the case of any district in the Presidency and on the 27th September he again recorded a minute urging the advisability of adopting the plan he had proposed. Bentinck had also mentioned the name of Colonel Briggs as the Senior Commissioner and it was believed at the time that Lushington as an old Madras Civilian with an elder brother in the Court of Directors and a younger in the Madras Civil Service to whom he had allotted the sole administration of Mysore took an aversion to the intrusion of a military officer.

On the 7th September 1831 the Governor-General addressed a letter to the Maharaja which he called a formal and final notice under Articles IV and V of the Subsidiary Treaty for the transfer of the Mysore territory to the management of the Company and sent this letter to the Governor of Madras for delivery to the Raja. A few extracts from this letter will indicate its character:—"The subsidy due to the British Government has not been paid monthly according to the treaty of 6th July 1799. The troops and soldiers of the State are unpaid and are compelled for their subsistence to live at free-quarters upon the ryots. The debt is represented to be greater than ever..... From the time your Highness assumed

the management of the affairs of Mysore every symptom of maladministration and misgovernment began to appear. The collection of the revenues has failed through the choice of improper and incapable officers for the charge of districts; alienations have been made of villages and public lands to a great extent, not in reward for public services but to favourites and companions of Your Highness, so that the resources of the State have been greatly diminished. As a means of raising funds for temporary purposes, to the neglect of future prospects and of the good of the country, State offices of all descriptions have been sold and privileges of exclusive trade whereby the ryots and subjects of the State were made over to needy and greedy adventurers. This mismanagement and the tyranny and oppression that resulted came at length to such a pass as to be no longer bearable by the inhabitants of the territory of Your Highness and for the past year the half of Your Highness' entire dominions have been in insurrection in consequence. The troops of Your Highness were first sent to bring the insurgents under subjection, the greatest excesses were committed and unparalleled cruelties were inflicted by Your Highness' officers, but the insurrection was not quelled. It became necessary to detach a part of the armies of the British Government to restore tranquillity and to take part against the insurgents. Tranquillity has for the present been restored but the British Government cannot permit its name or its power to be identified with these acts of Your Highness' misrule; and while it cannot escape from the necessity of putting an end to the insurrection, although justifiable, which should lead to general anarchy and confusion, it is imperiously called upon to supply an immediate and complete remedy and to vindicate its own character for justice. I have in consequence felt it to be indispensable as well with reference to the stipulations of the treaty as from a regard to the obligations of the protective character which the British Government holds towards the State of Mysore to interfere for its preservation and to save the various interests at stake from further ruin. It has seemed to me that in order to do this effectually it will be necessary to transfer the entire administration of the country into the hands of British officers and

I have accordingly determined to nominate two commissioners for the purpose who will proceed immediately to Mysore..... I beg of Your Highness, therefore, to issue the requisite orders and proclamations to the officers and authorities of Mysore within ten days from the date when this letter may be delivered to Your Highness for giving effect to the transfer of the territory and investing the British Commissioners with full authority in all departments so as to enable them to proceed to take charge and carry on affairs as they have been ordered or may be hereafter instructed....."

This letter was placed in Krishnaraja Wodeyar's hands when the national festival of the Dasara was being celebrated. The Maharaja maintained perfect calmness of mind and complied with the mandate he had received without any complaint and from the 19th October 1831 the administration passed into the hands of the British Commission. The two commissioners appointed were Colonel John Briggs whose name we have already known and who was nominated by the Governor-General as Senior Commissioner and C. M. Lushington of the Madras Civil Service who was a brother of the Governor nominated by the Madras Government as the Junior Commissioner. The latter entered upon his duties towards the end of October and the former in the last week of December 1831.

Colonel Briggs on his arrival at once adopted fresh measures for the suppression of the insurrection which even the British troops employed earlier had not been able to quell. Briggs found that the pategars concerned in the insurrection were still at large with a considerable number of followers levying money and supplies from the people and sheltering themselves in the hills. Briggs now considered it advisable that he himself should proceed to the Nagar country to persuade the malcontents to peacefully return to their homes. In February 1832 he promulgated a proclamation warning the rebels against further depredations and advising them to return to peaceful avocations.

The Tarikere pategar was the only person that sent a letter of submission in response to the proclamation, specifying however

certain terms which Briggs found inexpedient to grant. In spite of the warnings contained in the proclamation, gang robberies still continued to be perpetrated by needy adventurers who had swarmed into the country from the adjoining Company's territories. On the 23rd April the sanction of the Governor was received to accept the submission of the Tarikere palegar. A number of members of the palegar's family who had been captured by the Mysore troops were in confinement at Seringapatam and they were now sent to Tarikere where it was expected that the palegar himself would arrive. Briggs also reached that place about the end of May 1832 and found that no reply had been received from the palegar to his communication intimating the release of his family. On the evening of the second day after his arrival at Tarikere, Briggs received about 40 headmen of the villages all eager to save themselves from further sufferings and obtained a ready promise from them to co-operate with him towards the establishment of peace. In the meanwhile, cholera having broken out severely in his camp, Briggs proceeded to Shimoga.

While at Shimoga, Briggs received intelligence from one of the members of the palegar's family Nanjappa Naik by name that he had arrived within a few miles of Shimoga but that Annappa had carried off his horse and he was ashamed to enter the town like a common man on foot. Immediately the Commissioner sent a horse to him and on the palegar's arrival the next day presented the animal to him and also a khillat in open assembly. Nanjappa Naik on meeting the Commissioner requested to know what terms would be offered and in reply he was informed that unless all the members of the family surrendered there could be no talk on that subject. With Nanjappa Naik came also two other members of the family Kengappa Naik and his son Hanumappa Naik. But Surjappa Naik another member was still at large. Nanjappa Naik helped the Commissioner considerably in arresting gang robbers and putting down their outrages and also made a promise to bring in Surjappa Naik within a month.

On the 11th July Surjappa Naik arrived at Shimoga with a large cortege wishing to make a display and the interview with the

Commissioner was fixed for the next day. During the night however, Nanjappa Naik was attacked with cholera and suddenly died. The next day the Commissioner sent a sum of money to Surjappa Naik for distribution in charity. After the funeral ceremony was over, Surjappa Naik visited the Commissioner on the afternoon of the 19th July. He was received by Briggs with cold formality but with every demonstration of respect. After some negotiations, it was agreed that he was to receive a State pension of 30 pagodas per mensem and should return home, the past being forgotten on both sides. On the 25th July a memorandum of the terms was delivered in an open durbar before a very large assemblage of the people of the country. Presents of cloth were also given to him and to the other members of the family and a handsome horse also was placed ready as a present for Surjappa Naik to convey him home when he took leave of the Commissioner. On the same day the followers of the palegar were called before the Commissioner and to each was given a sufficient sum of money to return home without any molestation. Some of the principal leaders who were not in the public service when they joined the palegars were enlisted in the Kandachar and they pledged themselves to become responsible for the conduct of those who had been allowed to return to their homes. The leaders belonging to the Kormar caste were restored to their customary privileges and were allotted to various villages for their internal protection. Krishnappa Naik another member of the Tarikere family who had taken shelter in the Nizam's dominions also returned and tendered his submission. Surjappa Naik, however, subsequently finding a favourable opportunity raised a second revolt and remained in open hostility till the early part of 1834, when he was seized and hanged.

During the whole period of the insurrection the Pretender to the Nagar Gadi was by far the most formidable individual in the field. Considerable sums of money were contributed to enable him to raise troops and he was from the beginning the favourite of the people, several of whom had not forgotten the glorious days of the Nagar family. Briggs however refused to accept the solicitations made on his behalf for a free pardon and the result was that spasmodic disorders continued even after the Commissioner left

that part of the country. In January 1833 an attempt was made by the Pretender's adherents to stir up a fresh revolt but it proved ineffectual. From this period nothing more was heard either of the Pretender or of his pretensions to the Nagar Raj.



## CHAPTER LXIII.

### **Appointment of an Enquiry Committee by Lord William Bentinck and its conclusions—Bentinck's regret for his action.**

Shortly after the assumption of the administration of Mysore by the Company's Government, Bentinck appointed a committee to enquire into the origin, the progress and suppression and the consequences of the insurrection. This committee consisted of four European officers, namely, Major-General Thomas Hawker, W. Morison, J. M. Macleod and Lt.-Col. (afterwards Sir) Mark Cubbon. An elaborate enquiry then took place which consisted of the examination of a number of witnesses as well as of a large number of relevant documents and the Committee's report was submitted to the Governor-General on the 12th December 1833 embodying a brief narrative of the revolt together with their conclusions. This report, it may be stated, for the impartiality of its tone affords an instance of a model political document which may be read with interest even now.

The Committee first drew attention to the fact that the Kingdom of Mysore before the fall of Tippu had an extensive area including also the territory within the present boundaries of the State. The authority of the Hindu sovereigns before the time of Haidar had not extended over nearly the whole of the present territory of Mysore, although it had stretched to a considerable extent beyond its limits in one direction. The territory comprised within the present State of Mysore was divided during the period of the Mahomedan rulers among a number of separate Hindu principalities, and the feelings and habits which hence arose among the inhabitants of a nature adverse to the authority of a new government comprising the whole and the consequence was that this feeling was far from being extinguished by the rule of either Haidar or Tippu. It should also be recollected, the Committee said, that before the British conquest Mysore was a completely independent kingdom and its armies brought into the country not only very

large quantities of plunder but also gave by its expenditure employment to large bodies of people, not only to those in the immediate service of the State but to those also who met its demands for stores of every kind as well as materials of war, creating thereby considerable demand for manufactures. During Purnaiya's time the change in the political status of Mysore was not appreciably felt, because not only there had not been time for the full development of its effects but also because they were counter-balanced temporarily by the presence of British troops distributed in different parts of the country. By the time the Raja assumed power there had been enough time for the full operation of the causes referred to, especially by the reduction of the British forces and at this time other causes also combined to create disturbances in the country.

The Committee also noted that the fall of revenue during the Raja's rule was not entirely due to misgovernment attributed to him and that it was to a large extent due to causes beyond the control of the Raja's Government. A general fall of prices of agricultural produce had taken place outside the State of Mysore also. The revenues of Bellary and Kadapa districts in the Presidency of Madras bordering on Mysore and resembling it more than any other part of the Company's territories did had fallen off also greatly during the same period. In the opinion of the Committee, the general fall of prices giving rise thereby to a decline in the State revenue was due partly to an extension of cultivation in some quarters in consequence of the general peace maintained by the ascendancy of British Power, partly to a decrease of effective demand from the want of occupation to the same extent as formerly for classes of people not agricultural, and partly by a diminution in the quantity of the precious metals in India or at least a diminished supply of them accompanied by an increase in the transactions in which they were made use of. The presence of a large body of British troops in the days of Purnaiya had the effect of keeping the turbulent in awe. But when these troops were withdrawn, a colour was given to the news spread by the instigators of the rebellion that the British Government would not support the authority of the Raja.

The Committee's report also referred to the effect produced on the country by the accumulation by Purnaiya of more than two crores of rupees said to have been handed over to the Maharaja when the former retired from his office. As we have already stated, this accumulation of a large quantity of wealth had no basis and only passed current from mouth to mouth. As a matter of fact, the amount handed over by Purnaiya to the Raja was only a little over seven lakhs of pagodas, omitting the sums remitted in his favour by the Maharaja. We have already stated that when Munro questioned Cole, the latter could only state that he had seen the sum entered in a paper in the hand-writing of Anantaramappa, son of Purnaiya. Nobody had seen this huge sum of two crores and ten lakhs of rupees delivered over to the Raja by Purnaiya, nor when the examination of accounts took place at the time the treasury was surrendered to the Raja was any allusion or reference made to this gigantic sum. One of the witnesses examined by the Committee was Babu Rao and he could only say that at the time of the fall of Seringapatam there was sandal to a great amount at the place between four and five thousand candies at the rate of 40-42 Bahaduri pagodas per candy. He also stated that Purnaiya employed him in preparing the accounts of 'Ayeen' or ordinary revenue and he could not say whether he gave in the 'Sivayi' or extra revenue accounts. He also stated that Purnaiya had told him that he had delivered over to the Raja after a full examination of the accounts a sum of 26 lakhs of pagodas and that he had not kept back a single Cash. How loosely this witness spoke before the Committee is also evidenced by his statement that Purnaiya again delivered over to the Raja 30 lakhs of Bahaduri pagodas and 7 lakhs of canteroi pagodas, this amount together with the sums above mentioned totalling, according to this witness, to 72 lakhs of canteroi pagodas. The 'Sivayi Jemma' of which amount the witness had no knowledge consisted, as has been already stated, of items such as unclaimed property, amounts realised by the sale of women who had forsaken their husbands, fines collected, amounts realised by the sale of stray cattle, nuzerana or presents, the value of grain belonging to the lapsed jahagirs, embezzled money recovered, unauthorised appropriations of money and bribes taken. In a

State which had lost its political independence and the limits of which had become very much contracted, is it too much to say that Purnaiya even though he administered the country for a little over a decade could not have collected in the shape of extra revenue so large a sum as two crores and ten lakhs of rupees, even accepting that there were some items of such revenue. As a matter of fact, it can be easily seen that nuzerana and lapsed jahagirs must have become non-existent after Mysore became a dependent State of comparatively small dimensions and the other items from their very nature could not have yielded any very appreciable amounts. Even the sandal revenue at the rate mentioned by Babu Rao could only have yielded about 7 lakhs of rupees. It did not however fall within the province of the enquiry Committee to verify the correctness of Babu Rao's statements by going into this side issue. It was easy for Munro to have investigated the matter but he did not choose to do so, evidently not seriously placing faith in the real existence of this huge sum. The Committee also recorded their opinion that the disturbances would have been easily quelled at the time they broke out, if the family of Tarikere palegars and the Nagar Pretender had not joined in the revolt and sustained it by their personal energy and hereditary influence and largely also by the employment of outsiders of the military class recruited in the Nizam's dominions and in the Company's territories.

The report of the Committee also dwelt at some length on the Sharat system and its attendant evils. While laying emphasis on the discontent that existed in the country on account of this system, at the same time the Committee remarked that it was necessary to be cautious in drawing a conclusion with respect to the degree in which the collections actually made by the amildars were oppressive in their amount. The fact of the assembling of the ryots in cootum and their complaining that the taxes were too burden some to be borne proved of itself, in their opinion, little or nothing upon this point. At the very time that the insurrection broke out in Mysore, the ryots had in the British district of Canara also assembled in the same manner and made similar complaints where the public

demand was found on full enquiry to be decidedly moderate, lighter indeed, than in any other district of Madras. It was also a peculiar coincidence, the Committee said, that the proceedings of the ryots in Canara had been instigated by intrigues on the part of public servants as in Mysore. The Committee expressed strong doubts whether the demands made on the people of Mysore for or in the name of the Government were such in their amount as compared with the means of the people to pay them as to be considered particularly heavy in the Madras territories. Although it had been stated to the Committee that the population of the State had decreased, they expressed that in their belief it was very far from being so. The Committee while attributing the disturbances primarily to the discontent that prevailed among the agricultural classes stated that "the case of the Raja of Mysore was not that of a prince who being precluded by a subsidiary treaty from indulging views of political ambition had addicted himself to the gratification of avarice and mercilessly oppressed his people by exorbitant exactions of revenue in order to heap up riches for himself."

As regards the lines of conduct pursued by the two Residents Cole and Casamaijor, the Committee's remarks were in these words:—"As some of the witnesses have stated that complaints of the malpractices of the district officers when due attention could not be obtained to them from the Raja's Government were received and inquired into by a former Resident but that the present Resident (Casamaijor) would not receive such representations, we think it only an act of justice to Mr. Casamaijor to observe that in the line of conduct which he pursued in this respect he seems to have been guided by positive instructions from the superior authority. We cannot, however, here refrain from taking the liberty to remark that a system which expressly enjoined that the advice and counsel of the British Government should only be apparent to the public eye when coming directly in aid and support of the native authorities and that the representative of that Government should 'abstain from the public reception of complaints from the subjects of Mysore and from the avowed support of those whose grievances might become known to him appears to us, whatever

reasons of policy there might be for adopting it, to have been anything but calculated to promote the popularity of the British name."

Lord William Bentinck on reading the report of the Committee of enquiry and after a visit paid to the Raja at Mysore in April 1834 felt doubts as to the legality and justice of depriving His Highness of the administration of the country. Accordingly on the 14th April 1834 in a despatch to the Court of Directors in England he proposed that a portion of the State, namely, Manjarabad, Mysore and Ashtagram divisions should be at once restored to the Raja and the rest of the territories to be kept in the hands of the Company as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the military obligations resting on the Raja as per terms of the Subsidiary Treaty of July 1799. The treaty warranted, he said, the assumption of the country only when there was insecurity for the payment of the subsidy but the assumption had actually been made on what was called the Raja's misgovernment and that the subsidy did not appear to have been at any time in immediate jeopardy. Again, the treaty authorised the Company's Government to assume only such part or parts of the country as would secure the stability of the subsidy without allowing it to fall into arrears, while the whole had been assumed. With regard to the justice of the case, Bentinck in plain language expressed that it would have been more fair towards the Raja had a more distinct and positive warning been given to him before actually assuming the administration of the country. Bentinck further said that the Raja was in the highest degree intelligent and sensible and that his disposition was the reverse of tyrannical or cruel and that he had little doubt that from the manner in which His Highness had conducted himself in his then adverse circumstances he would not neglect to bring his good qualities into active operation. The authorities in England took a long time to arrive at a decision on this proposal and it was not till September 1835 that they communicated their adverse decision in a despatch addressed to Lord Auckland who had by that time succeeded Bentinck. Lord Auckland in a letter to the Raja dated 28th March 1836 intimated that the Directors had expressed the opinion that the interests of the Raja as well as those of the Company's Government would be best

consulted by maintaining the administration in British hands until such salutary safeguards could be matured and confirmed for the stable government of the State of Mysore. This decision of the Court of Directors although cruel to Krishnaraja Wodeyar at the time may now be regarded as a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it prevented the fragmentation of the State and helped to preserve its integrity.



## CHAPTER LXIV.

### **Agricultural, trading and other conditions when the British Commission assumed the administration.**

At the time the British Commission was established there were six administrative divisions or Foudjaries, namely, Mysore, Ashtagram, Bangalore, Chitaldrug, Nagar, Madhugiri and Manjarabad, the two last having been formed by Krishnaraja Wodeyar. The number of taluks was 120. Each taluk consisted of ten to twenty hoblies, each in charge of a Shekdar or Hoblidar as he was called in some places. The total number of villages including hamlets was 32,425. Every village had a fixed boundary which the inhabitants carefully preserved and also its own rules, usages and manners which were strictly observed. There were thirty-one hill-forts and 92 common forts.

The total amount of revenue for the Hindu year Khara (1831-32) in the earlier part of which the British Commission assumed the administration was 20,88,978 canteroi pagodas or 62½ lakhs of rupees, of which 16,18,831 canteroi pagodas was land revenue, 4,01,107 canteroi pagodas was Sayer, and the balance was mostly included under the head of Bajebab or miscellaneous items.

The land revenue properly so called was known under two designations, Kandaya in the Maidan parts or plain country and Shist in the Malnad or wooded regions. Under land revenue were also included a number of minor taxes, some connected with it and some unconnected, numbering in all 281 items. The usual mode of renting the lands was that in the beginning of Chaitra the first month of the Hindu year the Shanbhogue, the Patel and the Shekdar called all the ryots together to arrange for the cultivation of the lands in that year. In the case of wet lands the Shekdar first ascertained the likely supply of water in the tanks and made his arrangements with the ryots for the cultivation of as much land as the water in the tank would irrigate. In case the water was not sufficient to cultivate the usual extent of wet lands, dry grains were grown. In like manner the Shekdar attended to the cultivation of

sugarcane and different species of dry grains as well as garden produce. Generally in all matters the Shekdar was the right-hand man of the Amildar and was his *locum tenens* in his hobli. Those who consented to cultivate the lands and pay the Kandayam as in the preceding years were given Thambulam or betel-leaf and nut in proof of the acceptance of their offers. Where a ryot was unable to continue to cultivate, a report was made to the Amildar and with his permission the lands were either transferred to the Batayi or crop-sharing tenure and if in the future any people came forward to take these lands for the same assessment, the lands were given to them. The Shekdar concluded the arrangements before the end of Jeshta the third month of the Hindu year and sent a statement to the Amildar. No future alterations for the year were allowed except when desertions took place or deaths occurred.

Generally during the month of January or February every year the Amildar made a tour of his taluk and formed an estimate of the Kartika or November crop already in heaps and in the same manner an estimate was made of the sugarcane and other produce also. The first instalment of rent was paid in the month of October and though the second instalment was supposed to be payable in December, the full amount was not collected and always a balance was left uncollected till the Jamabandi or final settlement was completed. The Patel after the completion of the Jamabandi assumed the management of all matters connected with the rent, distributed the due shares of the different crops to the ryots, disposed of the Government share in the manner most beneficial, collected all the cash assessments or Suvarnadayam where due and paid the total rent stipulated by him to the treasury. In case of any part of the revenue falling in arrears either from death, desertion or poverty of the ryots or from any other cause, the amount if large and irrecoverable was remitted after a full investigation of all the particulars of the case. Otherwise the renters remained answerable for the payment of the whole rent. This mode of renting was known as Gramagutta.

There were local variations from this common mode of renting, especially where the Patel himself was not the renter, such as

Ontigutta, Prajagutta, Kulwargutta. Where there was Prajagutta, a certain sum of rent was fixed for the whole village and if there was any deficiency in the produce, the assessee generally shared the loss among themselves. Where Ontigutta existed, the whole of the village was rented to one, two or more men whether of the same village or of others, the renter or the renters being answerable for the whole of the rent. Kulwargutta was the mode of renting a village to one of the several principal land-holders who divided the same among other individuals and these latter made their own arrangements with the ryots under them.

The total number of tanks was 19,800 and that of wells 16,371. The number of Pattadars or holders of lands of all kinds was nearly 3,84,000 and the number of ploughs about 3 lakhs. Whenever any danger was apprehended of the embankment of a tank bursting by too much rain, all the inhabitants collectively worked to prevent such a danger.

The extent of wet land under cultivation was 1,84,000 candies and dry land 1,24,000 candies. It will be noticed that the extent of dry land appears less than that of the wet land and this discrepancy needs explanation. The land had not been regularly measured and when the extent was referred to as a candy of land, it meant that extent of land which required one candy of seed for sowing or 160 seers known as Krishnaraja candy introduced by Purnaiya for the sake of uniformity throughout the State. The space of wet land which required this quantity of seed corresponded to about 10,000 square yards. On the other hand, if the land was dry, the extent of space which required the same candy of seed was 64,000 square yards, so that the candy of dry in comparison with the candy of wet land was as  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 1. The whole extent of cultivated land in the State was believed to be in the proportion of  $\frac{3}{8}$  wet and  $\frac{5}{8}$  dry.

There were different kinds of land tenures prevailing in the State and the principal ones may be mentioned :—

1. Lands paying cash assessment, some of which were held from generation to generation as long as no default was made in the payment of that assessment.

2. Batayi or crop-sharing tenure in which the cultivating ryots whether belonging to the same village or different villages were practically hired labourers and received for their labour a share of the produce. The inhabitants of any village to which the lands belonged had the right of preference to any outsiders nor could any holders be denied the right of cultivation if they had cultivated them for a number of years and were ready to do so for the future also.
3. In certain places there were tanks known as 'Amani' *i.e.*, not belonging to any particular village and the lands under which were cultivated by ryots collected from several villages in the neighbourhood. These received their share of the produce under the superintendence of a Government official appointed for the purpose.
4. Shraya lands were those held by persons who engaged themselves to pay a progressive rent for a fixed number of years and after the expiry of that period to pay the full assessment.
5. Kayamgutta lands were those held on a fixed rent without specification of any period.
6. Jodi lands were those held on favourable rent.
7. In the case of betel-nut or supari gardens the holders were considered as having the right of hereditary possession and they could sell or mortgage their property when the purchaser or the mortgagee had the same right as the original holder.
8. Kodagi inams were those on which an invariable rent was fixed and granted to those who had constructed tanks or undertaken their repair and maintenance.
9. The Shist lands were those where the shist first fixed by the Nagar Raja Sivappa Naik and the owners of which had proprietary right in the soil,

10. In the taluks of Ikkeri, Sagar, Mandagadde, Koppa and Kavaledoor there were some lands on which what was known as Gadi or fixed rent in kind was paid.

In the Nagar Division the ryots of the taluks of Anantapur, Kavaledoor, Koppa, Sagar, Chandragutti, Sorab and Nagar paid their rents to the Amildar's Cutcherry through a class of people called Suttigedars who took all the produce grown by the ryots and supplied them all their wants more or less at a valuation fixed by the Suttigedars themselves. The ryots of all the remaining taluks generally paid their assessment through the patels. In case the ryots failed to pay, the Patel placed their grain under distress either before or after it was taken off the ground and this distress was not removed until the ryots had given security for the balances due from them.

If the produce was that of Kandayam land, it was taken by the inhabitants to their houses after paying the Russums, *i.e.*, the first deductions from the grain issued at the threshing floor to the members of the Barabaluti or the village servants. If the produce was that of Batayi land, Russums were given in like manner to the village servants and then the remainder was shared between the Government and the ryots generally in equal proportions.

The Kandayam or cash assessment was generally found to amount to  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, the charges of cultivation to  $32\frac{1}{4}$  per cent of the gross produce in the Bangalore and Madhugiri Foudaries. In Chitaldrug the Kandayam or assessment was  $41\frac{1}{8}$  per cent and the charges of cultivation 23 per cent, in Ashtagram  $31\frac{1}{2}$  and  $31\frac{1}{8}$ , in Manjarabad  $38\frac{1}{4}$  and  $34\frac{3}{4}$  and in Nagar  $30\frac{3}{4}$  and  $45\frac{1}{8}$  respectively. The balance in all the Foudaries was appropriated by the cultivator.

The highest and the lowest cash assessment paid by individual cultivators were in Bangalore and Madhugiri fifty and three canteroi pagodas, in Chitaldrug one hundred and one, in Ashtagram two hundred and two, in Manjarabad one hundred and three and in Nagar three hundred and seventy respectively.

The highest and the lowest extents of land held by an individual were nine candies and fifteen Kolagas in Bangalore and Madhugiri, twenty candies and ten Kolagas in Chitaldrug, twelve candies and one candy in Ashtagram and thirty candies and one candy in Manjarabad.

### Trade.

The principal articles imported into the Mysore State at this time were cotton from Bellary and Dharwar, salt from Madras and Pondicherry on the east coast and from Tellicherry and Mangalore on the west, the price of salt at Madras being about 6 fanams for a bullock-load of eighty seers, tobacco from Salem, spices and other articles from Madras and Tellicherry, cloths from Chittoor and Chingalpet and piece goods from Tanjore, Madura, Salem, Kadapa and Muslipatam. Supari or betel-nut produced in the Nagar district was mostly transported to Wallajanagar in the Chittoor Zilla, jaggery and two varieties of sugar manufactured largely in Gudibanda, Chikballapur, Doddaballapur and Sidlaghatta taluks were exported to Bellary, Madras and Hyderabad. In times of scarcity the export of grain from Mysore was considerable but in ordinary seasons the grain was not carried beyond a distance of sixty miles.

Duties were levied on all goods in transit from one place to another. There were also consumption duties when goods were sold in any particular place. Goods were conveyed either by carts, bullocks, asses or men and it was usual to levy a duty of so many fanams on each load, subject to a deduction being made according as the load was full or short of a fixed estimate. In Santhes or periodical markets fixed duties were levied upon the temporary shops paying a few cash known as the Addi Cash. Every vegetable shop paid something in kind under the name of Fusky and every cloth shop paid a tax of from two to six pies called Woondige Kasu. There was also a tax known as Pattadi levied on every cloth shop, grain, mutton and arrack shop. There were also taxes on supari, betel-leaf, sugarcane, looms and ploughs of the ryots exclusive of the land revenue. The total Sayer revenue was 3,10,000 canteroi pagodas towards which the duty on supari or betel-nut alone

contributed 1,20,000 canteroi pagodas, the amount of duties on all sorts of grain being 75,000 canteroi pagodas and the balance of a little over a third being made up of duties on all other sorts of goods.

The Sayer duties known as Panchabab related to five articles—tobacco, betel-leaves, ganja, arrack and toddy. The arrack was generally rented by an individual in each taluk and the renter either sublet portions to others or managed the whole himself. Where it was sublet, each sub-renter undertook to pay his rent for every shop or village. If kept in Amanay, the renter established manufactories where the arrack was distilled, employed his own servants and caused the arrack to be sold retail. There was no uniform rule, however, that one taluk should be rented to one man. Sometimes even so many as twenty taluks were rented to a single man, while some taluks were rented to several renters. The toddy was drawn chiefly from wild date trees. In some cases individual shops were taxed, but generally the tax was levied on the beast of burden which conveyed the toddy to the shops or on the leathern bags which contained the liquor.



## CHAPTER LXV.

### **Briggs' differences with the Madras Government and his resignation.**

Colonel Briggs, as already said, reached Bangalore on the 25th December 1831 where according to the directions given him by the Governor of Madras he was to remain and meet C. M. Lushington the Junior Commissioner. Briggs on arrival at Bangalore found that Lushington was suffering from gout, aggravated by the fatigue of his journey from Mysore. He had brought away from Mysore all the establishments he considered necessary and had with the Governor's consent already appointed Venkataramaniah, who was formerly Foujdar of Nagar, as Dewan. During the 3 months of his sole administration, not much progress had been made in the suppression of the insurrection. At the same time, several of the changes he had introduced in the administration of the country had tended to create considerable confusion. He had abolished the only court of justice in the country and had been forbidden by the Madras Government to establish another. He had discharged a whole regiment of cavalry maintained under the terms of the treaty. He had also withheld all the pensions to Tippu's relations and to the old servants of the days of Tippu Sultan and Purnaiya. He had also suspended the payment of all charitable and religious grants and had sequestered all the jahagirs and inam lands throughout the country until their title deeds could be examined. Briggs found as a consequence that about 9000 influential families had been reduced to great straits and were threatened with ruin. More than a year's pay was due to all the establishments, military and civil. Complaints reached almost every day against the corrupt and cruel amildars appointed or maintained by the new Dewan under the influence and with the support of the Residency party. There were more than 2000 untried prisoners in the jails.

Lushington only remained a fortnight at Bangalore after Briggs joined his post and then returned to Madras. Immediately before his departure, he publicly recorded his opinion in spite of the

Governor-General's decision that it was desirable the Commissioners were to act the part of the Resident with the new Dewan as the actual executive head of the administration, and the new Dewan was at the same time told that he was to have full powers such as Purnaiya had exercised, subject to the supervision of the Commissioners. Briggs did not agree with these views of Lushington and he emphatically declared that the British Commission was intended to represent the Maharaja and that it was to be both a deliberative and an executive body possessing complete authority and bearing the sole responsibility and that the Dewan was with respect to the Commissioners a subordinate and ministerial officer. Colonel Briggs recommended the adoption of three measures for establishing contentment and business regularity—i. a loan in order that the unruly troops and public servants might be relieved and brought to order; ii. an act of general amnesty and oblivion; and iii. a careful scrutiny and revision of the administrative personnel.

None of these recommendations met with the approval of the Madras Government, the Governor even going to the length of declaring that they were presumptuous. Briggs was also expressly forbidden to interfere with the Dewan's administration or with any of his appointments. In a despatch dated the 17th February 1832 the Government of Madras declared that without the Governor's sanction no measures were to be adopted to revive either the highest court of Justice or any other court which was not in operation in 1804. Whatever changes might have been subsequently made were to be regarded as excrescences not originating with or known to Sir Barry Close or Webbe who, it was said, possessed an unrivalled knowledge of the Hindu institutions. Authority to be efficient, the despatch continued, must be single and that the Commissioners could best uphold their own by maintaining that of the Dewan, so long as he was recognised in that character by the British Government. In a despatch dated the 28th February 1832 the Governor praised the manly independence with which the Dewan denied the sinister motives imputed to him by Colonel Briggs and declared that having then before him conflicting statements from public functionaries each in his own sphere exercising a high office and entitled to the confidence of

Government he must wait for the opinion of the newly appointed Junior Commissioner then on his way to Bangalore before deciding between the views of the Dewan and those of the Senior Commissioner. The new Junior Commissioner G. D. Drury having in the meantime joined his post, a further despatch dated 19th March 1832 directed that in the event of a difference of opinion between the Commissioners they were to record their opinions separately for the consideration of the Madras Government, but in any matter requiring immediate decision the views of the Dewan and those of the Commissioner agreeing with him were to be adopted. The position of Briggs became intolerable, the Junior Commissioner including J. M. Macleod the successor of G. D. Drury and who also was a Madras Civilian more or less always opposing Briggs.

Briggs now tendered his resignation of his office expressing himself in these words:—"In the enjoyment of the confidence of the Madras Government and of the Resident, in the full exercise of a power with which I am forbidden to interfere, with all the public servants of the State from the Foudar of a district to the messenger of an office looking up to him for subsistence and promotion, the Dewan keeps up an active system of espionage and maintains an extensive secret correspondence. Instead of my being able to transact public business with composure, my whole time has been taken up in endeavouring to counteract the plots of the Dewan to keep me in the dark." While tendering his resignation, Briggs proposed at the same time to the Governor-General that there should be a single Commissioner for the administration of Mysore. Lord William Bentinck however was not disposed to accept the suggestion of Briggs and in November 1832 he was transferred to Nagpur as Resident, his place being given to Lt.-Col. W. Morison who was Resident in Travancore.

Colonel Briggs who possessed a masterful personality and extraordinary courage of conviction in a note which he recorded later left his impressions of these events in these words:—"The cause of all the troubles throughout my Senior Commissionership was an unfortunate want of singleness of purpose in several quarters..... Lushington wanted Mysore for his brother

and never forgave me for standing in his way. The Governor-General, as I did not understand till lately, was excessively anxious from the first and all through the business to screen the Resident Casamaijor an old protege and favourite of his own, so that while his despatches demonstrated that gentleman's incapacity to the perception of the Court of Directors, he still supported him both publicly and privately and was glad to get me out of the way, because I frankly avowed my aversion to the Residency party and my conviction that they were answerable for the misrule of Mysore."



## CHAPTER LXVI.

### **Changes introduced in the administration by Colonel Briggs and Bentinck's approval of them with some modifications.**

Before proceeding to the Nagar country in June in 1832, the Senior Commissioner introduced certain changes in the administrative departments of the Government in May of that year with the object of introducing regularity into the public offices under the immediate control of the Commission. At the time of the assumption of the administration by the British Commission, omitting the seven branches concerned with the internal affairs of the palace there were ten branches relating to the general administration—1. Dewan's Cutcherry 2. Feryad Cutcherry or petition branch 3. Huzur Adalat or Judicial branch 4. Khajana Cutcherry or treasury branch 5. Sowar Cutcherry or cavalry branch 6. Barr Cutcherry or infantry branch 7. Kandachar Cutcherry or police and militia branch 8. Anche Cutcherry or postal branch 9. Sandal Cutcherry and 10. Huzur Cutcherry. The Dewan was at all times a high public functionary and the finances were directly under his control. His primary business was to provide for the supplies of the year by forming an estimate of the in-coming revenues and of the demands for expenditure on those revenues. The Dewan's cutcherry was also the centre from which all orders emanated. Briggs now directed that this wide power should cease and that the Dewan's duties were to be confined strictly to questions belonging to the Finance Department and to the issuing of orders to the officers in immediate subordination to him. He was also to be in charge of the Feryad branch. The Sandal Cutcherry though to be kept as a distinct branch was placed under the supervision of the Dewan as its operations were intimately connected with finance. Any aid which the Dewan required from other branches was to be obtained in the shape of requisitions sent through the Secretary to the Commission. The practice which existed of the Dewan discharging men belonging to the military services or of transferring them from their posts, the issuing of orders to the post office and the police without

the express sanction and knowledge of the Commission was discontinued. All orders issued by the Dewan were invariably to emanate in the name of the British Commission. The Dewan with regard to his department was placed on the same footing as other heads of departments and all departmental heads were to receive orders from the Commission through its Secretary and to issue them in its name. Each cutcherry or branch was provided with a seal which was to be in the personal custody of the head of the department and this with the signatures of the Dewan or of the Bakshis or other officers were to be regarded as requisite to give validity to each document issuing from the several offices. Venkataramaniah whose work was regarded as unsatisfactory was replaced by Babu Rao who was nearly 70 years of age at the time.

