

Secret
Correspondence
of
TIPU SULTAN

KABIR KAUSAR

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**SECRET CORRESPONDENCE
OF
TIPU SULTAN**

KABIR KAUSAR



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TIPU : SULTAN-E-SHAHEED

Soon after the death of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, India plunged herself into the darkest period of her history. Within forty years the Indian nation was torn by dissensions and disunity due to the collapse of the central authority at Delhi. At the close of the 18th. century there was almost no nationalism in India and none for many years thereafter. The concept of Indians as a single nation did not then exist. Notables and trusted servants of the Indian princes sold their loyalties to any alien power. At this juncture, the body politic of India needed a man of genius, with vision and practical ability to unite the scattered forces to counter the growing influence of the British. To save the situation there arose in the South two sons of the soil: namely Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, who visualized the British aspiring to be the masters and not friends of the Indian people. Tipu's main concern throughout his life was to save his homeland from the yoke of foreign domination, and in the words of Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, the famous poet and philosopher of the East: "Tipu Sultan, the Tiger of Mysore, was awake when the East was asleep." Tipu was more akin to peace than war, yet in the field he showed flashes of a genius. He was a great soldier-statesman, good administrator and a popular king with high ideals. He greatly valued human dignity and ruled the hearts of his Hindu and Muslim subjects alike. He was neither a bigotted person nor a tyrant, but a man of high character: tolerant, humane and cultured; and a pious prince devoid of any vices. He studiously laboured to introduce many socio-administrative reforms and innovations for the betterment of his country and welfare of his subjects.

As a patriot, the Sultan wanted to re-build the broken image and ruined prestige of India on a solid foundation of freedom, justice and unity. For that he was first inspired

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with the idea of Indian nationalism ; and he tried to mobilize all the leading Hindu and Muslim ruling princes of India to rally under one banner to drive the British out of his homeland, with the help of his French allies. But alas ! the short-sighted Indian princes and the French Government, who were embroiled in their own affairs and interests, proved a millstone around their necks. Yet Tipu, undeterred by the setbacks, pressed forward the idea of Pan-Islamism and prepared himself for *Jehad* (Holy War) against the British in order to re-establish the Muslim rule of bygone days in India. He appealed to all the leading Muslim countries of the world like Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran and Hyderabad (Deccan) for their active co-operation and help to which only Afghanistan responded positively. In 1796 Zaman Shah even approved Tipu's joint plan of action of invading India to annihilate the British, but due to the internecined quarrels, created by the British diplomacy in his dominion, he was prevented from proceeding with his plan. Meanwhile the destruction of the French navy in the battle of the Nile in August 1798 and the failure of Bonaparte's Egyptian adventure, Tipu's capital at Seringapatam was finally attacked by the British and the Sultan, without surrendering, fought to the last and became a martyr on the 4th. of May 1799. Though he lost his life, he proved his faith. Tipu could not succeed in his noble mission of freeing his homeland from foreign domination only due to the dis-unity among the Indian princes, treachery of some of his most trusted notables and failure of the French help as well as the Muslim countries. Tipu Sultan was the soul of the 18th. century India and also the last hope of the Indian people. His martyrdom enabled the British to crush beyond repair the entire fabric of Maratha empire and soon dominated the whole country of India.

Although Tipu was an inveterate and implacable enemy of the British, yet in England he was greatly admired and respected by every Englishman for his idomitable courage, rare determination and single-mindedness of purpose with which he fought against the British. So long as the Tiger of

Mysore lived, the British could not firmly establish themselves in the whole of India, and there were no quiet nights for the East India Company's proconsuls, whether pacifists like Sir Jhon Shore or expansionists like Marquis Wellesley, the Governor-General of India.

The great historical record and documents preserved in the ancient muniments of the Government of India and the India Office Library, which have not seen the light of the day, give us ample proof of the heroic role Tipu Sultan played in preserving the independence of his homeland. This book, entitled 'Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sultan' compiled by Mr. Kabir Kausar, contains highly confidential and important collection of letters in French, Persian and other languages (found by Lt-Col. Kirkpatrick from the palace of Tipu soon after his martyrdom) that passed between Tipu's Government (Sultanat-e-Khodadad) and the Indian counterparts, the East India Company, the Caliph of Turkey, the King of Iran, Zaman Shah the Amir of Afghanistan, and his most trusted hereditary French allies. In the bleak political horizon of India, Tipu rose like a meteor fast and bright and went off like a shooting star blinding every sight, but the time would keep his brilliance. The Islamic world even to-day remembers this noble son of Islam with the following phrases recorded in his honour on his sacred tomb at Seringapatam : "The light of Islam and faith left this world ; Tipu on account of the faith of Mohammad was a martyr ; the sword was lost ; the offspring of Haider was a great martyr." *

With immense pleasure, therefore, I welcome the publication of this highly informative and interesting book in PAKISTAN. I am confident that this would serve as a valuable source material for research scholars and students of history, as it throws a new light on the towering personality of Sultan Tipu who graces a glittering page in the history of our

* نورِ اسلام و دین از دنیا رفت - ٹیپو بوجہ دین محمدؐ شہید شد -
شمشیر گم شد - نسل حیدر شہید اکبر شد -

freedom fight. The courage and tenacity with which he fought single-handed against heavy odds goes to prove that the Sultan, in the heart of his hearts, passionately cherished the independence of his homeland more than his own life. He followed in the footsteps of Great Hazrat Imam Hussain and preferred martyrdom (*Shahadat*) to surrender, and in the end made even the supreme sacrifice of his life for this noble cause. For all times to come his example will serve as a beacon of light and source of inspiration to all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

MEER IBRAHIM

Major

E/36, TIPU SULTAN HOUSE,
6th. Street, Officers' Colony,
Cavalry Ground, Lahore Cantt.
(PAKISTAN)

20th. June, 1980.

FOREWORD

Compiled by an Archivist with methodical and scientific approach this work is a welcome addition to the source material of the late 18th century history of India. It affords fresh ground for an assessment of the character and activities of Tipu Sultan and his place in Indian history. The material collected, sifted and placed in "the Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sultan" by Kabir Kausar throws a flood of light on the aim and efforts of the Sultan to smash the imperialistic designs of the English East India Company which obstructed the interests and progress of the Indians. It also gives an insight into his attitude towards the Marathas whom he did not always consider his enemies.

The two rejoinders of Tipu Sultan to Lord Cornwallis and Earl of Mornington included in Appendix F on page 313 emphasise the fact that he would never fight alongside the English to face the Indians, and that "it would be dishonourable to fight against one's own people and to throw them at the mercy of an alien invader."

Tipu cherished the welfare of both the Muslims and the Hindus in his State. His *ex gratia* grants to the Hindu temples which had suffered during the course of the wars and invitation to the *Jagadguru* for returning from the self-imposed exile (1791 A.D.) fully bear out this fact.

Tipu had a yearning love for freedom from the British yoke. He was equally alive to such struggle against the latter even in the West. He rejoiced at the Declaration of Independence by America. Even as a Sultan, he was delighted to be called by French as the *Citoyen* (citizen) instead of being addressed by the traditional Imperial titles.

The compiler has marshalled some astonishing facts with consummate skill in the Introduction of the volume wherein

he brings sterling qualities of his hero. As to what extent Tipu Sultan achieved his aims and objects in bringing far-reaching results in social and economic changes in his State I leave the decision to the reader. Introduction, appendices, glossary, biographical notes and index have considerably added to the utility of the volume.

We are indebted to Kahir Kausar who has succeeded in accomplishing a work of such magnitude without any prejudice to his other duties and responsibilities.

B.R. GROVER,
Director,
Indian Council of
Historical Research,
New Delhi.

PREFACE

How a person of sterling qualities, unique and outstanding in his time acted in the circumstances, surroundings and socio-political conditions, when the fissiparous tendencies, ostensibly exploited by the foreign marauders were gathering strength in India during the later half of the eighteenth century is, in effect, what *The Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sultan* is about. I am confident that the collection, of letters and records, reproduced here, offers a feast of fascinating reading presenting how Tipu Sultan sacrificed his all for the defence of his motherland and how he spent the whole of his life till his last moments.

Though one, amongst the few sovereigns in the history of the world, who was killed in action, the readers would be startled, of course, to realize, by going through these pages, that Tipu Sultan, painted by some as bloodthirsty warlord, was not at all pleased as a soldier. His experiences of the battlefields had given him a strong dislike of wars, the horrors of which according to him destroy the dignity of man; even in his youth when he was busy in showing the 'natural charter' of the sword he had, off and on, paused to ponder the real meaning of peaceful life. Quite unhappy in the smoky atmosphere of guns and flashing light of swords, shrieking voices of wounded soldiers he desired to resign from this bloody path of life but he was forcibly dragged to the battlefield by the East India Company's colonizers and their native sycophants.

When realized that his country was going into the hands of European free booters, Tipu Sultan staked his might, matchless bravery, burning zeal, immense wealth, beloved children, even his own precious life and laid them all at the altar of India's defence.

The Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sultan and records have been reproduced from the authentic sources published secretly on the eve of the eighteenth century. Of them the first being entitled, "The Official Documents Relative to the Negotiations carried on by Tippoo Sultaun, with the French Nation and other Foreign States for the Purpose of Hostile to the British Nation, to which is added Proceedings of a Jacobin Club formed at

Seringapatam by the French Soldiers in the Corps commanded by M. Dompant with a Translation." This secret circular was printed in 1799 A.D. by order of the Governor-General of the East India Company in Council for all the Forces and Affairs of the English Nation in the East Indies etc. etc. The second is the book, *The View of the Origin and Conduct of War with Tipu Sultan* by Alexander Beatson which was published in A.D. 1800.

Letters etc. included in this work were found and seized by the British Army Commander in the palace of the Sultan after his martyrdom on the 4th May 1799. Many of these documents establish that the majority of the Indian ruling princes was deadly against the Sultan. The *de jure* Emperor of India, Shah Alam II (The lord of Universe—who was not even capable of controlling his own palace-cum-fort), though fully aware of and well acquainted with the ill-designs of the English was too against the Sultan and he showered favours on them who did not rescue him intentionally from the most brutal treatment of Ghulam Qadir Rohilla.

Tipu Sultan was offered the "Subsidiary Alliance" by the British Power but knowing fully well that by this engagement he could easily save his Kingdom and his ownself, declined it because he visualized that by accepting it he would become the puppet and totally subordinate to the foreigners. He knew that though this system of alliance guaranteed to the Rulers their personal position and possessions not only against external aggression but also against the internal rebellion, revolution and opposition, would remove all incentives for good government. And this proved true afterwards when ensured against all dangers the princes no longer found it essential to cultivate the goodwill of the people or to maintain efficiency of administration. The usual remedy of a bad ruler in India was a quiet revolution or violent rebellion in his palace was totally cut off in presence of the British Forces. Their hands of iron maintained them on the throne despite their imbecility, vices and heinous crimes.

Tipu Sultan rejected the offer that was to give him power without responsibility. When the heavy and arbitrary taxes were levied on the ruled to feed the meanest and the most degraded of the mankind, Tipu Sultan is found to be striving for bringing the green revolution by the abolition of the *jagir*.

dari and *zamindari* system in his Kingdom. He proclaimed that the land would be owned by those only who till or cultivate it irrespective of their caste, creed and religion.

In the field of Commerce and Industry too he was a man of master mind. He instituted a Joint Stock Corporation *pro bono publico* on country-wide scale by opening its partnership to both the rich and the poor alike but with noble terms and novel conceptions of giving high rates of profits to the poor partners *vis a vis* the rich shareholders. This was his own innovation and neither it was known to any limited company before him nor was introduced by any firms or banking organisations after his demise.

When the Emperor of India and other petty suzerains were comforting themselves in the luxurious atmosphere or enjoying sexual pleasure under the British Protection in their seraglios, Tipu Sultan was busy in adopting both defensive and offensive measures against the impending danger to the freedom and honour of his beloved country, *id est*, India.

Some of the letters published by the enemies of the Sultan of Mysore themselves lead us to believe that he was versatile, humanitarian and misogynist in the strict sense of these terms. The readers I hope would realize in between the lines of this work that Tipu was not a bigot but on the other hand he loved Hindus and Muslims alike as also all those who were living peacefully in his Kingdom. To his conceptions of right and wrong; patriotism and treachery; Kingdom and the citizenship; faithfulness to country and people, he clung with tenacity almost impossible to match, in the present political complex, with any other person in the modern history of the world. I expect that, after examining his character carefully, even his detractors will accord greatness to him and will not deny the hidden springs of altruistic emotions, the fearlessness and reverence for the truth that were only a part of this towering figure of the eighteenth century.

Being an ardent lover of truth I have, by this attempt, played my role to remove the impure and licentious falsehood from the holy and sacred face of "paper" which is treated next to heart almost by all the writers.

1, Minto Road, New Delhi-1;
28 December, 1979

KABIR KAUSAR

DEDICATED

With profound regards to Janab Fakhrud-din, Secretary Saifia
College in whom are ingrained all the sterling qualities of
his illustrious father late **MULLA SAJJAD HUSAIN**,
the founder of the said foremost institution of
learning at Bhopal.

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Introduction

While the victory at the battle of Plassey made the English a power to reckon with, death of Tipu Sultan immediately made them supreme and subsequently the Paramount Power in India which had no challenge for the next century and a half.

On hearing the news of the demise of the Sultan, Peshwa Baji Rao remarked, that "...to him it was the loss of his right arm".¹ Nana Farnavis, the foremost Maratha politician during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and a bitter enemy of the martyr was horrified to know about the said *coup de theatre* and he is reported to have exclaimed with grief and sorrow; "Tipu is finished; the British power has increased; the whole of East India is already theirs; Poona will now be the next victim. Evil days seem to be ahead. There seems to be no escape from destiny".²

One English correspondent in India exclaimed with joy and remarked: "With the fall of Seringapatam the Empire of the East is at our feet".³

1 *Baji Rao II and the East India Company, (1796-1818)* by P.C. Gupta, p. 59.

2 *New History of the Marathas (Vol. III)* by G.S. Sardesai, p. 354.

3 *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, (Vol. II)* by P. Auber, p, 192.

Birth of Tipu

Such was the dominating position and towering personality of Tipu Sultan who was born on Friday, November 10, 1750 at Dewanhalli. He was the son of Fatima, better known as Fakhrun Nisa and the second *Begam* of Haidar Ali Khan. While pregnant she paid a visit to the tomb of one Tipu Mastan *Aulia* and prayed there for the birth of a son and believing afterwards that the gift of a son to her was due to the blessings of the holy saint, he was named Tipu Sultan after the said pious soul. Later on, he was also called Fath Ali Khan.

Not very much is known about Tipu's early life.⁴ When Haidar Ali Khan escaped from Seringapatam due to fear of invasion of Khande Rao on August 12, 1760, Tipu was only ten years old and had to remain a captive of the invader till the reconquest of the capital. In A.D. 1763 he was sent to Bednur.

Education

Tipu Sultan was taught Arabic, Persian, Quran, theology and history by learned scholars of the time. He was trained in shooting, riding and was also given the best military training that was then available. Some of his teachers were Hindus.

Political-Military Training

Tipu Sultan was with his father when in A.D. 1760 he invaded Malabar. When Haidar Ali attacked Balam, Tipu displayed courage like a lion. He, who inherited the personal courage and bravery of his father, fought in many battles and helped Haidar Ali a lot in subjugating dare-devils, hostile *Jagirdars*, arrogant *Sardars* and rebellious *Poligars*. Being very much pleased, Haidar Ali conferred the command of 200 *Suwars* on him which was subsequently raised to the extent of five hundred. A *Jagir* comprising the districts of Konanur, Dharampuri, etc., was

4 *The Sword of Tipu Sultan*, by Bhagwan S. Gidwani, contains a charming account of his early life.

assigned to him by his father with a view to enable him to maintain the large force of five hundred *Suwaras*.

When Tipu Sultan was a lad of seventeen, he participated in the first Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69). The English with the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad as their allies tried to defeat Haidar Ali but the martial spirit and diplomatic ingenuity of Tipu Sultan rescued his father from facing the disaster. The lions of Mysore succeeded in breaking the said alliance thereby isolating the English. After winning over the sympathy of the Marathas, Haidar Ali sent Tipu Sultan as his special envoy to the Nizam on June 11, 1767. Tipu Sultan carried on the diplomatic negotiations in such an excellent manner that the friend of the English became an ally of Haidar Ali Khan. The Nizam received Tipu with kindness and conferred on him the titles of Nasibud-daulah and Fath Ali Khan Bahadur together with a *Khilat*.⁵

Within eight days he returned with flying colours to Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore State. He was then ordered to proceed towards Madras with a large army. It was his first nominal command. While he was about to enter victoriously into Madras he was summoned by his father to come to his help at Tiruvannamalai where the latter was facing defeat from the army under the Company's military commander, Colonel Joseph Smith.

Tipu Sultan marched with his father's army to help him in the conquest of forts at Vaniyambadi as also of Tiruppatur, a town in Salem District in Madras. He also took an active part when the fort of Ambur was besieged. When Colonel Smith took Haidar Ali by surprise at Vaniyambadi, Tipu helped his father and succeeded in providing a safe retreat for the Mysore Army to Kaveripatnam.

Tipu Sultan marched forward to Malabar in the last month of 1767 to reinforce one of the Mysorean Military Commanders who was fighting with the English on the Malabar Coast and there he fought gallantly. On receiving the intelligence about the capture of Mangalore by the Company's forces under the command of Major Garvin, the Prince rushed to Bednur in

⁵ *Tarik-i-Hamid Khan* by Hamid Khan, folio 21b.

March 1768 with a small contingent. After employing war tactics and showing valour with his small army he succeeded in the reconquest of the occupied town. The retreat of the Company's forces was so panicky that, "Sepoys were said in the confusion to have fired upon their own European comrades".⁶

The Maratha-Mysore War (1769-72)

Tipu engaged himself in fighting against the enemies of his father till the Maratha-Mysore War broke out in November 1769 which lasted as far as 1772 A.D. He was always being personally instructed and guided by his father, who, being an inborn soldier and a seasoned general, had, apparently, in those days, no challenge in the art of warfare. It is said that once during the aforementioned war, Tipu was punished by Haidar Ali. M. Wilks, the author of *The Historical Sketches of the South India*, in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore, describing the event says, "Haidar Ali not only accosted him in a strain of the lowest scurrility, but in a paroxysm of brutal drunken rage, seized a large cane from the hand of one of his attendants, and gave the Heir-apparent a most unroyal and literally most unmerciful beating". So much obedient was the son that he withdrew himself from the presence of his father and passed the whole day in loneliness. On the second day he was again in the battle-field after rubbing from his mind what had happened the other day in the presence of his juniors and subordinate officers.

On and on, in this way, he secured the knowledge and art of fighting and tactics of defeating the enemy. The Marathas, in fact, defeated the soldier-king, Haidar Ali, and his son but could not reap benefits of the victory. In November 1772 when the Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan died, Tipu took the advantage of an outburst of dissension at the Poona *Darbar* and under the guidance of his father, re-occupied the territories lost to the Marathas during the war above referred to.

6 *History of the Bombay Army* by P. Cadell (London, 1937), p. 83.

Marriages

While engaged in re-conquering the territories lost to the enemies, Tipu Sultan was married to one Ruqaiya Banu, sister of a famous General, Burhanud-din, in 1774. He was also married the same night to the daughter of Imam Sahib *Bakhshi*. After the death of Ruqaiya Banu in 1792, Tipu married Khadija Zamani Begam in 1795. Two years after the marriage she also died. Tipu never married again and never kept even a single mistress or concubine in the Mysore Seraglio.

Tipu Sultan left behind him a daughter who was married to Nawwab Husain Ali Khan, and twelve sons. Of them the eldest was Fath Haidar Sultan. The others were Muinud-din Sultan, Abdul Khaliq Sultan, Muizud-din Sultan, Muhammad Subhan Sultan, Shukrullah Sultan, Ghulam Ahmad Sultan, Ghulam Muhammad Sultan, Sarwarud-din Sultan, Muhammad Yasin Sultan, Jamaiud-din Sultan and Munirud-din Sultan.

The Second Anglo-Mysore War (1778-1784)

In 1778 England declared war against France and, in India, as a sequel to it the English seized the French settlements including that of Mahe. This port on the Western Ghats was very useful for the Mysore Government specially for importing supplies from abroad. When the East India Company paid no heed to his remonstrations, Haidar Ali Khan declared war against the English in 1779. The war continued till A.D. 1784.

During the Second Anglo-Mysore War Tipu Sultan proved himself so strong a Commander that he defeated the best English warriors like Colonel Baillie, Colonel Braithwaite and Brigadier-General James Stuart.

Death of Haidar Ali

While the war was still in progress, Haidar Ali died on the night of December 7, 1782 at the age of sixty. His demise proved to be the great relief to the English but Tipu Sultan, even though shocked by the sad news did not discontinue the war. On the afternoon the day Haidar Ali Khan expired, he expressed

his will before his senior officials like Purnaiya, Kishan Rao, Mir Sadiq, Ghazi Khan and others that Tipu would be his successor. According to some historians he had clearly expressed his will about Tipu well before his demise. But in spite of the will of the departing soul some officials and high-ups tried to ignore it. They were in favour of Abdul Karim, the second son of Haidar Ali and after hatching a plot wanted to proclaim him as the Ruler of Mysore. It was the beginning of the long lasting conspiracies and plots against Tipu Sultan that not only surrounded him till he breathed his last but were the main causes of his defeat and death.

Accession to the Throne

Discovering the ignoble designs against him some faithful officers of Tipu Sultan put Muhammad Amin, *Bakhshi* Shamsud-din and other conspirators in irons and sent them to Seringapatam. Some other mischiefmongers were detected by one Poulet, the Second Captain of a French Regiment who also remained loyal and faithful to the Sultan. The Army of Mysore, by and large, was loyal to him. Its rank and file had the highest opinion of Tipu's martial abilities added with the shining personal qualities to command them. While accepting the responsibility to govern the Mysore Kingdom, Tipu Sultan displayed no pomp or show. On the other hand, he got the ceremony of the accession to the throne performed in a very simple style. He sat on an ordinary carpet on that august occasion just to give an account of his heart-felt grief to his principal officers for his father's unexpected and untimely departure for the other world.

At the time of Tipu Sultan's succession to the throne of the Mysore Kingdom, it was bounded by the river Kistna in the north, the State of Travancore in the south; by the Eastern Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west together with a large army and a treasury containing several crores of rupees. But, apart from the enormous wealth and a fierce fighting forces of the highest order, he also inherited the confrontation of the Indian Princes and the English Power as well.

Treaty of Mangalore

The war dragged on with varying success on both the sides till it ended on the conclusion of the Treaty of Mangalore, signed on the 11 March, 1784 by the Sultan and the Governor of the Madras Government. According to the terms and conditions of the Treaty both the parties agreed to mutual restitution of conquests and exchange of prisoners of war. This treaty was actually a diplomatic victory for the Government of Mysore. The English were forced by the valour and bravery of the Sultan so much so that the Treaty they concluded at Mangalore showed their weakness to such an extent that it was bitterly criticised and "disliked" by Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of East India Company (1772-1785). Though the terms of the Treaty were considered humiliating by the Governor-General, yet he was not in a position to withhold its ratification. However, the Governor-General succeeded in doing away with the anti-British combination of the Southern Powers engineered by Tipu Sultan, and by virtue of this policy Warren Hastings is regarded by many Western historians as the "Second Founder of the British Empire in India". He had cut the roots of the tree of freedom which Tipu Sultan had so vigorously planted in the soil of India and thereafter tried in vain to preserve it throughout the rest of his life.