When the British Commission entered upon its duties there were five kinds of courts in existence independently of the final appeal before the sovereign—1. The village court under the patel or headman 2. The market-day or Kotwal's court 3. The taluk or Amil's court 4. The court of the Subadar or Foudjar as he came to be called later and 5. The Huzur Adalat court. These courts exercised both civil and criminal powers but without any accurate definition of their jurisdiction. Briggs now fixed the civil jurisdiction of the Patel to extend to a maximum of Rs. 10, the decisions based on oral evidence being limited to cases arising within the village and to persons residing therein. It was made incumbent on the Shanbogue to help the Gowda or patel in the exercise of his functions by recording agreeably to a prescribed form every case decided by the Patel's court and this record was to be transmitted monthly to the Amildar. Where in a case the money limit exceeded Rs. 10 but not Rs. 100, it was to be decided with the help of a Panchayet according to certain prescribed rules. As regards criminal cases, it was not the practice in Mysore for any court or authority to pass sentence. This privilege was reserved to the sovereign or left to his deputy. This practice seems to have been based on motives of benevolence in order that no subject in the State should undergo any punishment without the sovereign first satisfying himself that it was merited. It was however

attended with the evil of the detention of a large number of persons tried pending their acquittal or punishment by the highest authority. To remove this evil, it was considered expedient that the several courts should be vested with powers to pass sentence within defined limits. Accordingly Briggs now laid down that the Gowda was to have in his magisterial capacity power to confine in stocks persons of lower order during the day without exposing the culprits to the elements and also to impose personal restraint for a period not exceeding 24 hours. If the crime was of a serious nature as to warrant his detention for a longer period, the Gowda was to communicate the circumstance to the Shekdar who was ex-officio head of the police in his jurisdiction. The Shekdar's duty was then in conjunction with the Gowda to prepare a mahazar on the spot and after recording the evidence of witnesses and the statement of the accused to transfer the same with the prisoner to the Amildar. In each village there were a number of hereditary watchmen performing police duties under the supervision of the Gowda for the preservation of peace or for the arrest of delinquents. The inhabitants of a village were as a body held responsible for the tracing of robbery or other heinous crimes committed within the limits of their village.

The jurisdiction of the Kotwal's court was confined to petty causes originating between individuals in Santhes or periodical markets and these cases were decided either by the Kotwal on oral evidence or through the intervention of a Panchayet or body of arbitrators formed at the time and on the spot. No appeals were allowed when the sum in litigation did not exceed Rs. 20. The jurisdiction of the Amildar was confined to cases originating in his taluk and to individuals actually residing within that area. He was competent to decide on oral evidence up to a limit of Rs. 20, from which decision there existed no appeal. But where the amount exceeded Rs. 20 but did not exceed Rs. 100, the Amildar was required to keep a register in which he had to record the proceedings in his own hand-writing. He was competent also to settle by Panchayet all cases exceeding Rs. 100 up to Rs. 500. In his magisterial capacity the Amildar's power was restricted to the levy of fines up to a limit of Rs. 20. He was also given power to

expose in the stocks but not to the elements persons of lower orders during the day between sunrise and sunset or to imprison for a period not exceeding one month, recording the circumstance in a register. He was also given power to punish with imprisonment with the support of a mahazar for a period of two years, in which event the proceedings had to be sent to the superior court for confirmation.

The Foujdar now became competent to determine civil causes originating in his jurisdiction and to confine individuals within that area. He was allowed to decide all suits up to a limit of Rs. 500 keeping a record of the same. Where the value exceeded Rs. 500 up to a maximum of Rs. 2000, the decision was to be given with the help of a Panchayet. In criminal matters where the offences were regarded as of a heinous nature, after the committal had been made by the lower courts, the Foujdar was required to assemble a Panchayet giving the accused the option of challenging up to the whole number. The Foujdar was given power to award imprisonment not exceeding 5 years with manual labour in irons where necessary and in such cases the proceedings were to be sent to the supreme court at headquarters for confirmation.

The supreme court or the Huzur Adalat was allowed to continue with two Bakshis or Judges and 5 Panchayetdars or assessors as in the earlier days. This court was to take cognisance of all civil cases which did not come within the jurisdiction of the other courts. The supreme court was also competent in its corporate capacity to decide on causes to any extent and was free to empanel along with the assessors such other individuals not exceeding 12 in number as it thought necessary in special cases to further the ends of justice. The supreme court in its criminal capacity was competent to try all cases, the accused having been previously committed by one of the inferior courts, its power extending even to capital punishment when the opinion of the court was unanimous. In such cases the proceedings were to receive the sanction and confirmation of the Board of Commissioners and the sentence was to be carried into effect only on a special warrant signed by the Commissioners. The members of the supreme court

were to tour in the State twice during the year for the purpose of trying all crimes of a heinous nature which did not fall within the cognisance of subordinate courts and to make special reports within one month of their arrival at headquarters on the state of the jails and police in general. The award of the supreme court was final in all causes where the value did not exceed Rs. 1000. Where however the value exceeded this limit, an appeal lay to the Board of Commissioners.

The Kandachar in Purnaiya's time served the double purpose of a militia and local police, in addition to which a portion of them served also as dooly-bearers during the campaigns against the Mahrattas. After that period however, the duties of the Kandachar became much extended and the formation of roads, repairs and construction of buildings had also been assigned to them. It was the duty of the Bakshi of the Kandachar establishment to levy extra men for service whenever any occasion demanded an increase in the number of irregular troops. In his department were also included the military garrisons in forts throughout the country kept at great expense under Killedars who came to be regarded in the light of a balance of authority or check on the Amils. The salubrious climate generally of the Mysore State had rendered it a favourite resort for Europeans from Madras and as it lay on the route to the Nilgiri hills which was a sanitarium even then, the resources of Mysore came to be taxed to a considerable extent to supply conveyances from one end to the other. Under the Government of Krishnaraja Wodeyar it was usual to have from one to two sets of bearers at each stage on all public roads throughout the country permanently at public cost. An idea of the requirements of these travellers might be formed when it is stated that sometimes a single family with their travelling boxes indented upon a relay of 7 sets of bearers up to about a hundred.

Briggs also laid down that out of the savings resulting from the reorganisation of the Dewan's cutcherry a Secretariat or Huzur Cutcherry was to be established, the necessity for which was very great in order to have ready at hand an ample establishment of

public servants well-versed in accounts with a sufficient knowledge of the British mode of conducting business. From 1st June 1832 all accounts were ordered to be kept and all payments to be made so as to correspond with the months of the English calendar year. Regarding these changes there were considerable differences of opinion between the two Commissioners. But as Briggs was a man of assertive will and possessed also a casting vote, he ordered that effect should be given to them immediately.

On Colonel Briggs leaving for Nagpur, Bentinck directed that the Junior Commissioner J. M. Macleod should be in sole charge and that no changes were to be made in the system of administration till then pursued except such as were unavoidable or immediately necessary. Lt.-Col. Morison joined his place as Senior Commissioner in February 1833 and immediately applied himself to a study of the institutions of the country and to the formulation of his views on them to the Governor-General. While at Ootacmund in 1834, Bentinck was able to study the views of Morison and to issue his orders. The primary point on which the Governor-General laid stress was that the inhabitants of Mysore were to be provided with officers on whom they could implicitly rely and with tribunals to which they could confidently resort for the redress of their grievances. His first direction was that the whole of the State should be divided into four territorial divisions and to each division a European Superintendent was to be appointed in place of a Fouladar. These Superintendents subject to the orders of the Commissioners were to conduct the revenue, magisterial and certain judicial duties and to superintend every department of civil government. All the old usages and institutions of the country, especially those of a religious nature, were to be respected and maintained inviolate.

The Amildars continued to be in charge of the police but they were prohibited from interfering at the instance of a complainant in offences not involving open violence, including even burglary when unattended by any aggravating circumstances. At the same time, the village watchmen were enjoined to report all offences and

occurrences of an extraordinary nature to the Amildar by whom they were to be reported to the Superintendent. As regards the police, Bentinck prescribed that the rules contained in Bengal Regulation XX of 1817 were to be followed as a guide where analogy was applicable. In all cases involving an accusation of murder, gang robbery or burglary with violence, if the Amildar had reason to believe that the charge was true, he was required to forward the parties to the Superintendent with a record of his preliminary investigation, in no case detaining the accused for a longer period than 7 days. In such cases the Superintendent was to summon a Panchayet and to preside at the trial or refer the case to a new class of officers known as Sudder Munsiffs who were to be appointed at all headquarters and other principal towns. The Superintendent was given power to pronounce his decision in cases referred by the Amildar or by the Sudder Munsiff and he was vested with power to award imprisonment with or without labour for 7 years without reference to the Commissioners. The principal Sudder Munsiff was likewise invested with power to award imprisonment for two years without reference to the Superintendent. In matters of difficulty, however, the proceedings were invariably to be referred for the decision of the Commissioners. As in the earlier days, sentence of death was reserved for murder or plunder. On the frontier where examples were necessary, gang robbery also could be punished with death.

Regarding the subordinate officers of police termed Hoblidars, they were authorised to arrest and keep in confinement for 24 hours as might be necessary persons accused or suspected of the heinous offences of murder, highway robbery, or burglary with violence for purposes of enquiry.

As regards civil disputes, the Governor-General was not in favour of entrusting patels with any civil power. Every Amildar was given power to try and decide without keeping any record of the evidence and without employing a Panchayet suits not exceeding Rs. 20 in value and his decision was final except on the ground of corruption or gross partiality. The Amildar was also given power to try and decide without employing a Panchayet all suits

relating to personal property exceeding Rs. 20 up to a limit of Rs. 100 and in these cases it was incumbent on the Amildar to keep a record of the proceedings. In all such cases an appeal was allowed to the court of the principal Sudder Munsiff within 30 days from the date of the delivery of a copy of the decision. In suits relating to personal property where it did not exceed Rs. 500, the Amildar was authorised to determine by Panchayet agreeably to the prevailing custom, his decision being final except on the usual grounds of corruption or gross partiality.

The principal Sudder Munsiffs were given power to try and decide suits for personal property exceeding in amount or value Rs. 100 and not exceeding Rs. 5000 and suits for landed property from the smallest value to the value of Rs. 100, appeals being allowed from these decisions to the Commissioners within 30 days from the date of the delivery of copies of decisions to the parties concerned. All disputes relating to rights to the possession of government lands or those relating to the revenue of the State were exclusively cognisable by the Superintendent or his subordinate revenue authorities and not by the principal Sudder Munsiffs or other judicial tribunal. The Superintendent was to have exclusive jurisdiction in all original civil suits involving personal property in value exceeding Rs. 5000 or landed property in value exceeding Rs. 100, besides exercising general superintendence over the judicial officers in his jurisdiction and the Commissioners were vested with power to hear appeals against the decisions of the Superintendents. In all cases whether appeals existed or not, the Commissioners were given general power of interfering and of passing whatever orders they regarded as just and proper.

The rule prescribed by Briggs that all judicial proceedings were to be written on stamped paper was rescinded and it was laid down that in all original suits for more than Rs. 10 and also in all appeals a fee was leviable on the institution of the suit on a graduated scale of value. The Commissioners in their judicial duties civil and criminal were allowed to avail themselves of the help of the Huzur Adalat composed of 3 judges, one Pandit and one Mufti. To these persons was delegated the power of receiving

and deciding all appeals from the lower tribunals and they could also be employed as assessors to the Commissioners when they desired to preside in the Huzur Adalat or to report on any case original or appeal, civil or criminal. The Commissioners were also competent to try any case when they thought fit to do so by means of a Panchayet with or without the assistance of the Adalat or to require them to summon a Panchayet in aid of their own proceedings. Lord William Bentinck in this connection emphasised the great need of appointing respectable men to all these offices on adequate salaries, thereby avoiding the radical defect of inadequate salaries usually granted to the native officers in the Company's territories.

Lord William Bentinck also expressed his opinion that the Superintendents in their revenue capacity should subject to the orders of the Commissioners as far as possible and with the consent of the cultivators revise the existing system of land settlement. The renting system was to be gradually discontinued, the ryots who paid a money-rent for the lands they cultivated not being placed under another as had become customary. The Patels and Shanbagues were ordered to be restored to their proper places without the intervention of renters or middle men for the timely collection of the revenue as well as for the timely cultivation of Batayi lands. Any change in the money-rent should be prohibited without express orders of the Commissioners and where arrears accrued on account of the death or desertion of a cultivator, such arrears were to be remitted without reducing the money-rent when the land was given to another. Every opportunity was to be taken to substitute for the payments in kind a cash assessment as best for the interests of both the ryot and the Government, particularly in the case of dry lands. In all matters pertaining to revenue not only the prevailing forms were to be preserved but also native agency was to be adhered to as far as practicable.

## CHAPTER LXVII.

**Thomas Babington (afterwards Lord) Macaulay's visit to Mysore—Colonel Mark Cubbon (afterwards Sir) appointed sole Commissioner—His treatment of the palegars—Abolition of the Residency.**

Thomas Babington Macaulay, the famous English author who had been appointed Law Member of the Supreme Council of India, arrived at Madras on the 10th June 1834 and travelled through the Mysore State to meet Lord William Bentinck who at the time was staying on the Nilgiri hills for recruiting his health. Macaulay left Madras on the afternoon of the 17th June in a palanquin with a following of 38 persons. His personal servant was a half-caste catholic and Macaulay has recorded that on the day they set out, this servant crossed himself and turning up the whites of his eyes recommended himself to the protection of his patron saint and then assured his master that he was quite confident that they would perform their journey in safety. On the morning of the 19th June, Macaulay crossed the Mysore frontier and reached Bangalore on the 20th of the same month and rested there for 3 days in the house of Colonel Cubbon who was then the Commandant of the place. He next proceeded to Seringapatam travelling all night and found himself at the place the next morning. Here he was met by an officer of the Residency who had been deputed to show him all that was to be seen. He found the town depopulated, but the fortress remained entire. On entering the town he found everything silent and desolate. The palace of Tippu had fallen into utter ruin. The courts were found completely overrun with weeds and flowers but the hall of audience once considered the finest in India still retained some very faint traces of its magnificence.

During his stay at Mysore, Macaulay had an interview with the Maharaja who showed all his wardrobe and picture gallery including a picture of the Duke of Wellington, the old Colonel Arthur Wellesley who commanded the garrison at Seringapatam during Purnaiya's time. While at Mysore, an amusing incident occurred which may be given in Macaulay's own words :—"I alighted at a

bungalow appertaining to the British Residency. There I found an Englishman who without any preface accosted me thus: 'Pray, Mr. Macaulay, do you think that Bonaparte was the Beast?' 'No, Sir, I cannot say that I do: 'Sir, he was the Beast; I can prove it. I have found the number 666 in his name.' 'Why, Sir, if he was not the Beast, who was?' This was a puzzling question and I am not a little vain of my answer. 'Sir,' said I, 'the House of Commons is the Beast. There are 658 members of the House; and these with their chief officers,—the three clerks, the Sergeant and his deputy, the Chaplain, the door-keeper and the librarian—make 666.' 'Well, Sir, that is strange. But I can assure you that if you write Napoleon Bonaparte in Arabic leaving out only two letters, it will give 666.' 'And pray, Sir, what right have you to leave out two letters? And as St. John was writing Greek and to Greeks, is it not likely that he would use the Greek rather than the Arabic notation?' 'But Sir,' said this learned divine, 'everybody knows that Greek letters were never used to mark numbers.' I answered with the meekest look and voice possible—'I do not think that everybody knows that. Indeed, I have reason to believe that a different opinion, erroneous no doubt, is universally embraced by all the small minority who happen to know any Greek.' So ended the controversy.

On the evening of the 24th June he was again on the road and about noon on the following day he began to ascend the Nilgiris. When he reached the summit, the view burst on him of an amphitheatre of green hills encircling a small lake whose banks were dotted with red-tiled cottages surrounding a pretty Gothic church and the largest house there was occupied by the Governor-General. At the time Macaulay saw Bentinck, he found him sitting by a fire in a carpeted library. The whole distance of about 400 miles from Madras to Ootacmund was travelled in a palanquin on men's shoulders.

The constant differences of opinion between the two Commissioners and the unpleasantness created thereby to the Supreme Government had reached the ears of the Court of Directors in England and in a despatch dated 6th March 1833 to

the Governor-General they expressed the opinion that two Commissioners with equal powers appointed by two different Governments, the one a military and the other a civil servant could hardly be expected to act harmoniously together and that an officer appointed by one Government and accountable to another was also not likely to give satisfaction. It was unfortunate, the Court of Directors further said, that two officers were appointed where one if properly selected and allowed the number of assistants necessary to relieve him from the burden of details would not only have been sufficient but preferable and especially when all the necessary qualities could be found in one man, unity in the directing head had numerous advantages. They further directed that as soon as an opportunity offered itself, instead of a Commission of two members a single functionary properly qualified and aided by the requisite number of European assistants should be appointed under the superintendence of the Government by which he was appointed. Within a little more than a year after Briggs had left Bangalore for Nagpur, the change in the constitution of the Mysore Commission to which Lord William Bentinck was so averse was made in compliance with the peremptory orders of the Court of Directors. Macleod the Junior Commissioner left the Mysore Service in February 1834 and Colonel Cubbon was appointed in his stead. Later Colonel W. Morison having been made a member of the Supreme Council in June 1834, Cubbon took his place as sole Commissioner without the encumbrance of any Board or colleague. In the same month Casamaijor was transferred to the Residency of Travancore.

Cubbon was the son of a clergyman and was born in the Isle of Man in 1785. After receiving what was regarded as an indifferent education, he was appointed in his 16th year a cadet in India through the influence of his uncle Major Wilks and was at first attached to the 2nd. Madras Battalion. In 1810 he was appointed to the Commissariat Department at Hunsur in the Mysore State and in the following year he was given the place of assistant Commissary-General which, he himself declared, was a distinction far above his rank or claim on the service. In 1827 he became Commissary-General. Lord William Bentinck appointed

him a member of the Committee which investigated the cause of the insurrection, and after the conclusion of that work he succeeded John Macleod as Junior Commissioner and when Morison was appointed as member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, Cubbon succeeded him as sole Commissioner of Mysore on the 6th June 1834 and continued in the same office till March 1861 without interruption.

During the early period of Cubbon's career, some of the pategars created trouble. These pategars were generally not content with the position assigned to them. The pategar of Tarikere, Surjappa Naik, as has been already stated, continued in opposition till 1834, when he was caught and hanged. In May 1835 Belagutti Thimmappa Naik and Mariappa Naik installed the son of the former named Digambarappa as pategar of Belagutti in the present Honnali taluk and forced several of the inhabitants to pay homage to him. But these malcontents had no large following and no serious result accrued. In 1849 a member of the family of the pategar of Chitaldrug attempted to raise a rebellion. But the rising was easily suppressed as no interest was evinced in the family by the people in general. Cubbon however pursued a generous policy towards these men of bygone greatness in contrast to that adopted by Lt.-Col. Briggs. Cubbon while allowing these pategars moderate stipends for their maintenance encouraged them also to take to profitable occupations in life. A leading member of each pategar family was required to live at Bangalore under light surveillance.

After Lord Ellenborough became Governor-General, the question arose as to the necessity of maintaining a separate Resident in Mysore when the Commissioner was available to undertake his duties. It may be stated here that when Mysore was placed under the British Commission, generally speaking, the Maharaja found the Residents more sympathetic towards him than the Commissioners. On the transfer of Casamaijor to Travancore in 1834 his place was taken by Colonel J. S. Fraser in June of the same year, to whom was entrusted the charge of the Coorg country also which had become a British possession. This latter officer was quite straightforward in his conduct and was a true and sympathetic

friend of the Maharaja. In 1836 in a letter addressed to the Governor of Madras he plainly wrote regarding the suspension of the Maharaja's rule:—"Our system of non-interference or at least of abstinence from regular and well-considered guidance in his youth did the mischief and then we pounced upon the prey which our policy had driven into toils." Again in a letter addressed to Major Stokes who had taken his place in 1836, in expressing his opinion which he had been invited to give regarding the privilege claimed by Krishnaraja Wodeyar of settling all disputes and other matters of whatever nature among the Rajbindees who were all his kinsmen, Fraser stated that such a right belonged to the Maharaja. "With respect to the abstract right of the Raja," said General Fraser, "to exercise this authority, it may be difficult perhaps to form a clear and unexceptionable opinion. His right as to marriages, the adoption of children and other caste usages could hardly, I think, admit of a doubt. The division or disposal of property may be more questionable. But to express a definite opinion on the subject I should know, what I do not know, the position in which the Raja stands. Is he or is he not ever to have his country restored to him? If we are merely, as I believe we profess to be doing, administering the country until we bring it into good order and secure ourselves from eventual future loss but still regarding the Raja as the *de jure* ruler and sovereign of the country, I have no hesitation in saying that I think we ought to concede to him the privilege you have alluded to in its utmost extent. Delicacy and the respect due to his rank and station demand it; and it is rendered proper, I conceive, and almost indispensable, by every consideration referring to the relative position in which he and the Rajbindees will hereafter stand towards each other. But if he is never to be re-seated on the musnud and is to remain for life but a wretched and powerless dependant on our bounty, the necessity for which I now contend might perhaps not be so imperative. But even in this event, under the circumstances of the case, I would concede to him the right in question and I would not hesitate to recommend this measure to the Supreme Government. I should think it was by no means more than was due to this most unfortunate and (I cannot but think) hardly used prince. But I think that the event alluded to is hardly

to be contemplated, and in that case every motive for conceding this authority to him would necessarily press upon me with ten-fold force. Either as Resident or Commissioner these, I think, would be my sentiments and this my course of proceeding." Colonel R. D. Stokes was equally a good friend of the Maharaja and left Mysore for his native country when the Residency was abolished from the 1st January 1843 and his duties were thereafter combined with those of the Commissioner.

The abolition of the Residency was very unwillingly accepted by the Maharaja and the friction that existed in administrative matters between him and the Commissioner by no means abated in the early years of the abolition. As an illustration, it may be stated that when Cubbon sent a requisition for the attendance at Bangalore of three of the principal officers of the Maharaja's household for examination as witnesses at the Huzur Adalat court, the Maharaja protested against such requisition and said that it was derogatory to him to call Arsus closely related to him and holding important offices to attend the Adalat in person. It was open, His Highness further said, to hold the examination in the place where they were by means of interrogatories or through the European Superintendent of the Ashtagram Division. On Cubbon however insisting upon their attendance, the Maharaja desired that they should be received at Bangalore with the military honours due to their rank and that they should be examined by the Commissioner himself and not by any of the judges of the Adalat court. In course of time however, the abolition of the Residency brought the Commissioner in his capacity as Resident into closer relations with the Maharaja and their acquaintance became more intimate and in 1861 when Cubbon finally left the State for his own country, no one regreted his departure more sincerely than Krishnaraja Wodeyar.

## CHAPTER LXVIII.

**Some early administrative changes and improvements—  
Visit of Lord Dalhousie—End of the patriarchal system of  
Government—Some men of Cubbon's time—Attempted  
transfer of Mysore to the control of the Madras  
Government.**

Cubbon when he became sole Commissioner was vested with all the powers which the Maharaja exercised, subject to the control of the Supreme Government. The first assistant to the Commissioner discharged the duties of Secretary in all branches of the administration both of Mysore as well as of Coorg and was also employed as his personal assistant. The four Superintendents each with an assistant combined in their several territorial limits the duties of judge, magistrate and revenue collector. There was a military assistant who in addition to the duties of his office performed also the work of an inspecting officer of both the cavalry and infantry. The second, third and fourth assistants were, as a general rule, employed by the Commissioner in his own office in those branches of the administration for which each was suited. There were also two other junior assistants, one to carry on the minor duties of the former Resident and the other to be employed where the absence or sickness of any member of the Commission rendered his services necessary.

Subject to the control of the Commissioner in all respects but working independently of the Secretariat, there came to exist the following offices which corresponded to the modern Departments :—

1. The Revenue. 2. The Post. 3. The Police. 4. The Public Works. 5. The Military. 6. The Medical. 7. The Public Cattle. 8. The Judicial. 9. The Public Instruction. The head of the first office was a head Sheristadar whose duties were similar to those of the former Dewan in his revenue capacity. The heads of the Anche, Kandachar and of the Sowar and Barr were called Bakshis. The post of the Sowar Bakshi was abolished in 1839 and that of the Kandachar Bakshi in 1841. The remaining

five departments were under the control of Europeans who were styled Superintendents in the Maramat, Medical and Amrut Mahal departments, Judicial Commissioner in the judicial and Director in the public instruction sections.

The country was divided into four divisions instead of six Foudaries. The number of taluks was reduced by amalgamating some of the smaller ones with others. The Superintendents of Divisions were invested with very large powers and all Amildars were allowed to communicate direct with the Commissioner.

The Double Duftar was abolished and either Marathi or Kanada became the sole language of official correspondence in every taluk office. One of the two languages was used in letters between the offices of the Superintendents. All accounts and reports submitted to the Commissioner's office were in Marathi as far as possible. But the practice of sending them in Kanada became gradually general.

Publicity in the proceedings of the Government was secured by notifications, circulars and proclamations. Rules and regulations were put up in conspicuous places in Kanada. Circulars on matters of general importance were sent to the Superintendents and the Amildars. Proclamations were reserved for serious purposes and were often accompanied by elaborate ceremonial. The people, on the one side, were free to bring charges of corruption, incapacity or other serious laches against the officials on condition that they furnished security to prove their veracity and the Amildars or other officials, on the other side, were given assurance that they might depend upon the support of Government in prosecuting malicious libellers. The Commissioner declared his willingness to welcome representations of real grievances either by petition or in person, adding at the same time that he would punish all unlawful gatherings or the spreading of false reports or attempts to terrorise officials.

Lord Dalhousie the Governor-General visited Mysore in 1855 and soon after several changes were introduced. These changes were, it may be stated, not exclusive to Mysore but were

common to all parts of India and arose out of the renewal of the Company's charter in 1854. The period of Dalhousie's visit to Mysore or the year 1855-56 may be considered to have marked the termination of the exclusively patriarchal and personal system of Government. For the first time from 1856-57 commenced the publication of the annual report of the administration. Prior to 1854 all accounts were kept in canteroi pagodas. In that year under Dalhousie's orders the old system of calculation was abandoned and a new one based on the Company's currency was instituted commencing from 1855.

Under the orders of the same authority, Tippu's Summer Palace at Seringapatam known as the Daria Dowlat was repaired and re-painted in November 1855. The work which was almost entirely of an artistic character, namely, re-painting the picture of Baillie's defeat and renewal of the interior paintings were completed in a little over 3 years at a cost of Rs. 37,000. In 1859 the inlaid doors of the tombs of Haidar and Tippu at Seringapatam were replaced and other improvements were also made. The famous Hoysala temple at Halebid, a work of exquisite art, also received attention.

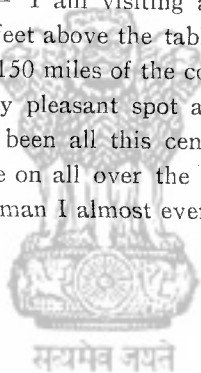
Babu Rao having died in 1834, the Dewan's office was amalgamated with that of the Commissioner and an officer with the designation of Huzur Head Sheristadar was placed in charge of this branch. Kollam Venkata Rao of Travancore was appointed to this place and the designation of his office was changed to that of Native Assistant to the Commissioner. Venkata Rao went to Travancore as Dewan in 1838 but reverted to the Mysore Service in 1840. Morison on the eve of his departure in 1834 described Venkata Rao as a public servant whose labours were always found ready in promoting the public interests. Colonel Fraser who was Resident in Mysore described him as a man of energy, capacity particularly in the Revenue Department, with conciliatory and gentlemanly manners. Venkata Rao died in 1843 and a chatram or rest-house in the Bangalore city even now bears his name. Kola Krishnamma Naidu was appointed in 1844 as Huzur Head Sheristadar which name was revived on the death of Kollam

Venkata Rao. He had previously for sometime served as the head of the English Department in the palace and next as a Munsiff under the British Commission. Krishnamma Naidu held the place of Head Sheristadar till 1858 and was succeeded by his brother Vijayarangam Naidu who vacated it in 1866. Seshagiri Rao of Cochin was the first judge of the Huzur Adalat, of whom Morison recorded that he had never known any native so completely independent in the performance of his public duties.

Early in 1860 an intention was expressed to transfer Mysore to the supervision of the Madras Government from that of the Supreme Government. This transfer was distasteful to Krishnaraja Wodeyar and His Highness wrote to Cubbon on the 15th March of the same year that the transfer of Mysore to the supervision of a subordinate Government like that of Madras was a breach, if not the letter, certainly of the spirit of his treaty with Lord Mornington and nothing would exact from him acquiescence to this measure. The step was also distasteful to Cubbon and he tendered his resignation. The Maharaja also sent a letter of protest to Lord Canning and the latter in a letter addressed to His Highness on the 30th March 1860 gave an assurance that the sentiments expressed by His Highness would always command his respectful attention and intimated that he had suspended the execution of the transfer. Canning then referred the matter to the Secretary of State in England with the observation that the appeal for not introducing any change, coming as it did from so venerable and loyal a Prince as Krishnaraja Wodeyar, deserved consideration. Canning also further said that the Maharaja of Mysore possessed a strong claim to have his feelings and wishes considered by the British Government and that it was ungenerous and impolitic to set them aside. Thereupon the old arrangement was allowed to continue.

Cubbon's favourite retreat was Nandidoorg where he spent several months in the year and a house built by him for his residence overlooking the whole plain around is even now maintained in excellent order by the Mysore Government for the benefit of visitors resorting to this hill to improve their health. Cubbon was intensely conservative and passionately fond of horses and kept

up to fifty or more, chiefly Arabs, in his stables as pets. He was particular in enforcing the observance of Sunday as a day of rest in all courts and offices and did not receive native visitors on that day. Lady Canning the Governor-General's wife and her companion the Hon. Mrs. Stuart visited Bangalore in 1858 and recorded their impressions of him. Mrs. Stuart's account is in these words:—  
 “At seven in the morning (22nd March) drove up through the lines of the 60th Rifles to General Cubbon's charming bungalow at Bangalore. We found the whole house prepared for us, the chivalrous old man of 74 having put himself into a tent. He is a very handsome, keen-eyed, intelligent man, and the quantity of anecdotes of the deepest interest which he has told us has been more entertaining than I can describe.” Lady Canning writing from Nandidoorg said:—“I am visiting a charming old General, Sir Mark Cubbon, 1500 feet above the table-land of Bangalore and with a view over about 150 miles of the country on all sides. It is cool fresh air and a very pleasant spot and the old gentleman is very delightful. He has been all this century in India but seems to know all that has gone on all over the world and is almost the most grand seigneur old man I almost ever saw.”



## CHAPTER LXIX.

### **Administrative changes and improvements during Cubbon's time.**

The ordinary sources of income to the State while Cubbon held office were land revenue, customs duties, rent on monopolies, sandalwood, stamp paper, fines and forfeitures, and postage. The total income of the State was Rs. 68 lakhs in the first year of Cubbon's administration and the largest amount realised during his time was Rs. 84 lakhs in 1855-56. The Panchabab which consisted of toddy, arrack, ganja, tobacco and betel-leaf gave between the years 1834-40 about Rs. 3.5 lakhs a year and between 1850-61 when Cubbon left Mysore the minimum had risen to Rs. 7 lakhs and the maximum to Rs. 10 lakhs. In 1834-35 the income from Sayer was 4.5 lakhs of rupees and in 1860-61 it had risen to Rs. 10.4 lakhs. The expenditure of the State rose from Rs. 65 lakhs in 1834-35 to Rs. 85 lakhs in 1860-61. The liquidation of public debts was one of Cubbon's most important duties. The principal creditor was the Madras Government which at the instance of the Supreme Government had advanced Rs. 10 lakhs to Mysore to enable it to pay off the arrears due to the civil establishments and the troops at the assumption of the administration. The other creditors were local bankers and rich merchants. The first instalment of the debt was paid in 1839-40 with interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum. The other instalments of varying amounts were paid at different times and in 1857 the whole debt was finally discharged. The subsidy of Rs. 24½ lakhs continued to be paid throughout the period.

In the first two years of the British Commission, all Sayer duties on grain were abolished. In 1837-38 all internal duties were taken off iron, steel and cattle and in subsequent years the transit duties on supari, pepper, cardamom and coffee were abolished. As a substitute for the tobacco contract which was abolished, a halat of Re. 1 per maund was fixed on the quantity of supari produced in Nagar and an import duty of Rs. 1¼ on tobacco imported for consumption. To make up for the considerable loss of revenue

sustained by these reductions, an additional halat was imposed on cardamoms and on the first sort of supari. In 1835 the transit duty on horses in the Ashtagram Division was removed. In 1836-37 were abolished the duties which were levied on firewood, old timber, European articles, sandalwood oil and vegetables on entering the town of Mysore and in 1837-38 fruit, plantain leaves and straw were added to the articles allowed to pass free and in subsequent years the duties on various other articles such as parched grain, paddy, buttermilk were struck off. The tax on blacksmith's forges was also removed. In 1842-43 the Sayer and Panchabab of the Mysore taluk were taken under Government management as an experiment and it having proved successful, the management by Government was extended to all the other taluks. In the Bangalore Division, however, the old system continued till 1846-47, when the contract system and the collection of Sayer was taken directly under Government management.

The first modification of the old Sayer system was commenced in July 1847 by levying an *ad valorem* duty of 4 per cent on all articles at the place of export or despatch and at the frontier kattes on all articles entering the division except on raw silk, tobacco and betel-leaf on which lower rates were levied. In 1848 the Sayer rules were revised and articles merely passing through to or from other parts of the State, to or from the Company's districts or from one part of the Company's territories to another were exempted from duty. Articles imported from the Company's territories for consumption in the State were charged 4 per cent *ad valorem* as well as articles exported to the Company's territories from the Bangalore Division, while an *ad valorem* duty of only 2 per cent was levied on articles exported to or imported from the other divisions of Mysore.

The military department cost the State between Rs. 9.5 lakhs and Rs. 11.1 lakhs every year, of which 70 per cent was for the maintenance of the Silledar cavalry which under the treaty of 1807 had to be maintained and the rest was incurred for the Barr infantry.

No pensions were granted during Cubbon's time to Government servants, whatever pensions existed being for the benefit generally of the Mahomedan and palegar families of distinction. In 1835 when Cubbon included Hiranyappa a nephew of Purnaiya as a new incumbent for a pension, the Supreme Government forbade him from doing so in the future. In the same year however, when Cubbon recommended Gundopunth a State officer of high position for a pension, the Government of India accepted Cubbon's recommendation. The Mahomedan pensioners were of two classes—the Karabatdars and the Mutfarkhats. The former were the relatives and connections of Tippu Sultan residing chiefly at Mysore, Vellore and Trichnopoly and the latter were attached to the Silledars but had no duties, their connection with that body entitling them to a certain monthly payment and to a certain rank in life.