Violation of the Treaty by the English

The British Power in India was ashamed of concluding the Treaty of Mangalore with Tipu Sultan which in fact was a shameful defeat for the English. Hardly had the ink of the Treaty dried, the English started hatching conspiracies against the lone warrior to root him out of the political scene of India. Major William Palmer in a letter to Sir Charles Warre Malet written from the Scindhia's Camp on December 26, 1787 discloses the secret plan by informing him, "...the assistance of the Poona Government against Tipu; a conduct which I shall not fail to recommend to him (Scindhia) in the strongest terms, since I

conceive it to be ultimately conducive to the interests of the Company".⁷

The English then actuated the Nizam, in 1788, to claim some of his former territories now occupied by Tipu Sultan under the terms laid down in the aforesaid Treaty. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of the East India Company's Government (1786-1793) showed his willingness to lend him the English troops provided that they were not to be used against any powers in alliance with the company. The Governor-General furnished the Nizam with the list of the allies of the Company in which the name of Tipu Sultan was advertently not recorded. This was too much for Tipu Sultan who knew well the ill-designs of the Company's servants in India. These unfair dealings were totally against the spirit of the Treaty of 1784. Tipu Sultan became so furious when he heard about these transactions that, according to some historians, he commenced hostilities against the Travancore State. The fact, however, as evident from a letter of Tipu Sultan given hereunder is that Travancore was an excuse and the English wanted to begin war against Tipu Sultan. The Raja was of course very pious and a kind hearted ruler and it was the most important event of his reign as he was always against war and bloodshed of human beings. Why then he fell victim to the conspiracies of the British Government is a question? The answer is not far to seek. The Raja was bound to play in the hands of these foreigners in order to adhere to the instructions of his uncle who made him the Ruler of the Travancore State.

It will, therefore, be interesting in this connection to recall the last words of advice given by Marathanda Varma to his nephew, Ram Varma (1758-98) who was to succeed his uncle. "No deviation whatever should be made in regard to the dedication of the Kingdom to Sri Padmanabhaswamy and all further territorial acquisitions should be made over to the *Devaswom* (temple property). Not a hair's breadth of alteration should be made in the established charities and the institutions connected with the same.... No palace expenditure should be met except from the Commercial Department. *Above all friendship existing*

⁷ *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, Ed. by J.N. Sarkar, p. 274.

*between the English East India Company and Travancore should be maintained at any risk and full confidence should always be placed in the support and aid of the honourable associations."*⁸

Dharma Raja faithfully carried out the advice of his uncle.

It was during this time that thousands of families fled from Malabar and other adjoining territories due to fear of possible attack from the Mysorean army and these fugitives sought asylum in Travancore. They were readily given shelter and protection by the said Raja with the connivance of the English who deliberately wanted to pick up trouble with the Sultan. Many of these absconders were from among the warrior classes and were a perpetual danger to the Sultan and his kingdom. They could any time hoist the standard of rebellion against him under the patronage of the East India Company, the ally of the State of Travancore.

Tipu Sultan was alleged to have attacked the Travancore Lines on the ground that the Raja of Travancore had given asylum to the aforesaid absconders from Cochin, etc. Lord Cornwallis used this as an excuse and treated this action of Tipu as an insult to the British Power and an unwarranted aggression against one of its allies. This led to the Third Anglo-Mysore War which broke out in May 1790. But the letter of the Sultan despatched to the Governor-General on this issue displays altogether a different picture. Following is the text of his letter:

"I acknowledge receipt of your letter (wherein you say that contrary to the treaty of peace subsisting between the two Governments, I [Sultan] had made an unprovoked attack on the territories of the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the English, and that this act was done with a view to insulting the English in the eyes of the Princes of Hindustan). Notwithstanding a specific clause in the treaty that neither party should molest the allies or give protection to the enemies of the other, the Raja of Travancore constructed a wall in the territory of the Raja of Cochin, who is an ally of my Government. In spite of my repeated remonstrances, the Raja of Travancore proceeded with the construction, gave asylum to thieves and robbers from the Cochin territories,

8 *History of Travancore* by P. Shangoonny, pp. 174-75.

and molested my officers who went to the borders to collect the *peshkash*. The (Dharma) Raja even went to the extent of taking the Raja of Cochin under his protection. In consequence of this provocative conduct on the part of the Raja of Travancore, I with a small contingent of bodyguards, went to the borders to have an inspection of the place. Not one of my troops crossed the frontier, but all the same, the Raja of Travancore assembled a large body of troops and started fighting. The Raja did not even pay any heed to the two confidential agents that I had despatched to him with *Khilats* for the purpose of restoring peace and quiet. I had communicated all these particulars to the Government of Madras, and believe that you might have been duly informed of them. I have not insulted the English and suspect that some interested persons have misrepresented me to you in this respect.

“In order to settle these disputes, you may send a confidential person to me and all relevant particulars concerning the dispute which cannot be conveyed through a letter, shall be made known to me. Or, I can send my representative to you in order to explain the situation and settle an accommodation.”⁹ Dated 26 *Jumada* II, 1205 A.H. (March 2, 1791).

Glancing idly, through the lines of this letter, even the casual reader cannot fail to be impressed to the extent that the English were bent on having dialogues with the Sultan only in the battle-field. In fact they wanted to eliminate this formidable power that was trying to establish perpetual friendship and alliance with the French who were not in cordial terms with the English, neither in Europe nor in any other part of the world. However, the War, that was inevitable, started. This, ostensibly was imposed on Tipu Sultan in spite of his keen desire to have complete peace to prepare himself, *ad interim*, for striking a final blow on the British power in India. But the English were well acquainted with the intents and purposes of the Sultan and, therefore, did not allow him to avail any opportunity of time. Some of the letters addressed to the Peshwa and others, reproduced hereunder, would testify the fact that Tipu Sultan earnestly

⁹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (National Archives of India), Vol. IX, p. 226.

desired to win over the favour and sympathy of the addressees but the intrigues of the East India Company's officials in their Courts thwarted the progress of his mission.

LETTER NO. 1

Tipu Sultan to Hari Pandit Phadke. (Translation of a Marathi Letter).

"It is a long time since I have heard from you and request that as an old friend I may be favoured with frequent letters. I am deputing Appaji Ram and Srinivasa Rao as my envoys, and wish that you should call them to your presence and by means of mutual talks re-establish the old friendship between the two Governments, which was marred of late only by the intervention of interested persons. I believe that you are influential enough to accomplish the purpose and solicit for a reply."¹⁰
(June 1, 1791).

LETTER NO. 2

Tipu Sultan to Hari Pandit Phadke. (This letter is also in Marathi).

"I have received your letter dated 3 *Shawwal*. The friendship has existed with the Peshwa since my father's time. I am astonished that despite your residing with the Peshwa, the latter could labour ill-feeling against me, his friend. *In respect of our mutual friendship, I am ready to conform to what you say.* I am deputing Appaji Ram and Srinivasa Rao from whom all particulars may be known. I also request you to send an accredited person as several things require verbal discussion. In view of our friendship I ask you to send letters to me frequently.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (NAI), Vol. IX, p. 268.

LETTER NO. 3

Tipu Sultan to Kishan Rao, Son of Bhagwant Rao (Wakil of Scindhia).

To the same effect as the foregoing, adding that "I am pleased to hear of your coming to the army. I consider it needless to emphasise the importance of our friendship and our regard for the well-being of mankind. Please do write to me frequently".¹¹ (June 6, 1791).

LETTER NO. 4

Hari Pandit Phadke to Tipu Sultan.

"I have received your letter (stating that 'you were saying that deputing Appaji Ram and Srinivasa Rao to me and requesting that I should give them an interview and take whatever steps may be necessary for healing the breach between the Peshwa and you, and thereby secure *Peace and Prosperity to Mankind*'). Your Majesty are wise and sagacious and can yourself find out who was the first to break up that friendship and unanimity. Had Your Highness remained firm in your sincerity and friendship things would not have come to such a pass. It is well known to you that in the present war, the Peshwa, the Nizam and the English are firmly joined together. In fact, Lord Cornwallis himself is present in the field. I am, therefore, informing the Peshwa, the minister of the Nizam and the Governor-General of your overture. Whatever reply is received from them will be duly communicated to Your Excellency."¹² Dated (Monday), 3 *Shawwal*, 1205 A.H. (6 June, 1791).

11 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. IX, p. 270.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 271.

LETTER NO. 5

Tipu Sultan to Hari Pandit Phadke (This letter too is in Marathi).

“I have received your letter [wherein you have written to me that ‘the Peshwa, the Nizam and the English are leagued together in the present war and whenever letters from your (Tipu’s) side should be received expressing a desire to settle matters with the three Governments, Your Majesty’s Wakils, Appaji Ram and Srinivasa Rao, would be granted an interview’]. Letters on this subject have already been addressed by me to the Peshwa, Balaji Pandit (Nana Farnavis) and to you also and these having been despatched by a *shutar suwar* (camel express) must have been delivered to you by now. It is useless to repeat the contents to them here again. Friendly relations have subsisted between I and the Peshwa from old times and it is only mischief-mongers who have created the present breach. I, therefore, hope that as you are a wise and Exalted Chief, and are between us (Sultan and Peshwa) the ancient cordiality will be re-established through you.”

P.S. If you grant an interview to Appaji Ram and Srinivasa Rao they will acquaint you with all particulars. They are empowered to negotiate on our (Sultan’s) behalf. (June 17, 1791).¹³

LETTER NO. 6

Copy of Tipu Sultan’s Instructions to Muhdi Ali Khan.

“The Khan is directed to present a *Kharita* together with two jewels and two *khilats* of *karchobi* and *mahtabi* to Nawwab Nizam Ali Khan and another *kharita* with two jewels and one *khilat* of *mahtabi* to Azamul-umara, his Minister. He is further directed to represent in private and in public to both these personages the particulars of the Sultan’s sincere attachment and friendship with them. He is also to impress on their minds that the

Nawwab's wishes whatever they may be shall be carried into execution and that his (the Sultan's) fidelity and attachment shall daily increase thereby adding strength to their religion of Islam. He is also to represent to the Nawwab that with a view to affording peace and comfort to mankind and supporting the Muslim faith, he should write to Lord Cornwallis to cease hostilities and he (the Nawwab) himself should recall his troops who are now stationed in this country."¹⁴ Dated 18 *Rajab* 1205 A.H. (March 1791).

LETTER NO. 7

Tipu Sultan to the Peshwa.

"I have deputed Appaji Ram as my envoy to negotiate with Your Excellency and I, therefore, request you that he may be sent for."¹⁵ Dated 21 *Shawwal* (24 June, 1791).

The Third Anglo-Mysore War

However, all the sincere efforts of Tipu Sultan to avoid war with the English and their native allies of Southern India proved futile and thus he was forcibly brought to the battle-field by all of them. After forming a triple alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad, Lord Cornwallis himself, assuming the command of the Allied Forces, attacked Bangalore and defeated Tipu Sultan at Arikere in 1790 A.D. He also captured Bangalore but subsequently due to shortage of supplies he had to destroy his guns and other valuable war materials to beat a hasty retreat. The Marathas then saved him from facing this grave situation by supplying ample arms, ammunitions and food-grains. This timely arrival of supplies from the Marathas forced Tipu Sultan to come to terms with the English. In 1792, Lord Cornwallis had captured the hill forts and advanced upon the capital while Maratha Forces laid waste the territory of Mysore.

14 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. IX, p. 296.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Treaty of Seringapatam

Thus in 1792, finding resistance against the three big powers of India hopeless, Tipu Sultan concluded the Treaty with the English and agreed to cede half of his dominions, to pay a sum of Rs. three crores and thirty lakhs by way of war indemnity to the Company and to surrender his two sons, Abdul Khaliq Sultan and Muizzud-din Sultan assuring the victors for due performance of the treaty.

As a result of the Treaty of Seringapatam, Malabar, Coorg, Dindigul and Baramahal were handed over by Tipu Sultan to the East India Company. This was of course a lion's share. The Nizam and the Marathas took over the possession of the north-eastern and the north-western territories of Mysore State respectively.

According to a letter of the Bengal Presidency addressed to the officers of Tipu Sultan the revenue only of the districts of Malabar ceded to the Company was more than Rs. 18,00,000 in those days of cheap economy.

Causes of the Defeat

Although the Sultan carried a gallant struggle against these three powers for about two years and had, *ad interim*,¹⁶ defeated the seasoned army commanders of the East India Company like Colonel Floyd, and baffled General Medows and Colonel Maxwell as well, yet he totally ignored to follow up the success he gained over Lord Cornwallis at the battle of Arikere on May 15, 1791. It was the time when the English Army became badly exhausted and totally demoralised. The defeat was not only due to the superiority of the European Science, British navy, arms and diplomacy but because of the fact that the English won the alliance of the Indian powers whereas Tipu Sultan was so unfortunate that in spite of his sincere intentions and best efforts as narrated hereinbefore he could not win the friendship of the sons of his own soil.

According to Lord Cornwallis, "The Troops of Tipu Sultan

16 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. X, pp. 176-77.

were the best in the world, for they were always doing something to harass their enemies".¹⁷

Sir Thomas Munro giving the main reason of the Sultan's defeat says: "Cornwallis could not have reduced Tipu without the assistance of the Marathas".¹⁸ In the light of these two statements it becomes clear that the main cause of the defeat of Tipu Sultan was the military alliance of the Marathas and the Nizam with the Company. He was otherwise powerful enough to melt away the irons of his foreign opponent and crush the British land forces and to root them completely out of Southern India.

As is evident from the annals and chronicle of history, Tipu Sultan like his redoubtable father was ever zealous of acquiring assistance of the French and was always betrayed by them for various reasons best known to the students of the Modern History of India.

In one of his letters, included in this volume, dated the 2nd April 1797, addressed to the French Generals, Tipu Sultan has complained against his French Army Commander who betrayed him by deserting with their troops and leaving him alone thereby:

"During the last war", the Sultan observed with regret, "I maintained with zeal and courage all the pretensions of the French... . At the very moment when I was on the point of conquering them (The English and their Indian allies) the French Army under the command of Monsieur D'Cossigny received an order from Monsieur De Bussi to abandon me, though I had paid them well and they were were in want of nothing, but what filled me with indignation. was, that those orders were extended also to Monsieur De Lally who commanded a body of the French in my pay to withdraw himself with his party. This I opposed and on just grounds. From that moment, my army became disgusted...and I was compelled to make peace, with the loss of half of my dominions, and three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees in cash... ."

17 *The Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, Vols. I-II by G.R. Glieg (London, 1830), p. 133.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 132.

The French never gave him adequate naval support in spite of the triumphs of the French Admiral Bailli de Suffren against the formidable British naval power at sea. There must have been profound distrust in his mind of the French promises and it was perhaps in this mood that the Sultan once remarked to Purnaiya, the Chief Mir-i-Miran (The Military Department), about the superiority of the British Naval power, "I can ruin their resources by land but I cannot dry up the sea".¹⁹

The defeat of Tipu Sultan was not due to the fact that he was fighting all alone against the big three of Southern India but it is a very lamentable fact that he was the lone fighter almost against the whole of the native potentates. The British Power was making capital gain out of the sympathy of these Indian Rulers who were not only supplying cash and materials to the English and their allies during their war against Tipu Sultan but were also extending moral support to the enemies of the protector of their own motherland. These cowards and self-centred powerful persons of India were deadly against a nationalist king who firmly believed that "The Nation is greater than the greatest of us all".²⁰

The news of defeat of Tipu Sultan spread like wild fire in the whole of the country and soon after knowing about it many Indian Rulers, potentates and *persona grata* showered congratulations on Lord Cornwallis who was not only a foreigner but a well known enemy of India and the Indians. The list of such persons who were happy on this occasion is very long but prominent among them was the Mughal Emperor himself, who in spite of being tortured, humiliated and subsequently blinded cruelly by Ghulam Qadir Khan, a savage Rohilla Chief, in the very eyes of the English, congratulated the Acting President of Bengal on the victory of the British army over that of Tipu. The Sultan on the other hand, had such a soft corner for the hopeless plight of Emperor Shah Alam II that he, it is said, was in tears when given the news about the atrocities com-

19 *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Vol. VIII—The Maratha Supremacy), p. 470.

20 Attributed to Tipu Sultan in *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* by Bhagwan S. Gidwani, (5th edition), p. 338.

mitted on him and his family by the said Rohilla Pathan in the Red Fort of Delhi.

Among others who congratulated the Governor-General on his victory over the Sultan were Asafud-daulah of Oudh, Bhao Bakhshi (Sadashiv Rao Malhar, the Minister of Mahadaji Scindhia), *Nawwab* Mubarakud-daulah of Murshidabad, *Nawwab* Faizullah Khan of Rampur, Mubarakud-daulah of Masulipatam, Ram Raja of Travancore, Raja Ram Kishan, Babu Ausan Singh, Kunwar Daulat Singh, Harkumar Dat Sen, Raja of Tunnohi, Rani of Burdwan, Qutlaq Sultan Begam (widow of Prince Jahandar Shah), *Nawwab* Muni Begam (widow of Mir Jafar), Babbu Begam, mother of *Nawwab* Mubarakud-daulah and so many others. Some of them even sent Ashrafis to the Governor-General for distribution as alms. The *Nawwab* of Dacca ordered a salute of guns on the occasion. Some of the letters received by the Governor-General during and just after the victory over the aforementioned war are reproduced hereunder:

I

From the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II to Charles Stuart, Acting President of Bengal (in absence of Lord Cornwallis who was prosecuting the War then against Tipu Sultan).

Congratulatory on the capture of the Savandurga Fort.²¹

II

From Faizullah Khan, Nawwab of Rampur to Charles Stuart.

Of the same tenor as the foregoing.²²

III-IV

From Sayyid Himayat Ali Khan, Ziaul-mulk, Imtiazud-daulah,

21 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. X, p. 43.

22 *Ibid.*

Bahadur, Rustam Jang (husband of a niece of *Nawwab Mubarakud-daulah* of Murshidabad), and *Raja Mahip Narayan Singh*.

Congratulate the Governor-General on his return to the Presidency, and send *nazrs*.²³

V

From the Rani of Burdwan to the Governor-General.

(The Rani of the place at this time was *Bishan Kunwar*, mother of *Raja Tej Chand*).

Offer congratulations on the Governor-General's safe return to the Presidency.²⁴

VI-VII

From Nawwab Ali Ibrahim and Raja Ram Ishar (Raja of Rajashahi) to the Governor-General.

Send a *nazr* of five gold *mohrs* each on Governor-General's return to the Presidency.²⁵

VIII

From Dilawar Jang to the Governor-General.

Congratulates the Governor-General on his return to the Presidency and sends a *nazr* of twenty-one gold *mohrs*.²⁶

IX

From Nawwab Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khan, Muinul-mulk, Rafiud-daulah, to Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General.

23 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. X, pp. 124-25.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*

Sends fifty-one gold *mohrs* as a *nazr* and Rs. 101 for distribution as alms on the occasion of Governor-General's return to the Presidency.²⁷

X

From Nasirul-mulk (Azdud-daulah Nawwab Sayyid Babar Ali Khan Bahadur, Diler Jang, the eldest son of Mubarakud-daulah, the Nawwab Nazim of Bengal).

Congratulates the Governor-General on his return and requests letters.²⁸

XI-XII

From Babbu Begam and Munni Begam (widows of Mir Jafar), to Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General.

Offer congratulations on his Lordship's return and send 101 gold *mohrs* each for distribution as alms.²⁹

XIII

From Nawwab Mubarakud daulah to the Governor-General.

Congratulates on his Lordship's return to the Presidency. Sends through Mir Kamalud-din Husain Khan 101 gold *mohrs* and a *nazr* and Rs. 1001 for distribution as alms.³⁰

XIV

From Tafazzul Hussain Khan, Wakil of Nawwab Asafud-daulah to the Governor-General.

²⁷ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. X, p. 125.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

Offers congratulations on his Lordship's return to the Presidency. Requests an interview.³¹

XV

From Babu Ausan Singh, Jagirdar of Pargana Saidpur (Benaras) to the Governor-General.

Sends a *nazr* through his *Wakil*, Mir Sher Ali, along with a message of congratulations on his Lordship's return.³²

XVI-XVII

To Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General from Sayyid Ahmad Ali Khan, (brother of Saiyid Ali Khan, the Nawwab of Dacca (1785-1822), and Raja Basant Ram (son-in-law of Raja Ram Narayan Diwan of Azimabad (Patna) in the days of Mir Jafar, Nawwab of Bengal).³³

Send a *nazr* of five gold *mohrs* each with a congratulatory message on the return of the addressee.

XVIII-XIX

To the Governor-General from Nawwab Qutbud-daulah of Masulipatam and Nawwab Ikramud-daulah (brother of Nawwab Shujaud-daulah).

Congratulate the addressee on his return to the Presidency and send *nazrs*.³⁴

XX

From Harkumar Dat Sen, Raja of Tunnohi to the Governor-General.

31 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. X, p. 125.

32 *Ibid.*

33 *Ibid.*

34 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

Congratulates his Lordship on his return to the Presidency.³⁵

XXI

From Kunwar Daulat Singh to Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General.

Congratulates him on his return to the Presidency. Sends a *nazr* and requests an interview.³⁶

XXII

From Sayyid Ali Khan, Nusrat Jang, Nawwab of Dacca, to the Governor-General.

Is glad to hear that Tipu Sultan, having been vanquished, has sued for peace. Being greatly pleased at this event, he ordered a salute of guns to be fired. May God ever crown the effort of his Lordship with success.³⁷

XXIII

From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh of Jaipur to Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General.

Congratulates his Lordship on the capture of the fort of Savandurga. Is glad to learn that he now proposes to march towards Seringapatam. May God crown his efforts with success.³⁸

It would be interesting to note that the Governor-General did not show his pleasure to some of the aforesaid flatterers and sycophants. He, therefore, declined the *nazr* of Nawwab Dilawar Jang, Rani of Burdwan, Babu Ausan Singh and three or four

35 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. X, p. 126.

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*

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others and all these persons were informed by a letter from the Presidency of Bengal on August 8, 1792.³⁹ Perhaps he wanted to impress upon these princes of the native States who were far away from his private headquarters that the defeat of Tipu Sultan was not a matter of happiness and joy for him but was simply a punishment awarded to a native ruler who was hostile to the British Power.

Conspiracies against Tipu Sultan

Though Tipu Sultan had to surrender half of his territory and pay an indemnity of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, yet he was left with sufficient territory "to make him respectable and still in some degree formidable to his neighbours".⁴⁰ Thus the balance of power in the South was still left unaffected.

After gaining victory in the Third Anglo-Mysore War, Lord Cornwallis boasted: "We have effectually crippled our enemies without making our friends too formidable."⁴¹ These words clearly establish that the English had already made future designs to dominate the whole of the Indian soil. He knew it well that Tipu Sultan, a born opponent of the entire British Establishment in India, was beaten on his own ground yet he was still able to hurt like a wounded lion. There was another imminent danger of the French Nation which had thrown an open challenge to the East India Company in India. Though Tipu was never supported by them, he had always a soft corner for the French in his heart.

A newsletter⁴² from Madras confirms the fact that Tipu Sultan had no desire to oppose the East India Company for the time being because of the past experience and the fact that he was strictly adhering to the terms and conditions of the said treaty. This letter dated the June 26, 1793 contains the information enumerated hereunder:

39 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

40 *Poona Residency Correspondence Series*, Vol. III, p. 501.

41 *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII (The Maratha Supremacy), p. 475.

42 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, (NAI), Vol. X, pp. 308-09.