In August 1830 the Madras Government transferred the island of Seringapatam to the Maharaja for an annual payment of Rs. 50,000. Throughout the 27 years from 1834-35 to 1860-61 the Mysore Government sustained a loss from this transaction varying from a minimum of Rs. 20,400 in 1839-40 to Rs. 36,700 in 1859-60. When Cubbon left Mysore, he left a surplus of about a crore of rupees in the treasury.

Until 1853 the standard coin was the Canteroi pagoda but after that date the Rupee. The Bahaduri pagoda and the Madras and Surat rupees also were in circulation at different rates of exchange. One Canteroi pagoda was equivalent to Rs. 2-14-8 and a Bahaduri pagoda about Rs. 4. But the former was a nominal gold coin, while the latter was in circulation though in a small quantity. The mint which was in 1834 situated at Bangalore had been minting only the Cash which was a copper coin. This too was stopped in 1843. From 1854 the Government also withdrew all but the rupee currency from circulation.

A measure of some importance was the revision of the Mohatarfa in 1860. From all cultivating ryots was levied a plough-tax ranging from 3 to 6 annas and the amount raised under

this head was formed into a local fund devoted to the formation and repairs of cross-roads.

### **Coffee.**

During Cubbon's regime of office the cultivation of coffee received great impetus. This plant is stated to have been introduced in the 17th century by a Mahomedan fakir named Baba Budan who on his return from Mecca brought a few seeds and planted them on the hill near Chikmagalur which now bears his name. It however remained comparatively an unknown plant for years together in the future and even during the time of Krishnaraja Wodeyar it was of so little account that he gave the monopoly of it throughout his territories to a single Madras merchant. The little then grown used to be sent down to Mangalore, shifted into Arabian bags and forwarded to England as the genuine produce of Mocha. About 1840 one Mr. Cannon formed an estate on the high range immediately to the south of the Bababudangiri and Cannon's success in this venture led another European by name Fredrick Green to open an estate of his own in South Manjarabad in 1843. Towards the close of Cubbon's period of office, the cultivation of coffee had spread very largely and the seed had obtained a place of its own in the London price currents and a quantity of one hundred thousand maunds from the Nagar Division found its way to the seaports of Canara. An excise duty of 4 annas on every maund of 28 lbs. was levied on all coffee grown.

In 1853-54 an estimate was made of the different kinds of lands under cultivation. Taking Mackenzie's estimate of the superficial area of Mysore at 27,000 square miles to be correct, the number of Kandagas or Candies was calculated at 13,06,800 as the equivalent of that area. Of these 9,37,254 were computed to be covered by mountains, rivers, nalas, tanks, roads and wastes, leaving 3,69,546 candies of cultivable land, of which about 2,84,276 candies were believed to be under the plough. The village lands were divided into Kandagas, Kolagas, Ballas and Seers, these being the names for the measures of seed required to sow a given space. The Krishnaraja Candy of 160 seers established by Purnaiya was adopted by the Superintendents of Divisions for all purposes of

computation in connection with land measurements. One Krishnaraja Candy of dry land was equal to a little over 64,000 square yards. Two seers were equal to 3 guntas and 37 square yards, one gunta being equal to 121 square yards. As regards measurement, one seer of seed was equal to  $62\frac{1}{2}$  square yards. Two seers or a Balla was equal to 125 square yards or 1 gunta and 4 square yards. 1 Candy of wet land was equal to 10,000 square yards.

Each village had its Beriz, its Chedsal Jamabandi and the Sthal Shist or Rewaz. The Beriz was the maximum amount of revenue fixed in former years as could be drawn from the village. The Chedsal Jamabandi was the actual maximum amount derived from the village and the Rewaz was the customary rate of assessment on each particular field. The number and extent of each field and each particular of its assessment were registered in the accounts of the village accountant. Every field had its own particular name and its boundaries had been carefully defined.

The Barabaluti system continued during this period also and it consisted of the following members:—

1. Gowda or headman of the village.
2. Shanbogue or accountant.
3. Toti or watchman of the village.
4. Talari or policeman.
5. Niringanti or regulator and distributor of water to the fields.
6. Madiga or carrier and shoe-maker.
7. Dhobi or washerman.
8. Nayinda or Hajam or barber.
9. Kumbar or potmaker.
10. Kabbinaḍava or Lohar or iron smith.
11. Badagi or carpenter.
12. Agasala or Sonar or Goldsmith.

There were many villages however in which the full complement of the Barabaluti was not found, the duties and functions of one member being conjoined with those of another. In each village there were also generally a hereditary schoolmaster, a Panchangi Brahmin who recited the calendar and the Pujari or the worshipper of the village deity. But these were supported by the villagers and not by the Government. In 1850-51 it was calculated that there were 50,700 persons borne on the accounts as Barabaluti who among them enjoyed land to the value of 40,178 Canteroi Pagodas

or Rs. 1,16,882 and received a money allowance of 10,531 Canteroi Pagodas or Rs. 1,47,517.

#### **Kodagi Inam.**

In former times tanks were frequently constructed by private individuals, to whom one-fourth in some places and in others one-fifth of the land under them was granted rent-free but with the condition that they should contribute in that proportion to the repair of the works of irrigation. These tanks were called Kodagikeres and the persons holding lands on this tenure Kodagi Inamdars.

The Kandayam lands were those held by the ryots from the Government for money rents according to the Rewaz or local standard rates. Kandayam lands whether wet or dry were not saleable publicly, but in various ways the cultivators contrived to alienate their occupancy right. The ordinary means for effecting a transfer was for the ryot wishing to transfer his lands to present to the taluk authorities a written Razeenama requesting permission to resign his land into the hands of the Government and at the same time to mention the name of another person who wished to take it. This latter simultaneously submitted to the same authority a Darkhast or tender for the particular land offering the same rent. The Darkhast was usually accepted without any objection and a fresh pattah or title-deed was issued in the name of the Darkhastdar from whom proper security was taken for the punctual payment of the Kandayam.

Kayamgutta, Jodi, Sarvamanya and Shrayam villages and lands were publicly mortgaged and sold with the consent of the Government, as were likewise coffee plantations and areca and cocoanut gardens. The rate at which they were disposed of was roughly estimated at 8 to 10 years' annual assessment.

During Cubbon's time the Shanbogue gradually rose in importance. On the commencement of the Mungar or first rains but before the beginning of the official year which was the first of July, the Shanbogue of the village assembled the ryots and inquired into the circumstances and plans of each individual, after which he

concluded an arrangement with them for the Kandayam and Batayi lands they were to cultivate and for the revenue payable by each cultivator during the ensuing year. The Shanbogue now became the primary agent in every arrangement between the ryot and the Government and it was to him and to his books that the ryot and the Government alike looked for the record of their respective rights.

The Amildar was directly under the control of the Superintendent of the Division to which his taluk belonged. The Amildar made a tour of his hobbles in September to ascertain the condition of the inhabitants and the prospects of the season and to see that the Shanbagues and Shekdars were exerting themselves to bring the lands under cultivation. After having satisfied himself on these points by personal observation and having looked carefully into all the other arrangements entered into by his subordinates, he settled the Kulwar Jamabandi village by village and furnished regular ten-day reports of the progress made, the whole of his settlement being finished in November. The Government Batayi lands of the Vaishaka Fasal or May crop were brought fully under cultivation in October and November. By February or March the Amildar forwarded to the Superintendent an estimate of the probable outturn. The crops were thrashed and heaped in May or June and the Amildar then attended to the disposal of the Government share. Sometimes they were put up to public auction as they stood uncut upon the fields but generally after they were reaped and thrashed. If the bids offered for the grain were considered inadequate, the same was stored in the Government granaries till prices became more favourable. Exactly the same course was pursued with regard to the Kartika or November crop which was planted in the Mungar or first rains and reaped in October or November. One important duty of the Amildar was to inspect the bunds of the tanks and the embankments of the water courses in his taluk and to keep the Superintendent frequently informed of their condition.

The Superintendent generally proceeded on his Jamabandi circuit as soon after the month of November as was practicable. The pattahs which had been previously prepared of each cultivator's

holding according to the Amildar's settlements were then distributed to the ryots. The pattah contained a description of the land held by the ryot and the amount of assessment to be paid by him on each different plot of land as well as any other tax which he had to pay. This was read over to each man as he was called to receive his pattah and he was asked if it was correct. In the pattah were also entered the kists or instalments of the ryot as they were paid by him. It was on this occasion of distributing the pattahs that the question of remissions was also taken up. The Superintendent kept this entirely in his own hands. There was no strict principle laid down upon which remissions were made. Each individual case was taken up and decided on its own merits, the condition and means of the applicant being the main considerations. But generally speaking, the assessment was not levied on land which had not been turned up by the plough or purposely kept fallow for pasture. The truth or otherwise of such representations was readily ascertained, for all the cultivators of the village were present to refer to. One result of the summary decisions for remission was that at the end of the year no outstanding balances in the collection were left. Leases for five years were usually granted upon a fair advance on the average of the previous five years produce being tendered. As a general rule, such leases were granted to respectable land-holders of the village in which the lands were situated. The ryots were allowed to pay their dues in 5 or 6 instalments in October, November or December according to the harvest season of their locality. New lands were granted upon the average Rewaz or average rate of the village generally of three years. On these circuits it was also expected that all disputes of whatever description referable to the Superintendent were finally decided and ten days before the Superintendent arrived in a taluk, a proclamation was published in that taluk informing the people that the Superintendent's cutcherry would arrive there on a day fixed and remain there for so many days and inviting all persons having any complaints or representations to make to present themselves before him within that period and declaring that should they omit to do so, their complaints would not be attended to afterwards unless good reason was shown for their default.

## CHAPTER LXX.

### **Administrative changes and improvements during Cubbon's time—(continued).**

#### **Public Works.—First Railway and Telegraph lines.**

Upto 1834 no attempt had been made to constitute a separate Engineering Department. The Superintendents of Divisions and the Amildars of taluks carried out all descriptions of work through mestris and mutsaddies attached to the taluks, the maintenance of tanks and channels being regarded as specially appertaining to revenue officials. In 1834, however, professional supervision having been felt necessary, the post of a Superintendent of Maramat was created and this officer's attention was almost exclusively devoted to designing and executing original works.

In Cubbon's opinion the need for roads was more pressing than the extension of irrigation. In 1855 while reviewing the work already done under irrigation, Cubbon said that though a number of tanks had been repaired, yet several more remained but that it was advisable to undertake the repair only when hands became available to cultivate the additional wet area and markets were found for the surplus produce and that a thoroughly improved system of road communication was a preliminary requisite and accordingly proposed the creation of a post under the designation of Superintendent of Roads. Ultimately however, even somewhat against the wishes of Cubbon, a separate Department of Public Works was constituted in 1856 consisting of a Chief Engineer and eleven upper and nineteen lower subordinates. The charge of the channels and tanks generally continued as before in the hands of the Revenue Department.

Cubbon undertook the systematic opening out of roads and these roads demanded the construction of bridges in various places. In 1834 the only noticeable bridges that existed were those on the Kapini river at Nanjangud, on the Kaveri at Seringapatam and Sivasamudram and on the Arkavati at Closepet. To these bridges Cubbon added five during his time, those at Maddur, Hoskote,

Benkipur (now called Bhadravathi), Shimoga and Hiriyur. To Cubbon also belonged the credit of clearing and opening the four passes in the Western Ghats, those of the Agumbe, the Bhoond, the Sampige and the Periyambadi. Prior to 1831 there existed only three roads worth speaking of—the road from Naikankere to Mysore *via* Bangalore, the road from Seringapatam to Sira and Bellary and the road from Bangalore to Harihar. But as portions of these roads ran through swamps or through water-courses having no bridges, the travellers and tradesmen were exposed to considerable difficulties being often detained for several days at a time. In traversing the Agumbe pass in the Nagar Division which was the most frequented, it was usual to carry everything of value on men's shoulders, the hire being  $\frac{1}{2}$  a rupee for an ordinary bullock-load. The roads constructed between the years 1831 and 1856 connected all headquarter stations with Bangalore extending on all sides to the frontiers of the State, the length of the new roads constructed being 1597 miles with 309 bridges. In 1853 was commenced the construction of telegraph lines and by 1856 three hundred and thirty-four miles of telegraph lines were completed. The first railway construction in the Mysore State was begun by the Madras Railway Company in 1859 between Jalarpet and Bangalore at Cubbon's initiation.

Under the previous Governments the system of tanks and channels had attained an unparalleled development. The series of tanks was so designed that during times of drought not a single drop of water falling in the catchment area was lost and but little in ordinary seasons. Similarly the channels drawn from the Kaveri, Hemavathi, Lakshmanathirtha and other streams were of ancient origin and their original design, it was admitted, exhibited a boldness and an appreciation of the conditions of structure exciting great admiration. Although during the period from 1831-56 a large sum of money was spent on improving irrigation works, yet little advance was made on the indigenous methods of maintenance, because the interdependence of the tanks and the necessity of dealing with them in series was not sufficiently recognised and acted upon and it was so also in the case of river channels.

### **Medicine.**

In 1812 Krishnaraja Wodeyar for the first time established a hospital at Mysore. Throughout the State, however, medical relief was in the hands of Pandits and Hakims. At Shimoga a Pandit discharged the duties of a medical officer in the Superintendent's office until an apothecary was appointed in his place in 1840. At Mysore, in addition to an apothecary, a Pandit and a Hakim were employed in the Superintendent's office.

In 1834 the establishment of European doctors consisted of an assistant surgeon of the Madras Service working on the staff of the Commissioner at Bangalore and of three apothecaries serving on the establishments of the Superintendents at Mysore, Bangalore and Tumkur. Their work was co-ordinated by the Commissioner who in times of epidemics sent out medicines with instructions for free distribution. In 1835 Cubbon transferred this charge together with that of vaccination to his assistant surgeon, the supervision and control of the apothecaries thenceforth belonging to him. In 1835 a first public dispensary was opened in the Bangalore fort. In 1839 a hospital and dispensary on a small scale were opened in the Bangalore pettah. This became so useful that in 1846 a fairly large hospital capable of accommodating 70 in-patients was built and separate wards for the Brahmins, the Vaisyas and the Lingayets were added between the years 1852 and 1857. A Leper House was constructed in 1845 and a Lunatic Asylum in 1850. The first hospital outside the headquarters was opened in 1850 at Shimoga. A Maternity Hospital was built by the Maharaja in 1841.

### **Education.**

The period of Cubbon was the age of Macaulay's minute on western education and of Wood's despatch on the State control of public instruction and Mysore also caught the spirit of the time. The year 1840 is the starting-point of English education in Mysore as in Madras. On 1st October 1840 Krishnaraja Wodeyar founded a free English school at Mysore under the supervision of a Wesleyan missionary the Rev. T. Hodson. In 1842 the Wesleyan Mission started at Bangalore an English school known as the Native Educational Institution under the management of Rev.

J. Garret, to which the Commissioner granted a monthly allowance of Rs. 50. The desire for English education spread and by 1852 there were five English schools in the cities of Bangalore and Tumkur. For the first time a sum of Rs. 7000 was set apart for purposes of education and the Government appointed a committee to prepare a scheme for the extension and improvement of education throughout the State. The scheme drawn up by J. Garret was accepted by Cubbon and the Native Educational Institution which from 1851 had become a high school was made the model for other institutions in the State. The schools at Tumkur and Shimoga began teaching up to the high school standard in 1852-53 and 1854 respectively. The school at Hassan which had been started in 1844 but closed four years later was re-opened as a simple anglo-vernacular school. At the same period the Wesleyan Mission established an English school at Mysore.

Classical learning in Sanskrit and Persian continued on its old lines in the colleges specially endowed by private individuals and in the religious seminaries or mutts, temples and mosques and by learned scholars in their own houses. The course of education for advanced students began generally with Sanskrit literature comprising the study and committal to memory of certain standard poetical works and this was followed by a course of science, either logic or grammar, eventually Vedas and philosophy being made the subjects of study.

In the matter of establishing vernacular schools the initiative was left to the people themselves and it was only when it was found that the people did not come forward to apply for such schools that the Government moved in the matter and set up a few schools experimentally in the most favourable places, in order that the public might be familiarised with the scheme. Rural education was promoted by the Wesleyan and London Missions which established a few vernacular schools. It should be noted however that there was a large number of indigenous vernacular schools which were managed by persons to whom teaching was a hereditary profession. In these schools where primary education was given, only the three R's were taught. Reading was from manuscript

papers or from palm leaves. The first lessons in writing were on the sand with the finger. After some progress had been made, blackened boards were used written on with potstone. Arithmetic consisted principally of the memoriter repetition in chorus led by the head boy of tables of fractional and integral numbers useful for mental calculations in ordinary business transactions. The three days before the new and full moon in a month were holidays, when work was suspended. The cane was freely used in these schools and there were also some higher punishments such as, swinging a pupil in mid-air, perching cross-legged. It was observed as a custom by the Upadhyayas or schoolmasters at the national festival of Dasara to take the pupils gaily dressed to the houses of the parents and other people in the place to perform a stick-dance or Kolata and to recite humorous verses or dialogues and in return, to receive money or presents.

In 1841 Mrs. Sewell, the wife of Rev. J. Sewell of the London Mission, started two girls' schools at Bangalore for the first time. During Cubbon's period, Sanderson a missionary gentleman edited a Kannda and English dictionary for the first time. A printing press was for the first time established in 1840 at Bangalore. During the closing years of Cubbon's period two newspapers came into existence, the 'Bangalore Herald,' an English paper published by one James and a Kannda paper 'Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini' by a Srivaishnava Brahmin named Bhashyachari.

In 1857 the State entered on a new course and began to control education directly in accordance with the Indian educational policy inaugurated at that time. The formation of educational departments in the different provinces of India had its origin in the celebrated despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated the 19th July 1854. A scheme of education was drawn up by the Judicial Commissioner Devereux in 1855 which received the sanction of the Government of India in 1857.

Devereux's scheme contemplated the establishment of 80 vernacular schools one in each taluk, of 4 anglo-vernacular schools

one in each division, and eventually of a Central College. For the training of teachers two vernacular normal schools were provided and rules were also framed for grants-in-aid to private institutions. For the inspection of schools 2 Inspectors, 4 Deputy Inspectors and 20 Sub-Deputy Inspectors were provided and an assignment was made of Rs. 1½ lakhs per annum for the department. In 1857 a separate Department of Public Instruction was created with Captain Stephens the fourth assistant to the Commissioner as Director and Fredrick Green an engineer as the Inspector of Schools. In 1858 a high school affiliated to the Madras University was established at Bangalore, while the Tumkur, Shimoga and Hassan Schools established by the Wesleyan Mission were taken over by the Government forming the basis of divisional schools, the Maharaja's school at Mysore occupying the place of a fourth. In 1859 Garret resigned from the Wesleyan Mission and he then succeeded Stephens as Director.

Cubbon maintained very conservative views on the subject of education. "On the whole," observed Sir Mark Cubbon, "it must be admitted that the administration of Mysore makes no particular show under the head of education. In an abstract point of view this is to be regretted, but subject nations are not kept in order and good humour on abstract principles and it has long been the opinion of some and is rapidly becoming the opinion of many that the efforts which have been made by Government to extend the blessings of education and by tests and examinations to secure the services of enlightened men even in the lowest posts are not calculated to be so fully appreciated by any class of the community."

## CHAPTER LXXI.

### **Administrative changes and improvements during Cubbon's time—(continued)—Retirement of Cubbon.**

#### **Judicial Administration.**

When a single Commissioner and four European Superintendents were nominated for the administration of the country, some changes in the judiciary became necessary. In October 1834 a set of rules was issued and these rules formed the basis of the system as it existed in Cubbon's time with the modifications issued from time to time in the interval. The courts which generally combined both civil and criminal jurisdictions were—i. the taluk or Amildars' courts numbering 85; ii. the Mysore and Bangalore Town Munsiffs' courts 2; iii. the principal Sudder Munsiffs' courts 8; iv. the Huzur Adalat, a court attached to the Commissioner's office with three Indian judges; v. the court of the Commissioner. A written decision was ordered to be given in all cases whether a record of the proceedings had been kept or not.

Of the courts of original jurisdiction and appeal there were two classes—i. the principal Sudder Munsiffs' courts and ii. the courts of the European Superintendents. All appeals from the decisions of the Sudder Munsiffs of whom there were two in each Division lay to the Superintendents of Divisions or to the Huzur Adalat at the option of the suitor. The Superintendents exercised authority over the Munsiffs and other judicial authorities in their respective divisions. The Huzur Adalat and the court of the Commissioner were purely courts of appeal. The Huzur Adalat was vested with power to take cognisance of and to pass a decision upon all appeals from the subordinate native courts. This court was not assisted by a Panchayet unless specially ordered by the Commissioner to convene one. But the judges could be assembled by the Commissioner and employed by him as his assessors whenever he deemed such a course advisable. This court had no original jurisdiction except when suits were specially referred to it for investigation by the Commissioner. The Commissioner received appeals from the decisions of the Superintendents and of the Adalat either in appeal

direct or by simple petition through the Feryad or Complaint Department of his office. No original suits were filed in the Commissioner's court. But it was open to him to take notice in any way he deemed fit of any representations made to him. Where Government or *Mirasi* lands were concerned, the subordinate revenue officers, the Superintendents of Divisions and the Commissioner were alone competent to take cognisance of all disputes or representations relating to them. If the investigation happened to be intricate or connected with landed property, it was optional to the authorities concerned to convene a Panchayet. If the losing party in a suit chose to file an appeal in the next higher court, he was required within 30 days from the date on which the decree of the lower court was handed to him to forward to the judge of that court an appeal petition for transmission to the higher court and the judge was to endorse on it that all costs, fees and fines had been duly paid and that substantial and reliable security for the amount decreed had also been given, special instructions from the Commissioner alone warranting any deviation from this rule. Except in cases of corruption or gross partiality, an appeal decision in cases of personal property was deemed final. In cases of landed property notwithstanding any concurrent opinion on the part of two courts, a special or extra special appeal the former to the Superintendent or the Adalat and the latter to the Commissioner was allowed.

When the plaintiff or the defendant was an outsider, he was permitted to place a list of his own country people before the court, out of which the judge chose by lot two additional persons to take part in the enquiry. Professional pleaders were not recognised by the courts and were otherwise discouraged. In cases of necessity however, the plaintiff or the defendant was at liberty to appoint some other person to conduct his suit, preferably a relative or a friend. The employment of persons who gained a livelihood solely by instituting and carrying on suits for others in the courts was discouraged, their services being deemed both prejudicial and superfluous under a system of simple procedure. The declaration on oath introduced by Briggs was abolished in March 1840 and a circular order was issued by the Commissioner substituting in lieu

of it the solemn affirmation authorised by the Government of India Act V of 1840.

Until 1834 the institution fee was enforced on all suits and as a natural result they were not very numerous. For only those who were well able to pay or who by the strength of their case were able to raise the money applied to the courts. The levy of fees however was looked upon by the authorities as a tax on justice and the same was abolished in 1834. This abolition led to a considerable multiplication of suits, some of them being false or vexatious and as it was found that the existing number of courts could not keep pace with the growing number of suits, the fees were revived in 1839 in all cases which were deemed false or vexatious. In March 1841 a fee on all suits on a graduated scale was ordered to be levied at their termination equal in amount to what it was before its abolition in 1834. Where however the parties applied to the court more with the view of ascertaining their respective rights than from a desire to litigate, it was open to the judge to remit the fee. The only articles of property exempt from distraint were the tools or implements of the individual's trade or calling, his wearing apparel, his drinking vessels and if a cultivator grain for his subsistence until the next harvest. Bonds, bills of sale, agreements, transfers and other documents were required to be executed on stamped papers of fixed values.

#### **Criminal Justice.**

The courts for the administration of criminal justice were identical with those of civil justice. The Amildar was the head of the police in his taluk and to assist him in his revenue and magisterial duties he had under him Shekdars, Killedar, Hoblidar, Duffedars and Kandachar peons. Of these, Killedars and Hoblidars were exclusively police officers. In cases of personal wrong or for petty offences the Amildar had power to confine an individual in stocks for not more than 12 hours or to confine a person for more than 14 days. The Shekdars and Hoblidars had authority to confine for not more than 24 hours any persons suspected of heinous crimes. The principal Sudder Munsiffs had power to award imprisonment extending up to two years when cases were referred to them

by the Superintendents. The Superintendent had power to sentence to seven years imprisonment with or without hard labour in irons. He reviewed all cases enquired into by the Amildars or decided by Munsiffs and commuted or confirmed the decisions of the latter. In cases of murder, gang or torch robberies, or other offences involving capital punishment or a term of imprisonment in excess of his powers, the Superintendent referred the matter for the decision of the Commissioner. The Commissioner had power to pass sentence of death, transportation for life, or imprisonment with or without hard labour on parties convicted of murder or gang or torch robberies when the latter crimes were attended with torture or other aggravating circumstances, or when the frequent occurrence of such crimes rendered an example advisable. Villagers were authorised and encouraged to use arms of every description in defending themselves or their property whenever their village was attacked by either gang or torch robbers and valuable bangles were bestowed by the Government on those who distinguished themselves on such occasions. All sentences of death were required to be submitted to the Supreme Government for confirmation. In criminal matters the Adalat Court had no jurisdiction, unless when cases were referred to it for investigation by the Commissioner.

In cases of murder or when a body was found under suspicious circumstances the Peshkar or Killedar if they happened to be in the neighbourhood, or if they were not, the Shekdar at once assembled a Panchayet. On a careful examination being made of the body, if the Panchayet gave it as their opinion that it was only a case of accidental or sudden death unattended with suspicious circumstances, a report was accordingly made to the Amildar and the body was buried in the presence of the Peshkar or Killedar, if both or either of them happened to be present. But no subordinate police officer could order such interment. Should suspicion attach to the case, the Panchayet examined the body and held a detailed and careful investigation which, it is said, hardly ever failed in eliciting the true facts of the case. All suspected parties were, if the circumstances warranted it, sent in custody to the Amildar's cutcherry together with the necessary witnesses. The Amildar with the assistance of an other Panchayet made a second,

full but concise investigation and then forwarded the whole of the proceedings and the prisoners, together with the opinions of the Panchayet and of himself to the Superintendent for orders. On the receipt of a serious case from the Amildar, the Superintendent either commenced the investigation of it himself or referred it to the Munsiff. In either case a Panchayet was assembled, when the original proceedings together with the opinions of the Amildar and the two taluk Panchayets were brought under review. Any further evidence considered requisite was called for and then the Panchayet drew up their mahazar. Upon a review of the whole, the Superintendent passed his sentence in the matter or referred the matter to the Commissioner for his decision. In case of decisions by the Munsiff, if the Superintendent wished to alter or commute the sentence, he was required to re-investigate the case *de novo*; or if he preferred it, he could refer the matter back to the Munsiff for reconsideration. The Commissioner on a criminal case being referred for his decision, after a perusal of the proceedings either passed sentence himself or in minor cases directed the Superintendent to do so. Panchayets for criminal investigations were summoned in the same manner as in civil investigations and the prisoner had the same liberty to challenge as a plaintiff or a defendant, with one difference however that no criminal investigation was permitted to be carried on without a Panchayet, while in civil cases it was optional with the judge of the court to convene one or not.

During Cubbon's time the plan of employing Panchayets was carried out on a larger scale than before and justified all that was anticipated from it. The European Superintendents felt that the Panchayet system was very helpful to them and with the finding of the Panchayet on their side it was said that they were freed from doubt and difficulty and passed the sentence with a full confidence in its justice.

The surrender of fugitive criminals was reciprocal. But they were not delivered up without a warrant either on the Mysore or on the British side of the frontier unless upon a hue and cry and even then the sanction of the taluk authorities in the jurisdiction in which the man was taken was quite requisite to justify his detention.

and the issue of a warrant for the apprehension of an individual beyond the frontier was invariably reported to the magistrate within the limits of whose jurisdiction the man was supposed to be.

### **Military.**

The Silledar horses which had been neglected became a little improved in Cubbon's time and a stud-farm was established for improving the breed of horses at Kunigal. The Silledars mustered 2784 men of all ranks with 2744 horses and were formed into seven regiments. The Barr or the infantry numbered 2269. No attempt was made to teach either of these bodies anything beyond the most elementary principles of drill. They were however of immense aid to the police and relieved them from the duties of guarding jails and treasuries.

In 1837 when Canara was in rebellion, the Government of Madras depended almost wholly on the resources of Mysore for its campaign against the rebels. In 1857 the Government of India directed that a body of 2000 Silledars should at once proceed to Hindusthan. This order was subsequently countermanded but a similar number were employed in the districts to the northward of Mysore as far as Shorepur and took part in the minor affairs which arose during 1857-58 in that part of India. Medals for service in the mutiny were awarded to 378 men of the Silledar force.

Cubbon was 49 years old when he was appointed sole Commissioner of Mysore and he held the reins of Government for 27 years. He was attacked in 1861 with serious illness which compelled him to resign his appointment. Cubbon made known the resignation of his office to the Maharaja a few days before his departure from India and the news was received by His Highness with sincere regret. "Although I was in some measure prepared," wrote His Highness, "to receive this communication, yet when it came the sensation it produced in me was inexpressibly distressing and painful—the more so as it conveyed the intimation that your departure from the country was to be without a personal interview with me and without the last interchange of a friendly farewell." His Highness further added :—"The zeal and ability you have dis-

played in your administration, the great improvements you have introduced without changing the native system of administration, the continued prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people have been the theme of admiration and praise in everybody's mouth. In fact, your administration of it has been so perfectly consistent with the wishes of the sovereign and his people that I have specially noticed it in my letter to Lord Canning, dated 23rd ultimo, and I shall only add that you have earned for yourself a world-wide fame and have enrolled your name with those of the Duke of Wellington and other great statesmen who by their generous rule and wise policy have established for themselves a name and reputation in this country which can never be obliterated." Cubbon died at Suez on his way to England in April 1861 at the advanced age of 76, having never been out of India from the time he landed in 1801. Cubbon's remains were carried to the Isle of Man by Dr. Campbell, surgeon to the Maharaja, who had accompanied him on the voyage and the body was laid to rest in the family vault at Maughold in a public funeral in which the whole island took part.

Before we close the period of Cubbon, we may anticipate a few years and refer to an event which took place in the year 1866. At a public meeting held at Bangalore on the 16th August 1862, it was resolved that an equestrian statue by one of the best sculptors of the age in front of the new offices of Government should be erected. This statue was executed by Seigneur Marochetti. The statue was placed facing the west in deference to the wishes of the sculptor in order that the light of the setting sun might fall upon it and show it to the best advantage. The statue which was cast in the sculptor's studio during the summer of 1864 was shipped from England in October of the same year but owing to repairs being necessary to the ship which was carrying it, it arrived in Madras more than a year after it was shipped. In March 1866 the statue was unveiled by Lewin Bowring the successor of Cubbon and at the time Bowring said:—"The statue of Sir Mark Cubbon will remain in Bangalore as long this station shall last as an emblem of the respect and esteem in which he was held by all classes. But should a more enduring memorial be needed. it will be found in the

grateful recollection of the descendants of the province whose interests he successfully guarded during more than a quarter of a century." Krishnaraja Wodeyar contributed Rs. 10,000 towards the expenses of this statue.



## CHAPTER LXXII.

**Bowring's assumption of charge as Commissioner—His early career—Interview with the Maharaja—Mysore becomes a Regulation Province under Bowring—Inspection of offices and their reorganisation—Prince Gulam Muhammad's charity.**

Lewin Bentham Bowring who was appointed Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg in succession to Sir Mark Cubbon was not able to join his new post till April 1862. At the time of his appointment he was private secretary to Lord Canning and it took some time for him to be relieved of his duties there and in the meanwhile, C. B. Saunders, the Judicial Commissioner of Mysore, acted for him as Commissioner. Bowring was born in 1824 and was a son of Sir George Bowring. He was educated at Exeter, Leipzig and Hailebury. He joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1843. He was Assistant Resident at Lahore in 1847 and was a Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab from 1849-54. His next post was that of private secretary to the Governor-General Lord Canning from 1858-62, when he became Commissioner of Mysore. He continued to serve the Mysore State till 1870 with an interval of a year's leave in 1866-67, when Saunders again acted for him. In 1867 Bowring was created a C. S. I.

In April 1862 Bowring left Calcutta and arriving at Madras started for Bangalore on the 20th of that month. The railway line had not been fully opened up to Bangalore at the time and as a consequence he had very trying experiences of his journey entailing, as he himself said at the time, 'eight hours grilling on the railway line and fourteen hours severe jolting in the hearse-like transit carriages.' After assuming charge of his new appointment, he inspected on the 24th April the headquarter offices located in Haidar's palace in the fort of Bangalore and found the building in a somewhat dilapidated condition. There was treasure to the extent of one million rupees and Bowring found that this large amount of money was in sole charge of a treasurer who furnished no security except his reputation for honesty. The revenue office

was found to be in good order and the taluk accounts were also found very creditably kept. The officers employed at the time were Mahratta Brahmins who, Bowring noticed, did not like the Kanada language which was substituted for use in place of Marathi during the previous regime. Bowring was introduced to the officers of the Huzur Adalat and was, as he said, amused to see a regular Your Worship kind of bench with a dock and a witness-box with a magnificent red punkah over the bench. On visiting the jail, Bowring found that all the prisoners were chained together at night, so that one man could not get up without awaking all the rest of the gang. Another glaring defect he found was that there was no separate lock-up for women, there being only a separate room the approach to which was the same as that of the rest of the wards.

Bowring next went to Mysore and on the 30th April had an interview with the Maharaja in the palace in the fort at Mysore. He was escorted from his residence to the palace by a body of men belonging to the Maharaja's household consisting of horsemen and footmen, spearmen and swordsmen dressed in bright colours. On arrival at the palace, he was conducted to the reception room. Bakshi Narasappa the principal palace officer was present on the occasion. The Maharaja received Bowring very politely and made a number of complimentary remarks. The Viceroy's khareetha informing His Highness of Bowring's appointment as Commissioner was received with all honours, attar and pan were then exchanged and a salute was fired. Bowring again visited Mysore in July following and on better acquaintance found the Maharaja wonderfully posted with all that passed in his territory. At this time in conversation with the Commissioner, the Maharaja expressed himself much pleased at the idea of small irrigation works being restored to the control of the revenue authorities from whom they had been taken away sometime ago and transferred to the Engineering Department which the Maharaja did not like. Bowring agreed with the observations of the Maharaja and repeating the words of a distinguished British engineer Colonel Strachey said that it was quite as absurd to call in a first class engineer to repair the bund of a pond as to summon an architect to put in a pane of glass in a broken window. In connection with another subject the

rise of prices, Bowring found that the Maharaja would not look at it entirely through the glasses of the western political economists and when the former told him that the ryots were many times better off than they were, His Highness at once replied: "How can that be. Things were cheap and now they are dear, while I find all my servants leaving me because the coffee planters and executive engineers give them double wages."

Bowring's administration in Mysore was chiefly noted for the large number of departmental reforms introduced by him which gave the Government its modern colour. The more or less paternal despotism of Cubbon's days no longer suited the spirit of the new age which had after the Indian Mutiny opened everywhere in India from the time of the assumption in 1858 by the British Crown of the government of the country from the hands of the East India Company. Mysore at the time of Bowring's assumption of office was what was called in official parlance a Non-Regulation province to which the Regulations and Acts in force in the Regulation Provinces had not been extended, in which fewer officers were employed and in which executive and judicial functions were to a great extent exercised by the same persons. The principal personnel of Government under the British Commission at the time when Bowring began his administration consisted of the Commissioner's staff at headquarters, four Superintendents one posted to each of the divisions of the Mysore territory, three assistants, ten junior assistants to the Superintendents of Divisions, and the court of Huzur Adalat consisting as it did at the time of 3 judges with lesser powers.