“Tipu Sultan is engaged in enlisting troops at Seringapatam.... The French had applied for the assistance of the Sultan who refused to render them any assistance saying that when the English invaded Seringapatam and he (Tipu) requisitioned their help, they refused to assist him on the ground that they were at peace with the English. Similarly, now that he (Sultan) is at peace with the English he is unable to afford any assistance to them. Tipu, however, has permitted them to convey grains, stores, etc. to Pondicherry if required.”

Lord Cornwallis was not satisfied with this report, though it was submitted to him by his own confidants, which reveals that Tipu was not even thinking to have any defensive or offensive alliance with the French. He was neither in any way breaching the terms of the treaty nor violating its spirit. In fact, the total destruction of this hostile power in the South was in the interest of the East-India Company's future designs, plots and plans in India.

Within a year, the Treaty of Seringapatam (1792) was concluded, Lord Cornwallis felt the necessity of a fresh and permanent treaty of guarantee among the allies against Tipu Sultan only with the intention that on the slightest provocation the East India Company's forces would attack the Mysore State and the allies would be obliged to render military help to them. While the negotiations for concluding such a treaty were going on in secrecy and warmly advocated by the Nizam, it was sincerely rejected by the Peshwa, because the Kingdom of Tipu Sultan as a buffer State was serving like a shield for the Marathas' protection against any possible attack on their State by the East India Company. In fact, the Maratha politicians already knew fairly well that the East India Company will never tolerate their influences in the Indian political field and would seize the first opportunity by the belt whenever deemed fit, to crush their power. During a conversation in a private chamber Nana Farnavis is reported to have said to the Peshwa: “If it would avail, I would even at the cost of my life try to restore to the Kingdom of Mysore, the power it once had. You must remember this, that every hour that postpones the defeat of Tipu

Sultan, is an hour that prolongs the independence of the Maratha Nation.⁴³

The treaty in question was proposed by Lord Cornwallis on the eve of his departure for England but it was never signed by the Peshwa. The Nizam, therefore, reluctantly followed suit. Being not implemented finally, it was put in the shelves of old records. But a careful study of the draft of this treaty given hereunder would disclose that, in between the lines, it had many ill-designs of the East India Company against Tipu Sultan who till then provided no chance, to the English and their allies, for harbouring any doubts and lodging of any complaints against him.

Draft of the Unsigned Treaty

*"Draft of the proposed treaty of alliance between the East India Company, the Peshwa and the Nizam, *dated 28 December, 1794: "*

An undertaking between the English East India Company, Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan and *Nawwab Asaf Jha* (Nizam) for defence against Tipu Sultan of their territories, old and new, which were in the possession of each of the contracting parties and their allies, as specified in a separate article, at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam. Sir Charles Warre Malet, *Firoz Jang*, and Sir John Kennaway, *Dilawar Jang*, representing the East India Company, have been given plenipotentiary powers by Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General of India. The treaty will be binding in perpetuity upon each of the signatories from generation to generation:

ARTICLE I

That under Articles X and XIII of the treaties of Poona and Pangal it was stipulated that if, after the conclusions of the peace with Tipu Sultan, he should molest any of the contracting parties, the others should join to punish him. This provision will remain in force and an aggression against any of the parties shall

43 *The Sword of Tipu Sultan*, p. 313.

* Encloure received from the Resident at Hyderabad.

be treated as aggression against all the contracting parties and the allies, before resorting to war against Tipu Sultan, will first try to effect accommodation with him.

ARTICLE II

Since the aim and object of the treaties of Poona and Pangal, as also of this agreement, is only to secure assistance for the allies against oppression or molestation of Tipu Sultan, and not that they (confederates) shall take sides with one another in an unjust cause or dispute, it is stipulated that in the event of the failure of effecting an accommodation and the outbreak of hostility between Tipu Sultan and any member of the confederacy, the latter will unite their forces and do everything possible to harass and distress the enemy and to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion.

ARTICLE III

In case the aggression is proved, then, in terms of Article II, each of the contracting parties will at once mobilise its troops and in the event of danger from Tipu Sultan being imminent and calling for prompt action, the contracting parties will immediately send to the assistance of the party so attacked their available forces or march against the enemy's country direct. While the allies are busy with preparations for war, the plan of operation shall be settled mutually and unitedly.

ARTICLE IV

If, in course of time, the offices of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, now combined in the person of Lord Cornwallis, be separated, the Governor-General will not be asked to lead the English army in person on behalf of the Company and, therefore, the Peshwa and the Nizam too will refrain from leading their troops personally. But, in case the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief leads the army in person on behalf of the Company, the Peshwa and the Nizam

or their Prime Ministers will also assume the command of their respective forces in person.

ARTICLE V

When peace is to be concluded with the enemy (Tipu Sultan), the terms shall be determined upon by mutual consultation by the confederates, and none of them shall place any obstacle or negotiate independently with him. *Any message received from him (Tipu Sultan), and any reply sent to him, shall be placed before other members of the confederacy.*

ARTICLE VI

As it is always necessary, in order to maintain peace and order, to maintain a well equipped army which can be mobilised at shortest possible notice, it is agreed that men and materials of war intended for any of the contracting States, shall be allowed free passage by the confederates through their respective territories.

ARTICLE VII

To guard against the misuse of Article VI above, it is agreed that the contracting parties shall direct their respective *Talluqadars* on their borders to disallow passage of any war material into the territory of Tipu Sultan.

ARTICLE VIII

Whenever the troops of one of the confederates march to the assistance of another, the latter shall provide all facilities for purchase of fodder, grains and other provisions and duty free supply thereof to the Commander of these troops and also control the market.

ARTICLE IX

The allies of each of the contracting parties whose protection is referred to in the preamble of this treaty are enumerated below:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| (1) On the side
of the English | (2) On the side of
of the Peshwa | (3) On the side
of <i>Nawwab
Asaf Jah</i>
(Nizam) |
| <i>Nawwab</i> Walajah
Bahadur, Raja of
Tanjore, Raja of
Travancore, Raja
of Cochin, Raja
of Calicut, Raja
of Coorg, <i>Bibi</i> of
Cannanore, and
their successors. | (Blank, since
the Peshwa
declined to
sign over
the draft of
the treaty.) | (Blank, since
it was not
signed by the
Peshwa, the
Nizam had to
follow suit.) |

ARTICLE X

That all the treaties previously concluded by the confederates among themselves and between Tipu Sultan and any of them (confederates) are, by mutual agreement of the confederates, hereby cancelled and treated as null and void, if they contravene any of the provisions included in this treaty.

This (draft) treaty consisting of ten articles is drawn through Sir Charles Malet and Sir John Kennaway and it is decided to make six copies of it, and each of the three confederates to be supplied with two copies signed and sealed by the other two. Copies signed by Sir John Kennaway and Sir Charles Warre Malet have, for the present, been handed over to the Nizam and the Peshwa respectively which will be exchanged within 70 days with the copies signed by the Governor-General (Lord Cornwallis) on the one hand and the Peshwa and the Nizam

on the other."⁴⁴ Thus this sinister plot misfired only because of the farsightedness of Nana Farnavis.

After the fall of Seringapatam Mahadaji Scindhia, the able General and political thinker in the Maratha circle proceeded to Poona to establish his authority there and urged the Peshwa to form a closer connexion with Tipu Sultan in order to check the ever growing power of the East India Company. Before he could achieve his paramount object by exerting his influence in the centre of the Maratha Power he died in 1794 A.D. all of a sudden. His death was a happy news to the English who watched his movements with fear and suspicion. According to Grant Duff, Mahadaji Scindhia was a man of great political sagacity and of considerable genius. His untimely death undoubtedly brought miseries and calamities both for the Peshwa and Tipu Sultan.

Last Nail in the Coffin

In 1798 Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, was succeeded by Lord Mornington, better known by his later title Marquess Wellesley. On his arrival in India on April 26, 1798 he realised very soon the growing influence of the French in the *sarkars* and *darbars* of various Indian princes. The Nizam's army was being organised by Raymond, a French military General. Daulat Rao Scindhia, had a trained and powerful army under the command of a French Major Pierre Cuillier Perron. The presence of the French in the Courts of such *persona grata* of India was a source of great danger not to the English Power in India but also for the Home Government in the British Isles. The British Power both in England and abroad was engaged in the Revolutionary War with France. The French General, Napoleon Bonaparte, had led an expedition into Egypt, with the ardent desire for the conquest of India.

Tipu Sultan was at that time in negotiation with the French Governor-General of Mauritius and other native and foreign powers like Raja of Kutch, Emperor of Iran, *Khalifa* of Turkey

44 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. XI, (NAI), pp. 219-21.

and King of Afghanistan. The French military officers then were preparing to drill Tipu's troops. Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General designate even before assuming the powers of his new assignment had two main ideas in his mind for making his nation the Paramount Power in India.

His first aim was to crush the French influence in the Courts of the Indian Princes forever. Secondly, he wanted to extend the British influence throughout India and for this sinister purpose he introduced the most criticised policy of 'Subsidiary Alliance' which was a clear indication to bring all the native powers of India entirely under the British subordination. The British fishermen, therefore, threw their nets in the ocean around the peninsula and fished out big and small fry all alike.

The Nizam readily entered into the 'Subsidiary Alliance' with the Company on September 1, 1798. Thus after dismissing the French Officers in his employ he reduced his position to complete dependence on the English. The Marathas, however, gave vague replies to the Governor-General's overtures.

Marquess Wellesley having disarmed the Nizam turned to Mysore, the most powerful of the States in the South. Tipu Sultan was also invited to enter into such an alliance but he would not consent to sink to the level of the Nizam as he believed that by entering into the 'Subsidiary Alliance' he was destined by the English to the fate of a pensioned *Nawwab* and perhaps in the same mood he asked some of his misguided nobles, "would you advise a tiger to follow the life-style of a jackal; would you"? Consequent upon the refusal, the Governor-General demanded of Tipu Sultan an explanation of his dealings with the French. Tipu Sultan's replies to Governor-General were treated by him as most unsatisfactory and totally evasive.

Fourth Anglo-Mysore War

Wellesley, the Governor-General, as already observed before, had actually come to India with the first and foremost mission to cripple the power of the Sultan of Mysore, in whose presence it was impossible for the British Power to achieve its aims and objects in India. He did not want to waste his time, lose the

opportunity and, therefore, determined at once to wage war on the Sultan. The Madras Council raised some objections to his intentions but he held in his Minute of the 12th August 1798, that "the act of Tipu's ambassador ratified by himself and accompanied by the landing of a French force in his (Tipu's) country is a public, unqualified and unambiguous declaration of War ; aggravated by an avowal, that the object of the war is neither expansion, reparation, nor security but the total destruction of the British Government in India. To attempt to misunderstand an insult and injury of such a complexion would argue a consciousness either of weakness or of fear".⁴⁵ These remarks of Marquess Wellesley lead us to believe that soon after inserting them he issued orders for the preparation of war against Tipu Sultan. Concluding the 'Subsidiary Alliance' with Nizam on September 1, was the first step towards the preparation of a total war against the Sultan of Mysore.

Napolean Bonaparte had already started with the intention to invade India. He was in Cairo and despatched a letter to the Sultan in February 1799 (when he arrived on the borders of the Red Sea) wherein he assured to assist the Sultan "with an innumerable and invincible army, full of desire of delivering him from the iron yoke of England". Unfortunately, this letter was intercepted by the British Intelligence Services and never reached its destination. The letter in question has, however, been included in this work.

Having known the firm determination and strong resolution of General Bonaparte, Wellesley took the action forthwith and under his orders issued on February 3, 1799 two armies were despatched against the Kingdom of the Sultan. One, the main army by way of Karnatik under the command of General Harris and the other from Bombay.

On April 23 the Governor-General signified to Lieutenant-General Harris his wish that the power and resources of Tipu

45 "For the reasons stated at large in the Governor-General's Minute of the 12th August 1798, it was his determination to have struck an immediate blow against Tipu's territories so as to have secured the effectual reduction of his power far before any assistance could have reached him from France". *Vide Fort William, India House Correspondence*, Vol. XVIII, General Editor, S.N. Prasad, p. 408.

Sultan should be reduced to the lowest state, and even utterly destroyed, if the events of the war should furnish the opportunity.⁴⁶ The Nizam also sent a contingent under the command of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington. General Harris, when he marched towards Mysore on February 14, 1799, had an army of about twenty-one thousand men under him. Six days later about 16,000 sepoys from the Nizam under the command of Colonel Wellesley joined the main army under General Harris near Ambur. The Bombay army of about 6,500 men under General Stuart and a large force under Col. Brown and Col. Read assembled to march on the capital of the Mysore State from the South. All this was directed against the crippled Chieftain of Mysore who was deprived of his half dominion six years before.

The Peshwa, though a party in alliance with the English and the Nizam, however, did not despatch his forces intentionally against Tipu Sultan. On March 5, 1799, General Harris started his military operations by occupying many fortresses on the border. On March 14 he arrived near Bangalore. From there he marched to the Maddur river and reached safely on the 24th of the said month. Until now General Harris had met with no serious resistance. Tipu Sultan remaining at Periapatam till March 11, marched towards Seringapatam to meet General Harris who was advancing on the capital. This war, though of a short duration *vis-a-vis* the previous battles, was quite decisive.

Tipu Sultan, betrayed by his top-ranking *sardars*, *amirs* and generals like Sayyid Sahib, Mir Sadiq, Qamarud-din and others,⁴⁷ was defeated on March 5 by General Stuart at Sedaseer, forty-five miles west of his capital. Subsequently, he was again defeated

46 *The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley* edited by Montgomery Martin, Vol. I, p. 497.

47 While some historians have alleged that Purnaiya also betrayed Tipu Sultan, there are others who have held that throughout his life he remained loyal to the Ruler. Mr. Gidwani has tried to prove that amongst all the nobles surrounding Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan Purnaiya was more akin to the ideals of loyalty, human dignity and justice. He it was who even tried to persuade the English to instal a son of late Tipu Sultan as the Ruler of Mysore.

by General Harris at Malvelly, thirty miles east of his metropolis. The Sultan then retired to Seringapatam. The English forces captured the city on May 4, 1799 and the last defender of Mysore died after fighting like a tiger. When his body was recovered, the sword was still in his hands.

Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General, while entertaining a select gathering to a dinner when received the news which he himself had made and had in his pockets far before his arrival in India.

"He rose unsteady from several helping of Whisky and wine—raised his glass and said:

Ladies and gentlemen, I drink to the corpse of India."⁴⁸

Thus fell a leading Indian Chieftain and one of the most dreadful foes of the English. He tried to keep away the British wolf from the door throughout his life. With the fall of the defender of the flag of the freedom the blockade for the English on the road leading to the conquest of India disappeared *ipso facto*.

Aftermath of Tipu's Demise

From the days of his death the political map of India began to change fast, almost every year till A.D. 1858 when the Union Flag was unfurled throughout India by a Proclamation of Queen Victoria of England who became the Empress of India and red colour came to stay on the map for about a century.

On the very month the redoubtable *Padshah* of Mysore fell in the battle-field, Mysore State was partitioned and the English enjoyed a lion's share. In A.D. 1801 the Karnatic was annexed and the *Nawwab* pensioned off. Marquess Richard Colley Wellesley annexed the Karnatic on the plausible pretext that he found some sort of correspondence of the *Nawwab* with Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam in the royal palace after the death of the King of Mysore. It has now been confirmed that these papers were not at all convincing proof of the treachery of the *Nawwab* of the Karnatic. Moreover, no such

48 *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* by B.S. Gidwani, p. 372.

letters were found on the list of the Correspondence of Tipu Sultan hostile to the British Government in India. Wellesley annexed the Karnatic purely on imperialist grounds. He came to India for this purpose and succeeded in reducing the kingdom of Tipu, exterminating the French influence and paving the way for the British for occupying not only the whole of India but certain adjoining territories also.

After the demise of Tipu, Arthur Wellesley remarked in one of his Despatches to London, "Our principal ally, the Nizam, was restored to us, the French State growing in the Peninsula of India was destroyed. Our formidable native enemy Tipu Sultan, the ally of the French subdued".⁴⁹

From contemporary sources, it has been proved that Marquess Wellesley was determined to kill Tipu and the Sultan was bent on resisting the British invaders till he breathed his last. He said that "soon the English will begin their final assault. I know that my life is in danger and I shall not run away from it. The unalterable, inevitable course of my destiny leads me to the necessity to sacrifice my life—to die for a cause is bigger than an individual's life."⁵⁰

On his death the Governor-General wrote, "The dreadful fate of Tipu Sultan I trust will serve a salutary lesson to the native princes of India and will prove the danger for the prosecution of schemes of ambition and hatred against the British Power".⁵¹

From the manner in which Mysore campaign was planned and from Wellesley's attitude it is clear that he was aiming all the time at Tipu's death. He remarked that "my judgement was always decided that Tipu would never abandon the defence of Seringapatam, but with life, and therefore I approved the determination of General Harris not to negotiate with Sultan".⁵²

Till his departure in 1805 A.D. Marquess Wellesley had acquired the subordination of the Head of the Marathas to the

49 *A Selection from the Wellington Despatches* by S.D. Owen, p. 10.

50 *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* by Bhagwan S. Gidwani, pp. 342-43.

51 *The Despatches, minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley*, edited by Montgomery Martin, Vol. I, p. 578.

52 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 93.

British Control; forced the Bhonsla Raja of Berar to cede Cuttack to the British Government and accept the 'Subsidiary Alliance'. Annexation of Doab was also his deed which carried the English frontiers to the upper course of the Jamuna when he handed over the charge of the Governor-Generalship, the Provinces of Bengal and Madras had common frontiers linked up by Cuttack.

Mauritius was captured in A.D. 1810. The States of Garhwal and Kumaon ceded in 1816.

The Office of Peshwa was abolished, his dominions annexed. The Narbada territories of the Bhonsla were annexed. Holkar had to accept the bondage of 'Subsidiary Alliance' which he had hated till then. In short, the Maratha influence disappeared from India forever like camphor in the air. All these events took place within A.D. 1819.

Then, in quick succession followed the annexation of Cachar, Coorg, Jaintia (1832-35), Sindh (in 1843), the Punjab (in 1849). The whole of Lower Burma passed into the hands of the English in 1852. Nagpur and Berar were captured in 1853; Oudh lost its entity and was merged with British Establishments in India and finally the whole of India came under the suzerainty of Queen Victoria of England in A.D. 1858.

All the aforementioned events took place only when the naval power of Tipu Sultan was torpedoed and his kingdom bulldozed beyond expectation and against all canons then at function. It is the irony of the fact that the Maratha politician even already knowing very well what the future had stored for them in the absence of the Sultan, remained inactive till they heard the news about his death. "The English wanted to destroy Tipu's power... but Nana who desired only to reduce his strength opposed the proposal... . Removal of Tipu, Nana clearly saw, meant the removal of the last barrier to the expansion of the English power in the South."

ASSESSMENT OF TIPU SULTAN

Tipu's Agrarian Reforms

The administration of Tipu Sultan was entirely *pro bono publico*.

He acquired great knowledge and vast experience in agronomy while he looked after his *jagir* affairs in Dharampuri for about fifteen years. On his accession to power, he incorporated many changes and amended laws regulating land tenure. These modifications resulted in a great agrarian revolution and swiftly changed the socio-economic conditions of the farmer class of his kingdom. Even his inveterate foes were compelled to confess, that his country was the best cultivated and its population the most flourishing in India.

“Tipu was a king with a notion that under his kingdom the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest,” General Medows once said to Lord Cornwallis, “he combines economics with ethics and sees no distinction between them...he protects the cultivator, remits taxes and when the landlords complain, he talks to them of social justice; they who have risen to wealth or inherited fortunes—he asks them to act as trustees for people’s welfare! No wonder they fear that some day he will be asking beggars to mount horses and take the rod of authority.”⁵³

The Sultan was well aware of the fact that the ryots were the backbone of his kingdom and once he remarked that, “agriculture is the life and blood of the Nation”.⁵⁴ On some other occasion he declared that, “the newly cultivated land shall belong to the cultivator and his descendants...and no one shall dispossess him”.⁵⁵

Tipu Sultan made it, in effect, impossible by his reform for the Revenue Collectors to rob the cultivators as they used to in *ancien regime*. He was in favour of kicking over the traces just to bring over the lower stratum of the society to the level of the rich and wealthy class.

Tipu Sultan encouraged mainly two varieties of land tenures: the institution of hereditary property and the fixed rents. So long as a tenant and his heir continued to pay the usual rent of the land he cultivated no law was there to challenge his rights of occupancy. Strict orders were issued to the Revenue Officials

53 *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* by Bhagwan S. Gidwani, p. 239.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 228.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 229.

neither to harass the farmers nor to interfere in their daily affairs. The tenant who was cultivating the dry land was charged one-third of the crop but for the wet or rice land he was to pay nearly fifty *per centum* of the crop and the tax was to be paid in kind. But the brahman farmers only were given concession to pay half of the customary rent because their ladies did not work in the farms. The State duties were far lower to those which were charged in England during the same period. About two dozen varieties of crops were harvested but the Sultan was not in favour of more than one crop as it reduced the fertility of the soil. Rice and sugarcane were the chief wet crops and Tipu was more interested in them and, therefore, issued serious injunctions to his officers to attend to the immediate repairs of the tanks with special care. Cultivation of waste land was encouraged by him and he enjoined his Revenue Collectors not to realize even a single pie by way of revenue from the newly cultivated land in the first year. One quarter of the usual revenue was charged on this rent-free land in the second year and full thereafter. In many cases if it was found that the land did not yield sizable profit no State rent was charged for about three consecutive years to come.

It would be an addition to the knowledge of a casual reader of history that though the Sultan was a full-fledged monarch yet he had an ardent desire to abolish *jagirdari* and *zamindari* systems to give full relief to the farmer class and taking a step towards this plan, he selected Baramahal where the cultivators acquired the land directly from the Mysore Government. There was no trace of landlords in that province and, therefore, the ryot had direct contacts with the administrative machinery of the State.

Tipu the King-Merchant

Instead of laying emphasis on building palaces, mausolea, constructing forts and edifices, Tipu, the lover of trade and industry, gave priority to commercial dealings to such an extent that he became the chief merchant of the country and established State monopoly of gold, ore, tobacco, sandalwood,

precious stones, valuable metals, elephants, coconut and black pepper.⁵⁶

According to Professor Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Tipu Sultan was among the few Indian Rulers who were much interested in the promotion of trade and industry of their kingdoms. In fact if he had been left unmolested by his enemies he would have brought industrial revolution in Mysore. He established many factories both in Mysore and abroad. He had factories at Muscat, Jeddah, Basra, Aden and other places. In Mysore he established different types of factories at Bangalore, Bednur, Chitaldurg and Seringapatam. There was a paper mill in his capital. A French engineer manufactured an engine for boring cannons. A factory at Bangalore remained always busy building war vessels and trading ships. For the industrial development he secured the services of French engineers, artisans and skilled labourers. They were sent to him by Louis XVI, Emperor of France. The gun-powder factory manufactured stuff of superior quality. At Chennapatna while a factory produced high quality glass-ware the other was engaged in producing such a fine sugar that its manufacturing process was kept secret. From Bengal, Muscat and China silk worm, were imported for the silk industry then flourishing in Mysore. The factories, in Mysore were manufacturing hour-glasses, guns, muskets, watches swords, cutlery and many other items for inland consumption as also for exporting them to foreign countries like France, China, Turkey, Iran, Egypt and Arabia. Special trade envoys were despatched to France, Iran, Turkey, China and other countries to develop commercial relations with them. To avail the interest and cooperation of his subject in the field of trade and industry, he established a limited trading company. The ruler and the ruled were the share-holders of this firm and were receiving profits regularly at the end of each year. The company paid high dividends to the small investors.