Bowring during his time re-distributed Mysore into three divisions in place of four and these three were subdivided into eight districts. He also established, besides revising the previously existing revenue and judicial agencies, a department of accounts, a department for registration of documents, an establishment for the survey and settlement of lands, and another for the investigation of Inam tenures. There were also separate staffs of engineers for irrigation and for ordinary public works, with additional establishments for the conservancy of channels and for the scrutiny of public

works accounts and a distinct department for the working and conservancy of forests. A new police system was introduced and a large medical staff was in charge of the jails and hospitals and also attended to sanitary concerns, while vital interests of towns were attended to by newly formed municipal corporations. For diffusion of knowledge a larger educational agency came into being. The military force was placed under a European officer belonging to the British army. The effect of these improvements was to increase the number of the superior grade officers from about thirty in the days of General Cubbon to 135, out of which less than thirty subordinate appointments exclusively in the revenue and judicial departments were held by natives, while the remainder were held by Europeans. In 1869 the designations of Superintendents of Divisions and of Deputy Superintendents of districts were changed to those of 'Commissioners' and 'Deputy Commissioners,' while the head of the administration was designated Chief Commissioner.

In 1865 Harihar which was a military station till then was abandoned by the British troops, the only other stations existing being Bangalore and French Rocks. In October 1862 Bowring expressed the opinion that the native infantry regiment of British troops located at French Rocks would not be readily available in case any disturbance arose at Mysore, because the Kaveri river intervened between the two places and there was the danger of one or the other of the bridges being destroyed. On the other hand, if the regiment was stationed at Mysore, the Superintendent of the Division could, when necessary, immediately call upon the regiment for help and avert any disturbance. The Government of India accepted Bowring's idea and the construction of the new military lines on a site at a distance of about two miles to the north of the Mysore city was begun and completed in 1864, when the regiment occupied the same. It was however later found that the health of the troops suffered considerably by the change and they were ordered back to their old lines at French Rocks.

#### **Finance.**

In the year 1861-62 when Bowring assumed the administration, the total revenue of the State amounted to a little over 100 lakhs of

rupees per year and in 1865-66 it reached Rs. 109 lakhs, the land revenue amounting to Rs. 77½ lakhs. The expenditure of the State generally was Rs. 85 lakhs including subsidy (24½ lakhs), allowance to the Maharaja (Rs. 12 lakhs), military expenditure (Rs. 11 lakhs), religious endowments (Rs. 3½ lakhs) and Civil expenditure (Rs. 34 lakhs). Early in 1864 the British Indian currency notes were introduced into circulation for the first time. Though, strictly speaking, a currency note was cashable by the Government only at the place of its issue, yet in Mysore in order to instil confidence in the minds of the people Bowring ordered all notes of Rs. 100 and lower in value to be cashed at the taluk treasuries if they had funds. The notes were also ordered to be accepted in payment of Government revenue, so that they might gradually get into circulation.

Bowring was at first opposed to the annual budget system of receipts and expenditure which the Government of India wanted to be introduced in Mysore. He failed to see, he said, the use of a budget estimate when Mysore had nothing to do with other provinces and any surplus remaining belonged to that Government only. All that was required, according to him, was that there was to be a surplus at the end of the year. After he gained some experience of the budget system however, Bowring became convinced of its utility and thereafter willingly followed the procedure prescribed by the Government of India.

#### **Muzrai.**

In 1866 the Government of India observed that although the peculiar circumstances under which Mysore was administered rendered it necessary that certain classes of acts were required to be performed which would not be thought of in a purely British province, yet where such acts were connected with idolatrous buildings and practices there seemed no reason why any Christian officer of Government or any Government officer as such should be called upon to perform them. Accordingly in 1867 the Muzrai Department was placed in charge of a Native Assistant in each district.

The public offices at Bangalore were built between 1864-68 at a cost of Rs. 4½ lakhs and the headquarter offices of the British

Commission which had been located for 37½ years in Haidar's palace in the Bangalore fort were transferred to the new buildings in the year 1868.

### **Forest Conservancy.**

The systematic conservancy of forests began during the regime of Bowring. In 1863-64 the Forest Conservancy Department was established and its control was gradually extended over all the forests of the State. Some arrangements for the protection of forests existed previous to 1862-63. But before the formation of the Forest Department in that year, the forests of the three divisions were worked on various systems and the only general rule was that any agriculturist who required any wood other than teak or sandal could obtain it on payment of a prescribed seigniorage. The first operations of this department consisted of the preparation of two lists of reserved trees, the first including 15 kinds declared to be absolutely the property of Government, to fell which wherever they grew either ryot or trader had to obtain a licence on payment of certain fixed rates. The second list consisted of 27 kinds of trees reserved from the trader but free to the ryot for his own use provided they grew within his own taluk. All kinds of trees not named in these two lists were free to ryots but could be felled by traders only on payment of a fee. In 1869 new rules were brought into operation providing for the formation of State and district forests. The first were placed under the sole management of the Forest Department, while the last were left under the revenue authorities. Ryots were allowed unreserved wood and bamboos free of duty for agricultural purposes but had to pay a duty when they required wood for house-building purposes.

During Bowring's administration, in the year 1865 the harvest was scanty but it was confined for the most part to the Chitaldrug district and the taluks on the north-eastern borders of the State in Tumkur and Kolar. The tanks became generally dry and the early or Kartik crop of rice was more or less a failure involving a loss of Rs. 3 lakhs out of a land revenue of Rs. 75 lakhs. Earlier, large quantities of stored-up grain had been exported to Bellary and Dharwar where the cultivation of cotton had replaced that of food

crops on account of the large demand for the former article stimulated by short supplies from the United States of America caused by the civil war there and thereby the stocks of grain in Mysore became low. The price of common rice rose to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  seers per rupee and that of ragi to  $10\frac{3}{4}$  or nearly four times the usual prices. In 1866 there was serious alarm in the State on account of the Mungar or early rainfall being unsatisfactory. In June of this year the distress was very severe. It was reported that many people subsisted on ground flour of the kernels of tamarind fruit and cotton seed as well as on leaves and roots, especially the root of the aloe. The Government at this period had no clear policy to afford relief to the sufferers when a famine or scarcity prevailed in the country. It may be noted that when a committee was formed at Bangalore to buy grain cheap and sell it retail at cost price, the Commissioner refused to assist them in their object by any grant of public money or to allow any Government officer to hold a place on the committee for fear of violating the principles of free trade.

An event connected with this period was the establishment of a charity by Prince Gulam Muhammad, the last surviving son of Tippu in November 1868. The Commissioner of Mysore for the time being was constituted the trustee of the fund and a sufficient sum of money invested in 4 per cent Government paper yielding about Rs. 500 monthly for distribution among the poor of Mysore the country of his birth. The charity was to be disbursed in sums of three rupees each per month to one hundred poor Mahomedans, fifty Native Christians and twenty Brahmins of the town and suburbs of Mysore. This charity which is in operation even at the present day did credit to his broad-mindedness and the innate love he bore for the country of his birth, though he had left it when quite a child in 1800. This Prince, it may be stated, died in 1877. Lord Lawrence the Governor-General claimed him as an intimate friend of his and bore testimony to the many excellent virtues he possessed,

## **CHAPTER LXXIII.**

### **Judicial Reforms—Police re-organisation—Education and Local Self-government.**

#### **Judicial Reforms.**

Under the revised judicial system introduced by Bowring the number of courts increased from 103 to 125. The Huzur Adalat and the courts of Sudder Munsiffs were abolished and 8 courts of Deputy Superintendents, 10 of European Assistant Superintendents and 15 of Native Assistant Superintendents were established. Two Small Cause courts were newly brought into existence. A departmental test was prescribed for the native assistants. A simple code of procedure connected with civil suits based partly on the Punjab rules and partly on the Act VIII of 1859 was compiled and furnished to the Amildars for their guidance. The Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure were introduced for the first time defining offences and giving the measure of punishments to be awarded. The Criminal Procedure Code also regulated the procedure without entirely excluding the co-operation of Panchayets. The system of fees was abolished from the 1st November 1862 and in lieu of it stamp rules were introduced which made it incumbent upon litigants, except in the case of pauper suitors, to pay an institution fee in the shape of a stamp paper on which the plaint was written and which was of value corresponding with the sum claimed. The Superintendents of Divisions were vested with the powers of Sessions Judges and the court of the Judicial Commissioner was made the highest court for purposes of revision and appeal.

It was during the time of Bowring that for the first time a differentiation came to be maintained between the legislative and executive functions of Government. Mysore being regarded as a Native State, the legislative enactments of the Government of India did not apply to it automatically as they did in British India. When therefore the extension to Mysore of any legislative enactment of the Government of India or of the Governments of Madras, Bengal or Bombay was considered necessary, a special application was made to the Governor-General in Council for the extension of the

same to Mysore. Some of the most noticeable enactments introduced during this period were—Copy Right of Books, Small Cause Courts, Railway Act, Abkari Revenue, Acquisition of land for public purposes, Civil Procedure Code, Breach of contract, Indian Penal Code, Regulation of Police, Criminal Procedure Code, Indian Stamp Act, Bills of Exchange, Arms and ammunition, Trading Companies, Registration of Assurances, Regulation of printing presses, Limitation Act, Court fees, Indian Coinage, Bombay Act for the Survey, Demarcation, Assessment and administration of lands.

In 1867 certain rules were brought into operation for oral hearing and written judgments in appeal cases and for the enrolment of pleaders. From the beginning of 1867 two important alterations were made in civil procedure, namely, that no decree should ever be passed on appeal without giving the parties an opportunity of appearing on an appointed day and the decision should invariably be written by the presiding judge. Formerly parties to appeal were sometimes heard and sometimes not. No great regularity was observed in hearing appeals on fixed days. Pleadings were admitted only by permission of the judges. It was the practice in several of the superior courts for the facts of the case being stated by subordinate officials and occasionally decisions also were written by them, the judge concerned only signing them.

#### **Police re-organisation.**

A regularly organised police force except the Kandachar or the armed militia did not exist in Mysore prior to Bowring's time. From the Amildar down to the lowest taluk peon the officials were employed promiscuously as police in serving judicial processes, in supplying the wants of travellers and in revenue duties of all kinds. Bowring now felt the need of reforming the police and the first step taken by him towards this end was the introduction in 1866 of the Madras Act V of 1861 into the Bangalore district and the appointment of an officer to the charge of the district. A reduction was made in the number of Kandachar peons, the rates of their pay were increased, and inefficient men were removed. A separation also was made between revenue and police peons and the latter

were confined strictly to their duties. Special police establishments were sanctioned for Bangalore, Mysore, Tumkur and Shimoga towns instead of the former system of detaching men in rotation from the taluks or from a separate establishment attached to the division headquarters.

After a year's working however, the Madras system was found to entail a considerable increase of expenditure and it also possessed the radical defect of overlooking the existence of the village police and it was therefore felt desirable to remodel the old Kandachar system. Accordingly it was decided that the Kandachar should be formed into a regular constabulary in all parts of the State having the village police as its basis but who were to act as auxiliaries only. It was also considered that there was no need to regularly arm and drill the constabulary, as there existed the local Barr force which in case of need could be readily used for purposes of suppressing any disturbances that might arise.

#### **Education.**

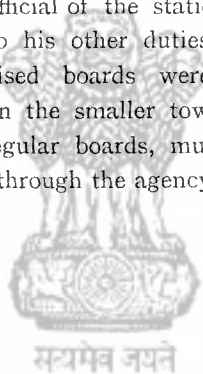
Early in the year 1867 the attention of the Government of India was attracted to the want of sufficient number of suitable institutions in the Mysore State for the education of the mass of the people and that Government called on the Commissioner to submit a scheme for the purpose. Bowring found that the Government maintained at the time a training school for Kanada schoolmasters, besides an agency for the publication of elementary school books. There were also other schools in different parts of the State managed by Christian Missions. There were in all these institutions together about 6000 pupils including girls and 22,000 in indigenous schools—altogether about 28,000 pupils. Taking the male population at above 21 lakhs and assuming  $\frac{1}{9}$  of that number to be of school going age, it was calculated that about 2 lakhs of boys were without education. The scheme now proposed by the Commissioner consisted of establishments for instruction, for inspection and for the training of masters. These figures however were of questionable accuracy, as they were subjected to no scrutiny. As regards instruction, it was proposed to adopt the

taluk sub-divisions called hoblies as the unit and to establish a school in each. There were at the time 645 hoblies with an average area of 41 square miles and a supposed population of 6040 persons. The advantage of having a school in each hobli centre was, it was considered, that the farthest distance from the school would not exceed about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The masters were to be selected from among the most intelligent and influential of the existing indigenous teachers. The supervising agency was to consist of eight sub-deputy inspectors or one for each district averaging 3400 square miles. The indigenous teachers of what were called matas were generally regarded as ignorant of arithmetic and geography and as having no knowledge of organisation, discipline or method. An institution for training masters was therefore considered necessary and the instruction imparted was to be entirely in the Kanada language and was to consist of reading, writing, the elements of arithmetic and geography. Fees were to be collected from those whose relations did not contribute to the educational fund and the school was to be open to both boys as well as girls. Local committees were to be formed consisting of some of the respectable and influential residents of the hobli with the village officials for purposes of general supervision. To defray the expenses of this scheme as well as for other local purposes a cess assessed at 1 anna in the rupee on the land revenue expected to yield about Rs. 80,000 a year was to be levied. The whole of this scheme was sanctioned by the Government of India and in the same year came to be introduced in several parts of the State.

Bowring unlike Cubbon was an enthusiast for the spread of education. The latter, as we have seen, cherished the opinion that to educate the natives was to weaken British rule. But Bowring was more broad-minded. The eagerness of the people for education rapidly increased and it was found that at the end of about a year after the introduction of Bowring's scheme, considerable difficulties were felt to provide buildings and teachers as fast as they were required. Elementary school books were circulated where schools had not sprung up by sending them to all the Amildars with instructions to expose them for sale in their taluk cutcherries.

**Local Self-government.**

Municipal Committees were first experimentally formed in 1862 at Bangalore and Mysore and what was regarded as an experiment for enlisting the help of non-officials for managing local affairs thereby began. The experiment proved a success and by 1864-65 each of the eight district headquarter stations possessed a municipal committee. The measure was next extended to taluk Kasabas or headquarters and eventually to other large trading towns and villages. In Bangalore where the municipal operations were conducted on a large scale and their control and direction required special attention and involved much labour, there was a salaried president in charge. In the other district headquarter municipalities no salary was attached to the office of the president, a selected Government official of the station being entrusted with the charge in addition to his other duties. In all these municipalities regularly organised boards were formed consisting of influential residents. In the smaller towns where it was found difficult to constitute regular boards, municipal regulations were introduced and enforced through the agency of revenue officers.



## CHAPTER LXXIV.

### Land Survey and Settlement—Inam Settlement.

While Purnaiya was Dewan, a general topographical survey of the country was made by Colonel Mackenzie as well as a revenue survey by the officers of the State. Nothing however was subsequently done till Bowring's attention was called to the irregularities and frauds connected with land tenure and assessment. In 1862 several of the glaring defects in the prevailing revenue system were brought to the notice of the Government of India by Bowring and the Superintendents were ordered to carry on investigations in their respective divisions. On account of the unrecorded multiplicity of the rates of assessment prevailing in various parts of the State and there being no permanent boundary marks showing the limits of each field, it was found that it had practically come to rest with the Shanbogues or village accountants to regulate at will all payments to be made by the cultivators. In the case of Batayi as well as Inam lands also, it was found that many discrepancies existed. The Supreme Government considered that the introduction of the Revenue Survey and Settlement accompanied by an equitable assessment as prevailed in Bombay and Madras was the only effectual remedy for the removal of the evils that had established themselves. It was subsequently decided to adopt the Bombay Revenue Survey system which was believed to have proved successful in the districts of that presidency bordering on Mysore. "My reason," wrote Mr. Bowring, "for preferring the system of Survey and Settlement pursued in Bombay may be summed up thus:—"I found that in Mysore which borders both on that Presidency and Madras we had ample opportunity of comparing the method pursued in either case. The difference is as follows:—Under the Bombay system the survey, classification and settlement are all continuous links of one chain forged under the directions of the same individual whose interest it is to see that every successive link fits closely into its predecessor, every step also being carefully taken with advertance to the next one. There is no such close connection in the Madras system. The boundaries are fixed

by one person, the survey laid down by another and the settlement by a third, these several agencies not being under one responsible head. The survey, so far as I can judge, is excellent but the surveyor had not the power of altering the boundaries if incorrect. On the completion of the survey, the work was taken up by the settlement officer."

In introducing the Survey and Settlement into any taluk the first steps taken were the division of the village lands into fields, the prescribing of the limits of such fields by permanent marks and the accurate measurement of the area of each field in itself by chain and other cross-staff. In the division of the lands into fields the point kept in view was that the fields were generally to be of a size to allow being cultivated by a ryot of limited means with a pair of bullocks, the size also varying according to climate, soil, description of cultivation and methods of husbandry. Where however particular holdings were of small areas, contiguous small holdings were clubbed together to bring the area within the limits fixed. The marks used for defining the limits of fields laid out were rectangular mounds of earth at the four corners and at intervals along the side. The protraction on paper of the survey made of the village lands by cross-staff, theodolite and chain constituted the village maps affording the most minute information as to the position, size and limits of fields, roads, water courses or other similar particulars.

The next step towards the settlement of the taluk was the classification of the land with the object of determining the relative values of the fields into which the land was divided. All lands were divided into dry-crop, wet and garden land but in the two latter, in addition to soil classification, the water-supply also was taken into consideration. In the case of gardens which were irrigated by wells, in addition to the classification of soil, the supply, depth and quantity of water in the wells, the area of land under each, the distance of the garden from the village as affecting the cost of manuring and similar particulars were also ascertained. The whole of the lands into which each village had been broken up being thus classified, the taluk became ready for settlement,

The next operation was to fix the extents of the lands to which a uniform standard of assessment was to be applied. Among the most important influences admitted into the consideration of this point were climate, position with respect to markets, communications, the agricultural skill and actual condition of the cultivators generally. The villages of the taluk having been divided into groups according to their respective advantages of climate, markets and other particulars and the relative values of the fields of each village having been determined from the classification of the soils, command of water for irrigation, or other extrinsic circumstances, the maximum rate to be levied on each description of cultivation was then fixed, together with the amount of assessment to be levied as a whole. These rates were fixed with reference to the past management of the taluk for twenty years and by an examination and comparison of annual collections of previous years. The maximum rates having been fixed, the inferior rates were deduced from the relative values laid down in the classification scales and the rates so determined were applied to all descriptions of land according to their classification.

The Survey rules and the guarantee given to the cultivators while intended to secure the proper rights of the State were also meant to be equitable to the ryots possessing similar rights. The benefits of the improvements made to the lands by ryots were left to them exclusively during their terms of the lease for a period of 30 years. An assurance was also given at the same time that at the next revision the assessment would not be revised with reference to any improvements made at the ryot's cost but only with reference to natural or other events, in the benefits of which the Government had a right to share equally with the ryot.

The Survey and Settlement Department was also entrusted with the duty of revising and settling the village service emoluments. Under the new system the Aya payments, that is to say, the fees realised by Patels and Shanbagues in the shape of grain paid to them direct by the ryots were abolished and a scale of money payments was fixed in the surveyed taluks. The Aya payment which the ryot was paying was included in the land

assessment payable to Government. The Survey commenced in 1863 in the north in the Chitaldrug District and worked westwards and southwards. Upto the end of Bowring's regime in 1870 the extent of land measured was a little over 51½ lakhs of acres and that classed slightly exceeded 32½ lakhs of acres.

The Batayi tenure under which the land exclusively belonged to Government and the cultivator was only an annual tenant sharing the produce with the Government annually was gradually to cease as the settlement came into force in each taluk. In the meanwhile, it was open to the ryots to convert their occupation of Batayi lands into that of the ordinary Kandayam tenure. The ryot was given a hereditary right of occupation as long as the assessment was paid.

In the Malnad or hilly taluks of the Nagar Division situated on the plateau of the Western Ghats the holdings of the ryots were called Vargs. The Varg consisted of all the fields held by one Vargdar or farmer and these were seldom located together but were generally found scattered in different taluks. The Varg system was not of ancient origin but came into existence on the assumption of the management of the country by British officers in 1831, when the Superintendent anxious to procure an accurate record of each man's holding directed a Pahani account to be framed and the holding of each man to be therein shown with its reputed extent and assessment. The rule was that no one was allowed to relinquish or apply for a portion of the Varg unless the whole of it was resigned or taken up. The new Survey system however tended to break down these restrictions and in settled taluks the extent and assessment of each field forming the Varg was defined. Attached to each Varg were tracts of land known as Hankalu and Hadya lands for which no assessment was paid. The Hankalu was set apart for grazing purposes but in later years also came to be utilised for dry cultivation. The Hadya lands were those which were covered with low brushwood and small trees from which firewood and leaves were taken for fuel and manure.

Kans were large tracts of forest for which a cess called Kan cess was paid. The Kans were preserved for the sake of the wild

pepper-vines, bagani palms and certain gum trees that grew in them and also to enable the Vargdars to obtain wood for agricultural and domestic purposes. Later, the privilege of cutting wood in them was withdrawn and the holders of Kans were allowed only to enjoy the three kinds of produce mentioned, to clear the undergrowth and clip trees where necessary for the growth of the pepper-vine and also for manuring purposes.

#### **Coffee Lands.**

Grants of land by public auction for coffee cultivation were made out of the Government jungles, chiefly in the Western Ghats forming the Nagar and Ashtagram Malnad. A title-deed was given to the successful bidder which contained a clause that if he grew any other crop, he was liable to assessment on them according to the prevailing rates of the taluk. This restriction however was not intended to apply to plantains, castor-oil plants, or fruit-trees planted for the *bona fide* purposes of affording shelter or shade to the coffee. On the coffee trees coming to bearing, the holder was to pay an excise duty or halat of four annas on every maund which was produced. The holders were also empowered to fell and clear away the jungle on giving six months' previous notice to the authorities concerned to enable them to remove or dispose of all reserved trees.

#### **Cardamom Cultivation.**

Lands for the cultivation of cardamom were granted from the jungles on the east side of the Western Ghats where this plant grew spontaneously. Grants of land not exceeding 200 acres nor less than 10 acres were made by public auction to planters on leases running to 20 years. On the expiration of the term of the lease if the lessee was not inclined to renew the lease, he was allowed compensation for the improvements made by him from any surplus realised by the Government on the re-sale of the land. The lessee paid a halat or excise duty of Rs. 2 per maund of 28 lbs. on the cardamoms produced by him. If he grew any other crop, the land on which it was grown was assessed at the prevailing rates. He was however allowed to make use of the minor forest

produce and to fell trees in order to facilitate the growth of the cardamom.

### **Inam Settlement.**

After the fall of Seringapatam, Dewan Purnaiya was given to understand that no alienation of land was to be made without the Resident's consent. In 1868 the Government of India sanctioned a set of rules for the settlement of these Inams or alienations of State revenue to private individuals at whatever period made. These rules based on the theory of the reversionary right of Government were so framed as to meet the several descriptions of Inam lands existing in the province testing their validity firstly, by the competency of the grant irrespective of the duration of the Inam whether 50 or less than 50 years old, secondly, by duration of the Inam for 50 or more than 50 years irrespective of the competence or otherwise of the grantor.

The following were the principles on which the settlement was conducted :—

1. When sannads had been granted by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III or by his predecessors and when they conveyed full powers of alienation and were hereditary, the Inams were to be treated as heritable and alienable property.
2. When sannads emanating as above did not convey full powers of alienation, the Inams were to be enfranchised by payment of a quit-rent equal to  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the assessment of the tenure, except in the case of Inams granted for the performance of religious, charitable and village services which were still required to be rendered.
3. Where sannads had been granted by incompetent authorities and when they were less than 50 years old, a compulsory quit-rent equal to one-half of the assessment was to be imposed. But in doubtful cases and where there was a probability that the Inam had been enjoyed for fully 50 years, a quit-rent was to be imposed equal to one-fourth of the assessment.

The principal Inam tenures prevailing in Mysore at the time their settlement was undertaken were :—

1. Sarvamanya or villages or lands held free of all demands including Sayer and Mohatarfa.
2. Ardhamanya or lands assessed generally at half the usual rates.
3. Jodi villages or lands granted and held on a light assessment, the proportion of which to the full rates varied.
4. Jodi Agrahars which were ordinarily whole villages held by Brahmins only on a favourable tenure.
5. Bhatamanya or Brahmadaaya Inams were grants and endowments of lands held by Brahmins for their support, being personal grants as distinguished from those held on conditions of service.
6. Devadaya and Dharmadaya were grants made for the support of religious and charitable institutions and persons rendering services therein.
7. Kodagi Inams were lands granted free of tax or on a light assessment in consideration of services rendered in the construction or restoration of tanks or on condition of their being maintained in good repair.
8. Kerebandi Inams were those granted for the annual petty repairs of tanks.

Prior to the introduction of the Survey and Settlement, it was the custom dating from a very early period to maintain a tank establishment called Kerebandies who in return for certain lands held rent-free were required to maintain buffaloes for bringing earth to fill up hollows and repair washed off portions. After the introduction of the Inam settlement, this old institution was gradually extinguished by the members being released from service and being allowed to retain their Inam lands on the payment of a small quit-rent. There were also bodies of men known as Kamatis who in return for

certain privileges were liable to be called on for effecting repairs within their respective taluks. A corps called Khalihat also existed for general service in all parts of the State on road or irrigation works as might be required. These were originally palanquin bearers maintained by the State on the main roads for the benefit of travellers. With the increase of travellers and the introduction of other means of locomotion, the specific employment of this corps ceased and the men were as a body turned over to the Maramat in 1841 and afterwards to the new Department of Public Works. In 1860 the Kamatis and Khalihats were combined into a single corps of 10 companies, 100 strong each. From 1862 the system of executing work by contract was more largely resorted to than before.



## CHAPTER LXXV.

### **Bowring's resignation of office and departure from Mysore—Opinions on some of the topics of the day—Some letters of Mrs. Bowring.**

Early in the year 1870 Bowring resigned his office and departed to England. Three events of great importance not hitherto mentioned took place during his period of service in Mysore—the adoption of a son by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III in June 1865, the recognition in April 1867 by Her Majesty's Government in England of the adopted minor child as successor to the throne of the Maharaja, and the death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III in March 1868. But these events will for the sake of continuity be described in later chapters. It is enough to state here that on the 2nd February 1870 Bowring went to Mysore to take leave of the adopted son, young Maharaja Chamaraja Wodeyar, whom he visited in class learning his ABC with his future courtiers, the young Rajbindies. In the evening the town was illuminated and all the different castes—Brahmins, Seths, Vaisyas, Lingayets and Mussalmans presented complimentary addresses to Bowring. This was followed by a dinner in the Residency when many complimentary speeches were made and the evening ended with a display of fireworks.

On Bowring's return to Bangalore addresses were presented to him at the public offices on the 7th February 1870 by the Hindus and Mussalmans of Mysore and by the people of Coorg. The address of the Hindus was presented in a handsome sandalwood box inlaid with a miniature of the young Raja Chamaraja Wodeyar. That same evening Bowring left Bangalore for Madras. An arch had been erected at the gate of the residence of the Chief Commissioner and all along the road which led from the house to the railway station garlands had been swung. It was dark as Mr. and Mrs. Bowring drove out of their residence and they were forced to drive slowly with men at the horses' heads lest they should take fright at the shouting of the people, the coloured lights and the torches. The station was crowded with a large concourse of people wishing to bid farewell to the retiring Chief Commissioner. Bowring

lived in retirement in England till 1890 when he died and during this period he wrote two books, the first named "Eastern Experiences" and the second "Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan," the latter forming a volume of the Rulers of India series. Bowring possessed some acquaintance of the Sanskrit language which made him very popular among the people of Mysore. Besides the Bowring hospital in the C. & M. Station, Bangalore, which perpetuates his name, the flourishing town of Bowringpet on the railway line from Bangalore to Madras also bears his name in memory of the good work done by him.

A few extracts from his book "Eastern Experiences" which also contains some of his wife's letters are given below which throw light on the life of those days.

Referring to the Lal Bagh at Bangalore, Bowring wrote: "In the public garden called the Lal Bagh, the formation of which is attributed to Haidar Ali, the visitor might at first imagine himself transferred to a purely European pleasure-ground, till advancing he sees the gorgeous creepers, the wide-spreading mangoes and the graceful betel-nut trees which characterise the East. The garden is a beautiful retreat and is frequented by all classes, the natives being attracted to it mainly by the menagerie attached to it. Of late years, the Government of India have shown a laudable desire to encourage on the part of the people of the country an interest in all that humanises and refines the mind instead of treating them like an inexhaustible milch-cow."

Regarding the Mysore ryot: "There is a good deal of sturdiness in the Mysore ryot who is not slow to speak his mind if his interests are affected, presenting in this respect a remarkable contrast to the subservient and cringing Bengali."

Regarding the languages of the country: "As it is hopeless to substitute English for the language of the country, it is evidently desirable to foster as far as practicable the latter and to supersede indigenous works of an objectionable character by others in which all the features of modern civilisation and science are preserved."

Regarding the officials Bowring expressed the opinion that in the absence of any influential land-holders, the officials practically were the aristocracy and the rulers of the country and he regarded that this gave the British an immense hold over the disposition of the people.

Regarding Brahmins he expressed: "The influence of Brahmins being still paramount, it is extremely unlikely, humanly speaking, that they should of their own accord open a flood-gate which would sweep them away into the open ocean of no-caste where they would be lost amidst the myriads of their inferiors. The secular education taught in Government schools seems but to have the effect of sharpening their wits and of supplying them with ready and derisive sarcasms on the religion of Europeans. Nor is it an easy matter for the ablest missionary to contend with and vanquish the astute Brahmin of the south who by equivocation or silence can effectually baffle his adversary or by complimenting him on his learning adroitly change the subject."

Regarding the translation of legal enactments Bowring recorded that ludicrous blunders were made. "For instance, in the Kanada translation of the Christian Marriage Act made under the supervision of the Director of Public Instruction, it was found that 'a person who has received episcopal ordination' was rendered 'a person who has received independence.' 'Church' in the sense of a particular form of belief as the Protestant church was rendered 'the temple.' The Act itself was designated as an 'Act to Augment Marriages.' I have not sufficient knowledge of Canarese but a glance at some of the difficult passages when Sanskrit words are used showed that in some instances they had been sadly misapplied."

Regarding the Coffee Planters: "There is no doubt that the European planters have conferred an immense benefit upon Manjarabad and the adjoining sub-divisions where they have established themselves. The native land-holders averse to the curtailment of their own feudal powers and fearing the consequences of their agrestic labourers quitting their employ frequently regard

with a jealous eye the colonisation of their country by the interlopers. Nevertheless, many of these have won their esteem and confidence. Cases of violence calling for the intervention of Government rarely occur and the planters of Manjarabad are as a body gentleman-like and considerate and in every way entitled to the fullest support which the State can consistently give them."

Regarding the scarcity of labour in the Malnad: "In the Nagar Division the Department of Public Works is unable to carry on work satisfactorily. Even if there were an overseer for every taluk, he would be unable to command labour which is with difficulty procurable even by the Vargdars themselves. If the Tahsildars hold up their little fingers, not a single soul will come near the subordinates of the department even of the few haphazard coolies that may be available. A different system should be adopted for the Malnad, the executive engineer or engineers being placed under the Superintendent of the Division. If this is done, the Tahsildars will be the main working agency and in this way only can the department come up to what is demanded. Advances should be given to coolies from the low country as planters do who tell me that the loss at the end of the year is trifling. So great is the demand for labour owing to the coffee plantations and the high prices paid elsewhere, that a great deal of land is left uncultivated and the proprietors complain bitterly."

#### **The Sringeri Guru in the Residency.**

Mrs. Bowring in a letter to a friend in England, dated 8th December 1867, wrote: "Last week we had a most curious sight here in our compound. The great Guru or Pope of Southern India announced his intention of paying L—(Bowring) a visit. He is supposed to be an incarnation of the deity. Of course, he could not condescend to enter a Christian house. So L— had to receive him on the lawn. First came a number of natives dancing, shouting and beating tomtoms, then an elephant, then the Guru carried in a magnificent cross-palanquin which is borne so as to stop the way, he being the only person permitted to be carried in this manner. He is an old man of 78. He wore a gold tiara, an emerald necklace and silver shoes, and behind him was carried his successor, a child

of seven who is supposed to have the marks of the deity about him..... He sat on a wooden chair and L— opposite him. I was peeping through the venetians all the while. Just under the window stood six dancing girls covered with ornaments. They were very handsome and had chignons of flowers—a regular bouquet at the back of their heads.”

**Mrs. Bowring on her way to meet her husband in the evening  
at his office, 6th January 1868.**

“Five o'clock. Chocolate and toast, and then away to the fort goes Mrs. C.—(Mrs. Bowring) in her easy barouche with black horses and the two running horse-boys through the pettah with its palms, temples and shops, through crowds of natives staring and salaaming, through eastern sights and smells up to the old fort, under the gateway, up the hill through the inner gates, and then pull up. Mrs. C— pretends not to see the old, mad man wrapped up in a rugged old shawl who daily tries to intercept and get something out of Mrs. C—, and the old crazy woman who has been everyday for ten years with ‘her case.’ Mr. C— is long in coming and a crowd has collected all staring. Some are handsome looking men, others dreadful objects with deformities. A stir! Mr. C's mysterious box and the practical bottle of sherry and the empty biscuit tin appear followed by Mr. C— himself. Soldiers present arms and then Mr. and Mrs. C— go for their evening drive.”

**18th November 1868—on tour from Bangalore.**

“At six o'clock in the morning we started..... The salute was fired as we passed out of the gates. A Silledar rode on before and two others followed the carriage behind. As we passed through the native town which was not yet astir, we saw the people lying asleep rolled up in blankets in the verandahs in front of their shops. As we went by a temple, an old priest rushed out and screamed out something that sounded like a curse but was, I believe, intended for a blessing.

“We were travelling in an open carriage and so cold was it that I shivered and that in Southern India. As we rode along, there were beautiful lights from the rising sun on the wild rocks,

and patches of highly cultivated land, and vultures were sweeping and careering over the landscape in search of their breakfasts. The sugarcane and rice crops looked most flourishing in the low wet land under the great tanks which have all the appearance of natural lakes. Many of these have been most carefully constructed, giving proof that the natives knew something of engineering long before English rule and public works were thought of.

"When we came in sight of a taluk (Chennapatna town) a man with a long brass horn blew a not unmusical blast to announce our approach. Then out came a troop of Silledars on prancing steeds in their picturesque dresses and joining our cavalcade entered the village, where the Amildar or magistrate at the head of the population awaited our arrival with the usual complimentary wreath of flowers, lemons etc. Then L— spoke, enquired about the crops, heard a few grievances and on we went.

"As we turned into the compound at the bungalow, the flag was hoisted, for it always travels about with us when L— goes on an official tour..... After breakfast, L— went out riding to visit two curious tombs outside the town, the priests of which turned out in fine dresses, with tomtoms and two dancing girls all bedizened with finery as is the custom when any one of note arrives at a place."

**"Exit from the compound. 19th November 1868."**

"Picture the scene, a wild road with large banyan trees on either side, with their fantastic roots and great branches stretching far and low. A native going on ahead with the eternal horn, now and again stopping to turn round and blow the cheerful blast. He was followed by two peons, one carrying L—'s gun, and then came our three selves, Captain C— on a large, ugly Australian bay horse, L— on Tsar the gray Arab and I riding Fritz, the horseboy running up by my side with his bare black legs, white knickerbockers, blue cloth jacket bound with scarlet, and scarlet turban. A little way behind, two mounted Silledars, more peons and then the bullock-coach with Marie and Rosalie.

"I enjoyed the ride so much, but was glad, after seven miles of it, to get into the palanquin, of which this was my first experience,

It is carried by twelve men who take it in turn, six at a time, changing every hundred yards. The disagreeables are the motion and the peculiar singing of the bearers, rather a dismal ditty, but I soon got to like the one and forget the other.

"On reaching the bungalow at Maddur, the priest turned out of the temple and a man with a tomtom ran on in front. But it means respect and you salaam and are grateful. Some natives were waiting on the steps with a dish of plantains and flowers, which they did to please us, poor creatures, and I was sorry that I could not speak to them. Crowds of people came with petitions, some of whom lay flat on the ground when they presented them, whining over their misfortunes or piccadillos. This man has not repaired his tank and that one has been fined for insubordination and when L— declines to interfere, they come round to where they can see me and gesticulate, until the peons come and send them off."

**Mrs. Bowring's experience of travelling in a bullock-coach from Shimoga, 18th January 1869.**

"I was really sorry to say 'Good-Bye' and pretty Mrs. C— looked half envious as going into Bangalore from the districts is looked upon in the light of a trip to Paris or a run up to town in England. Well! off we went at last, a motely procession,—Dignity in the person of a mounted Silledar, followed by Necessity—that is, two torch-bearers in birthday suits—and Discomfort personified by three bullock-coaches. As soon as we were fairly out of the gates, I proceeded to undress and then began our troubles. The road was not good and the coach jolted and swayed to and fro in an eccentric manner, so that being at sea was nothing to it. I lit my lamp and tried to read as we crept slowly up the hills, but Oh! the descents! Three men who ran by the side of the bullocks to keep them on the road shouted, twisted their tails, poked them with sticks, the Jehu flogged and away they tore, full gallop regardless of everything. It was trying to one's nerves and the more so, as, if anything did happen, there was nothing for it but to turn out in nightgown and bare feet. After 14 hours of this misery, we reached Kadur. Half the night we travelled through

the jungles which were all on fire in parts and they lighted up the sky, while the flames roared like a waterfall. No doubt, the fires were miles off but they seemed so near that they terrified me.

“I do not think I ever enjoyed a cup of tea so much in my life as I did the one given me on arriving at Kadur.”



## CHAPTER LXXVI.

**Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831—1868.**

**Krishnaraja Wodeyar III during the days of the British Commission—Maintenance of harmonious relations with the British officers and with the British Governments in India and in England.**

We have already referred to the acute pain which Lord William Bentinck felt on realising when he visited Mysore that the action taken by him in suspending the Maharaja from power was a hasty one and that far from the latter's disposition being tyrannical or cruel His Highness was in the highest degree intelligent and sensible. The rejection of Bentinck's proposal by the Court of Directors for a partial restoration of the country to him produced no sourness in Krishnaraja Wodeyar's mind and he seems to have accepted the decision of the Court of Directors with composure, for he saw in it a prospect of obtaining back the whole of his kingdom. During the years that a Resident was allowed to continue at his court there was considerable friction between the Commissioner Cubbon and the Maharaja, attributable mainly to the discord that existed between Cubbon and the Resident J. D. Stokes. After the abolition of the Resident's post in 1843, the relations between the Maharaja and Cubbon when they were brought into direct contact with each other improved greatly and ever after they continued as friends.

It was usual for Krishnaraja Wodeyar every year on the occasion of his birthday to hold horse-races and invite a large number of his European friends both in civil as well as in military employ. On such occasions he was lavish in his hospitality and it was ever his aim both when he was in power as well as afterwards to maintain smooth social relations with the European community. On the occasion of the annual races he gave three great banquets, one on the first race day, one on his birthday and the third at the close of the fetes. The new Governors-General that arrived in India from time to time in consideration of the continued loyal

attachment of the Maharaja to the British Crown even during the years when he had ample cause for provocation made it a point to exchange friendly letters with him whenever there arose opportunities to do so. On the 23rd August 1844 Lord Hardinge announced to the Maharaja his assumption of the post of Governor-General and conveyed the assurance that in return for His Highness' continued attachment to the British Crown his dignity and honour and the interests of his State would receive the same anxious attention as was evinced by Lord Ellenborough. In his reply the Maharaja assured the Governor-General that he would invariably be guided by the same sentiments of gratitude and attachment towards the British Government as had characterised his actions during the last 45 years.

In March 1846 on receiving intimation from the Governor-General of the victory on the banks of the Sutlej over the Sikh forces in the month of January previous, the Maharaja sent his warmest congratulations on that important event and in commemoration of it a royal salute was fired from the ramparts of the fort at Mysore. Similar salutes were fired on news reaching of further successes of the British arms. On intimation from Lord Dalhousie of his assumption of the government of India, the Maharaja in April 1848 while sending his congratulations to him reiterated that he would always make it his study as he had done during the past 49 years to maintain inviolate the esteem and friendship of the British Government to which he was bound by many personal obligations.

In February 1854 the Maharaja sent an invitation to Lord Dalhousie on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday ceremony, when he wrote: "As I flatter myself that your Lordship takes an interest in my welfare, I take the liberty of informing your Lordship that I am now about to celebrate the attainment of my sixtieth year by the performance of certain ceremonies as prescribed in our Sastras and with all the solemnity befitting such an occasion. I would not intrude on your Lordship's time and attention were it not for the circumstance that amongst us this is considered a most remarkable period and rendered still more remarkable by the fact that out of twenty of my immediate predecessors none have ever attained to

this age. Next to a gracious Providence who has been pleased to hitherto preserve and sustain me, I attribute my good fortune in this respect to the favour and protection of my benefactors the British Government, whom I consider in the light of my parents.....”

On learning from a letter addressed to him by Dalhousie of the success gained by the British army at Sebastopol against the Russians, the Maharaja while conveying his congratulations in February 1856 stated also that in promulgating the glorious tidings contained in His Lordship's khareetha, he had ordered in accordance with the usual customs observed in India on such occasions the distribution of sugar in the streets of his capital as well as the firing of a royal salute.

Canning arrived at Calcutta on 29th February 1856 and assumed the office of the Governor-General. On this event being intimated to the Maharaja in a khareetha, the Maharaja while acknowledging it trusted that his arrival would be the precursor of greater happiness and prosperity to the States and people of India in general. On Lord Canning intimating to the Maharaja of the conclusion of peace with Russia, His Highness replied that he had on receipt of the khareetha ordered the firing of a royal salute and added: “It has given me great pleasure to learn from your Lordship's khareetha that the armies of Her Majesty have been victorious in all their engagements with the Russians in the Crimea, thereby sustaining the fame and high character they have always borne for bravery, courage and patient endurance of hardships and trials such as they encountered in the late war and also the good that would result from peace being concluded in Europe. In congratulating your Lordship and the British Government on the restoration of peace to England, it is my earnest prayer that it may always continue inviolate, that Her Majesty may live long and reign prosperously, that her subjects may enjoy every happiness, and that commerce and trade may increase and extend to all parts of the world.”

On receiving intimation from the Governor-General of the fall of Delhi during the period of the Indian Mutiny, the Maharaja in his letter dated 9th December 1857 sent his congratulations on the

event. "It gave me no small amount of grief," he added, "to have heard for some time past the treacherous deeds committed by the rebels and Bengal mutineers, and though for a time dark clouds appeared to have gathered in the horizon of that part of India, yet it was my firm conviction that the bright sun of the British would soon disperse it and its powerful arm subdue the mutineers who are still in a state of rebellion against the Government. I rejoice to learn that my expectations have been fully realised by the gratifying intelligence conveyed in your Lordship's khareetha from which I was also glad to learn that several Native States have continued firm and faithful to the British Government in these troublous times and have rendered every assistance that lay in their power." As on previous occasions when any success was achieved by the British arms, a royal salute was fired and sugar was distributed in the streets of Mysore.

In a private letter written in February 1858 to General J. S. Fraser who was Resident at the Court of Mysore more than 20 years ago, the Maharaja expressed his sentiments regarding the great mutiny in these words:—"It is gratifying to observe that the great rebellion in this country alluded to in your letter is now assuming a more settled aspect. The dark clouds that had gathered round the North-Western Provinces are gradually dispersing and the seditious movers in this rebellion are being apprehended in every village and town and dealt with retributively. My own country, I am happy to say, has continued free from contamination and I am quite certain that this happy circumstance is owing to the wise and judicious measures adopted by Sir Mark Cubbon. I will not at present dwell at length on the harrowing scenes of cruelty and blood which this rebellion has caused nor on the sacrifice of many of England's best and bravest officers in suppressing it, but I shall merely state that as my welfare and happiness are bound up in the success and power of the British Government, so has it been my regard to support that Government as my best friend and benefactor."

In November 1858 Cubbon sent a request to the Maharaja to lend the use of his country house for the purpose of removing into

it temporarily the public treasury at Mysore and the Maharaja readily did so. He also ordered as desired by Cubbon the removal to the fort of all his guns, ammunitions and tumbrils that lay scattered in the town. The Maharaja assured Cubbon that as he was a protegee of the British Government he considered that his whole life and property were bound up in their own welfare and stability. Cubbon in return offered his warmest acknowledgments to the Maharaja for the ready compliance which his request had met with and added that at the earliest opportunity he would communicate to the Governor-General his sense of obligation for His Highness' cordial co-operation in providing for the public safety against the ill-disposed and bad characters assembled in the town of Mysore bent on mischief.

On receiving in December 1858 through the Commissioner of Mysore a Persian khareetha from Lord Canning with a copy of the Queen's Proclamation announcing the assumption of the direct government of the country, the Maharaja besides ordering a royal salute and the usual distribution of sugar, held a durbar in the palace at which the Proclamation was read with every demonstration of loyalty and respect before a large concourse of people of all castes and creeds. "I rejoice, my Lord," concluded the Maharaja in his letter to the Viceroy "that the opportunity is afforded me of expressing my cordial congratulations to your Lordship on Her Majesty's assuming the government of this great Empire and creating your Lordship a Viceroy for its rule. I sincerely trust that under your Lordship's wise administration of the Government, the wish so benevolently proclaimed by Her Majesty may be realised that the prosperity of the people will be her strength, their contentment her security and their gratitude her best reward."

In accordance with the promise made by him, Cubbon wrote to the Government of India in June 1860 that to no one was the Government more indebted for the preservation of tranquillity than to His Highness the Maharaja who displayed the most steadfast loyalty throughout the crisis, discountenancing everything in the shape of disaffection and taking every opportunity to proclaim his perfect confidence in the stability of the English rule. When the small

party of Europeans arrived at Mysore, the Maharaja, Cubbon further said, made manifest his satisfaction by giving them a feast and by also offering one of his palaces for their accommodation and as a stronghold for the security of the treasure. Besides, the Maharaja gave up his personal establishment of elephants to assist the 74th Highlanders in their forced march from the Nilgiris to Bellary for the protection of the Ceded Districts, a proceeding which although of no great magnitude in itself produced great moral effects throughout the country. In fact, there was nothing in the power of the Maharaja, wrote Cubbon, which he did not do to manifest his fidelity to the British Government and to discourage the unfriendly.

Lord Canning on receipt of Cubbon's letter, in his turn, sent a very appreciative reply to the Maharaja in June 1860. "I have lately received from the Commissioner of Mysore," wrote Canning, "a despatch in which the assistance received by that officer from Your Highness in preserving peace and encouraging tranquillity in the districts under his charge during the recent troubles in India is prominently brought to notice. I was well aware that from the very beginning of those troubles the fidelity and attachment to the British Government which have long marked Your Highness' acts had been conspicuous upon every opportunity. Your Highness' wise confidence in the power of England and your open manifestation of it, the consideration and kindness which you showed to British subjects, and the ready and useful assistance which you rendered to the Queen's troops have been mentioned by the Commissioner in terms of the highest praise. I beg Your Highness to accept the expression of my warm thanks for these fresh proofs of the spirit by which Your Highness is animated in your relations with the Government of India. I shall have much pleasure in making them known to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India."

In March 1861 with the permission of the Governor-General, the Maharaja deputed his Durbar Surgeon J. A. Campbell to England to convey certain presents on his behalf to Queen Victoria. These presents consisted of one necklace set with diamonds, rubies and pearls worn tight round the neck, one necklace set with diamonds,

rubies and pearls worn loose round the neck, one seven row pearl necklace, one pair of armlets set with diamonds and rubies, one lily-flower-shaped cut-ruby ring, one pair pearl and ruby bracelets, one pair ivory fly fans, one pair sandalwood fans, one richly embroidered parasol, one Afta Gherry or perpendicular parasol, one pair Morchha or fly fans, one palanquin, one pair sandalwood walkingsticks, one pair sandalwood Punkhas or fans, one pair black horses born and bred in Mysore complete with trappings, two pairs of cows born and bred in Mysore, one pair of bulls born and bred in Mysore, one pair of Guzerat-breed bulls born in Mysore and one large portrait of the Duke of Wellington painted soon after the siege of Seringapatam while he was still a young man.

On behalf of Her Majesty the Queen, Sir Charles Wood the Secretary of State acknowledged the presents in these handsome terms: "It is with sincere gratification that I inform Your Highness that I received Her Majesty's commands to acknowledge the receipt of the friendly letter and the other tokens of your goodwill which you lately forwarded by the hands of Dr. Campbell. The assurances of Your Highness' friendship are very welcome to Her Majesty who can receive no such precious gifts from the Princes and Chiefs of India as the good words which they send to her from their distant homes. From Your Highness these good words are especially gratifying. For more than sixty years you have been the faithful ally of the British Government who felt assured when trouble recently overtook them that as Your Highness was the oldest so would you be the staunchest of their friends, if evil and misguided men should seek to sow sedition in Your Highness' country. By the blessing of God the southern peninsula of India remained undisturbed, but Your Highness nevertheless was enabled to contribute to the success of the British arms by the assistance which you rendered to the passage of Her Majesty's troops towards the disturbed districts, while by your personal bearing in this critical juncture you encouraged and sustained the loyalty of your subjects and helped to preserve the tranquillity of the country. I am commanded by Her Majesty to send to Your Highness under charge of Dr. Campbell a few specimens of the manufactures of Great

Britain and other articles of which Her Majesty requests your acceptance as token of her friendship and esteem."

In May 1867 on the occasion of her birthday the Queen conferred on the Maharaja the title of 'Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India' as a mark of Her Majesty's royal favour evincing the esteem in which Her Majesty held the Maharaja and in appreciation of His Highness' service to the Indian Empire.



## CHAPTER LXXVII.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831—1868.

**Krishnaraja Wodeyar's early attempts for reinstatement—Court of Directors shift ground—Lord Dalhousie's desire to annex Mysore—Dalhousie's visit to Mysore—His minute to apply the Doctrine of Lapse to Mysore.**

As has been stated in a previous chapter, Krishnaraja Wodeyar accepted the decision of the Court of Directors communicated in September 1835 by Lord Auckland the successor of Bentinck in the full belief that at no distant date he would receive back his kingdom. The Court of Directors stated that it was desirable for the British Government to continue in possession of the whole State until such salutary rules and safeguards were matured and confirmed in practice as would afford just grounds of confidence that the Maharaja's subjects in all parts of his dominions would possess the stable form of a good Government. On receipt of Lord Auckland's communication, the Maharaja raised the question as to who was to judge when the time for restoration arrived and whether the reports of the officers of the British Commission whose employment would be lost by the transfer of the country to him were to be the guide.

The Maharaja waited patiently for over 8 years but found no indication of the restoration of the country to him. He then applied to Lord Ellenborough shortly before his departure from India to reinstate him in power, the state of the country, its revenue and its peaceful condition warranting him to make such a request. On Sir Henry Hardinge succeeding Lord Ellenborough, the Maharaja repeated his application for restoration. His Highness now urged that as 13 years had elapsed since the assumption of the country by the British Government it was a fair presumption that all salutary rules and safeguards had been matured and confirmed in practice and that therefore the time had arrived for the restoration of the State to him. The Maharaja also urged that towards the debt due to the Madras Government there had accumulated a sum of nearly Rs. 25 lakhs in the State treasury and that he would

supplement the balance from his private funds for obtaining a complete discharge. "I cannot however refrain," said His Highness, "from expressing my surprise that the money in the treasury has been permitted to accumulate and to lie useless and thus the payment of the dues of the British Government allowed to be postponed, at the same time interest being paid for the sum of a little over 32 lakhs advanced by that Government."

Not having received any reply for several months to the above appeal, the Maharaja in June 1845 again urged on the Governor-General's attention the justice of his claim and the opportuneness of his request for restoration. He protested strongly against the systematic misrepresentation of his character by interested persons both in England as well as in India and referred to the testimony of those who knew him intimately as to his being at that time in full mental and physical vigour quite capable of ruling his country as any man of 50 years of age and that no fresh reason had been adduced to withhold the government of his country from him. The treaty existing between the British Government and himself, he said, fully justified his request,—a treaty which he never violated in the slightest particular or degree and which the British Government was bound in honour to abide by and to fulfil which only one of the contracting parties had power.

There was an intermediate enquiry in November 1845 from the Court of Directors as regards the amount of debt still due from Mysore to the British Government. In his reply to this enquiry in August 1846 Sir Henry Hardinge expressed doubts as to the justification of retaining the administration in the hands of the British Government when their pecuniary claims had been satisfied and that there was no cause for anxiety as to the regular payment of the subsidy. The Court of Directors after a long delay of nearly a year now shifted their ground and in their despatch dated the 14th July 1847 stated that the real hindrance to the reinstatement of the Maharaja was not merely the non-liquidation of the debt but also the hazard which would be incurred to the prosperity and good government which the country then enjoyed by replacing it under a ruler whose competency to rule, according to them, was doubtful. It

could not be denied that peace and order had been established in the country and the object with which the administration had been assumed by the British Government having been fulfilled there existed no valid reason for retaining the country in the hands of the British Commission. The assumed incompetency of the Maharaja afforded therefore a convenient pretext for putting off the question, forgetful of the fact that at the time when the government of the country was transferred to the Maharaja's hands he was only an inexperienced youth of 16 years and that the Madras Government had strictly enjoined on the British Resident to cease interference in the internal affairs of the country.

In August 1848 the Maharaja again addressed the Governor-General for the restoration of his country. But at this time Lord Dalhousie was at the head of the Government of India and he had evidently contemplated the inauguration of a policy of wholesale annexation of large tracts of land administered by Indian rulers. No reply was sent to the Maharaja's reminder and Dalhousie pursued his policy of annexation which led to the disasters of the Great Mutiny in the time of his successor Lord Canning. There was considerable flutter in the minds of many of the native rulers when they saw before their eyes many historic houses such as Satara, Nagpore, Jhansi and numerous others being obliterated by this new policy of Lord Dalhousie. Krishnaraja Wodeyar equally shared with the other princes the uneasiness caused in their minds and in October 1855 finding that Lord Dalhousie had arrived at the Nilgiris to recruit his health sent an invitation to him to visit Mysore. Dalhousie complied with the Maharaja's request and there were many exchanges of compliments between them. Dalhousie's visit to Mysore did not however produce any change in his mind regarding the fate he had intended for Mysore. In a minute recorded by him on the 16th January 1856 reviewing Cubbon's administration report for the preceding official year occurs the following passage:—"The Raja of Mysore is now 62 years of age. He is the only Raja who for twenty generations past, as he himself informed me, has lived to the age of 60 years. It is probable therefore that his life will not be much further prolonged. He has no legitimate son or grandson, nor any lawful

male heir whatever. He has adopted no child and has never designed to adopt an heir..... The treaty under which Lord Wellesley raised the Raja while yet a child to the musnud and the treaty which was subsequently concluded with himself are both silent as to heirs and successors. No mention is made of them. The treaty is exclusively a personal one. The inexpediency of continuing this territory by an act of gratuitous liberality to any other native prince when the present Raja shall have died has been already conclusively shown by the conduct of His Highness himself whose rule though he commenced it under every advantage was so scandalously and hopelessly bad that power has long since been taken from him by the British Government. I trust therefore that when the decease of the present Raja shall come to pass with no son or grandson or legitimate male heir of any description the territory of Mysore which will then have lapsed to the British Government will be resumed and that the good work which has been so well begun will be completed."



## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831 to 1868.

**Fresh hopes raised by the Queen's Proclamation—Adoption circular withheld from Krishnaraja Wodeyar—Further appeal to Canning and his adverse decision—Decision of Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State, supporting Canning—Dissenting minutes by two members of the India Council.**

On becoming aware of the true nature of the working of the mind of Lord Dalhousie, Krishnaraja Wodeyar considered it wisdom on his part to conceal his hand for the time being and not to press his claims till the squally weather which had enveloped the fortunes of the Indian Princes cleared and gleams of sunshine once more appeared to improve their fortunes. Luckily, the Maharaja had not long to wait. For, shortly after Lord Dalhousie left India and Lord Canning took his place, the dreadful Indian Mutiny broke out and it required all the talents and powers of Canning to face the terrible events of that period, the results of which unparalleled catastrophe were to end the old East India Company and to bring India directly under the Crown of Great Britain. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 distinctly assured the Indian Princes that their rights, dignities and honour according to former usages would be upheld. The Proclamation also stated in clear terms that no further encroachments on the dominions of the Indian Princes would be allowed. Sir Mark Cubbon on the publication of this Proclamation while deploring that such solemn and public statement of principles should be enunciated in the Queen's Proclamation, at the same time is said to have declared that as the pledges had been given they should be scrupulously respected and that the royal origin of the document forbade all tampering with its terms and that it constituted an absolute bar to any further territorial acquisitions. Lord Canning's famous despatch of 30th April 1860 guaranteed to every Indian Chief above the rank of a jahagirdar the right of adopting a successor according to the Hindu Law. "Because", said he, "it will show

at once and for ever that we are not lying in wait for opportunities of absorbing territory and that we do deliberately desire to keep alive a feudal aristocracy where one still exists."

A copy of the Queen's Proclamation, as we have seen, was sent to Krishnaraja Wodeyar and it was read in open durbar with due solemnity and ceremony and the Maharaja's hopes for his reinstatement in power greatly revived. He had however not long to wait, when to his disappointment he found that no copy of the circular relating to adoption was sent to him as its benefit was explained as confined only to those Princes who were at the time governing their own territories. This restriction was clearly intended to exclude the case of Krishnaraja Wodeyar as the opinion expressed by Dalhousie seemed to have produced its effect on Canning's mind. In his letter to the Secretary of State, dated 30th March 1860, advising the annulment of his order to place Mysore under the Madras Government, Canning had significantly written that while it was very little desirable that more provinces should be added to those which were already under the absolute rule of the Queen in India, the case of Mysore lying in the midst of the Madras Presidency and bound to the British Government in a way neither convenient nor satisfactory was quite exceptional and the bequest of that country, he had also said, in full sovereignty to the Crown by the free will of the Ruler and in a spirit of loyal attachment to the British Power was a consummation eagerly to be wished for.

The Maharaja, of course, was unaware of the above sentiments expressed by Canning in his despatch to the Secretary of State and naturally when in June 1860 Canning conveyed to His Highness the Secretary of State's withdrawal of his order to place Mysore under the Madras Government, the Maharaja felt that a favourable time to repeat his request for reinstatement in power had arrived. Accordingly a fresh khareetha was addressed on 23rd February 1861 to Canning in which while complimenting him for his just and wise treatment of the native Princes of India in strengthening their hands and elevating their position, the Maharaja recalled to his mind all the circumstances which had placed him on the throne of Mysore, his subsequent deprivation of power, the temporary

character of such deprivation and urged that the time had arrived for his restoration to his former position. Finally, the Maharaja concluded his khareetha with these significant and solemn words:—  
 “A day will come, my Lord, possibly not in my time, for I am now an old man but probably at no remote period when these Princes and Chiefs bound to your Government by the double tie of gratitude and self-interest will present a bulwark which neither the wave of foreign invasion nor the tide of internal disaffection can throw down and then the wisdom and justice of your Lordship’s policy which no Governor-General before your Lordship had the courage to avow will become manifest to the world.”

This khareetha remained unanswered for 13 months and on 11th March 1862 a day before he left Calcutta for England laying down his office, a reply was sent in which Canning stated that he was unable to support the Maharaja’s request or to admit the grounds on which the claim was founded and which he said he regarded as mistaken and untenable. This harsh reply of Canning has only an historical interest at present, as it has lost its practical value by the subsequent course of events in England which ended in the reversal of his decision. At the time, however, it added to the difficulties of the Maharaja as a knowledge of the contents of the reply in some detail would show and required undaunted courage, an unusual amount of tact and diplomatic skill and considerable fertility of resources to secure that reversal which the justice of the case demanded. Lord Mornington far from waiving, said Canning, any right of conquest maintained that right in all its integrity in a three-fold manner. The right of conquest empowered the Company and the Nizam to make a partition and settlement of the territories held by Tippu. Whatever was conferred upon the British Government, whatever was conferred upon the Nizam, whatever was conferred upon the Maharaja were all clearly defined in the Partition and Subsidiary Treaties. The British Government being sensible of its responsibility which the rights of conquest and of sovereignty imposed upon it acted upon the provisions of the treaty and having made ample provision for the comfort and dignity of the Maharaja cancelled the authority it had conferred and re-entered on the possession and administration of the Mysore

territory in order to retrieve its public resources and to rescue the country from anarchy and ruin and that no expectation direct or indirect was held out that that authority would be restored during the life-time of the Maharaja under its former conditions. The Government of India, it was further said, had abstained from all pledge either to the Prince or people of Mysore that an administration which had failed would ever be re-established and that the proposals of Lord William Bentinck fell to the ground when they were not sanctioned by the higher authorities. The expressions of the Court of Directors to restore the native government at some future date were, it was said, simply in the way of caution to prevent anything being done which could interfere with the future free action of the British Government as to the form of administration to be organised for Mysore. One-fifth share of the net revenue payable to the Maharaja as stipulated in the treaty was being paid but that that provision was a personal right and not a heritable one and the good faith of the British Government towards the Maharaja remained inviolate. It was to be remembered that the paramount authority of British officers was the safeguard and the very essence of the good which was manifest under the British administration. If the authority of the British officers were removed or even hampered, the peace and prosperity of Mysore would be at an end. The obligations of the British Government to the people of Mysore were as sacred as its self-imposed obligations to the Maharaja. This reply was sent in a cover which bore the address "To the Maharaja residing at Mysore" instead of as before "To the Maharaja of Mysore" as had been the custom for the past 63 years. At the same time L. B. Bowring who was Private Secretary to Lord Canning had been gazetted as "Commissioner of Mysore" while Cubbon was always designated as the "Commissioner for the government of the territories of the Raja of Mysore."

By the time this khareetha containing Canning's adverse decision reached the Maharaja, Lord Elgin had taken charge of the Governor-General's office and the Maharaja preferred an appeal through him to Sir Charles Wood in England who was then the Secretary of State for India. Elgin in forwarding this appeal to

England contented himself by merely observing that the allegations and reasonings on which the appeal was based did not shake his confidence in the propriety of his predecessors' decision.

Sir Charles Wood with the concurrence of the majority of his Council decided in July 1863 that the Maharaja was not entitled to the restoration of his country and that Canning's decision supported as it was by Lord Elgin should continue to stand. With respect to the point urged by the Maharaja that according to the treaty the British Government had power of assuming the management of the country only until order was restored, it was sufficient to state, said the Secretary of State in his despatch to the Government of India, that the treaty contained no conditions under which the administration of the Maharaja's territories when once assumed by the British Government was to be restored to His Highness. It was true, further said the Secretary of State, that in no despatch of the Government in England was any intention of permanently assuming the administration of the country expressed. It was also true that the Court of Directors in their orders to their officers in India conveyed an idea that no changes were to be introduced which would present an obstacle to the restoration of the country to the Maharaja in the future. But this idea could only be taken as a mere wish on their part that no step should be taken or words used which would in the future interfere with the free exercise of their discretion to take any action deemed expedient at the time. Such an expression of opinion by the Court of Directors could not be understood as an obligation on the part of the British Government to reinstate the Maharaja or to give to His Highness any right to such restoration. Her Majesty's Government having arrived at a conclusion, added the Secretary of State, adverse to the wishes of a Prince whose fidelity and loyalty during the recent events in India had merited the approbation and thanks of Her Majesty, the decision was to be conveyed to His Highness in such a manner as would be least painful to his feelings and that the British Government would be ready to approve any arrangement which would further contribute to the Maharaja's dignity and comfort.

Sir Henry Montgomery, one of the members of the Council of India in the minority, in his dissenting minute held that the original assumption of the country was not warranted by a fair interpretation of the treaty of 1799 and that the action of the then Governor-General was based on erroneous information of the actual condition of the country. The subsidy was never in arrear and as admitted by Lord William Bentinck himself at a later period was not in any jeopardy. Lord William Bentinck on a perusal of the able and penetrating report of the enquiry committee was satisfied that the disorder under the Maharaja's rule had been greatly exaggerated by the Madras Government, that the disturbances that had occurred were largely attributable to the withdrawal of the advice of the Resident and that the continuance of the disturbances was due to flocking to the rebel standard of foreigners from the Southern Mahratta country. The report also bore testimony, said Montgomery, to the fact that at the same time for the same assigned cause, namely, oppressive taxation, insurrection was rife in the British district of Canara where the taxation bore unfavourable contrast with that prevailing in Mysore. It was impossible to deny from a perusal of the whole correspondence that it was throughout the professed purpose of the Home authorities to restore to the Maharaja the administration of the country and that they regarded the direct management of it only as a temporary measure. The management of the Mysore territories having for 30 years been conducted by British officers with a success admitted by the supreme Indian authorities as well as by the Home Government, it could no longer be maintained that security to the ryots against undue taxation and a system for the due administration of justice for which the Court of Directors had stipulated as a condition for restoration had not been attained. Lord Canning's reply was a harsh and cold denial of the Maharaja's claims. The obvious interests of the British Government in the acquisition of the territories of Mysore surrounded as they were on all sides by British possessions were bound to yield to the more necessary obligations of good faith and the strict observance of treaties. The recapitulation of events in the Secretary of State's despatch consisted of all that could be extracted from the records that bore against the Maharaja's claims

and withheld much that told in their favour. The obligations of the British Government towards the people of Mysore were given as a reason for refusing the Maharaja's claim, while it was notorious that the people of Mysore were greatly desirous of His Highness' restoration to his government. Sir Fredrick Currie another dissenting member stated that if the Maharaja should adopt a son, the whole territory in full sovereignty must pass to such a son on his attaining majority. If Lord Dalhousie's argument regarding the personal character of the Subsidiary Treaty was admitted, it would affect, he further said, the stability of the tenure of Scindia and of half the princes of India in their dominions.

Sir John Willoughby another dissenting member recorded that by now virtually declaring the treaty of Mysore cancelled and the occupation of the Maharaja's country to be permanent, they were after a lapse of 30 years enhancing the penalty originally imposed on the Maharaja and that at a time when they were prodigal of their admissions that during the recent eventful crisis in India the Maharaja had displayed the most conspicuous loyalty and had performed very essential services for the British Government. By order of the Court of Directors the government of Mysore was conducted in the name of the Maharaja and not in that of the East India Company. In 1843 when notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Sir Mark Cubbon to the contrary and to the great detriment of the revenues of Mysore the prohibition by Acts XV of 1839 and XI of 1842 of the importation of foreign sugars into the Madras territories was enforced against Mysore on the ground that it was foreign territory, it was in fact ruled that no sugar which was the growth of Mysore could be admitted into the adjacent district of Canara even for local consumption. In like manner, on the same ground, the importation of tobacco from Mysore into Malabar was prohibited altogether and coffee was subjected to a high differential duty and this notwithstanding the fact that Mysore admitted all British produce free and levied on the produce of the Company's districts no higher duty than upon its own. When in 1840 the question arose whether it was within the competency of the Queen's Court at Madras to execute its processes in the Mysore territory and on being referred to the Advocate-General at Calcutta he distinctly

gave his opinion in the negative. The Advocate-General declared that he was aware that Mysore was virtually governed by the East India Company. But though that was true, still the sovereignty of Mysore was expressly admitted to be in the Maharaja and that the authority of the Government in Mysore was exercised in his name and on his behalf nominally by the East India Company as trustees for him.

These protests of the dissenting members were however of no avail and the Secretary of State's despatch containing with the concurrence of a majority of the members of the India Council his confirmation of Canning's decision was sent to India for communication to the Maharaja.



## CHAPTER LXXIX.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831—1868.

**Bowring communicates Secretary of State's decision to the Maharaja—Maharaja re-urges claim—Secretary of State's approval of the reply of the Government of India—Protest by two members of the India Council.**

Lord Elgin died in November 1863 and Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, took his place as provisional Viceroy pending the arrival of Sir John Lawrence in January 1864. It therefore fell to the share of the provisional Governor-General to communicate the contents of the unfavourable despatch of Sir Charles Wood to the Maharaja, which he did in a khareetha dated 31st December 1863. This khareetha was forwarded to Bowring the Commissioner of Mysore for delivery to the Maharaja with all the forms usually observed on such occasions. At the same time the Commissioner was enjoined to be careful not to omit to do anything to soothe the painful feelings with which the Maharaja must receive the decision of Her Majesty's Government. Sir William Denison in his khareetha stated that Her Majesty's Government had expressed agreement with Canning's decision and that therefore the administration of Mysore would continue in the hands of the British Commission. Her Majesty's Government, further said Sir William Denison, were of opinion that assumption of the Mysore territory in 1831 was in accordance with the provisions of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799, that the Maharaja could not as of right claim its restoration and that his reinstatement in the administration of the country was incompatible with the true interests of the people.

Bowring arrived at Mysore on the night of the 2nd February 1864 and met the Maharaja at 1 p.m. the next day in the palace. At this interview the only other persons present were Bakshi Narasappa who was the chief executive officer of the Maharaja and A. C. Hay, Secretary to the Commissioner. There was a little embarrassment felt on both sides to start the conversation. But this

was soon got over and Bowring communicated to the Maharaja the arrival of the khareetha and handed it over to His Highness. The Maharaja received it and remained for a while silent and then began to untie the strings of the bag which contained the khareetha. Finding His Highness somewhat slow in doing so, Bowring took it back from the Maharaja's hand and cut the strings with his sword and re-handed it to the Maharaja. The latter having opened the khareetha desired the Commissioner to explain it to him and the purport was made known in a few words. The Maharaja felt at first a little distracted. But he soon recovered his composure. He then placed the khareetha on his head and said that though he bowed to the decision, at the same time he could not help declaring that justice was totally denied to him by the Home Authorities. It is wonderful, he said, that the same British Government who to secure lasting fame and good faith did justice to his hereditary rights by placing him while a helpless boy of 5 years of age on his ancestral throne had not now scrupled to commit what practically was a breach of faith and thereby to expose themselves to reproach. "So long as justice sides my cause," said the Maharaja plaintively, "there is little fear of losing my rights. If one authority refuse me my claims, I shall never cease to importune another higher authority for better treatment..... Once more I assure you that it is my desire that this State which from time immemorial has been possessed by my House should be ever continued as a Native State and be uninterruptedly enjoyed by my posterity." After some references to the new Governor-General Sir John Lawrence, His Highness' desire to make an adoption and a few other matters, the interview ended.

Even in the darkest hour of his disappointment one trait of Krishnaraja Wodeyar's character was that he never yielded to despair and helplessness. On the departure of Bowring, according to Bakshi Narasappa's testimony, the Maharaja is stated to have remarked that it was not to be imagined that the decision then received was to be the final one terminating his endeavours to regain the government of his country, that he would never relinquish his claims and that his consciousness of their validity would

ever urge him to continue his efforts until he won over the British Government to do justice to him. True to this resolve, a few days later the Maharaja sent a letter to Bowring urging the appointment of a Resident as in former days, the recognition of his right to adopt a son and of the permanent continuance of Mysore as a Native State without being merged 'in the ocean of British territory' as he picturesquely expressed.