56 *History of Tipu Sultan* by Professor Mohibbul Hasan Khan, pp. 344-46.

Tipu's Views on Bonded Labour

The Sultan who was a dreadful enemy of the bonded labour contrived hard to check the exploitation of labour at any cost. Once criticizing this inhuman policy, he observed, "The Pharaos built the Pyramids with the labour of their slaves. The entire route of the Great Wall of China is littered with blood and bones of men and women who were forced to work under the whip and lash of the slave drivers. Millions were enslaved and chained and thousands upon thousands bled and died to make it possible that the magnificent structures of Imperial Rome, Babylon, Greece and Carthage should be built. To my mind these monuments are the memorials of the agony and toil, blood and tears of those unfortunates who were driven to death in the effort to build it.⁵⁷

Such was the socialistic ideas of Tipu Sultan, the king—the monarch, who gave every opportunity to his ryots to raise their standard of living and who made even the labourers and the poor class his partners in his big enterprises.

Tipu's Encouragement to Enterprisers

Tipu Sultan who assumed the title of *Padshah* in A.D. 1787, was a patron of the entrepreneur. He was always ready to advance money to those who had a project or undertaking and were anxious to engage themselves in daring business actions with a view to providing employment to the unemployed and increasing the revenue of the kingdom thereby. He assured fullest cooperation from the Government to those who had the quest for tapping new sources of wealth, quality-control and improved method of production. "In your prosperity is the prosperity of the Nation," he addressed the enterprisers and continued, "a swifter realization of our goal that every citizen of my kingdom must be usefully and gainfully employed. Our economic and commercial policies must be based on growth and dynamism. It is not enough to improve our methods of production of the

57 *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* by Bhagwan S. Gidwani, (5th edition), p. 227.

traditional items. We must diversify into new fields of activity suited to the richness of our soil and the genius of our people”.

Women, Wine and Tipu

Tipu Sultan, who was always busy thinking how to reshape old things and moulding new ideas, had no time to pass with the beautiful ladies and charming maids. He had no dancing girls and concubines in his palace. Actually, the brave soldier had no taste for these luxurious activities. He was in fact married to the sword and always thought in terms of expanding the sources of his kingdom for the betterment of the masses. In spite of this, he had immense respect for women in his mind. He was of course in favour of their welfare and earnestly desired to decorate them with the educational ornaments.

Many a time he came across some women in Malabar who were roaming with their uncovered breasts. Such spectacles pained him so much that he ordered that if it is because of poverty, they must be supplied their wants so that they should be draped decently.

Tipu never tasted wine. He was in favour of total prohibition for the social and moral good of the people. Save that of liquor he offered everything, in cash and kind, to those French soldiers, engineers, artisans and scientists who were serving in his kingdom. In some of his letters to the French Government and Establishments, included in this Compilation, he frankly made it clear that wine would not be supplied to the French troops serving in his kingdom. Distilling and selling liquor was prohibited throughout the Mysore State. He rejected the representation of Mir Sadiq, the President of the Revenue and Finance Department that by total prohibition the State would suffer a huge financial loss. Appreciating his concern on this fiscal problem, he remarked on the note-sheet that the gain to the State Treasury can never be rated higher than the health and morality of the people and then closed the file forever.

Allegations of Bigotry against Tipu

Before concluding the introduction I would like to add a few

lines to ascertain how far the allegations of bigotry against Tipu were true. In many respects, of course, he is a remarkable personality in the Indian history. "A man of sound moral character", says Dr. K.K. Datta in *An Advanced History of India*, "free from all the prevailing vices of his class, he had an intense faith in God. He was fairly well educated: Could speak fluently Persian, Kanarese and Urdu and had a valuable library. A valiant soldier and a tactful General, Tipu was also a diplomat of extraordinary calibre. This is proved by his clear perception of the fact that England and not any Indian power was his enemy... . He placed independence above everything else and lost his life in trying to preserve it.... Some writers, old as well as modern, have wrongly described Tipu Sultan as cruel and sanguinary tyrant, an oppressive despot and a furious fanatic but... . He was not a fierce bigot... . Though a pious Muslim, he did not attempt any wholesale conversion of his Hindu subjects as Wilks' account would lead us to believe... ." Even Sir John Shore tells us that "The peasantry of his dominions are protected and their labours encouraged and rewarded".

A cursory glance over a monograph found at Ootacamund tracing the history of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan (A.D. 1780-1792) it is confirmed that Tipu Sultan was a very pious man who respected all religions. The monograph also states that the Sultan gave Rs. 30,000 to a Hindu temple by way of a gift.⁵⁸

According to an intelligence received from Aurangabad, it is confirmed that a regular system for the transmission of news about Fath Ali Khan (Tipu Sultan) was established by the order of the Company. Even from this report despatched by the said Intelligence Department, a hostile quarter, we are told that, "He possesses large military stores... . The administration is efficient and the country fertile... . Servants receive their salaries regularly and they are zealous in obeying the commands of their Sultan".⁵⁹ This loyal administration was com-

58 *The National Register of Private Papers* (Vol. VIII) published by the National Archives of India (1977), p. 134.

59 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (NAI), Vol. VIII, (1788-89), p. 184.

posed of the employees from followers of all the faiths and the Sultan loved them alike. Of course, the intolerance of Tipu Sultan has been very much exaggerated. The Sringeri⁶⁰ letters of Tipu Sultan show that he carried correspondence with the *Jagadguru* Shri Shankaracharya in a spirit that we can associate only with a very religious prince. *The monastery, on the other hand, suffered much in A.D. 1971 at the hands of the Maratha Pindaris.* The *Guru* was supplied by the Sultan with necessary funds for replacing the displaced image and for necessary ceremonies. In A.D. 1793 Tipu Sultan wrote to him:

“You are the *Jagadguru*. You are always performing penance in order that the whole world may prosper and the people may be happy. Please pray to God for the increase of our prosperity. In whatever country holy personage like yourself may reside, that country will flourish with good showers and crops.”

These letters prove definitely the sincerity of Tipu's tolerance and do not fit in well with the details of persecution with which we are familiar.⁶¹

In addition to the views of the afforesaid scholars about the Sultan of Mysore the opinion of Mr. Bhagwan S. Gidwani, the author of the famous title *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* is also inserted herein.

After strenuous efforts what Mr. Gidwani dug out and then formed the final opinion about the most misunderstood hero of the Struggle of Freedom is very briefly enumerated hereunder:

“Tipu, maligned by historians as a cruel and bigoted ruler..., was an enlightened ruler who believed that God is not confined to anyone religion and that all religions, therefore, deserve equal respect. He was opposed to colonialism and was a firm believer in the rights of man. He welcomed the American Declaration of Independence and applauded the

60 Please see biographical notes.

61 *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VIII (The Maratha Supremacy) by R.C. Majumdar, p. 468.

spirit of the French Revolution. He was the first among the Modern Indian Nationalists who knew also that India was weakened not by outside powers but by sickness, decadence and disunity within."⁶²

Dr. K.N.V. Sastri of Bangalore has added to our knowledge many revealing facts about Tipu Sultan in his article: *The Muzarai System Under Mysore Maharajas* read by him at the 38th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Jadavpur in 1967. The following extracts are reproduced hereunder from his scholarly article:

"Broadly, temples in South Indian polity were active centres of religious and social life in their respective areas, and rulers vied with one another in making gifts and creating endowments for the proper functioning of the temples in their dominions.... Under the Vijayanagara Emperors a department of religious and charitable institutions was created.... Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan did not disturb this unique system. The father said to his son at Arcot only two months before his death in A.D. 1782: 'Mysore is our motherland. Do not forget it. We have arrived at this station by the grace of the Mysorean kings and we should, therefore, be very loyal to them as our masters and do our work only in their name. One of the duties in connexion with your work as Regent *should be to protect cows and Brahmans and look upon the temples and mosques with equal regard.*' Tipu Sultan accepted this advice.... Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar had described, his kingdom as 'service to Lord Vishnu' which Tipu Sultan translated as *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. Krishnaraja Wodeyar II had referred to his State as 'This *dharma Samsthana*' in his letter to Sringeri Swami in A.D. 1759, which Tipu Sultan described as the '*Sarkar Ahmadi*' in a letter to the same pontiff in 1791-92. Moreover, Tipu Sultan who resumed *inam* (rent free) lands, did not touch the temple lands maintained out of the Mysore State funds."

62 *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* by Bhagwan S. Gidwani.

The following circular order issued by Tipu in A.D. 1790-91 to all his District officers is a proof of the tolerance of the Sultan and the testimony how personally he was interested in the neat and clean administration of the Hindu temples of his kingdom. It was as follows:

“The temples are under your management; you are, therefore, to see that the offerings to the gods and the temple illuminations are duly regulated, as directed, out of the Government grants. The offerings are to be subsequently distributed among the poor; but they ought not to be partaken of by the *Pujaris*. You are to take care that the money and provisions belonging to temples are not stolen; and you are further to prepare a list of all the jewels of the temples, stating their respective weight, etc., enter the same in the *Daftar* accounts and the diary; and hand over the jewels under your seal to the charge of the temple *Parpattegar*. You are to allow (the temple authorities) to use the jewels during the festivals, and then carefully preserve them in the temple under your seal. This procedure will prevent the *pujaris*, etc., from stealing the jewels of the temple.

A certain amount of money is set apart and given out on interest for the purpose of conducting the worship, etc. of the gods; and this money being paid to the temple is called *Puduvat* money. You are to enter both the principal and the interest in the temple accounts, and also to preserve in the temple the document executed by the person who received the money on interest. You are to order both the *Pujaris* and the *Parpattegars* to make use of the jewels, cloths, etc., during the Car Festivals, and then to preserve them as before.

A newly appointed *Parpattegar* should receive a list, countersigned by the retiring *Parpattegar*, of all the temple jewels, furniture, etc., before the latter is relieved of his duties.”

It is thus proved that Tipu Sultan was neither the intolerant bigot nor the furious fanatic. H.H. Dodwell agrees with the view of Surendarnath Sen, author of the *Studies in Indian History* that Tipu Sultan was not a bigot.

Following the policy of his father, Tipu Sultan appointed Hindus to posts of highest ranks in his State. Thus one Shama Iyengar was the Minister of Post and Police; Krishna Rao was his Chief Treasurer, Purnaiya held the most important portfolio of *Mir Asaf*. On the diplomatic missions he sent Appaji Ram and Srinivas Rao to the Peshwa at Poona. Sujan Rai and Mulchand were his *mukhtars* (Charge d' affaires) in the Mughal Court at Delhi. His Principal Private Secretary was Suba Rao. Sivaji, a Maratha Commander of three thousand *suwars* fought gallantly in A.D. 1791 to save Bangalore from the inroads of the British forces. Scores of such examples can be cited to show that the Hindus in his administrative machinery actually were more loyal and faithful to the Sultan than the Muslims. Forcible conversions of Hindus to Islam are merely fabricated stories exaggerated and magnified to the extreme limit; from one of the Sringeri letters it appears that the Sultan enjoined the *Asaf* of Bednur to send a palanquin for the goddess and another for the *Jagadguru*. There are some letters containing the information that Tipu Sultan wrote to the *Swami* of Sringeri enquiring about his health and sometimes he sent *shawls*, valuable cloth and gifts for the goddess and the pontiff as well. Had Tipu been a bigot and furious fanatic, he would never have addressed a Hindu *Swami* as the *Jagadguru*.

Another living fact proving his tolerance is the presence of the most magnificent Temple of Sri Ranganath in the Fort of Seringapatam. The Narasimha and the Gangadharesvara temples in the fort and near the palace tell us that Tipu allowed the Hindus perfect freedom of worship. There is one instance also that while engaged in the Third Anglo-Mysore War, Tipu ordered the construction of a temple in Conjeeveram and granted a huge sum for its building materials and for distributing daily alms not to the *pujaris* of the temple only but all those Hindus who would go there for performing religious rites. There are many *sanads* of the maintenance allowance of temples issued by Tipu Sultan. Some of them are written in Kanarese while others in Persian.

Tipu Sultan's patriotism deserves unstinted praise. He turned down the humiliating offer to surrender himself and preferred

death with sword in his hand; though he could have retained both his kingdom and life by entering into a 'Subsidiary Alliance' with the English. Instead of giving any serious thought to if he kicked out the proposal and placed it in a dustpan with hate, anger and scorn.

Confidential Papers

DIVISION A

**TRANSLATION OF PERSIAN PAPERS FOUND IN
THE PALACE OF TIPU SULTAN**

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Confidential Report

DIVISION OF

TRANSACTION OF PUBLIC LANDS
THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

The Persian papers of which the following numbers are translations, were found in the palace of the late Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam in 1799 A.D.

They are authenticated as either true copies or original documents, either by the private secretary to the Commander-in-Chief of the British Force, prior to the institution of a Board of Commissioners for the affairs of Mysore, or subsequently by members of that board, and also by Habibullah, *Mir Munshi* to the late Tipu Sultan.

The papers from No. 1 to No. 20 inclusive, relate to the alliance between Tipu Sultan and the French Nation.

The originals of Nos. 1 to 11, 14, 15, and 20 are memorandum books, partly in Tipu Sultan's own handwriting and partly in that of his *Mir Munshi* and of several of the principal officers of his Government.

They are translated in the form and order in which they respectively appear in the original memorandum books.

The handwriting of the Sultan, and of each of the chiefs or secretaries, was pointed out and attested by Habibullah, Chief Secretary to the Sultan.

The papers subsequent to No. 20 exhibit the intercourse which subsisted between Tipu Sultan and Zaman Shah, *Amir* of Afghanistan for the purpose hostile to the British Empire in India.

It is proper to remark, that Tipu Sultan changed the era in use with all the other Muslim States, and altered the names and designations of all the offices of his Government, of the divisions of territory and terms of revenue; of the implements of war, and of coins, weights and measures; substituting names of his own invention for those which are in use in every other part of Hindustan. The era which he adopted is precisely the *Telingana*, which commenced with the *Kali-Yug*, or fourth incarnation of Vishnu according to the mythology of the Hindus. It consists of successive cycles of sixty years each, every year bearing a distinct name. Tipu Sultan invented new names for those years, and changed the names of the months; adding thereto the era of the birth of Prophet Muhammad (or rather that

of his assumption of the character of God's Messenger), which was thirteen years prior to the *Hijri*.

The series of these papers forms but a small part of the mass of voluminous correspondence found in the palace of Seringapatam, all of the same tendency, and manifesting the same implacable hatred of the British Nation. The discovery and transmission of a large portion of that correspondence occasions the following collection to be less complete than it might have been, by the addition of papers equally interesting and important with those now printed, which would serve to connect the chain of transactions, and to corroborate the evidence of facts. But the following papers are more than sufficient to show the unremitting ardour with which the late Tipu Sultan had for years pursued the objects of exterminating the British power from the soil of his sacred Country.

No. 1

The whole of the original of this number is in Tipu Sultan's hand writing.

Names of the *Sardars* (or *Chiets*), of the French Nation:

Five select *Sardars*, possessing the supreme authority in France. The title of their office *pouvoir Executif*. They are also called Members.

Official designation of the Assembly of 500 *Sardars*, constituting the deliberative body in France, and subordinate to the five *Sardars* above mentioned *Conseil des Anciens*.

The official designation of the two persons out of the Assembly of 500 composing the deliberative body in France, who are at the Mauritius—*Aux Representans du Peuple*.

The name of the person who came out with the appointment of Commander-in-Chief (*Sardar*) on the part of the French Nation in India, is general *Citoyen* Mangallon.

The Commander (*Sardar*) of all the French Ships,—*Citoyen* Sercey, *Amiral de Mer de la Republique*.

Name of the Chief (*Sardar*) of the Mauritius,—Malartic. *Gouverneur General de l' Isle de France, et de la Re-union*.

Names of the three Islands belonging to the English-Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey.

On the English Island there was once the Raja of a tribe called Coosseea—a hundred years ago, the English Raja put the Raja of the *Coosseeas to death, and took possession of his country.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate:

What occurs to my mind is this—to retain the Frenchman Ripaud as a *Wakil*—ostensibly as a servant—to purchase the ship which he has brought, load upon it black pepper and other articles of merchandize. To send two confidential persons, with letters from that Frenchman. There are two European navigators with Ripaud; to entertain them in the capacity of navigators; and entrusting to the verbal communications of these two reputable persons and the Frenchman what is intended to be communicated, satisfy the mind of the French Nation, and require Christian forces. The officers of each department to commit to writing their opinion separately.

Ripaud has agreed to this.

Subject adjusted 27th of *Rabbani* of the year of *Herasut*, 1214 from the birth of Prop'het Muhammad (25th March, 1797).

On the 5th *Ah'nadi* of the year *Sauz* (2nd April, 1797) two persons, Mir Ghulam Ali and Mirza Baqir, were appointed to proceed to Europe, for the purpose of negotiating with the French Nation; and Husain Ali and Mir Yusuf Ali, to accompany the Commander of the French ships, by name *Citoyen Sercey*, *Amiral de Mar, de la Republique Francaise*.

Questions to the Officers of Government.

What negotiations and engagements shall be entered into with the French nation ?

Answer

1st. The French troops and French commander to be under the orders of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, in military matters, as well as with respect to** marches and halts.

2ndly. After taking Cheenapattan, (Madras) it should be destroyed, and let the sea overwhelm it. From Pondicherry to

* Coosseea seem intended for Ecosais Scotch, and the Raja, for one of the kings of Scotland.

** That is to say, all military operations.

Madras, territory yielding five *lakhs* of rupees to be given to the French. The remainder of the Cuddalore District to belong to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. The fort of Ginjee also to be ceded to the French. Everyone to appropriate whatever plunder he acquires in the fort of Madras and the Black-town. The fort of Goa to belong to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*; Bombay to belong to the French.

3rdly. The army of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* to unite with that of the French in the conquest of Bengal. The commander of the forces of the *Admadi Sarkar* and the commander of the French troops to act in concert; no operation to be undertaken without the advice of the commander of the French troops. Such part of the territory of Bengal as may be conquered to be equally divided between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French.

4thly. The question of war and peace with the English to be decided only by the mutual advice of the parties, that is to say, the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French.

On the back of the original,

O Protector !

Belonging to *Huzur*.

No. 2

The whole of the original of this number is in the handwriting of Muhammad Riza (the Binkey Nawwab).

Answer from the *Mir Miran* (or Heads of the Military Department).

Our humble representation is as follows:

Let Your Highness for the present satisfy Ripaud's mind, and keeping him here, require him to write letters of assurance (or encouragement) to the French, send those letters to the Mauritius and call in a Christian force. That force to be directed against Calicut, and having conquered the Calicut District, let the latter be made over to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*—. After which provisions and succour be supplied from the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and let it be taken into Your Highness's service. —The chastisement of the English is on every account indispensable—. Every moment, every hour, the agitation of this affair is necessary, and paramount to

everything. —In spite of the expenditure of so large a sum of money, the insincerity, faithfulness and refractory disposition of the French is evident to Your Highness—Without their making over to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, the District of Calicut, it does not appear advisable to us, that they should be permitted to land in any of Your Highness's ports, and be furnished with provisions and succours. Though the ship should be purchased from the Frenchman by the *Khuda-dad Sakar*, still it would not be advisable to sent her, for they seized this ship piratically—. We do not know what port she belongs to, and therefore, lest some disturbance should happen in the voyage on this account, let Your Highness send some other ship under the name of a merchant ship, with a quantity of black-pepper and rice, and despatch her together with the two European navigators and the confidential persons. Letters from the *Khuda-dan Sarkar* are unnecessary.

On the back of the original:
Mir Miran

(Signed),
Muhammad Riza,
Purnaiya.

Subject adjusted on the 27th *Rabbani* 1224, from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (25th March 1797).

No. 3

The whole of the original of this number is in the handwriting of Sayyid Muhammad Khan, who was killed in the assault of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May 1777.

The answer from the *Mir Asaf* (or Head Revenue Officers).

It is represented as follows:

Your Highness should by any means retain Ripaud for two whole months, and wait till you receive accurate intelligence of the state of the war between the French and English —It appears most advisable not to send the two navigators, Ripaud's companions, until then—Because this circumstance, conceal it as you may, cannot be entirely hid from them—And should they be desirous of making a peace together, they will make a handle of this circumstance to come to an accommodation.

Your Highness should effect this in such a manner that no one may be able to unite with them.* — With regard to the amount of the French force, if you should require a larger force than the resources of this country are strictly adequate to, yet they will not bring the whole—It is the practice of this nation outwardly to promise a great deal and to fall very short in performance. Should it be Your Highness's pleasure, I would propose, that Your Highness should take from Ripaud two of his Europeans, and nominating a person from among the servants of the *Sarkar*, cause letters to be drawn up by the hand of Ripaud and despatch them speedily—so that all three proceeding together, may give an account of the attachment between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French, and ratify engagements with them in their own country, and return—. After receiving authentic intelligence, let Your Highness carry into effect such important business as may be,—to be performed—This is what appears to be the most advisable line for Your Highness to pursue.

If Ripaud's ship may be purchased at a fair price, we should recommend it to Your Highness to purchase it; at the season of action, it is needful.

Dated 23rd *Rabbani* in the year *Herasut* (21st March 1797).

(Signed),
 Mir Muhammad Sadiq,
 Mir Husain,
 Sayyid Muhammad.

Question on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*:

What negotiations and engagements shall be entered into with the French Nation ?

How far it is practicable to establish a perfect union with the French, is evident.— If the scene of war were in France, the entire aid of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* would not be afforded them, nor could it—In the same manner, neither could the whole aid of the French be afforded in the country of the *Sarkar*—How then can a perfect union be effected with the French Nation ?— Unless indeed, as it is with the English, by giving into the hands

* The English must be here understood.

of the French the ports, islands, and forts, and admitting a permanent French Force to be in the neighbourhood, then an union may be effected—An alliance (literally partnership) with adventurers (literally travellers), men who carry their houses on their backs, indigent, poor and unconnected, is a delicate business—Still, however, in conformity to order, it is humbly recommended that you should in the first instance, completely establish your engagements with the French, and then proceed to business—. Dated 23rd *Rabbani* in the year *Herasut* (21 March 1797).

On the back of the original:

Mir Asaf.

No. 4

Answer from the *Mir Yam* (or Heads of the Marine Department).

What negotiations and engagements shall be entered into with the French Nation ?

An engagement to this effect should be made with the *Sardars* of the French Nation, viz. that while the sun and moon endure, the French shall not swerve from their friendship with the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, and that they shall not act with respect to the continuation of war or the conclusion of peace without the concurrence of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, and that after the arrival of the French Force, its marches and halts (in other words military operations) shall be at the discretion of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*.

(Signed),
Ghulam Ali,
Hafiz Muhammad.

Subject adjusted on the 27th of *Rabbani* of the year *Herasut*, 1224 of the birth of Prophet Muhammad (25th March, 1797).

It will be proper to send two respectable persons as upon a

trading concern, and it is advisable to ascertain the state of things.

On the back of the original:

Oh Protector !

Mir Yam

(Signed),
Hafiz Muhammad,
Mir Ghulam Ali.

No. 5

The whole of the original of this number is in the handwriting of Ghulam Ali.

Answer from the *Mir Sudur* (or Heads of Department connected with Forts and Garrisons).

What Your Highness has stated is highly right and proper. It being Your Highness's design to send for a French force, we recommend it to Your Highness to establish your engagements firmly in Europe, and then require it; otherwise after involving you in a contest they will secede, and thus disgrace themselves, as Your Highness knows they formerly did in the midst of the war at (name illegible) when they separated from the army and made their own peace. This is well known to Your Highness. To write more were to transgress the bounds of respect.

(Signed),
Sudurs.

What negotiations and engagements shall be entered into with the French Nation ?

Friendship has very long subsisted between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French and the fact is very well known to all. Owing to the friendship subsisting with the French, lakhs have been expended by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, the *Sardars* and their relations to promote the concerns of the French Nation; and many have sacrificed their lives in the pursuit. This, all the people in Europe etc. well know; moreover, the combination of the three powers* and the commotion they set on foot by which they inflicted misery on the people and laid violent hands on the country and

* English, Nizam and Marhattas.

property of the *Sarkar*, was entirely owing to the attachment subsisting with the French; for otherwise there was no motive for the enmity of the three powers. The French Nation are well informed of these events, and probably are not regardless of them; be it therefore declared, that if a respectable French army shall land in the neighbourhood of Calicut, supplies of provisions shall be afforded by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, and the arrangement of the country shall be made with mutual consultation. An engagement to this effect must take place, viz. that such territory as belonged to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* shall revert to the *Sarkar*, and of such new territorial conquests as may be made, half shall be retained by the *Sarkar* and half granted to the French; also, that the friendship between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French shall endure while the earth and the skies remain, that the continuation of war and the conclusion of peace with the enemy be decided by the mutual consultation of the two States and that nothing be undertaken without advice (given to the *Sarkar*). To add more would be to transgress the bounds of respect. Dated 25th of *Rabbani*.

Subject adjusted, 27th of *Rabbani*, of the year *Herasut*, 1224 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (25th March 1797).

On the back of the original:
Oh Protector!
Mir Sudur.

(Signed),
Ghulam Ali,
Mir Sudur.

No. 6

The whole of the original of this number is in the handwriting of Shajkh Ismail.

Answer of the *Mir Khazin* (or Treasurer).

I recommend that the following proposals be made to the French.

“The *Khuda-dad Sarkar* having furnished such troops and money as you require, let your troops join and cooperate with those of His Highness and render themselves masters of the country* of which is in the way, and having stationed garrisons,

* Name illegible.

proceed onward to conquer that part of your country which has been taken possession of, by the English. After regaining the country so taken by the English, such arrangement of it to be made as may be thought proper, and friendship and alliance remain established between the two States. Until the conquest of the country of—*be effected, provisions for your troops to be furnished by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*; both parties to keep account thereof. Supplies of provisions etc. expenses for such troops of the *Sarkar* as shall be sent to cooperate in recovering your country, to be furnished by you, because the country of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* is at a great distance; and afterwards let the accounts be settled.”

(Signed),
Mir Khazin

Subject adjusted on the 27th of *Rabbani*, of the year *Herasut*, 1224 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (25th March 1797).

I beg leave humbly to represent—Let Ripaud, who has come on behalf of the French Nation, be required to write a letter to the *Sardar* of the French, and let it be sent by a man of Ripaud's and two other persons be at the same time sent empty handed to bring private information from the *Sardar* of the French, so that these two persons may ascertain where Ripaud's letter goes and from where the answer really comes, and return and report accordingly to the *Huzur*. To write more would be to transgress the bounds of respect.

On the back of the original:
Mir Khazin.

No. 7

The whole of the original of this number is in the handwriting of Ahmad Khan.

Answer of the *Malikut Tujjar* (or Heads of the the Commercial Department).

* Name illegible.

In the name of God ! the most Merciful.

This Ripaud that has come, God knows what as it is; whence he comes, and for what purpose. The evil and secret designs of those even who are inhabitants of this country, cannot be known all at once. For present however, it is advisable to retain him in the service of the *Sarkar*, and next season he should be enjoined to write letters to the *Raja* (emperor) of the French, and then wait to see what answers are received, and what the *Raja* of the French writes; and after perusal of the *Raja's* letters, let Your Highness act as may appear advisable and politic. *Qibla-i-aalam** (Lord of the world !) the French are not firm to their engagements; when through the assistance of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, they shall have acquired possession of territory, perhaps they will not adhere to their engagements. *Qibla-i-aalam* (Lord of the world !) Your Highness must adopt such measures as will give you the superiority over the English, and to that end it is advisable that you should take someone by the hand, and then through the aid of God, and the favour of the Prophet, by force of arms extirpate the English, and give them to the waters and the wind. The engagements, that seem proper to be made with the French are these: The territory of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* which passed into the hands of the English, to revert exclusively to the *Sarkar*: Whatever other country and forts belonging to the Christians, which may fall into our hands, to be equally divided between the *Sarkar* and the French. In the same manner, whatever money, effects, etc. may be taken, to be divided as above. Also, should a peace be in agitation between the French and the English, not to be concluded without the concurrence of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*; but on the contrary, be concluded in consultation with, and by consent of, the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. For instance, supposing that in some particular point in the treaty of peace the French should be for, and the *Sarkar* against; then neither that treaty of peace, nor that point, to be executed. No demands of money and effect to be made upon the *Sarkar*, but such amount, more or less, as from motives of kindness and indulgence Your Highness may be desirous of disbursing upon application might be

The point to which all Muslims turn when praying.

given. The Commander-in-Chief who comes with the French Force to be instructed by the *Raja* (Emperor) of the French to remain under the control of the *Sarkar*, and not to take any step without orders, and in all engagements in the field, as well as in sieges of forts, to be obedient to the orders of the *Huzur* (Tipu Sultan). *Qibla* of religion and the world! Should Your Highness think proper to enter into negotiations and engagements with the *Raja* of the French, there is no occasion to wait till next season. Your Highness has only to write letters, and cause Ripaud to write others and giving your instructions with respect to what is to be committed to verbal communication, depute him with two respectable persons belonging to the *Sarkar* and two of Ripaud's associates, so that a reply may arrive by the commencement of the season. Protector of the world! We have thus taken the liberty to represent what has occurred to our deficient and ordinary mind.

(Signed),

Shaykh Ahmad, *Malikut Tujjar*
Muhammad Ismail.

Written the 26th of *Rabbani* of the year *Herasut*, 1224 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (Corresponding to 24th March 1797).

Subject adjusted on the 27th of *Rabbani* in the year *Herasut*, 1224 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (25th March 1797).

On the back of the original:

Malikut Tujjar.

No. 8

Observations, submitted by the Departments of the Government to Tipu Sultan, on the subject of the negotiation proposed to be opened with the French, through the channel of Ripaud; with a rough draft of the propositions to be transmitted to the French, as prepared by the Sultan himself.

The first part of the original is in the handwriting of Muham-

mad Riza (the Binkey Nawwab); the second, in that of Tipu Sultan:

In the name of the most Merciful God !

The representation which Ripaud formerly made is perfectly well known to Your Highness, as it is also to us ; and the statement now made by Aubaine, on Friday the 10th of the month *Shamsi* of the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, in direct opposition to that of Ripaud, is well known to Your Highness. From first to last, the language of this man has been that of self-interest and falsehood, nothing has resulted from this business, and nothing else will come of it. From the erroneous statements of this scoundrel the strongest doubts have arisen and even his request for permission to go a hunting to the distance of eight or ten *kaus* is very suspicious. When so much chicane, coveteousness of money, artifice and deceit are apparent in that short distance, what may not be expected in so long a voyage, with the *muallims* (navigators or mates) his associates ? The transacting of affairs of such vast importance through the medium of such a low fellow tends to throw discredit on the transaction. It is hoped that Your Highness will procure *muallims* of a better description, and that Your Highness, after procuring authentic intelligence of the state of the war etc. between the French and the English, will despatch them at the first of the season. If these doubts and suspicions had not occurred in this business, nothing could have been better—With respect to the conquest of Nizam Ali's country, please God, at a proper opportunity you must so manage, that it may fall into your hands with the utmost facility, and also that the other two powers may be made to repent (their designs): the question depends upon the union of the three powers.* When a new dominion shall come into Your Highness's possession, although the other two powers (*Nau kasan*) should unite, yet through the spiritual aid of the religion of the Holy Prophet, the chastisement of those two powers may be effected with a suitable force, agreeably to Your Highness's wishes. The troops of the two powers cannot exceed those of the three. By the favour

* The English, the Nizam, and the Marhattas are designed by the expression.

of God, the troops of two powers are in your possession ; the chastisement of those two* disgraceful powers will certainly be completely effected. The object of this state will probably be much better effected at a season of opportunity, than by relying upon the agency of this compound of air and water (meaning Ripaud). To write more would be to transgress the bound of respect. Written on the 11th of the month *Ahmadi* of the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad corresponding to 8th March 1797). (Signed) The representation of the five departments of the Government.

After two blank leaves in the memorandum book, occurs the following in Tippu Sultan's handwriting.

In the name of the Most Merciful God !

Article 1a

On the 5th of the month *Ahmadi* of the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, answering to Sunday the 4th of the month of *Shawwal*, (corresponding with the 2nd April, 1797) after the 8th hour of the day, (about 9 O' clock A.M.) at the hour *Qamar*, and when sun entered Taurus, the following propositions from the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, comprised in five articles, were made to the French Nation, through Francois Ripaud, a Frenchman, and caused to be taken down in writing by him. Before the propositions (where taken down), Francois Ripaud, of his own accord standing up took an oath upon the insignia of his Nation, (cockade) which he had planted in his hat, and kissed it.

After a blank leaf in the memorandum book, the following article is inserted.

Article 1b

Let friendship be so firmly established by oath and engagement between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the Nation of the *Sarkar*, and the French Nation, as long as the sun and the moon

* The term in the original is yellow-faced an expression apparently applied to the English and Marhattas.

shall endure, that the conduct of their respective subjects (literally servants) may not be able to impair it. If (which God forbid) any disturbance be excited by their subjects (literally servants) no offence must be taken by the King and the *Sardars* of the French Nation, but the affair must be adjusted, and an accommodation be effected, by correspondence and personal negotiation.

Article 2

The French have from the first had it in contemplation to expel the English from Hindustan ; and because of the amity subsisting between me and the French, the English united themselves with Nizam Ali Khan and the Marathas, attacked the country of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, and subjected me to vast losses. These circumstances are fully known to the French Nation. It is, therefore, written that the French Nation should satisfy the mind of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, in order that the enemy of the French be expelled from India. The plan of this war as it may be concerned in Europe, to be, in the first instance, communicated to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and to be adjusted conformably to its demands. The particulars of this affair will appear from the third article.

Article 3

French soldiers as far as 10,000 ; and Negroes, as far 30,000 to be landed. Ships of war suitable to the number of troops to be in attendance at sea, until the conclusion of the war. Whatever warlike articles may be wanted shall be supplied by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. After the conquest and partition of the country, the French to be charged with their share of the expense. The French Commander and his army to be under the orders of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* in all military operations, halts and marches. The French army to land at the fort of Merjan, in the country of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, situated near Goa, which extends as far as the great river (Cauvery) and affording effectual aid, bring the fortress of Goa into the possession of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. The fortress of Bombay shall be

made over to the French. The army of the *Sarkar** to proceed from Goa to Madras, taken the forts in the way ; and as far as Masulipatam, to be accompanied by the French Force. From Masulipatam, an army composed of 40,000 foot and 40,000 horse, under the command of trusty officers of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, to be sent, with a French force, and accompanied by French officers, against Bengal.

Article 4a

The whole of the English territorial possession in Hindustan shall be reduced. Half of the country, and the forts and stores shall be taken by the *Sarkar*, and the other half made over to the French *Sardar*. After making over to the French *Sardar* the half of the territory and forts belonging to the English, the expense of all the supplies furnished by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* to the French army shall be made good by the said *Sardar*. The partition of the country and forts of the English shall thus be made. The country and forts of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, which the English wrested from it four or five years ago, are not to be included in the partition: the fortress of Goa shall be possessed by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* ; and that of Bombay shall be left to the French.

N.B. In the original of this article there are many alterations and amendments.

Article 5a

If any power (*Sardar*) in this country shall assist the English, both parties, that is, the French and the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, shall join to punish such enemy: and in the same manner, if any one shall commit hostilities against the French Army, the latter shall be supported by that of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, without any expense to the French.

The fort of Cheenapattan (Madras) to be taken in concert, and to be delivered up with all its stores to the French. That

* The expression is *Suwari-i-khas*, which implies Tipu Sultan's army commanded by him in person.

fort must be razed, and the fort of Pondicherry, must be repaired. In like manner, if any one shall attack the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, the French shall be prepared to punish him, under the orders of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*.

Article 4b

As long as the sun and the moon shall retain their course, the French Nation must consider the enemies of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, as their own enemies, and in like manner the enemies of the French Nation shall be considered as the enemies of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and both parties must join in punishing and repulsing them.

N.B. The original of the foregoing article seems to be the rough draft of those which appear in a more perfect and connected form in No. 10.

Proposition

From the tenor of Ripaud's discourse, it would appear, that he did not come of his own accord but that his superiors sent him to ascertain how the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* is affected towards the French Nation; but now, on Friday the 10th of the month *Ahmadi*, and the ninth of the month *Qamari* (it may mean the lunar month) of the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, it appears from the declarations of the European, Aubaine, an associate of Ripaud's made before the six departments of the Government, that Ripaud is an inhabitant of Bourbon; that having taken a merchant ship, they came out to plunder the ships of the English; that neither is servant to the other, but that they share in common. The sending of the four *Sardars* of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, therefore, on a deputation to the French nation, is my own act, and the publicity of this would be productive of disturbance. However, if (we) lay hands on the dominions of Nizam Ali, the other two foes (meaning it is supposed the English and the Marathas) would still unite: Is it or is it not best to depute the four *Sardars* to the French Nation? Commit to writing what is advisable on this head. Dated as above.

N.B. This proposition would appear to be addressed as a

query to the Departments.

Article 5b

Four persons holding offices under the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* are vested with full powers and sent to negotiate friendship between the two parties. If they (the French) are disposed to establish friendship and form alliance with the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, let them satisfy the minds of the said four *Sardars* by oath and engagement and let the French also satisfy their own minds by taking oath and engagement from them; and having thus adjusted the concerns of both parties, and established mutual friendship, let them speedily send an army and let three of the said *Sardars* be sent, with two French *Sardars*, on a ship of war to Europe, to negotiate with the French Nation; and the other *Sardar* be sent, with the officers of the French army, to this quarter. Please God, the interest and satisfaction of both parties will by these means be promoted, and the enemy of the French Nation be effectually exterminated.

No. 9

Translation of queries, by the persons appointed by the late Tipu Sultan to proceed on as embassy to the Isle of France, with answers to the same.

The queries in the original manuscript are in the handwriting of Mirza Baqir (who was killed at the battle of Malavelly) and the reply in the handwriting of Muhammad Riza (the Binkey Nawwab).

*In the name of the most Merciful God !

O Protector !

Question from Mirza Baqir, Mir Yusuf Ali, Husain Ali, and Mir Ghulam Ali, to the Six Departments of the Mysore Government.

* This invocation is in the hand-writing of Tipu Sultan.

“Are we, whom you are about to depute to adjust the concerns of the Government, to be vested with full powers with regard to all the points comprised in the five articles, or to be subject to orders? Let us be informed explicitly.”

Answer from all the members of the Six Departments of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, to the exception of Ghulam Ali, the *Sudur*. “You are vested with full powers with regard to all the points comprised in the five articles.”

Answer from Ghulam Ali, the *Sudur*, “To the exception of engagements, you are vested with full powers with regard to all other political points”.

Question the second. “Conformably to our instructions after our arrival at the Mauritius, we shall make the following proposition to the French *Sardars*: That they satisfy our minds by oath and by formal engagements, while we do the same, with respect to them: That they then send an army accompanied by one of us to the country of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, while the remaining three proceed accompanied by two *Sardars* of their Nation to Europe, for the purpose of adjusting matters and satisfying our minds. Should the *Sardars* at the Mauritius on being made acquainted with this proposition answer, that they are but servants, and with respect to military cooperation, have only authority to attend without hesitation, if our Sovereign require it, but are not at liberty to enter into formal engagements with us, although when arrived at the court of the Sultan, they will in person enter into formal engagements and attach themselves to His Highness’s service and obey his commands: in such case what are we to do?”

Answer from all the members of the Six Departments of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, excepting Ghulam Ali, *Mir Sudur*.

“If the *Sardars* of the Mauritius should object to enter into formal engagements, you must endeavour by every device in your power to induce them; if, however, they should still persist in refusing, you must of necessity give way, and not insist upon that point.”

Answer from Ghulam Ali, the *Mir Sudur*:

“Unless they enter into formal engagements, you should not bring an army.”

Question the third. “After the refusal of the *Sardars* at

the Mauritius to enter into formal engagements, shall we, or shall we not, proceed to Europe ?”

Answer unanimously from all the Six Departments of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*:

“You must use due exertions to obtain a formal engagement; should they, however, at length not consent, you should proceed to Europe.”

Question the fourth. “After our arrival in Europe, if the officers there should likewise refuse to enter into engagements what are we to do ?”

Answer unanimously from all the Six Departments of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*:

“You will leave unemployed to exertions to obtain formal engagements; if, however, they absolutely will not consent, you will obtain from them friendly addresses and return. If you find no alternative, setting aside the formal obligation you will obtain from the Ministers a counterpart of the agreement consisting of the five articles, and parting upon good terms, set out for presenting yourselves before His Highness.

On the back of the original:
Oh Protector !

No. 10

The original of the following memorandum and the five articles annexed to it is in the handwriting of late Tipu Sultan; the drafts of letters to the Executive Directory, etc., in the handwriting of Habibullah the Sultan's *Mir-Munshi*, and the remainder in that of Muhammad Riza (otherwise called the Binkey Nawwab). The whole is upon red coloured paper.

In the name of the most Merciful God !

On the 5th of the month *Ahmadi* of the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, answering to the 4th of *Shawwal*, (corresponding with the 2nd April 1797) the propositions from the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* were made to the French Nation, through Francois Ripaud an European; and letters were caused to be written with his hand to the said Nation, and forwarded by Mirza Baqir; *Mir Miran*; Husain Ali; *Malikut Tujjar*; Mir Ghulam Ali, *Mir*

Yam; and Mir Yusuf Ali, *Mir Asaf*; together with letters from the Sultan; by the favour of God, they will arrive in safety. Before the proposition was declared, the said Francois Ripaud, of his own accord standing up, took the oath of his Nation, and kissed the National Cockade which he wear in his hat. Then the five articles hereunder particularized were caused to be written. A copy of the *Hukmnama* (or paper of instructions) to all the four persons is also inserted hereunder.

Article 1

That friendship between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the Nation of *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French Nation be so firmly established by oath and engagement as long as the sun and the moon shall hold their course, that no interruption in it may ever take place. If, (which God forbid) any difference in word or deed should occur among individuals of the class of servants, in any transaction, no offence to enter into the minds of the (contracting) parties, but the affair to be cleared up by correspondence and personal negotiation. The French officers to be obedient to the *Sarkar* (Mysore).

Article 2

Owing to (my) connection with the French, the English, uniting to themselves the Marathas and Nizam Ali Khan, came against the dominions of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, took (from me) three crores and thirty lakhs in specie, and half (my) country, and otherwise occasioned (me) heavy losses. All these circumstances are fully known to the French Nation. Moreover, the French Nation had it at heart to expel the English from Hindustan ; it is therefore written, that the French Nation should afford perfect assurance to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, so that their enemy may be driven out of India. Whenever the necessity of concluding a peace (with the English) may be felt in Europe, information to be given in the first instance to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the question to be decided, with a due conformity to the demands of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, by mutual concert. To the exception of the country lately wrested from the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, all the

British territorial possessions to be equally divided ; and in the same manner, such of the ships, islands and ports belonging to the English and the Portuguese as may fall into (our) hands, together with all stores and effects, to be equally divided.

Article 3

As far as 10,000 soldiers, 30,000 negroes (*Hubashi*) and other to be landed ; and ships of war, in proportion to the number of troops, to be in attendance at sea until the conclusion of the war. Whatever money, military stores, and grain may be required, shall be provided by the Mysore Government, as shall also carriage, horses and bullocks. After the conquest and partition of the country and forts, accounts shall be settled with the French for the money that may have been expended. The French officers and their troops to be subject to the orders of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* with respect to engaging, marching and halting. The French army to land at the Fort of Merjan, which is in the country of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and in the neighbourhood of Goa, which extends to the large river (Cauvery) ; to cooperate effectually and bring the Fort of Goa into the possession of the *Sarkar*; after the taking of the Fort of Bombay, it shall be made over to the French. The army of the *Sarkar* to proceed from Goa to Madras, and taking the forts in the way, advance as far as Masulipatam with the French Army accompanying. From thence an officer belonging to the *Sarkar*, with 40,000 infantry, shall be despatched, jointly with a French officer and a French force, to reduce the province of Bengal, and the one shall upon all occasions support the other in its operations.

Article 4

Should any power (*Sardar*) in this country enter into hostilities against the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, both parties shall join to punish that power. As long as the sun and moon retain their course, the French Nation shall consider the enemies of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* as their own ; and in like manner, the enemies of the French shall be considered as the enemies of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and both parties shall unite to chastise and repel them.

Article 5

Four persons holding offices under the Government of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* have been vested with powers, and sent to negotiate an alliance of friendship between the two parties. If the French are desirous of establishing friendship and alliance with the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, let them satisfy the *Sardars* above-mentioned, by oath and engagements; and in the same manner, let the French satisfy themselves also, by requiring an oath and engagements from those *Sardars*; and having adjusted the affairs of both parties and cemented mutual friendship, let them speedily send an army; and let them despatch to Europe on a ship of war, three of the *Sardars* of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* with two of the French, to carry on the negotiation, and let the other *Sardars* be sent back to this quarter with the French officers and troops. Please God, by this arrangement the interests and satisfaction of both parties will be promoted, and the enemy of the French Nation will be completely exterminated. On the 5th of the month *Ahmadi* in the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, corresponding with Sunday the fourth of the month of *Shawwal*, (answering to the 2nd of April 1797) after the 8th hour of the day, in the hour *Qamar*, and when the sun entered Taurus, these propositions were written.

Here follow drafts of the five Letters from Tipu Sultan, to the French Legislature in France, and at the Mauritius, of which translations appear in No. 13 addressed to:

Au Pouvoir Executif-Au Representans du Peuple. (at the Mauritius)
General Citoyen Mangalon—Citoyen Sercey, Amiral de Mer de la Republique,—Citoyen Malartic, Gouverneur General de L'Isle de France et de la Reunion.

Then follows a Memorandum of the form of Address, etc.
 N.B. The above drafts of Letters are in the hand-writing of Habibullah, Tipu Sultan's Head *Munshi*.

Copy of the Instructions addressed to Mirza Baqir, Mir Yusuf Ali, Mir Ghulam Ali and Husain Ali:

“Having appointed you four to carry on a negotiation between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French Nation you have been

empowered to agitate the five articles annexed to this. Considering yourselves fortunate in obtaining so important an employment, let your conduct be conformable to the commands of God, and of his Messenger ; and keeping engraved on your minds the engagement to which you bound yourselves in the Aqsa mosque, make them the rule of your action upon all occasions. According to the sacred writing, "Be obedient to God, and to his Messenger, and to those to whom obedience is due by you,"-to obey a prince of the faith, is a duty. To fulfil this duty of obedience, four things, the initial letter of which is Z, must not be covered i.e. *Zan* (woman), *Zeast* (life), *Zar* (money) and *Zamin* (land). God defend us. The undue coveting of these four things reduces a man to the nature of dogs and swine which are for certain impure and are brothers in filthiness. Thus is it summarily recorded in books, "Dogs and all their tribe; Swine and all their race; are equally impure". The fidelity which is to be practiced, is of four kinds.