When Bowring's letter conveying the above wishes of the Maharaja reached Calcutta, Sir John Lawrence had assumed charge as Governor-General and he was disposed to treat the Maharaja with the utmost practicable liberality and consideration to terminate what he regarded as a profitless struggle on the part of His Highness. The first request, namely, the appointment of a Resident was negatived on the ground that such an arrangement would be productive of confusion and inconvenience. The form of administration as it stood at the time was well adapted to the best interests of the country and sufficiently consulted the dignity of the Maharaja by having its head entitled "Commissioner for the government of the territories of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore." As regards the right of adoption, the Maharaja was informed that he was at full liberty to adopt a son to inherit his private property but that at the same time it was to be understood that no claim to the throne of Mysore arose thereby. The Maharaja however never wavered in the line of conduct he was pursuing and on being apprised of the above decision of the Government of India contented himself by sending a formal acknowledgment to that reply only observing that it was his firm intention not to relinquish any of his claims.

Sir Charles Wood gave his approval to the reply sent by Sir John Lawrence that any adoption made could only relate to His Highness' private property and would have no concern with the Government of the country. Two of the members of the India Council Sir Fredrick Currie and Sir John P. Willoughby again strongly protested against the ban put on the Maharaja to adopt a son to succeed to his State. The Chiefs of India, they said, would now believe that the promise of the Viceroy conceding the free right

of adoption was made in an hour of weakness and danger only to be disregarded when power revived after the danger had passed away.



## CHAPTER LXXX.

**Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831—1868.**

**Dr. Campbell's return from England—Presents to the Maharaja from Queen Victoria handed over by Bowring at a durbar—Interest in the Mysore cause created in England—Petition of the people of Mysore in favour of the Maharaja—The Hon'ble Lakshmi Narasa Chetty and the Mysore cause—Dr. Campbell as agent of the Maharaja in England—Fresh appeal to Sir John Lawrence and his adverse opinion.**

Dr. Campbell, Durbar Surgeon to the Maharaja, who had proceeded to England on leave returned in July 1864 to his place on the palace establishment. He was a man of much sagacity and even the Commissioner felt that his presence at the palace helped to maintain smooth relations with the Maharaja. While in England, Campbell had several interviews with the Secretary of State regarding the restoration of Mysore to the Maharaja but nothing tangible had come out of these interviews except that the doctor was entrusted for delivery to the Maharaja with a few presents—a portrait medallion of the Prince and Princess of Wales, a watch and a few other articles. At Campbell's suggestion these presents were handed over by Bowring to the Maharaja at the durbar on 22nd July 1864 on the occasion of the 70th birthday of His Highness. His Highness on receiving the presents once again reiterated that he would not give up his right to the Mysore throne as long as he had resources to carry on a constitutional struggle for his restoration to power.

With Campbell's return from England the Maharaja's hopes of achieving success revived. By the efforts of Campbell and other friends of the Mysore cause a sympathetic interest in the question had been created in England in the minds of a large body of people. As an instance, it may be mentioned that on a writer in the Edinburgh Review in April 1863 publishing an article advocating the annexation of Mysore based on grounds of pure

expediency, it drew forth vigorous protests from several just-minded people and it came to be asserted that the Maharaja's great crime was only that he possessed a country which was coveted by others. As a consequence, the feeling in India among the European officials underwent a change and it was considered expedient to abandon the attitude of stiffness and to adopt a policy of conciliation and keep the Maharaja in good humour during the rest of his life. His debts were all discharged from the accumulated surplus and on the occasion of his 70th birthday His Highness was also given a lakh of rupees for expenditure, besides a sum of 4 lakhs of rupees to the ladies of the zenana.

By this time the people of India had learnt the value of public petitions and of speeches on public platforms to achieve political objects. The people of Mysore also now followed their brethren in other parts of India in this respect. On becoming aware that a copy of the Adoption Sannad had not been sent to their Maharaja with the ulterior object of the absorption of the Mysore territories in the British dominions, a petition addressed to Sir John Lawrence signed by more than 7000 inhabitants of the Mysore city and surroundings including representatives of all classes, Europeans not excepted, was despatched in June 1864. A Parsi gentleman by name Nanabhoy Nussurwanjee had been chosen as their head by the people to serve as a medium of communication on their behalf with the Supreme Government. Among the Mahomedan gentlemen who were associated with this affair was Ali Asker the grand-father of Sir Mirza Ismail, the present Dewan of Mysore. He was a merchant by profession and enjoyed high reputation among all classes of people in Mysore. He had easy access to Krishnaraja Wodeyar who treated him as a friend and used often to entrust him with important letters for posting. To preserve the confidential nature of these letters Ali Asker used to take them to Hosur beyond the Mysore border and post them there. The petitioners in their petition expressed that they had heard with surprise and sorrow that the Maharaja could adopt a son who could inherit only his private property but not his Raj. They declared that they could not understand how a distinction could properly or legally be made

between his right to adopt for himself and his right to adopt for his Raj. "If he adopts," the petitioners said, "the adopted son becomes his heir and the heir of the Raj too. Even the Maharaja himself with his own consent or by any act of his cannot, we submit, divest such his heir of his indefeasible and hereditary right bestowed upon the heir by God and the Sastras. If the Maharaja had a son begotten and he wished to disinherit him of his Raj, would he be justified or permitted to do so? and much less would any other be justified in preventing the heir from enjoyment of his right? What distinction can there be drawn between a begotten son and an adopted son of a Hindu sovereign?..... In the next place, we humbly but emphatically beg to affirm that we never entertained any doubt as to the right of our Maharaja to adopt; neither did the world entertain any such doubt; and if we were already positive as to the right of our Maharaja, we were much more so after the issue of the gracious proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Indies..... Nagpore is gone; Tanjore is gone; the Carnatic is gone, and now Mysore, almost the only Hindu Raj of consequence remaining, a kingdom which for centuries has held a good position and with which we had for centuries identified ourselves, in which our dearest hopes were centred, and upon which our pride and honour so materially depend, is about to follow. We beg to assure your Excellency that we are not insensible of the wisdom and beneficence of the British Government and of the important benefits we have received from their connection with this country. But when we see that these benefits are to be ultimately accompanied by the loss of the individuality of this our country and to culminate in the annihilation of an ancient and most important Hindu Raj of our Maharaja, we confess we cannot but consider our fate to be the most unhappy and calamitous that could befall us in this world..... We should be unworthy of the name of men, devoid of every feeling of national pride, if we could witness unconcerned the degradation and extinction of the ancient and noble family of our Maharaja whose faults if any—and who is free from them?—are immeasurably outnumbered by his virtues and if we could see almost the only native Hindu Kingdom of importance

and antiquity in the south of India passing away without raising our humble voices to stay its doom." Similar representations with considerable numbers of signatures including those of almost all the important persons of influence reached the Viceroy from other parts of the country also.

The Mysore case now began to attract attention outside the State also. The Hon'ble G. Lakshmi Narasa Chetty who was a member of the Madras Legislative Council and a vigorous public worker had long noticed the reluctance which the British officials had evinced in handing back the government of his country to Krishnaraja Wodeyar. He was the proprietor of a newspaper called "The Crescent" which wielded considerable influence at the time. Lakshmi Narasa Chetty himself was known to the public as a zealous and disinterested champion of all attempts made to secure redress of public grievances. As a worker in this field his name had become known to many of the members of Parliament and other public men in England. Lakshmi Narasa Chetty now befriended Mysore and in order to gather first-hand knowledge paid a visit to the capital of the State in December 1864 on the plea of establishing commercial relations with the merchants of Mysore. He took occasion to interview the Maharaja and it is understood that he advised His Highness to adopt a son and to press for the recognition of the rights of the adopted son by the Government in England. It was believed that the argument against the Maharaja that if he was not strong to govern in the green branch how was he likely to be strong in the dry, would lose its force against his adopted son who would naturally be a young man.

In January 1865 as desired by the Maharaja, Bowring paid him a visit and at the interview the Maharaja intimated to the Commissioner that it was his intention to instruct Dr. Campbell who was returning to England on account of ill-health to meet the Secretary of State and press his claims and that if his views were frustrated in that quarter his next move would be to take action for his case being heard in Parliament. Krishnaraja Wodeyar had at this time many friends in England—the Duke of Wellington son of "the Iron Duke" who was in Mysore in his younger days,

Lord Harris grandson of General Harris, Casamaijor who knew all the facts connected with the British assumption of the country, General Fraser an old friend and others. The Maharaja is said to have repeated to Bowring that if the government was restored, it was not his intention to remove any of the European officers but that his main object in pressing his claim was to set himself right in the eyes of the world. No reference was made at this interview to the subject of adoption and the impression prevailed that so long as the subject of restoration dragged on, no adoption was likely to be made.

The Maharaja now considered that the time was opportune to enter a protest against the decision which had been arrived at and accordingly addressed a fresh khareetha to Sir John Lawrence on the 25th January, in which he once more gave expression to his view of his position and rights in relation to the British Government. In this letter His Highness acknowledging for the sake of argument that he did not succeed to the throne by hereditary right urged that when the throne was in the gift of the conquerors he was selected to fill it for the benefit of all parties concerned as being the person best entitled to it exactly as Louis XVIII was placed upon the throne of France by the allies after the downfall of Napoleon. It was therefore evident, said the Maharaja, that the arrangement was brought about by the diplomacy of the British and was the means of relieving them from a difficult situation and further that it was the joint action of the Nizam and the East India Company. The Partition Treaty to which the Nizam and the East India Company were parties contemplated the constitution of the Mysore State as being an arrangement as permanent as that which vested the rest of Tippu's dominions in the two contracting parties mentioned. It was never contemplated that the new kingdom should under any contingency merge in British sovereignty. There was no doubt a general promise in the Subsidiary Treaty on the part of the Maharaja to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice on matters of internal administration as the Company's Government offered. There existed however no provision for assumption of management in case of disregard of such advice, nor was any penalty attached to a breach of the Article

except such as was implied in every treaty, viz., that a violation of its terms was a ground for war by the other contracting party. During the entire period of the Maharaja's rule the subsidy was never in arrears by a single day or a single rupee. On the contrary, a payment in advance of pagodas 2,10,648 had been actually made when the management of the country was assumed by the British Government. Lord William Bentinck himself admitted that the supposed neglect to pay the monthly subsidy was an error and that it did not justify the assumption of the country. At the time the administration of the State was assumed by the East India Company and even till very lately it was never suggested that the measure was anything but a temporary one. No doubt, in reliance upon the integrity of the British very large powers of protection and, under certain circumstances, of governance were accorded to them. The Subsidiary Treaty contained no stipulation that it was a personal one and that the Maharaja should not exercise the right of adoption which every Hindu possessed and where the treaty was silent on this right no restriction could now be introduced. Further, where no such restriction existed, an adopted son was as much a son under the Hindu law as if he had sprung from one's loins.

In a subsequent khareetha dated the 1st February of the same year the Maharaja urged the very early transmission of his khareetha to England, as it was his intention that if he did not secure justice at the hands of the British Government in England to lay his case before the British Parliament and to trust to the honour of the nation to right the wrong which had been done. With that object, the Maharaja further said, he was sending his long-standing confidential adviser and friend Dr. Campbell to England as his recognised agent and representative to do all that was necessary there.

Sir John Lawrence took some time in sending a reply to the above two khareethas and at last in May 1865 he replied controverting in his own way several of the arguments adduced by the Maharaja and concluded by saying that while he had transmitted copies of His Highness' khareethas to the Secretary of State in

England, at the same time he was of opinion that he was not able to countenance in any degree His Highness' claim or to advise the reconsideration of a question which appeared to him to have been finally decided.



## CHAPTER LXXXI.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III -1831--1868.

**Adoption of Chamaraja Wodeyar—Intimation of the same to the Commissioner, the Governor-General and the Secretary of State—Their replies—Strong support to the adoption by three members of the India Council—Arguments against the adoption by other members.**

At the time when Sir John Lawrence's khareetha dated 5th May 1865 was received, Krishnaraja Wodeyar was nearing his 71st birthday and had become devoid of all hope of a male progeny and his health had also become weak. The Maharaja however had noticed with satisfaction that there was a widespread desire on the part of the people both in and outside the State that after his life-time the country should retain its individuality as a Native State and not lapse to the British Government. The Maharaja's confidential friend and adviser Dr. Campbell had also kept him informed of the feeling that prevailed in His Highness' favour in England and pointed out the wisdom of his making an adoption. In such circumstances His Highness called into his secret counsel Bakshi Narasappa who was in the Palace service, B. Krishna Iyengar of Kolar and S. Venkatavarada Iyengar who were both in the State service and a few other well-wishers, and after discussing the subject with them became convinced of the propriety of Col. Campbell's advice to adopt a son. The Maharaja however was aware that several of the British officials in Mysore and the Viceroy Sir John Lawrence would not view the step with favour and he deemed it therefore advisable to conceal all preparations relating to the adoption till it became an accomplished fact.

On the 17th June 1865 invitations were sent to all the important men in the Mysore town to attend a preliminary ritualistic ceremony the next morning relating to the Maharaja's forthcoming 71st birthday celebration. Accordingly when all were assembled in the hall of the Palace known as Amba Vilas, the Maharaja rose from his seat and addressed the gathering to the effect that it was

known to all that he was childless and that therefore there was no successor to the throne—a throne which had been in the past occupied by such distinguished predecessors of his as Yaduraja, Raja Wodeyar and others of his family. He was therefore desirous of adopting a son and asked for their advice and consent. The assembled people then with one voice commended the desire of the Maharaja and left the choice of a child to him. The Maharaja then explained that it was his desire to adopt the third son of Chikka Krishne Urs, great-grandson of Katti Gopala Raj Urs of Bettadakote family. The child to be adopted was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years old and Chikka Krishne Urs, the child's natural father, had authorised his wife Devajammanni while he was alive to give the child in adoption, if such a contingency should arise. The child's family was one of the 13 families of the Arasu community of pure blood. On this statement being made, the people assembled evinced feelings of joy and thereupon the child was conducted from behind the purdah to the hall. The Maharaja then appealed for formal consent on the part of all assembled, including his own relations, and there being unanimity of consent everywhere proceeded to perform the religious ceremonies connected with the adoption and the child thus adopted was named Chamaraja Wodeyar.

At 11-30 a.m. a salute was fired announcing the completion of the adoption according to the Sastras. At the same time a note was sent by the Maharaja summoning Major Elliot, Superintendent of the Ashtagram Division in charge of Palace duties, to his presence on urgent business. On reaching the Palace, Major Elliot found the Maharaja sitting in the centre of the Amba Vilas hall surrounded by Vaidika Brahmins and a large assembly of other people. Parakalaswami who was the high priest of the Maharaja's family was also present. His Highness after Major Elliot was seated approached him with the child in the arms of one of his relations and mentioned to him that he had just then completed the ceremony of adoption as he had no son of his own to succeed him. The Maharaja also put into his hands to read letters and telegrams addressed to the Governor-General and others. His Highness also mentioned to Major Elliot that all his relations were present there

at the time and called out several times if any of them had any objection. But one and all returned the reply that they had none. Major Elliot noticed a number of representatives of all the important communities of people assembled in the hall.

The telegrams sent to the Commissioner, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State intimated that the Maharaja had that day adopted a son as successor to all the rights and privileges guaranteed to him by the treaty of 1799. The telegram to Sir John Lawrence, Governor-General, was followed up with a letter of the same date sent through the Commissioner. The letter said:—"I have the honour to announce to your Excellency that being far advanced in years and without issue male of my own body, I have this day the 10th Moon's decrease of Jaishtha in the Krodana year of Saleevahana Era 1788, corresponding with the 18th June of 1865, according to Hindu Law, the usage of my ancestors and in virtue of Her Majesty's most gracious Proclamation adopted a son and successor to all my rights and privileges under the Partition Treaty of 1799 with the East India Company and His Highness the Nizam and under the Subsidiary Treaty of the same year with the East India Company both of which are in full force. In announcing to your Excellency the due performance of the ceremonies attendant on this important rite, I have to regret that from considerations connected with my age and personal convenience, which it is unnecessary for me to intrude on your Excellency's time and attention, I have been precluded from celebrating the occasion as I could have wished, or indeed to undertake more than the solemnity and publicity of the event indispensably required, but I need hardly assure your Excellency that nothing has been omitted in any respect essential to the validity of the adoption which has now been formally made and completed. The boy I have selected is a child of two and a half years old and of the purest Rajbindi or royal blood. He is the 3rd son of late Chikka Krishne Urs and grandson of Gopala Raj Urs the brother of Rani Lakshmi Ammanni (the Rani who signed the treaty between my family and the East India Company in 1799) who is the daughter of Katti Gopala Raj Urs of the Bettadakote house—one of the 13 families with which mine is

most nearly related. With regard to this selection I deem it advisable to acquaint your Excellency with certain circumstances that preceded the final ceremony of adoption. About 3 years ago while Chikka Krishne Urs was alive, I proceeded to his house and having formally seated him and his wife before me pointed out to them how from time immemorial our families had been closely united and signified my intention of adopting one of his children as the heir to my throne, the representative of the ancient Princes of Mysore and the inheritor of all the honours, rights and privileges guaranteed to me by treaties. Chikka Krishne Urs had then two sons born and a third child was shortly expected. The assent of the parents was readily given and in accordance with an arzee lately presented to me by Devajammanni the mother of the adopted child communicating the last wishes and injunctions of her husband regarding the adoption, I have chosen with the mother's consent the third son who was born 18 days after Chikka Krishne Urs' death and the ceremony of whose tonsure has not been performed. I have named him Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur. It only remains for me to solicit the protection of the Governments of India and England to the heir whom I have thus adopted and I request that due and formal intimation of the event may be given to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India to whom I have this day telegraphed all particulars and that your Excellency will do me the favour to issue instructions to the Commissioner for the government of my territories for the observance of all honours and privileges due to the boy as my heir." Letters intimating that an adoption had been made by him were also sent by the Maharaja to various persons in England, chief of whom were the Duke of Wellington, Lord Manley, Lord Harris, General Fraser, Casamajor, Col. Haines, Col. Macqueen and Dr. Devereux.

Bowring on receipt of the Maharaja's telegram and his letter immediately sent a reply stating that the adoption could not be recognised unless it received the assent and was in accordance with the orders of the Government of India. Sir John Lawrence's reply khareetha to the Maharaja was dated 12th July 1865 and in it he stated that formal intimation of His Highness' proceedings would be sent to the Secretary of State and that pending his instructions

it was not in his power to recognise the adoption nor could he allow to the boy the honours and privileges due to the heir to the State of Mysore.

In July 1865 Sir Charles Wood the Secretary of State sent a despatch to the Governor-General approving of his reply of 5th May of the same year to the Maharaja's khareetha of the previous January. Sir Charles Wood also confirmed intimation to the Maharaja already given by the Viceroy that the decision communicated as regards his restoration was final and irrevocable. With regard to the question of adoption, the Secretary of State repeated that he agreed with the Viceroy when the latter intimated to the Maharaja that no recognition would be given to any adoption made extending beyond the right to inherit the Maharaja's private property. No authority to adopt a successor to the Raj of Mysore had ever been given to the Maharaja and that none could be given then.

This decision of the Secretary of State evoked strong protests from three members of his Council—Sir George Clerk, Mr. Eastwick and Sir Fredrick Currie. But these were in a minority. Sir George Clerk used very strong language against the injustice that had been done to the Maharaja in denying him the right of adoption of a son to succeed to his throne. This new doctrine regarding adoption, he said, was so novel and unjust, so opposed to all custom and religions in India and so utterly inconsistent with the course of administration as previously exercised during the paramountcy of Hindus, Mahomedans and even the British that he could only conceive it to be the result of wild counsel prompting an indiscriminate gratification of a selfish policy which it was endeavoured to veil under a plea of expediency. It was not honest or dignified, he further said, to construe the acts of departed statesmen in a way which could not for a moment be really believed that those acts were intended by them to be at any time construed, or to hail the presence of 73,000 British troops as enabling them to do that which they did not conceive, or if conceived, they would never have attempted to do when they had only 23,000. Another member Captain Eastwick expressed his opinion that the word "heir" when

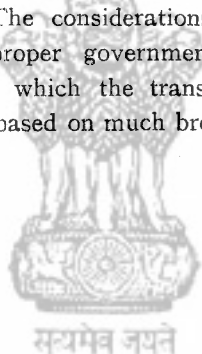
used in India meant either an "heir" of the body or an adopted heir and that both were equally rightful heirs. Eastwick further said that in the interests of public order and for the satisfaction of the State in which the adoption was made and as a guarantee against illegality it might be admitted that the formal assent of the Paramount Power was usually required and was considered important. But this assent was equally required in the succession of a natural heir, but that did not imply the right of dissent, the right of withholding recognition either in the one case or in the other, still less did it imply the right of deciding in one's own favour and of appropriating the territory. Upto a very recent date the sovereignty of the Maharaja had been uninterruptedly acknowledged by the representatives of the British Government and by the Home Authorities and it was only since the absorption of Mysore had been contemplated that the style of addressing the Maharaja had been changed and language more convenient for such a purpose had been adopted. While it was believed that the Maharaja intended to give his country to the British Government, it was also believed that he had entire liberty to bequeath it in full sovereignty. But when this illusion was dispelled, it came to be asserted that he had not the right to bequeath it to any one, even to a natural or adopted heir. The conditions of the treaty were appealed to when it was intended to divest the Maharaja of his dominions, while they were ignored when called upon to restore the country under the same conditions. Sir Fredrick Currie the third dissenting member recorded that no distinction was ever made by native rulers between an adopted and a natural heir. The recognition of the succession, he said, by the Paramount State was required equally in the one case as in the other. There was no instance of such a recognition being withheld except on account of the personal disqualification of the individual desiring to succeed when another individual was required to be substituted and there was no instance in the history of India of the Paramount Power, Mahomedan or Hindu, refusing its recognition of such succession as a pretext for appropriating the principality itself. Finally he stated that if it was a paramount necessity that Mysore or any portion of it should be incorporated in the British dominions it was

better to declare that fact, compensation being made to all parties who might have just claims under former treaty engagements.

The views of R. D. Mangles who voted with the majority in favour of the Secretary of State's despatch may also be quoted here as they go to explain the position taken by the Secretary of State and the majority of his Council. According to this member, the Maharaja of Mysore was as fully at liberty as the humblest of his fellow countrymen to adopt a son competent to perform his funeral rites and to succeed to all the personal property and private estates of his father by adoption. To perform the funeral ceremonies of a Hindu Prince it was by no means necessary that his son should be a sovereign Prince. If the adoption was recognised, the adopted son when he assumed the reins of Government would be confronted with a difficulty which did not exist in the time of his predecessors. Mysore had attracted a large number of European settlers, coffee planters and others and every day this number was increasing. If English magistrates found it no easy task to hold the balance even and to keep the peace between the planters and the ryots of Bengal, it might well be expected that Mysore would be thrown into a state little short of civil war and anarchy in the hands of native officials. It was false humility verging indeed upon childishness, akin to the theory of the superior happiness of the savage state, to question the superiority of an English Government acting upon fixed and known principles, unaffected in the main by any personal change of the chief rulers, administering a printed and widely promulgated code of laws and constantly aiming at least at improvement over native government entirely dependent upon the character of the prince, or if he was a nonentity of his minister, and which had as a general rule been going from bad to worse ever since the reign of Akbar. "It would be the highest presumption on my part to utter a word," further said Mangles, "in disparagement of the wisdom of those statesmen the Marquis of Wellesley and his brother the Duke of Wellington. But we stand upon the shoulders of our predecessors and have seen the utter and hopeless shipwreck of the schemes launched by them. It becomes us to profit by the experience gained during the intervening years and not to suffer ourselves to be misled by great names into a blind admiration of,

and adherence to, those parts of their policy which events have proved to be mistakes."

Prinsep another member of the Council who agreed with Mangles expressed wonder that the petition by the people of Mysore contained so few signatures. With an income and with such means as had been left at the Maharaja's disposal, 10,000 signatures might be expected to be at his command at any time in the city and environs of his immediate residence. As evidence, therefore, of the feeling and wishes of the population of Mysore, the petition was of no value whatsoever. Territories and populations could not like personal effects or real estates be handed over by a temporary occupant without reference to the terms on which he obtained them and the status in respect to them to which he himself was reduced. The considerations which regulated the appropriation and the proper government of these were quite different from those on which the transmission of effects and property depended being based on much broader principles.



## CHAPTER LXXXII.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831—1868.

#### **Overtures to offer some concessions to the Maharaja— The Maharaja's rejection—Maharaja's unalloyed faith in Dr. Campbell.**

The adoption of a son by the Maharaja introduced a factor which did not exist before. Even after the Secretary of State had decided against the Maharaja, it was felt by the British officers in India who were concerned with the affair that the Maharaja's claim for restoration was a just one in the abstract and that a small portion of the Mysore territory south of the Kaveri river yielding an annual revenue of about 10 lakhs of rupees might be granted to him on the understanding that he agreed to the compromise and renounced all further claims. The Maharaja repudiated a suggestion of this kind and refused to abate his claim in any degree. One of the British officers employed in Mysore advised the Maharaja that as the Commissioner was well disposed towards him he might leave the entire question in his hands and accept the terms offered by him, as otherwise the opportunity might be lost for ever. Major Martin a coffee planter settled at Mercara was at this time in the absence of Col. Campbell in England the confidential European adviser of the Maharaja. Through this gentleman various European friends interested in the Maharaja's affairs conveyed similar suggestions. It was also suggested that through Col. Campbell's bad management in England the case had failed. The Maharaja however is stated to have firmly said that he would never give up his tried friend Col. Campbell whose unalloyed zeal in his cause was to him beyond all doubt. It was then urged on the Maharaja that two Secretaries of State had given adverse decisions in his case, that the people of England possessed little knowledge of Indian affairs and that therefore any opening for further negotiations should be welcomed and that it was desirable that His Highness should have a personal talk with Bowring on the subject. The Maharaja

feeling somewhat persuaded of the wisdom of this advice desired Mr. Bowring to pay him a visit.

Bowring accordingly arrived in Mysore on the 14th September 1865 and visited the Maharaja the next day. The Maharaja at this interview is stated to have proposed that his hopes of obtaining a favourable decision in England having ended the Commissioner should use his good offices to obtain for him an extent of territory yielding 40 lakhs of rupees a year. Bowring in reply is mentioned as having stated that the observations contained in the last khareetha to him by the Viceroy were final and that he could not support a proposition of the kind put forward by His Highness. No reference was made at this interview to the adopted child nor was the child produced before Bowring. Bowring again visited the Maharaja the next day and His Highness made no reference to the business of the previous day but talked to him on various other subjects. The adopted child who was loaded with precious jewellery and in kinkhab dresses was however brought in and introduced to Bowring. At this interview, on the conversation turning to the part played by Dr. Campbell in England the Maharaja is said to have contented himself by merely remarking that 'a good hook sometimes stumbles.'

In the meanwhile, a khareetha from Sir John Lawrence dated 21st August 1865 containing the last decision of the Secretary of State had reached the Maharaja. In this khareetha the Viceroy repeated that consideration for the well-being of the State and the people of Mysore rendered it impossible for Her Majesty's Government to acquiesce in the restoration asked for, that no authority to adopt a successor to the Raj of Mysore had ever been given and that no such power could then be conceded. It was but right, the khareetha concluded, that His Highness should in the future abstain from all further remonstrance against a decision which had received from the highest authority an absolute and decisive sanction.

The inhabitants of the State before the Secretary of State's despatch arrived having vaguely heard of its adverse character got

up petitions addressed to the Government of India expressing their joy at the adoption made by the Maharaja and urging that Government to accept the adopted son as successor to the throne of Mysore. In Madras and other outside places public meetings were held and deputations arrived at Mysore to convey congratulations to the Maharaja on the step he had taken.

It was at this time believed in England that a new ministry would come to power and the hope was thereby revived that possibly the new ministry would maintain a more favourable attitude towards the Mysore question. The attention of the press had already been attracted to the subject even before the adoption took place. The Examiner in its issue of 1st April 1865 had in strong language expressed condemnation of the desired annexation of Mysore. "We are utterly dismayed," wrote this paper, "at finding Lord Canning at the very moment of writing high sentiments actually contemplating the overthrow of the kingdom of Mysore and the repudiation of a solemn treaty then but three score years old and to the enactments of which there were still living witnesses. Wonderful is it to see an English gentleman of high integrity, blameless life and eminent ability when transmuted into an Indian politician fancying figments and adducing reasons which would damage the reputation of a village attorney..... We have even got something more substantial, an annual tribute of a quarter of a million a year, so punctually paid that up to the present time it has amounted to the handsome total of £ 16½ million. For very shame let us hear no more of Mysore annexation." Another paper 'Allen's Indian Mail' wrote in its issue of the 22nd April of the same year: "If the treaty did not contemplate the reinstatement of the Raja if once superseded nor the Adoption Despatch confer upon him the right to name an heir, how came it that Lord Canning was so anxious that His Highness should bequeath his kingdom to the British Government? If he had the power to will away his territories, surely he had power to adopt an heir..... The only valid objection to the reinstatement of the Raja is the fertility of his kingdom and its general desirableness as a British possession." At about this time a powerful political writer Major Evans Bell published a book under the caption of 'The Mysore Reversion' in

the preface to which he wrote—"By the publication of this book I hope to produce a conviction so decided of the injustice, impolicy and imprudence of the meditated annexation as may lead to some decided action in the Cabinet or in Parliament and may once more place the Home Authorities in distinct antagonism to that policy of bad faith and disguised rapacity by which during the last twenty years the officials of Calcutta have destroyed the fair fame of Great Britain in the East and undermined the foundations of our Indian Empire."

Krishnaraja Wodeyar had been fully keeping himself informed of all that was going on both in England as well as in India. When the last khareetha of Sir John Lawrence communicating to him the rejection of his claim by the Secretary of State reached his hands, the Maharaja felt by no means disheartened and in spite of the advice from some of his European friends to come to a compromise with Bowring, His Highness resolved to carry the struggle to England for decision in the British Parliament. Accordingly, he wrote to Dr. Campbell on the 22nd December in these words:—"You must believe that I depend upon nobody but yourself and yourself alone and that I would not in my life lean on Mr. Bowring or anyone for the world. I and my Bakshi Narasappa would rather hang ourselves than pursuing such a mean and unbecoming course. I fully appreciate your indefatigable exertions and the most zealous and vigorous advocacy in my cause. How can I sufficiently thank you for all the immense trouble you have taken every hour in my affair? I cannot here enumerate the critical position under which I am now placed and the utter embarrassment with which I am now struggling..... I flatly refused the acceptance of Mr. Bowring's offer though the suggestions and counsels of several of our European as well as Indian friends to take the gift of Mr. Bowring were unanimous. Then curses were heaped upon my Bakshi Narasappa by all those who advised us to take the offer. The headman here and his clique tried their utmost to remove Narasappa from his place and to leave me alone without help. But Narasappa boldly trampled at the devices of those set of devils..... I have asked Major Renton to go to England to explain to you the whole transactions as lucidly as possible .....

Majors Pearse and Renton were most faithful to me and gave me satisfaction."

Besides the numerous Indians who supported the Maharaja's claims from outside Mysore, there were in the State itself several sympathisers among the official classes. The officials of the Hebbar Sri Vaishnava community were most prominent and went to the length of giving their support to the Maharaja even at the risk of injury to themselves.



## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

**Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831—1868.**

**The struggle in England—Change of Ministry in England—Lord Cranborne Secretary of State in succession to Sir Charles Wood—Interview with Lord Cranborne by a deputation led by Sir Henry Rawlinson—Support of the Press in England in favour of preserving the integrity of the State of Mysore—John Morley's clear exposition of the Mysore Case.**

At the period at which we have arrived, there was considerable agitation in England for Parliamentary reform. Lord Palmerston the Prime Minister was lukewarm in this matter. Lord John Russel who succeeded him on his death was of a different mind. W. E. Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill in the House of Commons in March 1866. But the Conservatives and moderate Liberals combined against the Bill and formed, what John Bright called, the cave of Adulm into which was invited every one who was in distress and everyone who was discontented. The Cave increased in strength and Gladstone saw there was little hope of the Bill being passed. This roused him to the utmost and in winding up the debate on the second reading on April 28th Gladstone made one of those great speeches which marked epochs in the history of the British Parliament. Forseeing the fate of his Bill, he concluded his impassioned speech with words which have become memorable for all age:—"Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on our side; and the banner which we now carry in this fight, though perhaps at some moment it may drop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again floats in the eye of Heaven and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain, and to a not far distant, victory." The Government was defeated shortly after and resigned. Lord Derby

the leader of the Conservatives now formed a new ministry. Lord Cranborne (later Marquis of Salisbury) took the place of Sir Charles Wood as Secretary of State for India.

Lord Cranborne in his election speech at Stamford had made an elaborate protest against the policy of annexation in India. After he became Secretary of State, in his speech introducing the Indian Budget in the House of Commons he expressed himself as a vigorous supporter of the policy of not laying hands on the territories of Indian Princes. The Press in England had also awakened to the great injustice done to Mysore by Sir John Lawrence and Sir Charles Wood by the rejection of the Maharaja's claim for reinstatement as the actual ruler of his country. Lawrence was condemned as a disciple of Dalhousie whose policy of absorption of Indian States into British territory had produced the Indian Mutiny. "If once Mysore became British territory," asserted these organs of public opinion, "nothing would persuade the Princes, Chiefs and people of India that the assurances given to them in the Queen's Proclamation were not all moonshine, the Adoption Despatch so much waste paper, and British honour a thing to be talked about in time of difficulty but having no existence when the difficulty was overcome." These papers also deplored the apathy which existed in the British public mind regarding the true state of things in India inasmuch as a broken head, in Whitechapel they said, created a greater sensation among Englishmen than a revolution in Hindusthan. A fertile and pleasant province like Mysore, it was written, providing a cool summer retreat for Government officials and snug berths for sons and nephews might seem a rich prize to Indian officials. But it was marvellous that any English statesman taking from a distance a comprehensive survey of the vast empire of India and mindful of the giant career that for good or evil lay before it should have failed to see that twenty such provinces as Mysore would be dearly purchased if their possession crippled the influence which was a high mission of England to exercise upon the future of India by shaking the confidence of the Indian people in British moderation and good faith.

The Maharaja who was closely watching the trend of public opinion in England now took heart once more to re-assert his claims. In July 1866 after remaining silent for more than a year, he addressed a fresh khareetha to Sir John Lawrence to dispel, as he said, certain misapprehensions which appeared in the Viceroy's letter of 5th May 1865 addressed to him. The Maharaja concluded this khareetha by asserting that a due regard for the honour of his ancestors, for the rights of his adopted son and his family, and for the best interests of his people compelled him to maintain the real strength of his title, to vindicate his right to adopt a successor, and to claim from the protecting power his personal restoration as the best proof that could be given that the preservation of the Raj was still intended and not its speedy destruction. A few sentences in this khareetha are so noteworthy that they may be quoted here:—"Notwithstanding the officially recorded changes in my views of the reformed system, notwithstanding General Sir Mark Cubbon's officially recorded acknowledgment in his letter of the 2nd June 1860 of the cordiality observed by me for a good many years towards the existing administration, no credit is given me for the wisdom that comes with age, with reflection, and with observation of passing events. And yet I must in justice to myself claim to have observed much and to have learned much in my long retirement. Among other lessons, I have learned that the possession of absolute power is a dangerous and undesirable possession for any man; and I have observed that although my unskilful use of absolute power in early life has been severely blamed, the British Government is careful to entrust no such prerogative to any of its functionaries from the highest to the lowest. Every officer, civil and military, every magistrate including even the monarch, is ruled and guided by Law. To this great method of established law and order in financial, judicial and administrative affairs I should wish my Government to conform and I am ready and willing to bind myself and my successors to rule in obedience to such regulations and ordinances as in the first instance and from time to time may be approved by the protecting power." On receipt of this khareetha Sir John Lawrence sent a reply stating that the same would be forwarded to England for the perusal of the Secretary of State for

India and expressed regret that the Maharaja had not acquiesced in the decision of Her Majesty's Government in conformity with the counsel given in his last khareetha.