"First, the fidelity of the eyes; that is, if you see any one injuring the *Sarkar*, you prevent him. Secondly, the fidelity of the ears; that is, if you hear any one utter expressions repugnant to loyalty, (or fidelity) you immediately reprimand him as far as lays in your power, and without disguise, state the case to the *Huzur*, or to some officer of Government. The third, is the fidelity of the tongue; that is, utter the expressions of loyalty, of praise and gratitude, to recommend and to show the example of loyalty to others, and as long as the organs of speech are left you, to employ them for the service of the *Sarkar*. The fourth fidelity, is that of the hand; which imports that you are to employ it in the service of the *Sarkar* in every way, whether by writing, or by carrying the sword and the gun against the Enemy. In short, all the faculties of the eyes, the ears, the tongue, and the hand must be called into action and upon all occasions, considering that God and his Messenger, who know and see all things, are ever present and you should act accordingly. The Most High hath said, "I know the secret emotions of the heart of man: I am ever present with him."—Again it occurs in the *hadis* (traditional sayings of the Prophet) "The giver and receiver of bribes shall both enter into hell". You must not in the first instance, give yourselves out

as being employed in an ambassadorial capacity, but conduct the concerns of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* with the utmost secrecy. You must profess yourselves to be merchants. On your arrival at the Mauritius, you must send some persons of respectability, with the European Aubaine, and one or two interpreters with a message to the five *Sardars* at the Mauritius, purporting that you are merchants from the State of Mysore and have come to sell your merchandize; if they will permit you, and allow you to hire a house, (as you have come a long voyage) you will repose yourselves a while, and then proceed to dispose of your effects. You must enjoin the European Aubaine, not to communicate the secret to any one, except the five *Sardars*.

The names of the five *Sardars* are as follows:

There are two persons possessing the General Control of Affairs: their designation is "Au Representants *du peuple*".

The name of the Commander-in-Chief in Hindustan who has come out with that appointment is "General *Citoyen Mangalon*".

The name and designation of the Commander of the French Navy are "*Citoyen Sercey, Amiral de Mer de la Republique*".

The name and designation of the Chief of the Mauritius are, "*Citoyen Malartic Gouverneur General de l'Isle de France et de la Reunion*".

Having communicated to them your arrival and heard what they have to say, you will tell them, that they must, by no means pay you the compliment of going themselves, or of sending persons to meet you, nor show open marks of friendship towards the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, nor outwardly show you any attention, in order that your mission may not become public. That after your landing, wheresoever, they may assemble in private and send for you, you will wait upon them unattended, and communicate the sentiments of friendship. What is meant is this; that you four should meet the above-mentioned *Sardars* privately; that you should in the first instance offer compliments on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, make enquiries after their health, and confine your discourse to general professions of friendship. Of the five Persian and five French letters which are entrusted to your care, you are to keep one in Persian, and another in the French language, addressed to

the five *Sardar* in Europe (the Directory) in deposit; with respect to the remaining four Persian and four French letters, addressed to the *Sardars* of Mauritius, (in the letter of which all particulars are contained) you will, in the first instance, leave the French letters in deposit in the ship, and without delivering them only carry with you the four Persian letters, and at your meeting with the five *Sardars*, rise up and deliver to them the letters according to their respective addresses with your own hands. You must first find out in the course of conversation, how far they are willing to their friendship with the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*: that you will completely ascertain and then at a private conference, you will with your own hands, deliver the four French letters respectively, into the hands of the *Sardars*, and adapt your discourse so as to flatter them, and promote the success of the object of your Mission. It is a known saying, "The pleased labourer succeeds in his undertaking". You will also state, that on account of the secrecy of your Mission, jewels and *khilats* (or honorary dresses) etc., tokens of friendship have not been sent on the part of Mysore kingdom, but that please God; when a meeting takes place with the Sultan which through the divine favour will soon happen, every mark of favour and indulgence will be shown; such are the friendly sentiments which you must express—In short, you must in private with the five *Sardars*, ascertain their disposition; that is to say, ascertain from the tenor of their discourse; if they are desirous of cultivating friendship with the Mysore Government, and are inclined to send an army to the Calicut quarter, or to the coast belonging to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. After ascertaining this, you will propose to them, that both parties should mutually ratify their assurances according to their respective tenets, and join with one heart to exterminate the enemy. If they should agree to send back with you an army under the command of a *Sardar*, and should bind themselves to you by oath and engagements, you will in the same manner give them assurances under oath and engagement. Should they (which God forbid!) merely agree to send any army, but refuse to bind themselves by formal engagements, you are not to stand upon this point; but in that case, you must have the five Articles of Agreement drawn up in the French language and deliver the same to them,

receiving from them a counterpart; and sending Mir Yusuf Ali with the troops, the remaining three of you are to embark with the two (French) *Sardars*, whom they will nominate for the purpose, on board one of their ships, and proceed to France; and by the favour of God being arrived at the place of your destination, you will cause those two *Sardars* to write notice of your arrival to the Ministers, and proceeding into their country with the utmost possible secrecy, you will meet the five constituted *Sardars* of that country who are called *Pouvoir Executif*. After compliments and expressions of regard, you will privately state to them, that by the favour of God, the bonds of friendship between the Mysore *Sarkar* and the French Nation have very long been daily acquiring strength; as is well known to them. That they are not ignorant, that the enmity of their enemies towards the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* originated in the deputation of the Ambassadors from the Government of Mysore to France, which formerly took place. That the sum of my desire is, that as long as the sun and moon shall endure, our mutual friendship may remain and increase daily. Please God, you will effect the complete satisfaction of both parties, and employ your endeavours to the increase of friendship. You will explain to them in detail the five Articles which have been committed to writing. You are well-wishers and faithful servants to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, and you wish well to the votaries of the faith: exerting your zeal, therefore, to the utmost, you must make your court to them by the most impressive and flattering language, and by the expressions of perfect cordiality. You must persuade them to act according to the five Articles which you are empowered to negotiate, and to execute mutual engagements to that effect, agreeably to the respective tenets of the parties; and causing them to draw out a Treaty (or engagement) accordingly, make them sign, seal, and deliver the same. You will also draw up and deliver a Treaty (or engagement) in the same terms, and engage that a like instrument shall be signed and sealed by your Sultan, and delivered to their *Sardars* (meaning, it is to be supposed, those of their Nation in India).

Having thus entered into engagements, you will bring with you the troops, etc., together with the ships of war as specified in the five Articles, as also *arzis* (addresses) from them to the

Huzur, and letters of injunction to the *Sardars* of the French Nation who are arrived in this quarter, requiring them to pay obedience to the 'God given kingdom', and to receive the engagement to be executed under my seal and signature. Should there be any appearance of a cessation of hostilities between the contending parties in Europe, you will require them to stipulate for the restitution of that half of the country, and of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, which their enemy wrested from me, because of my attachment to their Nation—This requisition you will couch in proper terms. a

After your arrival at the Mauritius, when you shall have ascertained from the discourse of the *Sardars* of the French Nation (at that place) that they are disposed to cement the friendship subsisting between that Nation and your Sultan, and that they are determined to join in extirpating the enemy, and that such also is the disposition of those in Europe, and when they shall have agreed with earnest cordiality to send a ship with you, and a confidential person (to Europe) then you may proceed.

Should you however, (which God forbid!) find them averse to the alliance between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French Nation, you will confine these secret points to your own breasts, and stating yourselves to have come merely upon a trading concern, all four of you, in concert with the *Mir Bahr*, *Kamalud-din*, will draw up a statement of facts, neither omitting nor adding, a single circumstance, affix thereto your seals and signatures, deposit it in a chest, and repair to the *Huzur* (us).

If the European navigators who accompany you should not consent to return with you, you must entertain and bring others.

Ten cannon-founders, ten ship-builders, ten manufacturers of China ware, ten glass and mirror-makers, ten makers of ship-blocks (wheels) and wheels (or engines) for raising water and other kinds of wheel work, and workmen versed in fine gold plating, are required in the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. You will state to the French *Sardars*, that they are to consider the desire to manufacture these articles as arising from the friendship and attachment of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, and as a means of promoting their interests, and to request that they will therefore send ten artificers of each sort. After obtaining these people,

you will fix suitable wages for them before you leave the place, giving them also something in advance; and after their embarkation you will give them an allowance of provisions on the part of Mysore Government, and transport them hither. Please God, after your return to *Huzur*, you will deliver up these instructions.

On the 5th of the month *Ahmadi* of the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, answering to Sunday, the 4th of the month *Shawwal* (corresponding with 2nd April, 1797) at the 8th hour of the day (about 9 O'clock, A.M.) at the hour *Qumar*, and the entrance of the sun into the sign Taurus, the original of these instructions was written by the hand of Sayyid Muhammad, *Mir Asaf*. This copy is written in the hand of Muhammad Riza, *Mir Miran*.

SUPPLIMENTAL INSTRUCTIONS

Whatever propositions the French *Sardars* may make to you, you are to take them down in writing with your own hands, and tell them, that please God, you will give an answer on the following day. You will then return home and all four of you assembling in private, you will consult together upon the reply to be given; and having determined upon it, you are to commit it to writing, and all four having signed it, you are to deposit it in a chest; and the reply in conformity to the terms of it, is to be verbally delivered by Mirza Baqir, all the rest sitting by and listening. Should Mirza Baqir make any mistake in delivering the reply, the rest are to prompt him.

You must all of you study the French language, but none of you must converse with the French *Sardars* in French. You are to speak through an interpreter; yet if the interpreter should mistake a word or two, you will set him right in French. Excepting, however, one or two words, none of you four must hold any converse in the French language, because, while an interpreter is employed, they (the *Sardars*) cannot tell whether you say anything more or less; whereas if the French *Sardars* say anything more or less, you, knowing the language, will detect it. You must make yourselves appear ignorant of their language, whereby you will be able to learn their real sentiments, while they consult

together upon the various subjects that come before them.

As there are no clove or nutmeg trees in the Mysore State, you are directed to desire the *Sardars* at the Mauritius to fill some boxes with seeds, and also to send some plants by the ships.

You will commit to paper all circumstances respecting the negotiation at the Mauritius, and forward the account to *Huzur* (Sultan) by a French ship before you proceed on your voyage.

The sacred command is issued to Mirza Baqir, Husain Ali, Mir Yusuf Ali, and Mir Ghulam Ali that provided they are successful, that is to say, provided they obtain formal engagements from the leaders of the French Nation, it matters not though they expend from one *imami* (rupee) to five lakhs; still however, on condition that the engagements take place.

No. 11

The original of this number is in the handwriting of Habibullah, the late Tipu Sultan's Head *Munshi*.

Copy of the fictitious *Hukmnama* (or instruction) addressed to Mirza Muhammad Baqir, Mir Yusuf Ali, Mir Ghulam Ali and Mir Husain Ali.

It is hoped that, attended by the divine protection you will reach Jamalabad, and thence, Korial, (Mangalore) and through the aid of providence, embarking with your baggage on board the ship *Assad Allahi* set out toward the place of destination. Immediately on your arrival at Korial (Mangalore) you will load on the ship black pepper, to the amount of 15 or 20,000 pagodas, together with four months provisions and water for your people. Among the fifteen men belonging to Ripaud the Frenchman, who came here for service, there are two navigators, by name Macon and Aubaine; to these persons you will assign a proper monthly salary, and appoint them to the duty of navigators on board the ship; you will also place with them, in the same capacity and for the purpose of instruction, the three Mussulman navigators, by name Abdul Karim, Musa, and Faqir Muhammad. Two large and eight small volumes upon the subject of navigation are entrusted to you; the French must be translated into Persian, and they (or you) and the other navigators and *Sardars* must make themselves masters of the art; you

must also calculate the ship's progress. For the fifteen Christians who would not take service, you must supply provisions on the *Sarkar's* account, and causing them to embark with you, land them at the island. One or two men among them who are versed in navigation you must also join with the other navigators; should there not be room enough for all the men sent with you, you will leave behind such as you think proper, and take with you the rest. You must dispose of the pepper at a good price and bring the cash with you; you are appointed to conduct this commercial expedition and the pepper, together with the ship, *Assad Allahi*, are given into the protection of the—All Merciful, and into your charge. Wherever you expect to be able to dispose of the pepper to advantage, you must carry it there and sell it accordingly. It is also ordered that the ship's bottoms should be coppered and, therefore, you are to touch at any island where ship's bottoms are coppered and paying a proper price get it done. Mir Kamalud-din, the *Mir Bahr*, also understands the science of navigation.

COPY OF THE SHIP'S PASS

From a sense of original and innate fraternity and regard, it is represented to the respectable Governors on the sea coasts, on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, that should Mirza Muhammad Baqir and other merchants by profession, arrive at any of your ports for the purposes of trade, it will be consistent with friendship and benevolence in you, to show them all that attention, hospitality and respect which is the laudable practice of men of liberal minds, and enabling them, if occasion should require, to purchase grain, etc. articles at a reasonable rate, facilitate their departure, and show them every degree of favour.

On the back of the original:

Copy of the fictitious *Hukmnama*

No. 12

Question proposed by the Six Departments to citizen Francois Ripaud, is as follows:

Previously to the present period, (persons) on the part of the *Kingdom of Mysore* went to France for the purpose of cultivating the friendship of the French Nation, and in consequence of this the English became hostile to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, and the losses which they occasioned to the *Sarkar* are well known to the whole French Nation, as well as to yourself: the favour and kindness shown by the *Mysore Sarkar* to the French are also well known to the whole Nation; yet the peace which the King of France concluded with the King of England was not even communicated to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. But notwithstanding this improper proceeding, His Highness, regardless of the representations of his well-wishers and those who have grown old in his service, was still disposed to afford his protection and support to the French Nation, and on your representations this countenance has been shown to them; we, therefore, propose to you the present question, and desire that you will state what are the actual intentions of the French Nation, if they be certainly known to you, and whether there is, or is not, a prospect of their speedily carrying their determination into effect.

In the four departments there are four officers of high rank; first, the *Mir Miran*, or war minister; the second *Mir Yam*, the minister of marine; the third, *Malikut Tujjar*, the superintendent of commerce; the fourth, *Mir Asaf*, the superintendent of the country (revenues). It has been determined to send off these four officers, that they may repair to the *Sardar* (or chief) of the French Nation, and by formal engagements on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* give confidence and satisfaction to the French Nation, at the same time receiving from that Nation similar assurances confirmed by personal engagements and by oath. Will then the *Sardar* of the Mauritius, and the commander of the ships, citizen Sercey, *Amiral de Mer de La Republique*, consent to this, and will they, or will they not, send off the four officers above-mentioned immediately to France? If you are well acquainted with the dispositions of your own nation, and the character of their general professions (with respect to us) of which you cannot be ignorant, you will apprise us accordingly. Immediately on the arrival of the four above-mentioned officers at the Mauritius, will the said Chief repair to this place with a

large army or not ? Inform us of this. You have already tasted the bounty of the *Sarkar*, and you may wish to enjoy it hereafter; give us, therefore, a particular account of everything.

No. 13

The following translation and abstract are made from the original Persian letters found in the palace of Seringapatam, signed and sealed by Tipu Sultan, in a state prepared for despatch. To account for this circumstance, it is necessary to observe, that the Embassy was first despatched from Seringapatam in the month of April 1797, when it was composed of Mirza Baqir, Mir Yusuf Ali, Husain Ali Khan and Mir Ghulam Ali.

Before, however, the Embassy was prepared to depart, the monsoon set in; this occasioned its detention on the coast until the return of the fair season. In the meanwhile dissensions and jealousies broke out among the ambassadors, which led to the supersession and recall of Mirza Baqir and of Ghulam Ali, and to the resignation on the plea of sickness of Mir Yusuf Ali. The consequence of these changes was, that the Persian letters and instructions with which the original ambassadors had been charged, were revoked and others (not materially differing from the former), substituted in their place. The Embassy finally consisted of only two persons, viz. Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, and did not sail for the Isle of France until the month of October 1797. This is hinted at the narrative of Husain Ali (*vide* No. 18).

Translation of a letter from Tipu Sultan to the Executive Directory at Paris.

Form of Address on the cover:

To the perusal of the High and Exalted; the magnificent and distinguished in station; the kind refuge of friends; the objects of regard; the gentlemen constituting the Executive Power: be their regard perpetual !

The address within the letter is of the same tenor as on the cover.

The same of your urbanity, your observance of faith and sincerity, and your regard for the attachment of faithful friends, which is your laudable practice has reached the ears of your

friends, by the representation of *Citoyen* Francois Ripaud. In consequence, the heart of your ancient friend experienced a degree of gladness, not to be described, and the warmth of my esteem suggested to my reflection, that the regard of ancient friends is renewed and redoubled by the sight of each other and by personal and verbal communication. The impediments to this are, however, well known and, therefore, four *Sardars* of high rank are delivered over to the protection of God, the All-Merciful and duly empowered and sent for the purpose of visiting those sincere, friendly and faithful persons and stating points of cordial friendship. I have no doubt that these *Sardars* will have an opportunity at a time of privacy, fully to lay before you my unreserved sentiments which I beg you will consider as real. I confidently rely upon you, who are my cordial friends, that you will not neglect anyone point of friendship but that you will duly inspire the minds of both parties with mutual confidence. May the garden of time produce the fruits of your and our wishes !

From Tipu Sultan, addressed in the same form of words as the foregoing, to "*Citoyen* Malartic, *Gouverneur General de l'isle de France et de la Reunion*".

This letter is nearly verbatim the same as the foregoing with the following additional paragraph:

"From among those four *Sardars*, you will no doubt send back one to this quarter, with the commander of the French troops, and send the other three with two French officers in a ship of war, to Europe, in order to adjust the negotiation. May the garden of time, &c. (as before)."

From Tipu Sultan, addressed to "*Au Representans du Peuple*".

Verbatim the same as the foregoing addressed to the Executive Directory.

From Tipu Sultan, addressed to "*General Citoyen Mangalon*".

Verbatim the same as that to *Citoyen* Malartic.

From Tipu Sultan, addressed to "*Citoyen* Sercey, *Amiral de Mer de la Republique*".

Verbatim the same as that to *Citoyen* Malartic, the Governor-General of the Isle of France (Mauritius).

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No. 14

Translation of the transcript of a letter in the Persian language, contained in a memorandum book and purporting to be a version from a letter in the French language.

In the name of the most Merciful God !

On the 4th of *Ahmadi* of the year *Sauz* (answering to the 2nd of April, 1797).

Salutations of friendship on the part of His Majesty, the Shadow of God to the *Sardars* of the Mauritius and the French Nation.

You well know the friendship which has subsisted with the French Nation, from the time of my late father to the present. From the time that the French combination (French Revolution) took place, it has been my desire to make known to you the sentiments of my heart, but for want of some person acquainted with your laws and customs, the communication of my desires has remained in suspense. It has now fortunately happened, that by the arrival of Ripaud, I have learnt all circumstances of that quarter from his verbal communications. Conceiving the present to be a favourable opportunity to confirm our ancient friendship, I have determined to renew it in such a manner, that our interests being henceforward considered as one, my enemies shall be considered as yours and your enemies as mine ; that the most inviolable engagements and alliance shall be entered into, and that while life remains, this friendly connection should be observed. You now see the degree and the nature of that friendship which I profess towards the French Nation ; when I received similar proofs of your sentiments, I shall be disposed to establish the system of friendship above described. Your friendship and your attachment will then be proved, when your land and military forces shall arrive in this country and then shall I fulfil the promise I have above given.

The war in which I was sometime since engaged, was entirely owing to my friendship with the French Nation. Formerly, when a French force arrived in my dominions, I fulfilled every article which the obligations of friendship imposed upon me.

The shameless, theiving, robbing English, of themselves incompetent, leagued with the Marathas, and the Mughal, (the Nizam) and accompanied by them, attacked me in every quarter. At the very height of the war with the English, D.C. Cossigny, who had come to me through the intervention of *Monsieur Bussy*, was, at his instance, induced to abandon me, and Lally*, who was in the service of the *Sarkar*, after embezzling large sums of money, prepared to withdraw himself. This event when came to my knowledge I imposed my commands upon him and he in consequence, was withheld from departing. Notwithstanding the union subsisting between me and the French, the Commander of the French troops abandoned me. In consequence of which they (i.e. the English and their allies) forced me to make peace and wrested from the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees in specie, and the half of my finest provinces and divided the whole among time.

What has happened, has happened : Henceforward it must not be so. Hereafter when war shall be declared against your enemies, or peace be concluded, you must act in these respects under my orders, according to the pleasure of my government and my people. One point of a particular nature and that must not be forgotten is this that I and my people are ignorant of the laws and customs of the French Nation and the latter are equally unacquainted with those of my *Sarkar*. Should any of the subject of my *Sarkar* or of the French Nation commit any irregularity he must be reprimanded and the adjustment of such cases as they occur is advisable, in order that no interruption may take place in the friendship of the parties. It is announced to the *Sardars* of the French Nation, that in the season of war, they are to be under the orders of my *Sarkar* ; this is a point which the French Nation and the French *Sardars* will no doubt approve, for the customs and mode of warfare in this country are distinct. A favourable opportunity now presents itself and I, therefore, now communicate to my friends the object which I have at heart, if you

* Tipu Sultan's French Commander.

shall concur in them, not a trace of the iniquitous English shall remain in the expanse of Hindustan. If at this time a body of your regular Europeans and free negroes (literally your new brothers) whom you have with you, arrive to join my troops they will expel the iniquitous English from Hindustan, and whenever the French troops shall unite with mine to attack the English, the powers of Hindustan will be unable to afford them assistance, because they are engaged in domestic dissensions. It has already been stated that my enemies shall be considered as your enemies and yours that of mine; they are truly one and the same. You must now be fully apprised of my sentiments, it only remains that you should with the utmost expedition apprise me of yours. Immediately on receipt of what I have written, let me know whether you agree to it or not, but do not engage for anything which you will not perform. All this is to be ascribed to my attachment to the French Nation. I have retained *Citoyen* Francois Ripaud. Through him I shall be made acquainted with the contents of any letters you may write and through him I shall write answers. *Citoyen* Ripaud shall want for nothing but being honoured by a situation of importance, he has been retained by me under every circumstance of comfort; his mind has been set at ease on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, and he has been retained (literally sent for) in order to adjust the concerns, and increase the friendship of the French Nation and the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*; you on your part also, must write to him in terms calculated to remove his apprehensions, intimating to him that his continuing with the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* is very right and proper for the promotion of our mutual interests; in the event of your agreeing to what I have written, with a view to cement the foundations of friendship. I now state to you the aid in provisions which I am willing to make for the land and sea forces.

Stipulations in favour of the French Nation, are as follows:

Article 1

Immediately on the arrival of the French on the coast of the *Mysore State*, provisions of all kind, (wine excepted) carried, etc. and all other necessaries shall be supplied.

Article 2

Supplies of provisions etc. shall be furnished for the land and sea forces, by the Mysore Government and money shall also be advanced to them.

Article 3

Bullocks for the artillery with all their equipments, carriage bullocks and camels for the baggage of the officers and men, shall be furnished by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*.

Article 4

To provide *palkis* for the higher officers, and horses and *tattoos* (a breed of small horses) for the others.

Article 5

During the war, should there happen to be a deficiency of powder, balls, etc. in the French army, it shall be supplied by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*.

Article 6

Immediately on the arrival of the French troops, I will myself march in person with an army to chastise the enemy.

Stipulations on the part of the French to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, are as follows:

Article 1

The French troops never to act in any way without the consent of me (Tipu Sultan) and my people (officers), nor to disobey my orders on any occasion, but to continue obedient to me.

Article 2

The French troops and their officers who are coming hither to undertake nothing without consulting me.

Article 3

If any of the officers of the French should excite disturbance or treachery in the army of the Mysore Government, the circumstance to be immediately reported to me, the offender to be seized and sent to the Commanding Officer of the French to be punished according to their forms ; and in like manner should the French discover any *Sardar* of the *Sarkar* employed in exciting disturbance in the French army, let him be seized and sent to me, that he may suffer that punishment, according to the forms of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, which is absolutely necessary in such cases to prevent disputes between the two armies.

Article 4

After the war, the amount which I might have spent for the French would be repaid to me on a fair settlement of accounts.

Article 5

All conquests and captures of territory, effects, forts, money, articles, grains, ships, sea coasts, to be equally divided ; that is half shall be assigned to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and half to the French.

Article 6

Whatever territory belonging to the English be taken under this alliance with the French in conjunction with the troops of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, shall be divided, to the exception of that which formerly appertained to my *Sarkar*.

Article 7

On the reduction of the fortress of Goa, it shall be retained by the Mysore Government and in like manner that of Bombay shall be assigned to the French.

Article 8

All the English and Portuguese prisoners, male and female, shall be allowed the necessary daily subsistence, and be kept in confinement until the conclusion of the war, when they shall be sent out of the territories of the Mysore State and the French.

Article 9

By the 6th article, all the territory, forts, islands and ports on the sea coast, which may be taken, are to be equally divided. It shall depend upon the order of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, given with the knowledge of the French troops, what forts shall be garrisoned and what shall be destroyed: this point shall not depend upon a reference to Europe.

Article 10

As affording the easiest means of effecting the expulsion of the English and Portuguese, let me be supplied from the Mauritius with from five to ten thousand Europeans and from twenty-five to thirty thousand negroes and other trained men.

Article 11

The French troops to disembark at Sadasivgarh and immediately proceed to reduce Goa: the advantage of taking Goa, will be this: that there will then be a place for the ships to remain at, and the troops will be easily supplied with the necessary equipments.

Article 12

After having fully considered these propositions, let me have speedy intelligence, by a small vessel despatched for the purpose, whether you will agree to them or not, in order that everything necessary for the troops may be prepared; and European will be stationed on the sea coast to send intelligence of the ships. Aubine a European is sent. Transmit the information respecting the coming of the troops by his hands, as he is well acquainted with my ports.

Article 13

Four persons in my confidence are now deputed. Of these I request you will despatch two, upon one of your ships to France accompanied by some confidential persons whom you may select for the purpose; the negotiations that are to be carried on in France shall be through them. I have entrusted them with a packet of letters addressed to the leaders of the French Nation to despatch them with this packet. As to the two *Sardars* who are directed to bring the troops, you will bring them back with you on one of your ships. I beg you will get my ship which is now going, coppered, and if that can be done in time, let her return with your ship, but if that cannot be, place a commander in her and let her follow.

Article 14

While engaged in attacking the English and Portuguese, should the Maratha and the Mughal (Nizam) assist them, we must chastise them effectually.

Here follows the drafts of the letters with their respective forms of Address, of which translation appears in No. 13. A gun is specified to be sent to General Mangalon, Admiral Sercey and General Malartic.

On the back of the Original:

Copy of the large letter of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, caused to be written in the French language by Ripaud. Written by Sayyi Muhammad on the 5th of the month *Ahmadi*, of the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad.

No. 15

This memorandum book commences with a rough and incomplete draft of the letters to the French Legislature in France, and at the Mauritius, translations of the originals of which appear in No. 13.

*Heads of Intelligence respecting the country powers.

Intelligence respecting Nizam Ali Khan:

Nizam Ali Khan is extremely ill and at the point of death. He has three or four sons who are inimical to one another. Several of them solicit the protection of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*; and he who is particularly attached to the *Sarkar*, is supported by the Chiefs of that State.

Intelligence respecting the Marathas:

"The head of the State threw himself from the top of his house and was killed. All the Chiefs are inimical to one another, and upon the point of proceeding to hostilities, and they no longer possess any authority throughout the country. The troops of Zaman Shah Durrani have reached Delhi, the capital of the Emperor. He himself has come with them. The Maratha troops have made their appearance in various places, in the Delhi province, and are continuing to collect. All the Chiefs of Hindustan are disaffected to the Marathas on account of their oppressions. There is no doubt they will soon be expelled from that country. The domestic disputes of the two *Sardars* (meaning the Nizam and the Marathas) will certainly prevent either from joining the English. At the desire and instigation of Zaman Shah, Mirza Amani (the late *Wazir Asafud-daulah*) has quarrelled with the English, assembled his army and is prepared for hostilities against them. The English likewise have assembled their army in Bengal. In the Calicut district, the Raja of Cotingery has slain in battle near a thousand English soldiers, and three or four thousand native troops. The whole of the Calicut district is rendered disaffected by the oppression and violence of the English. In various places, the inhabitants are in arms, and do not acknowledge the English authority. The *Poligars*, that is to say, the Chiefs of the Masulipatam, Ellore,

* These Heads of intelligence will also be found in Nos. 3 & 4, Division B.

and Arcot districts, are also ready to revolt. They have killed and cut off the head of the son of Abdul Wahhab Khan. In short, now is the moment of opportunity—.”

Here follows a memorandum of the names and designations of the leading men at the Mauritius, and of the Executive Directory; the same as appears in No. 1.

*On the 18th of *Khusravi* in the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (9th of October 1797).

Letter of the same tenor were written to the four persons mentioned hereunder:

Aux Representans,—General Mangalon, General Malartic, and Admiral Sercey.

The contents are as follows:

“The circumstances of my cordial and sincere attachment and the sentiments of my heart, have been personally communicated to Mir Yusuf Ali, and *Citoyen* Ripaud, who will represent them to you. I doubt not you will consider what they may state as genuine and authentic. Believe me to be very anxious for your speedily communicating the news of your welfare and the detailed declaration of your friendship by these two persons. Last year (when I proposed to send an Embassy) the season for the sailing of ships was at an end and, therefore, the departure of the Embassy was postponed. This year I have taken advantage of the early part of the season for that purpose. Be fortune favourable to you! To be written upon silvered paper—.”

On the back of the original:

Intelligence.

No. 16

Translation of a letter from (Tipu Sultan's) Ambassadors to the Isle of France, written on their return to Mangalore to their Sultan.

Husain Ali and Shaykh Ibrahim, after offering their respects at the foot of the Throne, represent as follows:

On Wednesday the 9th of *Bahari* of the year 1226, from the

* *Vide* No. 15, of the French correspondence, in which General Malartic acknowledges the receipt of a letter from Tipu Sultan of this date.

birth of Prophet Muhammad (answering to the 26th April, 1798) we landed in safety with the *laskars* and other attendants.

The following is an abstract statement of the force sent by Generals Malartic, Sercey and Mangalon, from Mauritius to be employed in the service:

Chapuy, General of the Land Forces	1
Dubuc, General of the Marine	1
Desmoulins, Commandant of the Europeans	1
Officers of the Artillery	2
Marine Officers	6
Ship builders and others	4
Officers, Captains, Sergeants, and Linguist	26
European Soldiers	36
Soldiers of the second description or half cast	22
	—
Total of the persons arrived from Mauritius	99
	—

exclusive of Monsieur De Bay, the watch maker who was sent from the capital (Seringapatam) with us, making together 100 persons, agreeably to the muster-roll which is despatched to Your Majesty, and from which everything will appear.

The party, agreeably to the suggestion of their chiefs, were disembarked and furnished with separate lodgings which had been prepared for them.

Although there was no order from Your Majesty, for giving a daily allowance or for furnishing subsistence and necessary supplies for the troops which might eventually arrive from Mauritius, yet with a view to satisfy them and set their minds at ease, having consulted with Mirza Muhammad Baqir and Mir Muhammad Ali, the *Asaf* of Jamalabad, we fixed on such rates as appeared to us proper, for the daily allowance of each individual to have effect until the receipt of orders from Your Majesty (*Huzur*) but the *Sardars* or chiefs would not assent to these rates and they made application for allowances according to a statement of their own.

We, accordingly, considering the circumstances of the time, dopted their own rates and they will be paid agreeably thereto, until notice be received from Your Majesty (*Huzur*). A copy of

the statement fixed by us, with copy also of the memorandum delivered by them, is transmitted to Your Majesty, and everything will appear from them.

May it please Your Majesty, the application made by the two Generals, for conveyances for themselves, as well as for their dependants, appears by the memorandum dictated by them, to be as follows:

For the two Generals, two *palkis* and two horses.

For the Commandant of the troops, 10 officers, 5 captains, 6 sergeants, 1 linguist, 2 chief officers of artillery and 1 watchmaker, altogether 28 persons, they require 28 horses and 2 *palkis*.

May it please Your Majesty the various articles and baggage which accompany them, such as large chests, etc. etc. are very numerous and extremely bulky and heavy, they may be estimated as nearly the burthen of a thousand men and at the time of carrying this baggage over the *ghats* (passes) etc. a still greater number of labourers will be required than heretofore; and by reason of the great weight and bulk of the articles, great delay and tardiness will certainly take place at the different stages. The season too of the rains and for bad roads is approaching and at hand; moreover, it is the time fixed for the departure of the *Asafs*, *Amaldars*, and *Qaladars*, stationed on the road, according to their engagements; and from the borders of Jamalabad to Astaureh, Your Majesty well knows in what a high state of cultivation the land is, the whole extent of the road. Under this circumstance, Your Majesty will be pleased to order what the royal mind deems proper.

May it please Your Majesty, in consequence of the rains, should perchance no halting places be found in the cultivated country, they will require for themselves and their equipage, as the troops accompany them, *gundelehs* (the fly of a tent) and small tents for the chiefs; they also want provisions, goats, fowls, rice, etc.

May it please Your Majesty, seven chests, or casks, containing nutmeg and clove trees, etc. which agreeably to your orders were brought by us from the Mauritius also require near eighty persons to carry them. It occurred to us, that a considerable time must elapse, before an order could be received from Your

Majesty for despatch of the plants; that in the meantime the rains were approaching, whereby they might be exposed to injury, which God forbid; we, therefore, in preference to everything else, sent them off under charge of a guard, to take care of them, with a letter and a particular account of the names of the trees, which we translated from that given by the European and we gave positive injunctions for their being carried as far as the borders of Jamalabad, the *Asaf* of which place is Mir Muhammad Ali, by *begaris*, (persons pressed for public service) and for their being transported from thence, up the *ghats* (passes). Having conveyed them so far, we desired also, that they might be carried on provided *begaris* could be procured as they proceeded. Under these circumstances, we trust, that *laskars* and other may be ordered from Your Majesty, with a view to expedite the conveyance of them, that they may receive no injury from delay.

We have further to represent that we have despatched to Your Majesty three letters from the Europeans: one from General Chapuy, the second from General Dubuc, who at the time of our landing, gave us one also to be presented to Your Majesty, from a person named Monsieur L'Hermite. We also send three *memoranda* of rates of allowance as fixed by us and those which the chiefs demand; altogether there are five packets forwarded enclosed in our letter, which we hope will be duly received. In addition to these, a separate account of the battle between the French and English ships, in the roads of Tellicherry, is also transmitted and everything will appear from it.

May it please Your Majesty, from the day of our departure on board the vessel of that traitor Ripaud, till our arrival at Corial (Mangalore), whatever has occurred and all that we have accomplished in our endeavours to promote the interests of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, will be fully apparent on our arrival at and paying respect to Your Majesty. One of us being unable to ride on horseback in consequence of the heat of the weather and his suffering much from boils, we trust that through Your Majesty's extreme kindness, we shall be favoured with a *dolī* from the *Huzur*.

Dated 14th *Bahari* of the year 1226 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (30 April, 1798).

No. 17

Translation of the draft of a letter from the late Tipu Sultan to Mirza Baqir and others at Bangalore.

To Mirza Baqir, Husain Ali and Muhammad Ibrahim. Dated the 25th *Bahari* of the year *Shadab*, 1226 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (11th of May 1798).

Your letter dated the 14th *Bahari* of the year *Shadab*, 1226 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, (answering to the 30th April, 1798) despatched by two camel messengers, has been received and the contents have been understood.

You state, that Husain Ali and Muhammad Ibrahim had arrived with the French *Sardars* (or chiefs) and some European recruits, and the account which you sent, containing the list of their names, and the allowances for their subsistence has been received.

According to your request, two *palkis* and two horses are sent for the two chiefs and 28 horses for the other persons, a horse is also sent for Muhammad Ibrahim and you will take the *palkis* belonging to the European, Ripaud, and having assigned two *palkis* to the two European chiefs and one to Husain Ali, you will repair to the *Huzur* with the Europeans. For the transportation of their baggage 300 men have been ordered, you will pay them their wages until their arrival at the capital and making them carry the baggage of the Europeans bring them with you. You will desire the European chiefs to leave their surplus baggage behind them, depositing it in a house, and placing a guard to take care of it, and the remaining necessary articles they will bring with them; by the blessing of God, after their arrival at our Court (*Huzur*), their whole baggage will be sent for: having fully explained this, you will bring them to us.

A reply to their letters is transmitted herewith which you will accordingly deliver it to them. They have been informed that if it be necessary to bring everybody with them they will do so; but that if they have anything particular to communicate, some of their chiefs should come immediately to the august audience (*Huzur*), and leaving the men with the other chiefs, give orders for their proceeding leisurely after them. Should the men be left behind, you will leave with them Kamal Muhammad,

Mirdah, and a *harkara* for the purpose of providing them with necessaries, and you yourselves will proceed to my *Huzur* with the European chiefs. You will cause them to be furnished with such a quantity of provisions as may be proper, by the different *amils* (revenue officers) of the *talluqa* and give regular receipts. An order (*rahdari*) for this purpose has been written, and is transmitted to you. Bearers for three *palkis* with three *Dafadars* *Jeewajee Naik*, *Phenkajee Naik*, and *Gulal Naik* and two *Shihbdar* guards, are sent to you.

Your despatching the boxes containing the trees was perfectly proper, *laskars* have also been sent from us for the purpose of bringing them on. You will bring the ship-builders who have arrived, to our presence (*Huzur*), as well as the other artificers and after I shall have seen them, they will be sent back for the purpose of being employed in ship-building.

The letters written by Husain Ali and Muhammad Ibrahim do not contain anything respecting their negotiations; nor mention where they have been; or from whence they came. We desire you will advise Husain Ali to write a full account of everything, from the day of their leaving Jamalabad to the day of their return to that place, containing the occurrences on the voyage, their conferences, the state of the war, and a description of whatever they may have seen curious, or interesting. Having written all these particulars, you will transmit the narrative for our perusal, so that they may not again be called to account.

You will encourage and satisfy the people who have arrived, and bring them to our presence (*Huzur*). In matters of little importance you will be careful not to displease or vex them.

The order (*rahdari*) for supplying necessaries which has been sent, is under charge of Kamal Muhammad. Considering what is proper, you will furnish them accordingly and taking an account of everything, bring it with you, that the necessary deductions may be granted. You must all three of you write separate *arzis* when you have occasion to write.

To the *Asaf* of Jamalabad:

“You will remain (at Jamalabad) for the purpose of furnishing the necessary articles to the Christians who have arrived thereat; after their departure you will repair to us, and should even the month of *Zulhijja* have elapsed, it is of no importance.

Endorsement

Two large mares, twenty-nine horses and bearers for three *Palkis* with three *dafadars*, *Jeewajee Naik*, *Phenkajee Naik*, and *Goolal Naik* and two *Shihabdar* guards (are sent) with *Kamal Muhammad*, *Mirdah* (or head) of messengers, and *Narrana* and *Bursa, Naik harkaras.*"

No. 18

Translation of the narrative of the proceedings of the ambassadors dispatched by Tipu Sultan to the French Islands, from their departure to their return: written by Husain Ali, one of the ambassadors.

The following articles were taken down, agreeably to the dictation of Ripaud, on board the vessel, on the 27th of *Zakiri*, in the year 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, (15th December 1797).

It has been ordered by the sacred Sultan that (we) must bring 30,000 horses and 40,000 infantry, 100 guns and mortars, with their equipments and artillery men, with the French force. Provisions, carriage, conveyance and military stores, shall be furnished by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. (This article was not brought forward)

That we should forward as great a number of Europeans as we can together with 20 or 30,000 men of colour, who know their jobs very well and accompanied by experienced officers.

That the Generals who may be sent on their part (the French) be masters of their profession, such as General Mangalon; and as our King is better versed in the system of India, the French Generals must consult with him and carry on operations against the enemy under His Majesty's guidance.

Whatever may be taken in this war from the enemies of our King, and of the Republic, such as towns, forts, factories, effects, ships and vessels, money etc. or whatever cash or treasure be taken from nations in subjection to them, all these must be divided into two (equal) parts, one half for our King, the other for the Republic; excepting the country of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* which the English formerly wrested from it by force of arms: such

country will be retained by the *Sarkar* and they (the French) shall have no share in it.

Should the French Republic be desirous of making peace with the English, they are not to conclude such peace without our King being comprehended therein; because after the treaty of alliance, the enemies of the Republic will be still the enemies of our King and it would not be consistent with friendship and justice not to include him in the peace.

Should any one in the service of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* enter the French camp and commit any outrage; let him be apprehended and sent to the presence of our King in order that he may be punished according to the forms of the *Khuda-dad sarkar*; and in the same manner, should any one of the French army enter the camp of our King and be guilty of any outrage and irregularity, he should be immediately apprehended and sent to the General of the French army in order that he may punish him agreeably to his own customs. (This article was not brought forward.)

Should these propositions be approved by the Republic, we request the leaders of the Mother Republic to transmit speedily intelligence thereof to our King, by a small vessel, in order that His Majesty in person, may set on foot a formidable and victorious army to meet that of the French in the neighbourhood of Merjan, which place is close to Goa. Oh French Nation! with a view to the mutual interests of the parties, our King intended to send several letters under his august seal and signature with four *Sardars* of high rank, for the purpose of negotiating upon a ship belonging to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, to the Chief of the mother country. But the apprehension of the enemy and the unfavourableness of the season prevented the measure. A standard of the Republic was however, quickly prepared and set up in the camp of Lally (His Majesty) caused it to be saluted with three hundred guns,* Ripaud and Mons. De Bay can bear

* Here follow the names of various implements of war, probably meaning ordnance, muskets and rockets, but the usual appellations being changed according to Tipu Sultan's system, it is not known what species are here designated. This alludes to the ceremony of consecrating the National flag, of which a detailed account is given, in the journal of the sittings of a Jacobin Club which had been established at Seringapatam under the auspices of M. Ripaud. This curious paper, in which the Sultan is styled *Le Citoyen Tipu*, was found in the Palace at Seringapatam.

testimony to this fact. And whereas our King has declared, that he thus will support the standard of the Republic, Oh French Nation ! If ye will but consent to these propositions, you need not hereafter fear your enemies. Turn your thoughts only to the protection of your island, for our King will keep the English so employed and embarrassed that they will be unable to turn their attention towards you. Further, Zaman Shah, King of the Afghans and the greater part of the powers of India, are united with our King for this purpose and will not cease until they shall have driven the English out of India.

OH PROTECTOR !*

Support of the World, health ! The particulars of our proceedings, from our first leaving Jamalabad until our arrival (return) at the port of Mangalore in the Mysore State, are as follows:

On Sunday the 17th of *Zakiri* in the year 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (5th December 1797) we embarked ; Ripaud occasioned the delay of a day or two in adjusting the equipments of the vessel, etc. On the 19th, we weighed anchor. After proceeding five or six *kaus* to sea, Ripaud accompanied by five or six persons, came up to us in a very disorderly manner, desiring us to show them the letters which had been entrusted to us for the Chiefs at the Mauritius. We observed that the orders from the *Huzur* were not to open the dispatches, until our arrival there, and that it was not befitting for him, (Ripaud) who had laid the foundation of the present expedition and who was acquainted with all circumstances to take such a step. All our persuasions were of no avail, he took the dispatches from us by force, and tearing open the leathern envelope, wanted to open the *Kharitas*** also. We told him that he would be disgraced and his improper proceedings be exposed among his whole Nation, (adding) that it was highly unbecoming of him to be guilty of such a

* An Invocation to the Deity.

** *Kharitas* are the bags, or cases of tissue or silk in which letters, addressed to persons of rank, are usually enclosed.

degree of treachery and misconduct ; that until our arrival at the Mauritius we respected these *Kharitas* as our own lives and that we would sacrifice our lives but we would do with these *Kharitas* as we had been directed by our King. Upon this he restored them to us. The next day he came to us and desired that we would make over to him the money which had been given to us by the King for him and his French associates, else, (said he) I will go to Umbai, (meaning perhaps towards Bombay) and other quarters, for plunder, and will coast her for five or six months. We answered, "You know very well, that the money which His Majesty assigned for our expenses was entrusted to us in your presence by Shaikh Ahmad, *Malikut Tujjar* ; knowing and seeing this, it is very unbecoming of you to make this request." Refuge of the world, health ! he assigned for our accommodation the place where the *laskars* are, there was no place for us to sleep or to sit in. Our inconveniences increased daily ; at last we desired Ripaud to allot some place for us to remain in until our arrival at the Mauritius ; upon which he gave us a small boat which was on the vessel, to sleep and eat in, until our arrival at the Island. From the day of our leaving Mangalore until our arrival at Mauritius, he allowed us water not more than what he allowed the *laskars* and which only sufficed for drinking, it was not enough for cooking. In the course of the voyage he took two vessels, after taking the cargo out, he released them: after ten or twelve days, we steered direct for the Mauritius. Ripaud sent a message to me* proposing to recite to us the commands which Your Majesty had entrusted to him, respecting the negotiations with the *Sardars* of the Mauritius ; that we should take down a translation of them and make our representations accordingly at the Island. We replied that Shaikh Ahmad, *Malikut Tujjar*, had communicated to us in his (Ripaud's) presence orders to this effect ; that whatever he (Ripaud) should dictate to us or tell us, we should make our representations accordingly, to the *Sardars* above mentioned, through the medium of Monsieur De Bay. Ripaud brought several of the papers to us and

* The *Wakils* or ambassadors are designated throughout this paper by the term *ghulaman* or slaves. Here the word is in the singular number and is, perhaps, intended to apply to the writer only.

dictating to De Bay, caused him to write several articles ; which being done, he said that they were in conformity as the orders of the *Huzur* and desired that we would regulate our negotiations accordingly. It is impossible to describe the distress we suffered, from the rain and the motion of the waves of the sea. However, by the favour of God and Your Majesty's aúspices, we survived and on Thursday the 3rd of the month *Razi* (19th January 1798) being arrived within two *Kaus* of the Mauritius, a pilot came off in a boat to learn the circumstances of the ship. He came on board, and Ripaud received him with a great deal of cordiality. He told him that we were ambassadors sent by Your Highness to the *Sardars* of the Mauritius and desired that he would send some one (on shore) to give notice. The pilot immediately sent a *laskar* with a verbal message to the General and in two or three hours after a physician came to ascertain the people's health on board the ship. He sent for all the men who were on board the vessel and enquired into the state of every man's health ; he then came up to us and made a *salam* (or obeisance) and told us that he would immediately send notice to the General of our arrival. We desired him to allot some place for our accommodation on shore and enable us to disembark ; adding, that in a day or two (after) we would commence our interviews with the *Sardars*, requesting that our arrival might not be made known to any one (else). The physician, after remaining an hour, returned to the *Sardars*, and before two hours had elapsed, sent four persons of rank with a verbal message, stating that he was extremely happy at our arrival and that he would send for us the next day. We replied, by requesting that he would send for us clandestinely, so that it should be known to no one. They replied that it was very well: they would report accordingly to the General, and act agreeably to such orders, as he might give: after this they went away. In the meantime, Ripaud carried the ship near to the land and dropping the anchor in the mouth of the river he immediately went to the General. At twelve O'clock at night he came on board again and told us that he had represented everything to the General. Before his return however, five or six *Sardars* and two *Aides de Camp* of

General Malartic, came to us on board the vessel, and told us, that they must conform to the custom of their Nation and that if they did not receive Your Highness's ambassadors with due respect and attention, they would be censured from Home. We used every argument in our power to dissuade them but to no purpose. The next day, the *Sardars* were drawn up in two lines, from the bank of river to General Malartic's house, by General Malartic's directions, who sent several officers in his own boat to meet us and conduct us to his house. Accordingly, we went on shore in the boat, and immediately upon our landing, near a hundred and fifty guns were fired and we were conducted with the utmost degree of respect to the *Sardars*. When arrived at General Malartic's house, the General himself, General Sercey, the members of (The Colonial Assembly) Council and other *Sardars* met us at the door of the house. The General seated us upon chairs close at his right hand. We presented Your Majesty's compliments to all the *Sardars* and told them, that the object of our coming was to enquire after the health of Your Majesty's friends, as no news of them had reached the *Huzur* for several years and, therefore, Your Majesty had deputed us to all the *Sardars*, that we might ascertain, and return with an account of the welfare of Your Majesty's friends. I then took the *Kharitas* containing Your Majesty's letters in my hands, rose from my seat, and addressing the *Sardars*, told them that they must take the royal letters with respect, upon this General Malartic arose, and taking off his hat, received the letters from my hands. In the same manner General Sercey rose from his chair, and came up to me and then I delivered to him his letter also. General Mangalon was not then present but General Malartic told us that if we would deliver to him *Huzur's* letter to General Mangalon, he would take care to convey it to him and obtain his receipt for it. We accordingly delivered the august letter into the hands of General Malartic. I afterwards enquired who was the president of the Council (Colonial Assembly). Then General Malartic desired Mansieur Descomber to rise and take the letter. At the time of our landing we desired Ripaud to accompany us, which however he did not, but in about one hour after our arrival he came to the assembly and

holding his hat under his arm, stood at a distance. We told General Malartic that Monsieur De Bay had been sent from our king to be the interpreter between him (General Malartic) and us, in any negotiations which might take place between us; in consequence of which he called Mons. De Bay to him and observed that in Your Majesty's letter Yusuf Ali was mentioned (as the person deputed) whereas our names were Husain Ali and Shaikh Ibrahim, and desired to know the reason of this. This being explained to us by Mons. De Bay, I answered that Mir Yusuf Ali had been originally appointed, but being laid up with illness he had been set aside and Your Majesty had deputed us instead; we then told General Malartic that we had several points of a secret nature to communicate to him and, therefore, if he would send for us in private, we would communicate to him what our Lord had directed. General Malartic answered, "at 3 O'clock we two* *Sardars* will visit you at your place of residence".