To the credit of many public men in England it may be stated that they fully realised the justice of the Maharaja's claim and took active measures to urge it before the authorities concerned. On 23rd July 1866 a deputation consisting of Members of Parliament and other gentlemen who had long taken active part in Indian affairs waited on Lord Cranborne the Secretary of State for the purpose of making a collective remonstrance against the threatened annexation of Mysore. Sir Henry Rawlinson who led the deputation after fully explaining the merits of the case concluded by saying that although the opinions of Sir John Lawrence and his three predecessors were against the restoration of Mysore, yet the opinion of Sir John Denison an equally competent authority was in favour of it. It had become manifest that Lord Canning had acted under the mistaken idea that Krishnaraja Wodeyar wished to bequeath his territories to the British Government, while Lord Elgin was inclined to effect a compromise. Sir John Lawrence himself whatever change his views might have undergone had while in the India office voted in favour of the restoration of the Maharaja. Even if all these uncertain advocates of annexation were counted as full advocates of annexation, the balance of authority was strongly in favour of maintaining the principality. The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck who first assumed the management of Mysore was subsequently in favour of the Maharaja's restoration and had regreted for his act of supersession. Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir William McNaughton, Lord Grenly and several of the Members of the India Council who had been employed in political offices in India had expressed opinions favourable to the Maharaja's rights. The late Casamaijor who had been Resident at Mysore in 1831 and General Briggs who was present with the deputation and who was the first British Commissioner for Mysore were both of opinion that the Maharaja had been unjustly treated. Rawlinson further emphasised that in addition to Sir John Willoughby, Sir Fredrick Currie, Sir Henry Montgomery, Sir George Clerk and Captain

Eastwick,—all members of the India Council who had written so strongly in favour of the subject might be mentioned the names of Sir John Low member of the Supreme Council, General Fraser, General Sir Grand Jacob, W. H. Bayley, Colonel Haines and of many other distinguished Indian officers and of authors and public men who had all signed a petition to the House of Commons praying for the maintenance of the State of Mysore. Some of the other members of the deputation also spoke on the subject. Sir Edward Colebrooke pointed out that until the annexation of Satara by Dalhousie there never had been an instance of a Native State being claimed as a lapse by any Hindu or Mahomedan Suzerain or by the British Government. Such a claim was especially preposterous in the case of a State with which there was a treaty. Lord William Hay read an interesting letter written by Sir Mark Cubbon deprecating any step that might tend to the extinction of the Mysore State in contempt of the Proclamation of Queen Victoria. General Briggs stated that from his own observation and knowledge the original reports as to the mismanagement and oppression under the Maharaja's Government were grossly exaggerated and that this had been admitted to a great extent in the report of the Commissioners of enquiry of 1834. Major Evans Bell another member of the deputation said that his conviction was that it was only by maintaining the Native States that the supremacy of Great Britain and the peace and prosperity of India could be secured. Sir James Fergusson who was at the time Under Secretary of State for India enquired if it was not the case that good government must depend upon the personal character of the Prince, to which Major Bell replied that if the Government of a Native State was allowed to depend on the personal character of a Prince the fault was entirely on the part of the British Government which refused to put forth its unlimited influence to enforce reforms but permitted and sometimes even insisted on Rajas and Nawabs remaining absolute despots. Lord Cranborne before taking leave of the deputation asked Sir Henry Rawlinson to explain what exactly the deputation wanted the Government to do and especially whether it was expected that the Maharaja should be replaced in the same position he held before 1831. Sir Henry Rawlinson replied

that all they thought themselves justified in asking was that the Government should maintain the integrity of the State.

Meanwhile, the Press in England took up the Mysore cause and in well-reasoned articles brought home to the minds of the British people the injustice that would be caused to the Maharaja and to the people of his State by its annexation. It now became somewhat evident that in spite of all diplomatic or interested reasonings on the part of officials, the public in England were not likely to listen to the same and even the most influential Indian statesmen would have no power to bias the case, supported as it was by so many able men as were on the Indian Deputation as well as outside. In the previous year the Mysore case had appeared very hopeless. But in 1866 the prospect became cheerful. John Morley the great journalist and author who subsequently entered Parliament and held many Cabinet appointments including that of the Secretary of State for India published a well-reasoned and powerful article on the Mysore subject in the *Fortnightly Review* in September 1866. "It is no cynical exaggeration," said Viscount Morley as he became known in the concluding years of his life, "that the amount of active political sympathy in England with the affairs of her colonies and of the great Indian Empire is, comparatively speaking, very small. General considerations however are commonly neglected especially in this country, unless they are bound up with one or more particular cases. Happily for my purpose, though unhappily on other and larger grounds, a very remarkable and important episode in the history of English rule in India is occurring at the present moment which illustrates to too great perfection both the absence as a matter of fact of English supervision and the evil consequences which result as a consciousness of this on the part of the various branches of the Indian Government. The story of Mysore has this additional advantage that it is not yet completed. The matter is still being transacted under our eyes. The fifth act of a drama of which all India supplies the keenly interested spectators has yet to be added and the nature of the concluding scenes it is still within the power of the English public and the English minister to determine. When it is remembered that in the opinion of many persons best qualified

to give an opinion, this determination will mark the turning point of the career of England in India, the importance of the decision being in the right direction cannot easily be over-rated."

According to Morley, by the Partition and Subsidiary Treaties of 1799 (a) a separate State of Mysore had been set up; (b) the sovereignty had been conferred upon the representative of the old line of Rajas; (c) the new ruler agreed to do certain things; and (d) the Governor-General reserved the right of remedying any neglect to do these things. Although Lord Wellesley quite consistently reserved the right to administer part or parts of the Mysore territory in case of non-payment of the promised funds, he had previously in the Partition treaty guaranteed the separate existence of the Mysore State along with the other conditions of that treaty "as long as the sun and the moon endured." Such a phrase was, it was said, a careless oriental phrase. But such a pretence, wrote Morley, was dissipated by the fact that it was not an oriental but Lord Wellesley himself who had dictated the clause.

Two questions had to be answered, further emphasised Morley, before finally resolving on the extinction of the Mysore State—(a) Had the English Government any legal right to annex the Mysore territory? (b) Granting that the legal right could be satisfactorily established, did a general view of the British position towards the Indian Princes countenance the expediency of so availing of it? Readers of Sir Charles Wood's despatches found that far greater stress was laid in them on the considerations of what the British might find themselves empowered to do than upon those considerations of what it was to their advantage to do. Upto 1847 nobody hinted that the treaty could be interpreted other than in one way and that one way was the restoration of the country to the Maharaja after order and peace had been established. It was, therefore, a mere sophism on the part of Sir Charles Wood to have stated that the treaty contained no condition under which the administration of the Maharaja's territories if once assumed by the British Government should be restored to His Highness. What would be thought of a landlord, argued Morley, who after dis-

training for rent and satisfying his demand should decline to quit the premises on the ground that there was no clause in the agreement stating the condition on which he should quit them? Sir Henry Montgomery in recording his dissent from the Secretary of State's despatch had justly remarked that if the treaty was to be quoted in such rigid interpretation when adverse to the Maharaja's claims, it was fair also to quote with the same strictness as not authorising the assumption of the entire country under any view of its real condition at that period. If it was only a personal treaty as said by Lord Dalhousie in later years, what could Lord Wellesley's object have been in going through the farce of a treaty with a child only five years old? What reason was there for setting up the child at all, if he were only to play warming-pan for the East India Company? The Company needed no fiction of this sort. Their troops were victorious. The country was theirs and it was the deliberate choice of the Governor-General to erect it into a State as long as the sun and the moon should endure. Lord Wellesley was of all the Governors-General that India ever had till then the least likely to play a trick or to go through an unintelligible performance of that kind.

Although as a matter of fact Mysore had not been included in the assurance that the policy of annexation had been abandoned, yet that State, in Morley's opinion, would afford the first test-case as to the sincerity of the professions of the British Government. No amount of reasoning or explanation would convince the Indian Princes that if the non-annexation policy was not adhered to in the case of Mysore, the same would be followed in any other case where annexation suited their purpose. If the immediate restoration of the administration of Mysore to the Maharaja was beset with danger to the prosperity of its people, there was an alternative open. The son adopted by the Raja was a child and his right to succeed to the throne on the Raja's death might be recognised, and instead of leaving the child to grow anyhow he might be surrounded with the best European and Native influences that were within reach. The Mysore Commissioner whose communications to the Foreign Office at Calcutta, said Morley, were sometimes more like those of a gossiping maid-of-honour than those of a grave and responsible

official assured the Government that the signatures to the petition in the name of the people of Mysore were chiefly those of the Raja's tradesmen. Even admitting that there was truth in this assertion, yet *a priori* considerations indicated the probability of an oriental population desiring the restoration of the representative of a long line of rulers and preferring to be governed by their own countrymen.

The Hon'ble Rao Sahib Viswanath Narayan Mandlik who was a distinguished lawyer of Bombay in a pamphlet entitled "Adoption versus Annexation" which he wrote about this time protested strongly against the doctrine of Rapse of Indian States and learning that the Mysore Case was to be discussed in Parliament appealed to the members to set their face against annexation and recognise the right of the Maharaja of Mysore to take a son in adoption as successor to all his rights. "A glorious opportunity now awaits the British Parliament," said Mandlik, "to show practically that it will right the wronged. I allude to the case of the Maharaja of Mysore, which I see is to be brought before the British nation. The Maharaja's cause or, in other words, that of British faith is warmly and judiciously advocated by five members of the India Council. But natives of India are grieved to see a person like Mr. Mangles employing arguments as puerile as they are unjust. Whoever heard of a treaty such as that of Mysore being called a deed of gift? Still more strange is it to read that the words "shall be binding upon the contracting parties as long as the sun and the moon shall endure" do not imply perpetuity to Indian minds. The Indian mind is shocked at such sophistry in high quarters..... The good of the people which the annexationists talk of to excuse their injustice to the Princes of India is a mere stock pretence."

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831—1868.

#### **Recognition of the adopted son by the Government in England—Debate in Parliament—Durbar in the Mysore Palace.**

A short time after Rawlinson's deputation waited on the Secretary of State for India, a petition signed among others by several old Indian officers was presented to the House of Commons by John Stuart Mill the famous political and philosophical writer praying that the House might take such steps as seemed in their wisdom efficacious to secure the re-establishment of the Hindu Government in Mysore consistently with British interests and the prosperity of the people of the State. A question of the greatest importance to the future fortunes of the Mysore State and of its royal family was put in the House of Commons on the 22nd February 1867. On that day Sir Henry Rawlinson asked Lord Cranborne, Secretary of State for India, whether the Government in England had come to any decision on the appeal of the Maharaja of Mysore regarding the succession of his adopted son to the throne of Mysore. Rawlinson in explanation of his question stated that when the Mysore territories were conquered in 1799, it was in the power of the Governor-General at the time to have divided the whole of the territories between the British Government and its allies, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Peshwa of Poona. But he thought it expedient on political grounds to re-establish the kingdom of Mysore, though with a diminished area, and to put Krishnaraja Wodeyar the representative of the old Hindu royal family in possession of it. Next, the speaker continued, when the administration was taken out of the hands of this Prince in 1831, Lord William Bentinck on subsequent examination was not satisfied with the grounds on which that extreme step had been taken by him. Rawlinson further said that he was of opinion that the benefits conferred on the country by the British administration had fully compensated for the irregularity of that interference. He was also not prepared to advocate the restoration of the

administration to the old Raja's hands as he had parted with it thirty-five years ago and had become unused to the toils of government but he would only say that the Raja had a valid ground of complaint regarding the right of his adopted son to inherit his kingdom. When Krishnaraja Wodeyar first expressed a wish to adopt a son and signified the fact to the Governor-General, a difference of opinion prevailed in the Council of India and a vague answer was returned leaving the question open. Subsequently the adoption having actually taken place and on a second reference being made to the Secretary of State the right of the adopted son to inherit the kingdom was not recognised, the effect of such an action on the part of the British Government inevitably leading to the extinction of Mysore as a separate State on the death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar and to its absorption in the British dominions. On various grounds however, both of expediency as well as of right, it was necessary, concluded Rawlinson, that the integrity of the State should be maintained. Sir Edward Colebrooke who supported Sir Henry Rawlinson said that although Lord Canning had not sent the Adoption Circular to the Raja of Mysore, yet he did not regard that the Mysore territory would after the death of the Raja automatically lapse to the British Government. For within thirty days after laying down the principle that only those Princes who directly governed their territories as sovereign princes were to have the right of succession, Canning recorded his opinion regarding Mysore that the Raja might be eventually induced to bequeath his country to the British Government. The speaker therefore maintained that it followed that the succession ought to be recognised when it was admitted that the Raja possessed the power of bequest. Lord Cranborne in his reply announced that strictly interpreting the treaties of 1799, although he could not admit that the son of the Maharaja of Mysore whether natural or adopted had any right to succeed to the sovereignty of Mysore, yet on political grounds it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to annex the territory on the death of the Raja and it was his hope that the adopted son would show himself capable of governing the country on his reaching the age of majority.

On the 16th April of the same year Sir Stafford Northcote who had succeeded Lord Cranborne on the latter's resignation on account of differences in the Cabinet relating to the Parliamentary Reform Bill of Lord Derby's Government sent a despatch to the Governor-General in India formally communicating the decision of the British Government to restore Mysore to native rule. The despatch was in these terms :—" I have received and considered in Council the letter of Your Excellency's Government in the Foreign Department dated 31st October 1866 enclosing a khareetha from His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

" In considering the questions raised in that communication, it is unnecessary for me to advert in detail to the observations of His Highness upon the transactions referred to in the earlier part of his reign before the assumption of the Government of Mysore by Lord William Bentinck. The request of the Maharaja that he should himself be reinstated in the Government of the Mysore territory was fully considered in Council and the final decision of Her Majesty's Government was communicated to you in Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 17th July 1865. I cannot hold out any hope that it will be reversed.

" The decision, however, of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the disposal of the territory of Mysore after the death of the present Maharaja has not yet been communicated to you. In the khareetha transmitted by Your Excellency this question is formally raised and it now becomes my duty to convey to you the instructions of Her Majesty's Government upon this important question.

" Without entering upon any minute examination of the terms of the treaties of 1799, Her Majesty's Government recognise in the policy which dictated that settlement a desire to provide for the maintenance of an Indian dynasty on the throne of Mysore upon terms which should at once afford a guarantee for the good government of the people and for the security of British rights and interests. Her Majesty is animated by the same desire and shares the views to which I have referred. It is Her earnest wish that

those portions of India which are not at present under Her immediate dominion may continue to flourish under native Indian Rulers co-operating with Her representatives in the promotion of the general prosperity of the country; and in the present case more especially, having regard to the antiquity of the Maharaja's family, its long connection with Mysore and the personal loyalty and attachment to the British Government which His Highness has so conspicuously manifested, Her Majesty desires to maintain that family on the throne in the person of His Highness' adopted son upon terms corresponding with those made in 1799 so far as the altered circumstances of the present time will allow.

"In considering the stipulations which will be necessary to give effect to this arrangement, I have, in the first place, to observe that Her Majesty's Government cannot but feel a peculiar interest in the welfare of those who have now for so long a period been subject to their direct administration and that they will feel it their duty before replacing them under the rule of a native sovereign to take all the pains they can with the education of that sovereign and also to enter into a distinct agreement with him as to the principles upon which he shall administer the country and to take sufficient securities for the agreement.

"It is therefore the intention of Her Majesty that the young Prince should have the advantage of an education suitable to his rank and position and calculated to prepare him for the duties of administration; and I have to desire you to propose to the Maharaja that he should receive this education under the superintendence of your Government. I have to request that you will communicate with me as to the mode in which this can best be effected without separating the young Prince more than is necessary from those over whom he may hereafter be called on to rule. If at the demise of His Highness the young Prince should not have attained the age which you upon consideration may fix for his majority, the territory shall continue to be governed in his name upon the same principles and under the same regulations as at the present time. Upon his reaching that age or at an earlier period if you should think it desirable, it will be the duty of the British Government before

confiding to him the administration of the whole or any portion of the State to enter into an arrangement with him for the purpose of adequately providing for the maintenance of a system of Government well adapted to the wants and interests of the people.

“As regards the rights and interests of the British Government, it is sufficient to point out that as the cost of supporting troops has largely increased since 1799, it will obviously be necessary that the terms of that treaty should be revised and some addition made to the subsidy. The great increase which has taken place in the resources of Mysore since 1799 and more especially since the assumption of the government by Lord William Bentinck will prevent such addition being felt as an undue burden. The precise terms of the revision may be left to be settled when the young Prince is put in possession of the administration.”

The despatch having subsequently been placed on the table of the House of Commons for the information of the members, Lord William Hay one of the members raised a debate on this despatch on the 24th May 1867 on the ground that the despatch went beyond the assurances given by Lord Cranborne ex-Secretary of State for India in his speech in the House of Commons on the 22nd February preceding. Lord Hay said that Lord Cranborne had expressed that the treaty of 1799 so far as it related to Krishnaraja Wodeyar was a personal and not a dynastic treaty but that the Northcote despatch differed from the speech in several respects, especially with regard to the personal or dynastic character of the treaty. The despatch began by professing that the view of the present Government of Her Majesty was not in conflict with that of the late Government, but at the same time had left the personal character of the treaty an open one. The speaker however ultimately did not oppose the continuance of Mysore as a Native State.

Sir Stafford Northcote in his reply stated that at the time he took charge of the duties of the Secretary of State for India he found that the position as left by his predecessor was that the State of Mysore was not to be annexed on the death of the old

Raja, that the treaty was to be regarded as a personal one and it rested with the British Government consistently with the policy of non-annexation to make any convenient arrangement for the subsequent administration of the country as the circumstances of the time demanded, that the Raja's adopted son was to be taken under the care of the British Government and was to be given such education as his rank and intended destiny in life required and that when the young Prince reached the age of 18 or 20 the British Government was definitely to decide the future course. But this position had been reached by Lord Cranborne, further said Sir Stafford Northcote, without his consulting the Council of India and on the new Secretary of State consulting the India Council upon the subject found that the majority of the members of that Council were not in agreement with the views of Lord Cranborne and that they were in favour of a policy of annexation. Northcote acknowledged that on his own examination of the question he felt that he could not quite agree with his predecessor's statement as to the treaty being entirely of a personal character. He regarded the question as one not to be decided merely by a technical construction of the clauses of the treaty of 1799 but as one to be decided on lines of broad national policy and in the spirit in which Lord Wellesley viewed the original arrangement. Further, Lord Canning's very expression of a hope that the Raja would make a bequest of his country to the British confirmed him in his belief that the original treaty was not so definitely of a personal character. Lord Cranborne who was present in the House of Commons at the time this debate took place gave his support to the observations made by his successor not only on the especial ground, as he said, of his successor's policy being coincident with that which he had suggested but also on broad constitutional grounds. In his opinion, said Lord Cranborne, the despatch under discussion substantially expressed not only the decision of Her Majesty's Government as had been come to before his resignation but also that of the House of Commons upon the question raised, though it was against the opinion of the majority of the members of India Council.

On a perusal of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799 it will be seen by our readers that Sir Stafford Northcote interpreted the intentions

of the original framers of this treaty much more correctly than did the members of the India Council. The treaty was called a treaty of "perpetual friendship and alliance" and at the end of the preamble it was stated that it was to be binding on the contracting parties as long as the sun and the moon endured. In the preamble of the Partition Treaty also its binding nature is indicated by the words "as long as the sun and the moon shall endure." In the course of the debate on the 24th May 1867 however, some of the speakers attempted to make capital out of the words 'for ever' found in Articles 1 and 2 of the Partition Treaty relating to the allotment of shares of Tippu's territories to the British Government and to the Nizam and the omission of the same words in clause 4 of the same treaty relating to the establishment of a separate kingdom of Mysore with Krishnaraja Wodeyar as its sovereign under certain conditions. It may be fairly inferred that the insertion of the words 'for ever' when speaking of the British Government and the Nizam was considered necessary as the grants were unconditional, while on the other hand the omission of the same words in the clause relating to the formation of a separate kingdom of Mysore, if intentional, was meant to provide for the temporary sequestration of the country when the Governor-General considered that the punctual payment of the subsidy was in danger. The Subsidiary Treaty was, it may fairly be said, intended to endure 'as long as the sun and the moon endured' as much as the Partition Treaty was so intended. For, otherwise the perpetual character of the treaty of friendship and alliance referred to at the commencement of the Subsidiary Treaty would be meaningless. The Court of Directors when they refused sanction to Bentinck's proposal to appropriate a portion of the Mysore territory permanently in lieu of the periodical payment of sums of money clearly had no idea that they looked upon the grant as a mere life-grant. It is not too much therefore to say that the subsequent interpretation of the Subsidiary Treaty in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the Maharaja was clearly an after-thought to find support for the desire for annexation.

On Krishnaraja Wodeyar becoming aware of the decision contained in Sir Stafford Northcote's despatch he was only partially

pleased with its contents inasmuch as it gave no support to his personal restoration. The Maharaja also regarded with some apprehension the indeterminate character of the despatch as regards the extent of the territory to be allotted to his adopted son on his reaching majority as well as the extent of power to be conferred on him, especially considering the length of time that should elapse before he attained majority and the allowance to be made for the uncertainty of events in the interval. His Highness, however, took consolation in the thought that the former decision of complete extinction of his State had been reversed and to that extent the despatch was satisfactory. On the 18th July 1867 C. B. Saunders, the acting Commissioner, was present at a durbar held at Mysore on the occasion of the Maharaja's 74th birthday. The young Prince was conducted to this durbar and was received with all the usual marks of respect due to his rank. Saunders as the representative of the British Government welcomed the Prince as His Highness' rightful heir and wished that he would study so to prepare himself for the duties of administration as to become a worthy and successful ruler. The Maharaja in return expressed gratitude to the British Government for the favour shown to him and to his family and wished that the Commissioner should convey his feeling of joy and gratefulness to all the authorities concerned.

Bowring who had gone on leave to England in September 1866 returned to Bangalore in November 1867 and on the 20th of the same month had an interview with the Maharaja at his capital. His Highness was pretty well and cheerful at the time and as keen as ever about his personal restoration.

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

### Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—1831—1868.

#### **Death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III—Chamaraja Wodeyar proclaimed successor—Personal characteristics of Krishnaraja Wodeyar.**

Krishnaraja Wodeyar whose health had been failing for some time was found towards the end of February 1868 to be in a somewhat precarious condition. He had an obstinate hiccup at intervals and realising that he was dying gave directions as to what he wished to be done regarding some of his property and relatives. However, the strong constitution that he had inherited enabled him to rally for some time to such an extent that the daily offering of sacred rice which was being sent to him from the famous temple of Siva at Nanjangud 15 miles from Mysore was discontinued. On the 23rd March however His Highness had a relapse accompanied by extreme prostration and his advanced age caused considerable apprehension. On the morning of the 27th the Maharaja's condition became alarming. His Highness gradually sank and expired at about 11 o'clock at night.

Bakshi Narasappa at once went to Major Elliot the officer in-charge of the Palace duties and intimated to him the sad event. As the night was a dark one and any measures taken then to safeguard the property in the Palace would have caused apprehensions among the people as well as among the inmates of the Palace, all measures were postponed till daylight the next day. In the meanwhile, an express message was despatched to French Rocks for the services of a regiment of Native infantry which arrived at Mysore a little before daybreak. Major Renton who was in charge of the Maharaja's troops and was also Town Magistrate of Mysore was entrusted with the duty of occupying the fort. This duty as well as the posting of sentries at the entrances to the Palace having been satisfactorily accomplished, Major Elliot went round the several rooms in the Palace where the jewels and clothes had been kept and put the Residency seal on the padlocks and doors. Two almirahs of public records were also sealed. As it was not possible

to immediately examine all the property, the officials in charge were warned to give lists of property in their charge in the course of the day as far as possible. Narasappa was directed temporarily to take the control of affairs and to continue the daily routine and customary observance of interior management as existed in the Maharaja's time. In the meanwhile, a telegram having arrived from Bowring who was at the time at Bangalore, Major Elliot conveyed through Bhagavat Subba Rao, one of the Palace officials, to the Ranees and to the dependents assurances on behalf of the Commissioner of the protection of the British Government.

The funeral procession the next day was attended by Sowars, Barr, State elephants and horses and the body of His Highness was carried in a palanquin to the burning place below the bund of the Doddakere tank. Crowds of people from the town and neighbourhood thronged both sides of the route and gave utterance to loud lamentations as the body passed them. Major Elliot and other European officers met the body at the gate of the cremation ground and saw it pass on attended by all the relatives and dependents of the Maharaja. The adopted son was not brought out as he was too young and as it was feared that the noise and excitement would frighten him the ceremony of lighting the funeral pyre was therefore performed by a substitute. The grief of the Ranees and women in the Palace previous to the removal of the body was most pathetic and there was a general wailing on the part of all people numbering about 4000 living within the precincts of the fort. A large quantity of sandalwood and of camphor were used for the cremation of the body and money doles were distributed to the poor and the destitute who had gathered at the place of cremation.

On receiving telegraphic news from Mysore of the death and cremation of the Maharaja, all the troops at Bangalore mustering 2000 were assembled on the parade ground on the evening of the same day. On every side of the parade ground large concourses of people gathered on hearing the sad news. There were also present a large number of officials and so were almost all the leading people. Bowring then appeared on the ground, read out the proclamation of the Government of India preceded by one from

himself. The Commissioner began by saying that he felt assured that all classes, official and non-official, would participate with him the deep regret with which he had received the sad news of the demise of His Highness Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar whose friendly allegiance during a long course of years had been recognised by Her Majesty's Government and whose princely generosity and kindly qualities in private life had won for him the grateful esteem of all those who had the good fortune to enjoy his acquaintance. In accordance with the orders received from the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, continued Bowring, the government of the territories of Mysore would be carried on in the name of His Highness Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur to whom would be rendered all the honours and respect paid to the late Maharaja. The administration of the Province would be conducted by the British Government on the same principles and under the same regulations as previously existed. All persons who by reason of consanguinity or service were dependent on the late Maharaja would receive full consideration, concluded Bowring, according to their several positions and could rest assured of the protection of the Mysore Government.

The Proclamation by the Government of India was next read which was in these terms :—"His Excellency the Right Honourable the Viceroy and the Governor-General in Council announces to the Chiefs and people of Mysore the death of His Highness the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. This event is regarded with sorrow by the Government of India with which the late Maharaja had preserved relations of friendship for more than half a century. His Highness Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur at present a minor, the adopted son of the late Maharaja, is acknowledged by the Government of India as his successor and as Maharaja of the Mysore territories. During the minority of His Highness the said territories will be administered in His Highness' name by the British Government and will be governed on the same principles and under the same regulations as heretofore. When His Highness shall attain to the period of majority, that is the age of 18 years, and if His Highness

shall then be found qualified for the discharge of the duties of his exalted position, the government of the country will be entrusted to him subject to such conditions as may be determined at that time." Copies of the two Proclamations were sent by express post to each district with directions to the Deputy Superintendents to distribute them in Kanada at once to all the taluks, so that the people of the Province might be speedily informed of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government.

On the 30th March Major Elliot read the Government of India Proclamation at Mysore in the Palace Square. The regiment of sepoys which had arrived from French Rocks was present on the occasion and the square was also full of the inhabitants of the place. The Proclamation gave great satisfaction to the assembled people and after the presentation of arms and the firing of a royal salute there was a great clapping of hands and demonstration of joy.

On the 30th March the Government of India also published a notification for the information of the people of India in general and it ran as below:—"His Excellency the Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council announces with sorrow the death on the 27th of March of His Highness Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Mysore, a Prince who from his earliest years had lived in friendship and concord with the British Government in India. In accordance with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, His Highness Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur the adopted son of the late Maharaja has been recognised and proclaimed as Maharaja of Mysore. The Maharaja being now a minor, the Government and administration of the territories of Mysore will during His Highness' minority be conducted under the direction of the Commissioner in the same manner as heretofore and all matters relating to the Maharaja's household and to the due protection in comfort and dignity of the family will be regulated by the same authority. The conditions under which the Government of Mysore will be entrusted to the Maharaja will remain for consideration at the time when His Highness shall arrive at the proper age."

On the 4th April following, Bowring had an interview with the two Maharanis at Mysore and communicated the Viceroy's condolences for the death of the old Maharaja as well as good wishes for the welfare of the young Prince. The young Prince was also present with his mother and maternal uncle Chennappaji Urs. The ladies expressed their gratification at the Viceroy's sympathy and desired the Commissioner in reply to say that they placed themselves under the protection of the British Government. They then requested him to take the young Maharaja in his arms, which he accordingly did. Bowring found the boy handsome and intelligent. The expression of the Prince's face was refined and pleasing.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar was 74 years old at the time of his death. He was somewhat short of stature but had a pleasant and dignified countenance. His complexion was fair and his dress was ordinarily in excellent taste. On public occasions he used to wear round his neck a triple necklace of pearls and girt round his waist was also a sword with a medallion of the Queen of England upon the belt. He was of a kindly and generous nature and possessed many amiable qualities. He was well-up in the administrative details of his State and possessed a rare memory. He never gave up lightly any object on which his heart had been set and there was in him an extraordinary amount of persistence and tenacity in pushing forward his views. Krishnaraja Wodeyar was described by those who knew him well as a prince of more than average acuteness of intellect, active for his years and capable of taking a shrewd and lively share in a discussion on public affairs, master of three languages spoken in his dominions Kanada, Marathi and Hindustani, sufficiently acquainted with English to appreciate and control a correspondence and to understand a good deal of conversation, though unable or unwilling to take part in it.

His Highness held two durbars annually, one on the occasion of his birthday and the other during the Dasara festival. On both these occasions besides the Indian guests, a large number of European guests were invited including the Resident. On the occasion of the Resident's visit to the Palace when these durbars were held,

he was escorted by a large body of the Mysore Horse accompanied by His Highness' body-guard. Their gaudy uniforms together with the green apparel of the running spear-men, the gaily caparisoned elephants and the tumultuous assemblage of retainers and sight-seers made, it is stated, a pleasing as well as a distracting spectacle. On entering the fort a salute was fired from the ramparts and when the narrow streets were traversed and the cortege defiled into the large square before the Palace, the household troops were drawn up on either side. Then commenced the din of musical instruments, the band playing 'God save the Queen', the elephants trumpeting and the mob shouting the Maharaja's praises, while the troops presented arms and amidst all this characteristic pomp and noise the Resident alighted and was received at the foot of the staircase by the Maharaja's nearest relations and courtiers. From the time when the administration was taken out of his hands Krishnaraja Wodeyar ceased to sit in open durbar and a curtain was drawn in front of him.

In private, the Maharaja divested himself of all state and was accustomed to sit up to a late hour at night listening to the gossip of the town, hearing tales and poetry, and sometimes discussing politics or religious themes. He was fond of pungent dishes. In his younger years he amused himself with fondling pigeons and with keeping a small menagerie.

During the course of the interviews, if not of a private character, the court retainers remained in the room calling out from time to time 'Adab Se'; (with respect), 'Tafavat Se'; (from a distance). When the audience was concluded, the Maharaja placed round the necks of his visitors garlands of sweet-smelling white flowers, while to each were distributed a few drops of attar of roses and a sprinkling of rose-water from elegantly-chased golden vessels, pansupari and a few cloves or cardamoms being placed in the hands of each person as a sign that the interview was over. During this ceremony the retainers shouted 'Mahaswami Parai.'

On the occasion of visitors seeking an audience of the Maharaja they were received in an inner apartment of the Palace known as Amba Vilas, which at the time was not very remarkable

except for a superabundance of highly-coloured paintings among which were likenesses of most of the Maharaja's European friends during his long life. The Maharaja was refined in demeanour and his conversation was generally seasoned by shrewd and sarcastic remarks and he was fond of jokes. He generally addressed English officials in Hindustani.

On the occasion of his birthday he used to invite all his European acquaintance to the races and the attendant ceremonies in the Palace, where he regaled his visitors with a dinner in English fashion and amused them with fireworks and circus performances.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar was a great patron of learning and his charities were innumerable and princely. The Maharaja, besides the knowledge he possessed of the four languages already mentioned, was also acquainted with Persian and Sanskrit. He had a well-stocked library and scholars learned in various branches received liberal encouragement at his hands. For providing instruction in English His Highness established in 1840 an English school in the Mysore City known as the Raja's High School in which he took considerable personal interest, often presiding over the annual distribution of prizes to the pupils. In 1866 a new building was completed for this school and the opening ceremony took place on the 30th of July 1866 at 4 p.m. His Highness drove in state from the Palace with Major Elliot and was received at the entrance to the new building by Bowring. There were gathered in the hall a large number of European and Indian gentlemen together with some ladies. Bowring at the desire of the Maharaja distributed the prizes of that year to the pupils and after a few encouraging words to the latter commended the generosity of His Highness in providing a new building and the keen interest His Highness evinced in education. The Maharaja then presented a pair of costly shawls to James Dunning the headmaster of the school and desired that equal attention should be paid to Kanada and Urdu languages.

The Maharaja's charities and gifts extended to all parts of the State and even to outside places. He established a hospital at

Mysore where European medicines were dispensed free of cost to the sick. In 1828 under his orders was constructed the big Gopuram or tower for the temple on the Chamundi Hill which is visible from Mysore. In subsequent years similar towers were constructed for the temples of Nanjundeswara at Nanjangud and of Lakshmiramanaswami at Mysore. In 1819 he presented a crown of great value set in gold with precious stones known as Vairmudi to the deity at Melkote. Gifts of rows of houses at Mysore in the names of his mother and his queens known as Kempa Nanjamba, Deviramba and other agrahars were made to Brahmins. Parakala, Sringeri, Uttaradi, Jain and Veerasiva religious institutions received rich benefactions from His Highness. He arranged for the celebration of festivals at Siva and Vishnu temples at Madura, Srirangam, Sri Sailam and Tirupati. At Tirupati he restored the two silver umbrellas presented by Raja Wodeyar and provided for the feeding of pilgrims frequenting the place. While on a visit to Subrahmanya and Udipi in 1820, His Highness presented costly gifts to the temples in both the places and also provided for the celebration of certain annual festivals.

The most notable feature of Krishnaraja Wodeyar's character was his unalloyed loyalty to the British Crown whether in sunshine or in storm. In all his letters before attaching his signature, he invariably used the words "with my unaltered and unalterable but grateful attachment to the British Government." Rama Varma, the enlightened Maharaja of Travancore at the time, on hearing of Krishnaraja Wodeyar's death observed that he was quite a historical character and that a future Sir Walter Scott might find in his life materials for a most interesting romance. The great Persian poet Saadi has observed that when a person is ushered into this world he comes weeping, while those around him exhibit joy and that it should be the aim of one's life to leave this world with joy, leaving others to weep. It is no exaggeration to say of Krishnaraja Wodeyar that his life was so regulated as to afford a typical instance of this observation of Saadi. His birth in 1794 gave joy to his family then under clouds of obscurity and misfortune. In 1868 when he died, the whole of the Mysore world mourned for him

and this mourning extended even beyond. In His Highness' time there was a Kanada saying which meant 'King Krishnaraja, the illuminating light of all households'; 'Krishnaraja Bhupa, Mane-yella Deepa' and this popular Kanada saying is even now not forgotten.



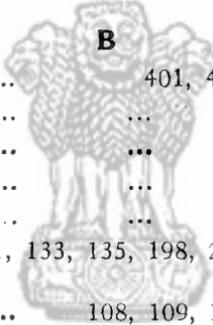


# INDEX.

## A

	PAGE.
Abbas Kuli Khan ... ..	46.
Abdul Hakim Khan ... ..	50, 53, 54, 91, 96.
Abdul Khalik ... ..	167, 170, 217, 260, 261.
Abercrombie, General ... ..	143, 154, 159, 165.
Abu Muhammad Mirde ... ..	123.
Achanna Pandit ... ..	111.
Adoption Despatch ... ..	552, 553.
Agaram ... ..	297.
Agnew, Col. ... ..	214, 216.
Ahmedy Chelas ... ..	164.
Ahmed Shah Abdali ... ..	40.
Aigoor ... ..	349.
Alexander, Captain ... ..	71.
Ali Asker ... ..	565.
Ali Jah ... ..	176.
Ali Raja ... ..	55.
Ali Raza ... ..	166.
Ali Raza Khan ... ..	138, 240.
Allan, Major ... ..	196, 210, 211, 212, 213, 238.
Amani tanks ... ..	462.
Amid Khan ... ..	241.
Amildar, duties of ... ..	395.
Amin Khan ... ..	12.
Amrit Mahal ... ..	10.
Ananda Rao Rastea ... ..	33.
Anantapur ... ..	125, 434, 435, 436.
Anchetidurga ... ..	39.
Anekal ... ..	38.
Annadana Setty ... ..	329, 330.
Annaji Rao ... ..	391.
Annaji Rao, Bakshi ... ..	422.
Annappa ... ..	425, 434, 435, 438, 441.

				PAGE.
Anoo Rama Rao	...	...	...	405, 409, 427.
Anwar-ud-deen	...	...	...	15.
Appaji Rao	...	...	53, 59, 60, 76, 85, 129.	
Arakalgud	...	...	...	423.
Arakere	...	...	...	349.
Arcot	...	...	...	11, 18, 111.
Argaum	...	...	...	355, 356.
Assaye	...	...	...	353, 355, 356.
Assud Illahis	...	...	...	164.
Attara Cutcherry	...	...	...	10.
Attiguppe (Krishnarajapet)	...	...	...	426.
Aurangzeb	...	...	...	9.
Ayakat Chavadi	...	...	...	9.


**B**

Babu Rao	...	...	401, 402, 425, 454, 470, 487.	
Badru Zamaun Khan	...	...	...	47, 123, 138.
Bagalur	...	...	...	71.
Bagal Kandachar	...	...	...	9.
Bahadur Khan	...	...	...	151.
Baird, David	110, 131, 133, 135, 198, 205, 208, 213, 214,			215, 216, 250.
Baillie, Col.	...	108, 109, 110, 111, 131, 132, 133.		
Bajebab	...	...	...	409, 411.
Baji Rao	...	...	177, 352, 353, 391.	
Baji Rao Burwa	...	...	...	90.
Bakar Ali Khan	...	...	...	400.
Balaji Rao Peshwa	...	...	...	24, 28.
Balaji Rao, Bargir Bakshi	...	...	...	401, 436.
Ballarayandoorg	...	...	...	51.
Ballum	...	...	...	85, 137, 349.
Banavar	...	...	...	7.
Bangalore	...	...	7, 32, 33, 278, 279, 285.	
Bangalore Herald	...	...	...	502.
Bannur	...	...	...	4, 196.
Barlow, Sir George	...	...	...	384, 388.
Barabaluti	...	...	...	463.

				PAGE.
Baramahal ...	...	...	...	40.
Barr ...	...	...	...	341.
Basalat Jung ...	...	...	...	45, 46, 86.
Basappa Urs, Bakshi ...	...	...	...	426.
Basavanhalli ...	...	...	...	421.
Basavapatna ...	...	...	...	7.
Bassein ...	...	...	...	352.
Batayi ...	...	...	...	411, 462.
Batterhalli ...	...	...	...	421.
Beatson ...	...	...	...	210.
Bednore ...	...	...	49, 50, 52, 68, 125, 126.	
Beenee Visajee Pandit ...	...	...	...	37, 39.
Behin Chavadi ...	...	...	...	10.
Bellary ...	...	...	...	75, 86, 87.
Bellicombe ...	...	...	...	98.
Bell, Lt.-Col. ...	...	...	...	381.
Bell, Evans ...	...	...	...	581, 588.
Belur ...	...	...	...	294.
Benne Chavadi ...	...	...	...	10.
Bentinck, Lord William ...	...	...	...	445, 452, 457, 475.
Bethamangala ...	...	...	...	278.
Bettadapura ...	...	...	...	7.
Bhima Rao, Bakshi ...	...	...	...	391, 425.
Bhoja Raj ...	...	...	...	86.
Bidadi ...	...	...	...	281.
Bishtopunt Badami ...	...	...	...	266, 355, 356.
Bowring, Lewin ...	510, 512, 513, 514, 516, 522, 532, 533, 560, 561, 564, 567, 574, 580, 600, 602, 603.	...	...	
Braithwaite, Col. ...	...	...	...	108.
Briggs, Col. ...	445, 448, 449, 450, 466, 467, 468, 470, 472, 588.	...	...	
Brooke, Captain ...	...	...	...	72, 73.
Buchanan, Francis ...	...	...	...	278.
Budihal ...	...	...	...	423.
Budi Basappa ...	...	...	...	418.
Burke, Edmund ...	...	...	...	107.
Bussy ...	...	...	...	24.
Butché Rao ...	...	...	...	251, 266, 373,

## C

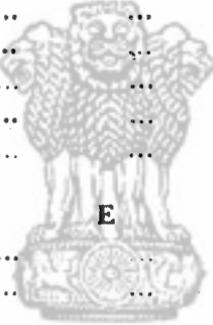
Calcutta	...	...	...	...	262.
Calicut	...	...	...	...	56.
Caliur	...	...	...	...	291.
Cameron	...	...	...	...	439.
Campbell, Dr.	...	509, 564, 569, 571, 579, 580.			
Canning, Lord	...	...	488, 542, 543, 553.		
Canning, Lady	...	...	...	489.	
Carnatic Balaghat	...	...	...	11.	
Carnatic Payeenghat	...	...	...	11.	
Caroor	...	...	...	99, 127.	
Casamaijor	403, 406, 424, 425, 426, 427, 437, 438, 440, 481.				
Chamaraja Wodeyar VII	...	...	...	12, 13.	
Chamaraja Wodeyar IX	...	...	...	89, 175.	
Chamaraja Wodeyar X	...	...	...	572, 603.	
Chamaraja Wodeyar, Bettada	...	...	...	83, 89.	
Chamarajanagar	...	...	...	393.	
Chanda Saheb	...	...	...	15, 18, 19.	
Chander Rao Ranore	...	...	...	433.	
Chandragutty	...	...	...	292, 436.	
Changama	...	...	...	65.	
Cheenikatte	...	...	...	418.	
Chendgal ford	...	...	...	197.	
Chennagiri	...	...	...	421.	
Chennapatna	...	...	...	14, 33, 63, 281.	
Chennabasaviah	...	...	...	48.	
Chennarayapatna	...	...	...	82, 295, 426, 428.	
Chetnahalli	...	...	...	416.	
Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar	...	...	...	7, 8, 9, 10, 141.	
Chikballapur	...	...	...	47, 55, 286.	
Chikmagalur	...	...	...	7.	
Chiknayakanhalli	...	...	...	288.	
Chik Upadhyaya	...	...	...	10.	
Chinkurli	...	...	...	422.	
Chitaldrug	...	...	...	48, 54, 93, 95.	
Chitterhalli	...	...	...	422.	
Cholera	...	...	...	410.	

				PAGE.
Chowdiah ...	...	...	403, 405, 425, 426, 427.	
Clemons, Major ...	...	...	...	438.
Clerk, Sir George ...	...	...	...	575.
Clive, Robert ...	...	...	...	18.
Close, Lt.-Col. 162, 192, 214, 240, 244, 256, 266, 277, 332, 343.				
Closepet ...	...	...	...	332.
Coffee ...	...	...	...	493.
Cole ...	332, 383, 384, 389, 394, 406, 410, 412, 415.			
Colebrooke, Sir Edward ...	...	...	...	588, 594.
Constantinople ...	...	...	...	139.
Coorg ...	...	...	84, 86, 137, 138.	
Coote, Sir Eyre ...	...	...	...	112, 114.
Cornwallis, Lord 142, 143, 144, 146, 150, 152, 153, 154, 159, 160, 165, 255.				
Cranborne, Lord ...	...	...	585, 588, 594, 598.	
Cubbon, Sir Mark 452, 481, 482, 488, 509, 540, 544, 552.				
Currency notes ...	...	...	...	516.
Currie, Sir Fredrick ...	...	...	562, 575, 576.	

## D

Dalhousie, Lord ...	...	...	541, 550.
Dallas ...	...	...	210, 211.
Dalrymple, Col. ...	...	...	217, 346.
Dalton, Captain ...	...	...	20.
Daria Dowlat Bagh ...	...	...	111, 121.
Darsguppe ...	...	...	425, 426.
Darvesh Khan, Muhammad ...	...	...	139.
Dasara ...	...	...	118, 268.
Dasappaji Urs, Bakshi ...	...	...	425, 427.
Davangere ...	...	...	293.
Davis, Col. ...	...	...	380.
Denison, Sir William ...	...	...	560.
Devanhalli ...	...	...	14, 17.
Devajammanni, Rani ...	..	12, 35, 37, 267, 268.	
Devajammanni ...	...	...	572.
Devarajiah, Dalavoy ...	11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 23, 27, 28, 30.		
Devasthan Chavadi ...	...	...	10.

				PAGE.
Devereux ...	...	...	...	84
Dharna ...	...	...	...	30, 35.
Dhondoji Wagh ...	...	...	...	345, 346, 347.
Dhondoji Punt Gokhla ...	...	...	...	346, 347.
Digambarappa ...	...	...	...	482.
Dindigul ...	...	...	...	25, 26.
Dirom, Major ...	...	...	...	220.
Doddaballapur ...	...	...	...	46, 287, 423.
Doddiah ...	...	...	...	8.
Doddakallu ...	...	...	...	430.
Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar ...	...	...	...	11, 12.
Dost Ali Khan ...	...	...	...	13.
Doveton, Captain ...	...	...	...	170, 257, 260.
Dowlat Rao, Scindia ...	...	...	...	177, 184, 353.
Drury, G. D. ...	...	...	...	468.
Dunlop, Lt.-Col. ...	...	...	...	206, 209.
Dunning, James ...	...	...	...	607.
Dupleix ...	...	...	...	16, 21.



**E**

Eastwick ...	...	...	...	575.
Elgin, Lord ...	...	...	...	555, 560.
Ellenborough, Lord ...	...	...	...	548.
Elliot, Major ...	...	...	...	572, 601, 602, 604.
Evans, Col. ...	...	...	...	436.

**F**

Farquhar ...	...	...	...	209.
Fateh Haidar ...	...	...	...	207, 241, 258, 261.
Fateh Muhammad ...	...	...	...	14.
Fazl-Ulla Khan ...	...	...	...	39, 53, 55, 71, 72.
Fergusson, Sir James ...	...	...	...	588.
Fitzgerald, Major ...	...	...	...	66, 72.
Fletcher, Col. ...	...	...	...	109.
Flint, Lt. ...	...	...	...	112, 113.
Floyd, General ...	...	...	...	199, 250.
Fouidar, duties of ...	...	...	...	395.

				PAGE.
Fraser, Captain	...	...	...	213.
Fraser, Col.	...	...	...	482, 483.
French Rocks	...	...	...	515.
Fullerton	...	...	...	127, 129.
Fusky	...	...	...	464.

**G**

Gadi	...	...	...	463.
Ganesha Rao	...	...	...	98, 106.
Gangadhara Rao	...	...	...	404, 409.
Garret, J.	...	...	...	501, 503.
Gerard, Captain	...	...	...	217.
Ghazi Khan	...	...	...	66, 81, 123.
Ghazi Khan Bedi	...	...	...	79.
Gibbs, Lt.-Col.	...	...	...	382.
Ginjee	...	...	...	16, 18.
Goodall, Captain	...	...	...	209, 210.
Gopal Hari	...	...	...	33, 34.
Gopal Rao of Miraj	...	...	...	54.
Gopal Rao	...	...	...	421.
Gopala Raj, Katti	...	...	...	19, 20, 269.
Gouja	...	...	...	439.
Govinda Rao	...	...	...	355, 356.
Graham, Sergeant	...	...	...	208.
Gramagutta	...	...	...	460.
Gray	...	...	...	104, 105.
Green, Fredrick	...	...	...	503.
Gubbi	...	...	...	288, 428.
Gulam Ali	...	...	...	139, 166, 178.
Gulam Muhammad, Prince	...	...	...	518.
Guntanoor	...	...	...	423.
Gurumkonda	...	...	...	59, 77, 245.
Gutti	...	...	...	87.

**H**

Haidar Ali	11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 22, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 61, 62, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 84, 86, 104, 106, 112, 116, 118, 119, 120, 141.
------------	--

				PAGE.
Haidarnagar	...	...	...	52.
Halaguru	...	...	...	295.
Halebid	...	...	...	294.
Halladamma temple	...	...	...	433.
Haltoray	...	...	...	294.
Hanumappa Naik	...	...	...	6, 450.
Hardinge, Lord	...	...	...	541, 548, 549.
Hardnahalli	...	...	...	5.
Harihar	...	...	...	293, 515.
Haripanth	...	...	91, 92, 159, 166, 287.	
Hari Singh	...	...	...	22, 29, 31, 32.
Harpanhalli	...	...	...	47, 54.
Harris, General	188, 189, 191, 197, 199, 200, 204, 217,			241, 243, 244, 250, 255.
Hassan	...	...	...	7, 294.
Hastings, Marquis	...	...	...	392.
Hawker, Thomas	...	...	...	452.
Hay, Lord William	...	...	...	588, 597.
Hebbur	...	...	...	428.
Heggadadevankote	...	...	...	291.
Hiriyur	...	...	...	293.
Hodson, Rev.	...	...	...	500.
Hogesoppin Chavadi	...	...	...	10.
Hole-Narsipur	...	...	...	428.
Holehonnur	...	...	...	430.
Hosaholalu	...	...	...	5.
Hosa Santhe	...	...	...	420.
Hoskote	...	...	...	45.
Honavar	...	...	...	69.
Hughes, Sir Edward	...	...	...	114.
Huliyurdoorg	...	...	...	159.
Hummah bird	...	...	...	253.
Hussain Ali	...	...	...	180.
Huzur Adalat	...	...	341, 513, 514, 519.	
Hygamalla	...	...	...	417, 418, 419.

**I**

				PAGE.
Ibrahim Khan	...	...	...	92.
Ibrahim Sahib	...	...	...	70.
Ikkeri	...	...	...	48, 49, 292.
Ismail Ally	...	...	...	38, 39.

**J**

Jamabandi	...	...	...	496.
Jasawantha Rao, Holkar	...	...	...	352.
Jayaji Ghatge	...	...	...	8.
Jodi lands	...	...	...	462.
John Best	...	...	...	208.

**K**

Kabballoorg	...	...	...	13.
Kabbinada Chavadi	...	...	...	10.
Kabeer Beg	...	...	...	38.
Kadaba	...	...	...	7, 428.
Kadahalli	...	...	...	289.
Kadapa	...	...	...	53, 96.
Kadigodi	...	...	...	279.
Kamandoorg	...	...	...	436.
Kamruddin	...	...	171, 193, 207, 240, 245.	
Kandachar	...	...	...	341.
Kankanhalli	...	...	...	295.
Kanthirava Wodeyar	...	...	...	11.
Kareem Sahib	...	...	...	38.
Karighat	...	...	...	80.
Kasim Khan	...	...	...	7, 8, 14.
Kattamalalvadi	...	...	...	41, 290.
Kavaleloorg	...	...	...	50.
Kayamgutta	...	...	...	462.
Keladi	...	...	...	48.
Kesare	...	...	...	4.
Kengappa Naik	...	...	...	450.
Kennaway, Sir John	...	...	...	166.
Khande Rao	...	...	25, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42.	

				PAGE.
Khadir Hussain	...	...	...	176.
Khan Jehan Khan	...	...	...	171, 266.
Kirkpatrick	...	...	243, 244, 273,	277.
Kikkeri	...	...	...	5, 428.
Kodagi Inams	...	...	...	462.
Kolar	...	...	...	286.
Konagal	...	...	...	347.
Konanur	...	...	...	36.
Krishna Rao, Tosheekhane Bakshi	...	123, 131, 151, 152,	330.	
Krishna Rao, Hanagal	...	...	403, 417.	
Krishnaraja Wodeyar, Mummadi	...	175, 272, 383, 384, 387,		
		390, 391, 392, 394, 448, 484, 488, 500, 511,		
		514, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 547, 549, 553,		
		561, 562, 567, 568, 571, 586, 599, 600, 601,		
		605, 606, 607, 608.		
Krishnaraja Wodeyar, Immadi	...	...	13, 27, 57.	
Krishnappa Naik	...	...	349, 450.	
Krishnamma Naidu, Kola	...	...	487, 488.	
Krishna Iyengar, Kolar	...	...	571.	
Krishne Urs, Chikka	...	...	572.	
Krishnarajakatte	...	...	423.	
Kumariah	...	...	8.	
Kunigal	...	...	4.	
Kurnool	...	...	53.	
Kusappa	...	...	426.	
Kulwargutta	...	...	461.	

## L

Lakshmi Ammanni, Rani	126, 265, 267, 268, 269, 271,			
	272, 277, 332, 338, 383.			
Lakshman Rao	...	...	418.	
Lakshmi Narasa Chetty	...	...	567.	
Lakshmanathirtha Channel	...	...	371.	
Lal Bagh	...	121, 280,	533.	
Lalor, Lt.	...	...	206.	
Lally	...	86, 98,	110.	
Lambanies (Brinjaris)	...	...	157.	
Lambton	...	...	209.	

				PAGE.
Lang, Col. ...	...	...	...	127.
Latif Ali Beg ...	...	...	...	33, 52, 125, 158.
Lawrence, Major ...	...	...	...	15, 20, 21, 22.
Lawrence, Sir John ...	...	...	...	560, 562, 569, 574.
Leper House ...	...	...	...	500.
Lindsay, John ...	...	...	...	110.
Linganniah ...	...	...	...	9, 10.
Linganna ...	...	...	...	49.
Lingaraj ...	...	...	...	84.
Lingaraj Urs ...	...	...	...	401.
Locusts ...	...	...	...	281.
Lucas, Captain ...	...	...	...	133.
Luckwalli ...	...	...	...	416.
Lunatic Asylum ...	...	...	...	500.
Lushington, S. R. ...	...	...	...	437, 445.
Lushington, C. M. ...	...	...	...	448, 466.

### M

Macartenev ...	...	...	...	114, 129, 182, 270.
Macauley, Thomas Babington ...	...	...	...	479.
Mackenzie, Colin ...	...	...	...	379.
Mackintosh, Captain ...	...	...	...	381, 382.
Macleod ...	...	...	...	240.
Macleod ...	...	...	...	452, 468, 481.
McDowall, Major ...	...	...	...	391.
Madanna ...	...	...	...	56, 57, 68.
Maddur ...	...	...	...	33, 242, 281.
Madhava Rao, Peshwa ...	...	...	...	54, 58, 60, 62, 76, 177.
Madhugiri ...	...	...	...	51, 287.
Madura ...	...	...	...	7.
Madakere Naik ...	...	...	...	77, 91.
Magadi ...	...	...	...	285.
Mahratta army ...	...	...	...	155.
Mahadaji Scindia ...	...	...	...	184.
Mahe ...	...	...	...	99.
Mahidpore ...	...	...	...	391.
Malartic, Governor ...	...	...	...	178.

				PAGE.
Malavalli ...	...	...	...	33, 193, 295.
Malabar ...	...	...	...	84.
Mallaraj Urs ...	...	...	...	427.
Mallaghatta ...	...	...	...	428.
Malcolm, Sir John ...	...	...	206, 244, 332, 333,	391.
Malur ...	...	...	...	279.
Mamoo Meyah ...	...	...	...	425.
Mana Vikrama Raja ...	...	...	...	56.
Manjeri ...	...	...	...	57.
Manaji ...	...	...	...	92.
Manjarabad ...	...	...	85, 137, 349.	
Mangalore ...	...	...	124, 129.	
Mandya ...	...	...	...	281.
Manappa ...	...	...	420, 433.	
Mangles, R. D. ...	...	...	...	577.
Mandlik, V. N. ...	...	...	...	592.
Maranayaka ...	...	...	...	4.
Marochetti ...	...	...	...	510.
Martin, Major ...	...	...	...	579.
Mariyappa Naik ...	...	...	...	482.
Mathews, General ...	...	...	...	124.
Maternity hospital ...	...	...	...	500.
Maughold ...	...	...	...	509.
Meadows, Col. ...	...	...	143, 144, 162, 270.	
Meer Alum ...	...	...	192, 217, 249, 266.	
Meer Ibrahim ...	...	...	...	33.
Mehdi Ali Khan ...	...	...	...	54.
Melkote ...	...	...	...	78.
Mir Ali Raza ...	...	...	54, 59, 70, 85, 97.	
Mir Sadak ...	111, 172, 174, 175,	196, 210, 211,	287.	
Mir Ismail Hussain ...	...	...	...	46.
Mirza Khan ...	...	...	...	123.
Mill, J. S. ...	...	...	...	593.
Mint ...	...	...	...	7.
Mobhat Khan ...	...	...	15, 58.	
Mohiuddin ...	...	...	167, 212.	
Moizuddin ...	...	...	260, 261,	

				PAGE.
Moieuddin	...	...	...	260, 261.
Monajee	...	...	...	19.
Montgomery, Sir Henry	...	...	...	557.
Montessor, Lt.-Col.	...	...	...	349.
Moore, Edward	...	...	...	220.
Morison, W.	...	...	452, 468, 475, 481.	
Morari Rao	...	15, 18, 22, 23, 47, 54, 69, 82, 87, 89.		
Morley, John	...	...	...	589, 590.
Mornington, Lord	180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 189, 190,	221, 243, 244, 245, 246, 249, 257, 273.		
Mothi Talav	...	...	...	14.
Muhammad Abbas	...	...	...	152.
Muhammad Raza (Benki Nawab)	...	...	...	191.
Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot	...	15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22,	23, 60, 73, 75.	
Muhammad Ali, Commandant	...	...	80, 81, 91, 123.	
Murad Khan	...	...	...	14.
Mugur	...	...	...	5.
Muganayakankote	...	...	...	288.
Munro, Sir Thomas	...	244, 395, 412, 413, 414, 415, 425.		
Munro, Sir Hector	...	...	108, 109.	
Munro, Innes	...	...	...	119.
Municipal corporations	...	...	...	515.
Muzaffar Jung	...	...	14, 15, 16.	
Mukund Sripat	...	...	...	46.
Mukdum Sahib	...	...	29, 39, 45.	
Mulbagal	...	...	...	70.
Mysore	...	...	283, 291, 429.	
Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini	...	...	...	502.

## N

Nadeem Khan, Killedar	...	...	...	212.
Nandidoorg	...	...	...	157, 158.
Nana Fadnavis	...	...	84, 138, 177, 352.	
Nanjangud	...	...	...	291.
Nandi Raja	...	...	...	265.
Nanjarajiah, Sarvadhikari	...	...	11, 12, 13.	

Nanjarajiah, Karachuri ...	13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 27, 28, 31,	36, 40, 64.
Nanjaraja Wodeyar ...	...	57, 83.
Nanjappa, Tosheekhane ...	...	405, 427.
Nanjappa Naik ...	...	450, 451.
Nanabhoy Nussurwanjee ...	...	565.
Narasimharaja Wodeyar, Kanthirava ...	5, 6, 7, 141.	
Narayana Rao ...	77, 84, 270.	
Narasingarayanpet ...	...	116.
Nargunda Desai ...	...	138.
Narsipur, T. ...	...	291.
Narasinga Rao, son of Purnaiya ...	...	373.
Narasinga Rao, Motikhane ...	404, 410, 427.	
Narasappa, Bakshi ...	515, 560, 561, 571, 601, 602.	
Nagar ...	...	292.
Nagamangala ...	...	289, 429.
Nairs ...	...	55, 57, 68.
Napoleon ...	...	180.
Nasir Jung ...	14, 15, 16.	
Nazarbad fort ...	...	140.
Nimbajee Ghatge ...	...	8.
Nimbiah ...	...	48.
Nijgul ...	...	77.
Niruk ...	...	285.
Nirup Chavadi ...	...	9.
Nizam Ali ...	53, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 91, 107, 176.	
Nizam-ul-Mulk ...	...	11.
Noor-u-deen ...	...	115.
Northcote, Sir Stafford ...	...	597, 598.
Nuggehalli ...	...	428.
Nuzerana ...	...	34.

## O

Oojani ...	...	51.
Ontigutta ...	...	461.

## P

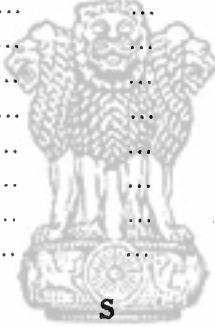
Palakodu ...	...	72.
--------------	-----	-----

	PAGE.
Palhalli ... ..	290.
Palace ... ..	372.
Pali Khan ... ..	87, 88.
Parasuram Bhow ... ..	91, 155, 156, 159, 165, 287, 288.
Paris, treaty of ... ..	61.
Patnada Chavadi ... ..	9.
Pattawalli ... ..	397.
Pattadi ... ..	464.
Panipat ... ..	40.
Panchabab ... ..	465, 490, 491.
Periapatna ... ..	7, 290.
Pensions ... ..	492.
Pindaries ... ..	25, 58, 390.
Polilore (Pullalur) ... ..	109, 114, 131.
Pomchavadi ... ..	9.
Pondicherry ... ..	17.
Porto Novo ... ..	114.
Postal system ... ..	10.
Prajagutta ... ..	461.
Prinsep ... ..	578.
Proclamation of 1858 ... ..	552, 553.
Purnaiya ... 123, 193, 207, 240, 241, 243, 265, 266, 277, 329, 330, 331, 332, 341, 343, 344, 349, 354, 355, 358, 359, 381, 383, 385, 413.	
Putta Basappaji Urs, Bakshi ... ..	425.

## R

Raghunatha Rao, Bhonsla ... ..	353.
Raghunatha Rao ... ..	84, 85.
Raja Khan ... ..	215.
Raja Ramchander ... ..	51, 225.
Raja Wodeyar ... ..	1, 4, 5, 141.
Rainier, Admiral ... ..	189.
Rama Raja ... ..	1.
Rama Rao, Bakshi ... 381, 385, 392, 401, 416, 417, 425, 427.	
Ramaswamy Mudaliar ... ..	403.
Ramasamudra ... ..	5.

			PAGE.
Ramaiya, Anche	...	...	422, 430.
Rana Kamba	...	...	382.
Ranga Setty	...	...	329.
Ranadulla Khan	...	...	6.
Rangappa Naik	...	...	419, 433, 438.
Ranga Rao ...	...	...	421, 422, 430, 433.
Rani Bannur	...	...	430.
Raravi	...	...	92.
Rattihalli	...	...	54.
Rawlinson, Sir Henry	...	...	587, 593
Rayadoorg	...	...	47, 54.
Reade	...	...	144, 145.
Renton, Major	...	...	601.
Regulation Province	...	...	514.
Reza Ali Khan	...	...	76.
Ripaud	...	...	178.
Rochfort, Lt.	...	...	433, 435, 436, 439.
Rudrapatna	...	...	7.
Rukmdowla	...	...	63, 65.
Rumboldt, Sir Thomas	...	...	99.
Russum	...	...	463.



Sagar	...	...	292, 436.
Salem	...	...	7.
Salabat Jung	...	...	23, 24, 61.
Salabat Khan	...	...	361.
Samukha Chavadi	...	...	10.
Sampige	...	...	428.
Sandys, Col.	...	...	162.
Sanderson	...	...	502.
Savandoorg	...	...	12, 157, 158, 285.
Savanoor	...	...	50, 53, 97.
Sargoor	...	...	5.
Saadat-ulla Khan	...	...	11.
Saunders, C. B.	...	...	512, 600.
Satyamangalam	...	...	28.

				PAGE.
Schwartz, Rev.	...	...	...	99, 103, 270.
Scindia, Biccaji	...	...	...	109, 110.
Seshagiri Rao, brother of Tosheekhane Krishna Rao	...	...	...	152.
Seshagiri Pandit	...	...	...	18.
Seshagiri Rao	...	...	...	422.
Seebiah ...	...	...	...	427, 488.
Selim, Sultan of Turkey	...	...	...	187.
Seringapatam	...	1, 4, 5, 8, 205, 211, 212, 245, 250, 281, 282, 295, 492.	...	...
Sewell, Mrs.	...	...	...	502.
Shah Alum ...	...	...	...	177.
Shadakshariah	...	...	...	10.
Shamiah ...	...	...	...	127, 128, 129.
Shabaz ...	...	...	...	14.
Sharat System	...	...	...	409, 410, 411.
Sheik Ayaz ...	...	...	...	95, 124, 125.
Sheik Ibrahim	...	...	...	180.
Sherbrooke, Col.	...	...	...	206, 208.
Shekdar, duties of	...	...	...	395.
Shimoga ...	...	...	...	49, 292.
Shist lands ...	...	...	...	462.
Shime Kandachar	...	...	...	9.
Shore, Sir John	...	...	...	176, 180, 182.
Sholinghar ...	...	सत्यमेव जयते	...	114.
Shraya lands	...	...	...	462.
Siddaraj Urs	...	...	...	401.
Siddaramiah	...	...	...	441.
Siddeswar ...	...	...	...	191.
Sidlaghatta ...	...	...	...	286.
Sikander Jah	...	...	...	159, 166.
Sira ...	...	...	7, 11, 46, 53, 54, 287, 288.	...
Sirdar Khan	...	...	...	77.
Sivappa Naik	...	...	...	49, 297.
Sivasamudram	...	...	...	291.
Smith, Col. ...	...	...	...	62, 63, 69.
Sosalé ...	...	...	...	4, 40, 196, 197.
Soonda ...	...	...	...	53.

				PAGE.
Sravanabelagola	...	...	...	294.
Srirangam	...	...	...	19, 20.
Sri Rangaraya	...	...	...	4, 5.
Srinivasa Rao, Berki	...	...	...	38, 85.
Srinivasa Rao, Regimentdar	...	...	...	430.
Stephens, Captain	...	...	...	503.
Stevenson, Col.	...	...	...	353.
Stuart, Col.	...	...	...	159.
Stuart, General	...	...	...	129, 191, 199.
Stuart, Hon'ble Mrs.	...	...	...	489.
Stokes, Major	...	...	...	483, 484.
Subba Rao, Bhagavat	...	...	...	602.
Subba Rao, Belavadi	...	...	...	428.
Subsidiary Treaty	...	...	...	267, 274.
Sunkada Chavadi	...	...	...	9.
Surjappa Naik	...	...	...	450, 451, 482.
Survotham Rao	...	...	...	410, 417.
Survey of Mysore	...	...	...	379.
Suttigedars	...	...	...	463.
Sullivan, John	...	...	...	126, 270.
Sultanpet (Agrahar Bamboor)	...	...	...	139.
Suvarnadayam	...	...	...	411.
Syed Sahib	...	...	...	152, 171, 193, 207, 210.
Syed Gaffar	...	...	...	207, 208, 211, 221.
Symons	...	...	...	373, 374.

## T

Takal	...	...	...	279.
Talikota	...	...	...	1.
Tayur	...	...	...	291.
Terakanambi	...	...	...	5.
Thavarekere	...	...	...	285.
Thimmappa Naik	...	...	...	6.
Thimmappa Raj Urs	...	...	...	417, 423.
Thimmappa Naik	...	...	...	482.
Thirumala Iyengar	...	...	...	10.
Thirumala Rao	...	...	...	126, 127, 270.

				PAGE.
Thuruvekere	...	...	...	7, 289.
Thungabhadra	...	...	...	... 253.
Thugs	...	...	...	... 416.
Tippu	...	38, 63, 66, 79, 82, 84, 108, 115, 123, 124, 126, 132, 137, 140, 141, 143, 145, 150, 153, 154, 156, 161, 164, 166, 170, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 181, 186, 187, 191, 196, 199, 204, 209, 210, 215, 217, 218.		
Tiger throne of Tippu	...	...	...	139, 253.
Travancore Lines	...	...	...	... 142.
Treaty of 1807	...	...	...	... 377.
Trichnopoly	...	...	...	17, 18.
Triumbuck Krishna	...	...	...	... 46.
Triumbuck Rao	...	...	...	77, 80, 81, 82.
Tumkur	...	...	...	7, 287, 428.
Tundeya Chavadi	...	...	...	... 9.

## U

Ubhaika Vichara Chavadi	...	...	...	9.
-------------------------	-----	-----	-----	----

## V

Vaccination...	...	...	...	377.
Vakkaleri	...	...	...	285.
Valentia, Lord	...	...	...	372, 373.
Vasanthiah	...	...	...	418.
Veeranna	...	...	...	18, 20.
Veerammaji	...	...	...	48.
Veeraraj Urs	...	...	417, 421, 422, 427.	
Vellore	...	...	...	260, 262.
Venkata Rao, Kollam	...	...	...	487.
Venkata Rao, Berki	...	...	...	16, 17.
Venkata Rao, Annigere...	...	...	...	416.
Venkataramaniah	...	...	...	330, 466.
Venkatadri Naik	...	...	...	349, 350.
Venkataraaj Urs	401, 402, 405, 409, 410, 427, 428, 433.			
Venkatasubbiah	...	...	402, 405, 409, 410, 427.	
Venkatakrishniah	...	...	...	423.
Venkatavarada Iyengar...	...	...	...	571.

	PAGE.
Venkoji ... ..	7.
Victoria, Queen ... ..	547.
Vijayarangam Naidu ... ..	488.
Vikramaraya ... ..	6.
Virabhadra Naik ... ..	6.
Vyas Rao ... ..	404, 427.

## W

Walsé ... ..	21.
Wandiwash ... ..	112, 115.
Warren Hastings ... ..	112.
Wastara ... ..	7.
Webbe, Josiah ... ..	271, 332.
Wellesley, Col. 182, 189, 194, 198, 199, 207, 217, 219, 238, 239, 244, 250, 258, 276, 333, 343, 344, 347, 350, 353, 357, 359, 361, 382.	
Wellesley, Henry ... ..	243, 277.
Wellesley, Marquis ... ..	278, 351, 357, 358.
Wellesley bridge ... ..	376.
Wilks ... ..	332, 333.
Willoughby, Sir John ... ..	558, 562.
Wood, Col. ... ..	69, 71.
Wood, Sir Charles ... ..	546, 555, 556, 562, 575.
Wolfe, Col. ... ..	435.
Woondige Kasu ... ..	464.

## Y

Yaduraja ... ..	1, 141.
Yedeyoor ... ..	429.
Yelandur ... ..	378.
Yelandur Pandit .. ..	10.
Yelahanka ... ..	7.

## Z

Zahir Khan... ..	13.
Zaman Shah, King of Afghanistan ... ..	176.
Zulficar Khan ... ..	8.