We then took leave.

General Malartic provided us both with *palkis* (palanquins), and directed the bearers to remain with us as long as we continued on the Island and he gave us a garden close to the city to reside in. At 3 O'clock all the *Sardars* above-mentioned visited us; we went to meet them as far as the garden gate, and conducted them into the house with all due ceremony and respect. We seated them upon chairs and addressed them to this effect:

"The object of our King in desiring to form an alliance with the French Republic, is to crush our already half expiring enemy. What do you wait for? His Majesty is ready to afford you succours: show yourselves in India. The unbounded violence and oppression of the English have rendered all the Princes of India their enemies; they are enfeebled on every side and from the great extent of territory which they have acquired by artifice they are dispersed in all quarters. Look upon the present time as a most fortunate opportunity, send a large army and an extensive train of artillery, to the assistance of our Sovereign and effectually chastising our mutual enemies, drive them out of India. The English tremble at the very name of our Sovereign and of

* It does not appear who the other was.

the French, and will not be able to withstand the power of our Sovereign, supported by the aid of the French Republic, but will be defeated in every quarter. It is well known to the Republic that both his late Majesty (Haidar Ali) and our present Sovereign have at all times been the friends and well-wishers of the French Nation, have always sought their assistance and support, and made common cause in their wars against their enemies. The wish of our Sovereign is this that by affording assistance to the Republic, the French name may become as honoured and exalted in India as it is throughout Europe and among the Muslims."

The *Sardars* asked, if an auxiliary force should be furnished from Europe, would Your Majesty supply them with provisions, military stores, conveyance and carriage?

We answered that from the day of the landing of the French army in India, Your Majesty would supply them with provisions of every kind, (except European wine and liquors), that is to say, rice, all sorts of butchers meat and *ghee*; and also with military stores, conveyance and carriage.

They then told us that for the purpose of procuring a large military force they would fit out two ships of war and dispatch them to France with letters from themselves, and those Your Majesty had addressed to them, in charge of two confidential persons of rank; and they desired that we would give them a memorandum of the provisions and carriage which we had promised them in order that they might forward it to Europe and speedily obtain the military succours required.

We replied, that we would (the next day) furnish them with the memorandum accordingly.

They then rose and went home. In the morning they sent the head *Aide-de-Camp* and—the *Diwan* to us, who said, that General Malartic sent his compliments and desired him to mention that he and the other three *Sardars* were about to write letters to the Government in Europe and, therefore, he requested that we would furnish him with the memorandum which we had promised, with respect to provisions and carriage. Having accordingly drawn up a memorandum with regard to provisions and carriage, we sent it by Mons. De Bay to General Malartic.

Cherisher of the world, health! These four *Sardars* have each

written separate letters to different people, to procure a large force for the assistance of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and have deputed two confidential persons, one Mons. Seguin, the head *Aide de-Camp*, the other Monsieur Magon, a Captain, in order to represent the excess of Your Majesty's friendship and attachment and charged with Your Highness's letters addressed to General Malartic, and others and accordingly on the 7th of *Razi*, 1225, from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (23rd January 1798) they were despatched to Europe, on two ships of war with the utmost caution.

After two or three days, with a view to strengthen the foundations of friendship and attachment, we caused a paper to be drawn up by Monsieur De Bay to the following purpose and sent it to General Malartic:

That in order to cement the basis of friendship and alliance, it was necessary that both parties should bind themselves by oaths in order that the system of harmony and friendship subsisting between Your Majesty and the French Nation might be confirmed and that while the moon should keep its course, this alliance should remain unimpaired and unviolated.

In reply to it General Malartic observed that the ratification of the alliance by oath depended upon the Supreme Government in Europe; that the friendship between the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the French Nation was fully established, that there would never be any diminution of that friendship and union, as long as the moon retained her course; that the enemies of Your Highness were the enemies of the French Nation; that Your Highness would soon have an opportunity of seeing what the devotion and friendship of the French Nation would effect with the view of crushing the enemy and that he was, from his heart, the devoted servant of your Government.

Refuge of the world! In consequence of the severity of a sea voyage and unfavourableness of the climate I was so much indisposed that the *Diwan* of General Malartic remarked it and told the General that I was extremely ill, in consequence of which he immediately sent two of the first physicians to attend me, with a message, that on the next day at 3 O'clock, he would come himself to visit me.

The following day General Malartic came accordingly and after

making enquiries respecting my health, he said that Ripaud had made an erroneous representation to Your Highness, which occasioned us to be deputed; that had we arrived four months before, he could have sent us back with one thousand Europeans, until the arrival of the army from Europe but that those troops had now been despatched to Batavia to the assistance of the Dutch; still, however, he would manifest his devotion in the best manner he could and that he would not send us away empty-handed. He then asked in what places Your Highness had factories established and what was the practice of your Government with respect to the establishment of factories and desired us to send a memorandum upon the subject.

The next day we caused De Bay to draw up a reply to the following effect which we sent to General Malartic:

“That Your Highness had established factories at Muscat, Kutch, Basra and in other principal cities; that two confidential persons were kept at each factory to buy and sell; and that if he (Malartic) was willing, that a factory on the part of Your Highness should be established at Mauritius then we would represent it to Your Highness and that if approved, a factory would be established accordingly.

Some days after General Malartic sent for us and told us that he readily agreed to the establishment of the *Sarkar's* factory at Mauritius, adding, that he would appoint a *Diwan* to superintend it, who would provide such articles as Your Highness required at a favourable rate and also that he would assign a house belonging to the factory for the purpose.

After two or three days, I sent a note by Monsieur De Bay, to General Malartic requesting that he would procure some plants of the nutmeg and clove; some European fruit trees; fine coloured and sweet scented flowers; and filling some wooden boxes with earth, plant them therein and sent them carefully back with us to be presented to Your Majesty. The General immediately sent for the gardener and directed him to prepare the plants in the boxes with the utmost expedition.

At three O'clock, we received a visit from General Sercey, we advanced to meet him, conducted him into the house and seated him on a chair. General Sercey said to us, that, please God, some large succours would very soon arrive from Europe, and

that it was his intention to accompany the troops to Your Highness; after that we told him, that it would be very desirable if he could send back with us five or six experienced navigators, several ship-builders, and iron cannon-founders; to which General Sercey agreed, promising to send them with us on our return. After sitting two hours he rose.

After a while General Malartic sent a message by his *Diwan*, inviting us the following morning to see the Powder mills, gardens and mortar firing, adding that he would be at the powder works before us.

Early in the morning, accompanied by De Bay, we went to the powder works and immediately on our alighting from our palanquins (*palkis*) at the gate, we were saluted with twenty-one guns. The soldiers were drawn out in two ranks, while several officers came out to meet us and conducted us to General Malartic and General Sercey, who met us at the head of the stairs and taking our hands, seated us upon chairs and then offered, if we chose, to go with us and show us the works. We answered that it was just as they pleased and their pleasure was ours; they immediately rose and showed us all the works.

We then went without the gates, where they directed the artillery men to fire the mortars at the targets which they did fifteen times; they then requested that we would go and see the garden with the plants of nutmegs and cloves, etc.

On our leaving the Powder works, we were again saluted with twenty-one guns. We then proceeded to the garden where we remained four hours and then returned home.

The next day General Malartic sent to invite us to go and see some fireworks to be exhibited that night; accordingly an hour before the close of the day we went to the place where the fireworks were to be exhibited. The second *Aide-de-Camp* and five *Sardars* came to meet us and conducted us to the upper storey; at that time neither of the Generals was present. Having sat till nine O'clock at night and seen the fireworks we returned home.

Two or three days afterwards, they invited us to go and see the armoury, the granary and the iron manufactory, desiring that we would come for that purpose at four hours after day light. We accordingly set out and on our arrival at the gate

of armoury the *Sardars* belonging to the establishment came out to meet us; they showed us the whole of the establishment of muskets, implements of war, balls, etc. etc. after which we took our leave.

The next day, General Malartic sent a verbal message by his *Diwan* inviting us to go at three O'clock in the afternoon to see the batteries and ordnance. The person in command of them received directions to show them to us; and we accordingly set out accompanied by Mons. De Bay and when arrived at the batteries, the *Sardars* of that Department came forward and showed us the batteries and ordnance; they caused several shot to be fired; after seeing them all, we took leave of those *Sardars* and returned home.

The next day we were informed by Descomber and the *Diwan*, that General Malartic had sent a ship to Bourbon to fetch men for the service of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and that the General said he would not suffer us to take leave until the return of the ship.

We told them that we did not come to carry away with us men to be enlisted for the service of our *Sarkar* nor were such orders we received from Your Majesty.

Five or six days after General Malartic sent a man to call us. He told us that he had appointed some men for the service of our *Sarkar* whom he was about to send accordingly, and desired us to give it under our hands, that we would represent to our king and procure their entertainment, at the rates of pay which he should fix. We informed him that we could not venture to make any such representation to our Lord.

General Malartic replied, "Were I to write to king, would it not be agreed to?"

We answered that if he chose to write, it would be at Your Highness's option to agree to it or not. After this we took leave.

Having arrived at home we wrote and sent a letter to General Malartic by Monsieur De Bay to this purport: "It is very well known to you, Sir, that the object of our coming here was to carry with us the succour of a large and effective body of troops. Persons of your nation represented to our king that a considerable body of troops was actually ready at the

Mauritius for the assistance of our *Sarkar*, and that, so soon as Ambassadors should be sent to the *Sardars* of the Mauritius on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, an efficient body of men should be sent back with them, whereby the common enemy would be chastised. Had His Highness been pleased to give us orders for raising French recruits, His Highness would not have sent us without setting their rate of pay and establishment agreeably to the custom of our *Sarkar*. From a regard to the ancient union and established friendship subsisting between the two States, you deem it improper to send away the Ambassadors to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* empty-handed, and therefore, propose to send a few men, whom you yourself have engaged for the service of the *Sarkar*; but the object of our *Sarkar* will not be answered by so small a body of men; neither are we instructed to carry with us recruits from the Mauritius; nor indeed can this be done without money. Men of your Nation come to us every day for the purpose of being engaged and require to be furnished with money; but supposing they waived their demand of money here and voluntarily repaired to the presence of our king with us under your orders, their pay must be fixed by Your Majesty; else, suspending this business until His Highness can be informed, depute two *Wakils* of your own with us, to negotiate the matter. As soon as such *Wakils* shall have arrived at the presence of our king and His Highness shall have stated to them the rate of pay and establishment as allowed to Lally's Force in the service of the *Sarkar*; should His Highness be disposed to entertain them agreeably to the accustomed rate of our *Sarkar*. His Highness will send money with his Ambassadors and then you may enlist men and send them accordingly; in the mean-time, do us the favour to give us our leave to return to the presence of our Sovereign."

General Malartic wrote in answer and also sent word by Monsieur Descomber and the *Diwan* that he proposed sending Messrs. Chapuis and Dubuc with several other *Sardars* to Your Highness with this view; that until the arrival of the French succours from Europe, the former should remain in the Court of the Sultan in the capacity of (*Wakil-i-mutlaq*) plenipotentiary so that other Frenchmen might not by telling falsities like Ripaud, deceive Your Highness, and that Monsieur

Dubuc might be deputed to France together with Your Highness's Ambassadors at the opening of the season to negotiate on the part of Your Highness as by his going many points of great importance would be effected. For these reasons, he said, he proposed sending these persons to the Your Majesty's presence; that hereafter should Your Highness approve of engaging Frenchmen for your service, they should be entertained, at the rate and according to the customs of the *Sarkar* and sent accordingly.

Refuge of the world! After the lapse of eighteen days, the ship which had been sent to Bourbon returned empty. It appeared that a great many men wished to come but were prevented by the want of means. On being informed of this, General Malartic sent word to us, that he proposed in the course of five or six days to send us to Bourbon; that as many men as were willing to accompany us, we might carry to Your Highness. General Mangalon paying us a visit, we stated to him that it would be very desirable if he would accompany the troops destined for the service of the State; to which he replied, that when a considerable force should arrive from Europe, for the purpose of subduing the enemy, he would accompany it to the presence of Your Majesty, and he desired that we would represent so to Your Highness. After sitting two hours he took leave.

Four days after, General Malartic sent for us to his house at three O'clock in the afternoon and then proposed to us to embark the following morning at nine O'clock, adding, that he himself would accompany us on board the ship to send us off. Accordingly the next day, being Thursday the 21st of *Rabbani*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (8th March, 1798) we set out. Arrived at the banks of the river's mouth, several *Sardars* accompanied us in the boat, and escorted us on board the ship, where they took leave. An hour after, General Malartic, Mons. Chapuis, and Mons. Dubuc came on board; and General Malartic delivered to us the *Kharitas*, containing the *arzis* to Your Highness's address, desiring that we would present his humble respects. He then gave orders for weighing anchor and returned.

As soon as General Malartic had got on board the boat, the

Captain of the ship ordered the anchor to be hove, and in one day and a night we arrived at Bourbon, where we anchored. Mons. Chapuis and Dubuc got into the boat and visited the Governor of Bourbon and returned bringing with them four persons who were desirous of proceeding to the presence of Your Majesty. The Captain continued here the whole day and then weighing anchor shaped his course for Mangalore. Near the line we met with a storm in which one of the masts of the ship was carried away and during the whole of the night the people despaired of their lives; but through the favour of God and the Royal auspices, in the morning the storm ceased.

Prior to this, I had the honour to write to Your Highness a full and accurate account of the engagement which took place off Tellicherry together with the disembarkment of the Europeans and their demands. Whence Your Highness will have been informed of those particulars.

Dated 8th of *Taqi* of the year *Shadab*, 1226 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (23rd May, 1798).

No. 19

Translation of the narrative of Muhammad Ibrahim, one of the Ambassadors, despatched by Tipu Sultan to the Isle of France (Mauritius) in 1797.

Chapter I

Account of the departure of Husain Ali and Muhammad Ibrahim, deputed on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, for the Island of Mauritius, on board a ship (*Patailah*) accompanied by Ripaud, a Frenchman: also of the conferences held at that place with the Chiefs of Mauritius, and others agreeably to the undermentioned particulars:

“We, Husain Ali and Muhammad Ibrahim on the 16th of the month *Zakiri*, in the year *Sauz*, 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, (answering to about the 4th of December, 1797) having embarked on board the ship...in company with Ripaud the European, in pursuance of the order of the enlightened Sovereign, weighed anchor and on the 20th of *Rahmani* of the

same year, (the 8th of January, 1798) safely arrived at Mauritius. The *Sardars* (or Chiefs) of that place, in consideration of the high reputation and dignity of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* came out to meet us with the greatest respect and we were landed in the town at one of the best houses.

The four letters addressed to the chiefs of Mauritius, one to General Malartic, the second to General Sercey, the third to General Mangalon and fourth to General Descomber were delivered and these four chiefs received them with the greatest respect. They opened them and ascertained their contents. They mentioned that two ships were to be dispatched from thence immediately for Paris and that they should send two other ships as a convoy to them, altogether four ships; that they (the four chiefs) should write to Paris, an account of our arrival at Mauritius on a deputation from the Sultan and persuade the Directory to open a negotiation.

Your servants considering the departure of these ships for Paris so immediately after their arrival at the Mauritius as a most propitious circumstance, the happy effect of your victorious auspices and as presaging the success of the affairs of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*: we observed to the chiefs, that their writing alone, would not produce a speedy and satisfactory answer from Europe and that, therefore, it would be proper to postpone the departure of the ships for some days and send with their own dispatches, copies of the letters which they had respectively received from Your Majesty on the subject of the negotiation with your Highness, in order that all Your Highness's wishes might be made known and acquiesced in as soon as possible.

The chiefs, on due consideration, wrote what was proper; and we, thinking this a favourable opportunity, engaged two Europeans of respectability here, Monsieur Magot, and Monsieur Seguin to proceed to Paris on board these ships as *Wakils* (Agents) holding out to them an expectation, that by undertaking this commission, they could not fail of recommending themselves to the favour of the *Sarkar*; accordingly, having drawn up a *Hukmnama* (instructions), containing ten propositions a copy of which will be found in a separate paper we delivered it to them and on the 6th *Razi* of the same year (about the 22nd of January, 1798) they embarked.

By the blessing of God, all the objects of the *Sarkar* will be satisfactorily accomplished; but were *Wakils* sent, with all possible expedition from the *Sarkar* direct to Paris, it would doubtless have the effect to promote and accelerate the business. On a former occasion, it was in Your Highness's contemplation to send *Wakils* to Paris to effectuate the objects you have in view; and had that measure been then adopted, they would, by this time have been fully completed. It is certain that the English are reduced to great difficulties and distress; at this crisis the negotiations at Paris may be carried on with the greatest success. From the friendship of the chiefs of Mauritius you can expect only some recruits and the establishment of a factory; but with regard to other affairs of importance, such as succours for your country and the conducting a negotiation nothing final can be determined here. It will be advisable, however, to preserve a friendship between these chiefs of the Mauritius and the *Sarkar*.

We, according to our imperfect understandings, having made ourselves acquainted with these matters have related them accordingly."

Chapter II

Account of Ripaud the European is as follows:

Having weighed anchor from the bay at Courial (Mangalore), we proceeded out to the roads and came to an anchor. He (Ripaud) having collected all the Europeans came to us and said that he had been extremely ill treated by all our *Sardars*. We asked him, in what respect our chiefs had behaved ill towards him? He answered that it was the order of our Prince that he should be supplied from the *Sarkar* with all the stores and necessaries for the ship in the most ample manner; and that he should thereupon be dispatched. That the *Sardars* had furnished him neither with stores nor necessaries of any kind; and that Ahmad Khan, *Malikut Tujjar*, had taken from him by force the sum of 325 pagodas and had also taken a bond from him for the ship and informed him that he must himself purchase the stores and necessaries for her; that he had in consequence purchased them from his own funds and had then come away by

which means he had sustained a great loss; he, therefore, wished to delay his voyage to the Mauritius for one year and with a view to indemnify himself for his losses, he proposed to seize some of the enemy's ships, after which he would proceed to Mauritius.

We on this, asked Ripaud, if he recollected what engagement he had entered into with Your Majesty; and what improper measures he now proposed to pursue? We observed that it would be proper for him to pay some attention to his engagement and to have some consideration for the important business in agitation. That Your Highness had treated him with great kindness and that it would be well for him to exert himself cordinally in promoting the affairs of the *Sarkar* that he might be exalted accordingly.

Ripaud replied that it was well; but that he wished to see the letters, which had been written from Your Majesty to the *Sardars* (or Chiefs) of Mauritius, with a view to ascertain whether they were the same letters or others. We observed to Ripaud, that it was the order of our King that we should deliver these letters to the chiefs of Mauritius; that it was not proper for him treacherously to think of opening and reading them and that he would be severely reprimanded for it. Notwithstanding this, without any regard either to his character or life, he still positively insisted that without opening and reading the letters addressed to the chiefs of Mauritius, he would, by no means, proceed to that place. We being entirely helpless gave the four letters into the hands of Ripaud who having opened them and his mind being relieved from apprehension, immediately weighed anchor and set off for Mauritius. We accordingly, through the prosperous fortunes of Your Highness, arrived in safety with this European at that place.

Chapter III

Account of the conferences with the chiefs of Mauritius

The chiefs of Mauritius, immediately on our arrival sent to us a doctor and an *Aide-de-Camp* to enquire into the state of the health of the ship's company and to ascertain from whence she

came. We replied that we came from the Sultan, upon whose kingdom and country be the shadow of God ! Afterwards a boat highly ornamented came off with several *Sardars* to receive us and they having placed us in it and brought us on shore, 500 guns were fired off; and two lines of European troops being formed, and a compliment being paid with the colours, we were conducted with the greatest ceremony and respect to the house of General Malartic. All the chiefs and gentlemen rose with great deference and made us sit down. They made enquiries after the health of Your Highness. We replied, "God be praised ! by the Divine favour, he always enjoys excellent health and is actively employed in conducting the affairs of his country and in punishing and preventing the evil designs of his devoted enemies and he has sent his compliments to all the chiefs."

All the chiefs immediately on hearing the word compliments, taking off their hats, and rising from their seats, offered their profound respects. Upon this we gave the four chiefs their letters. They asked, what else there was, besides the letters. We answered a *Hukmnama*. They then sent to our place of residence, and observed, that in the evening they would call in on us and see the *Hukmnama*.

The four chiefs accordingly did call in the evening and made themselves acquainted with the contents of the *Hukmnama*. We informed the chiefs that Ripaud was present at the time of writing it and that it would be well, if he were called in.

General Malartic replied, that he had not sent this European as a *Wakil* to the resplendent Sovereign; "what then," said he "has he to do here ? He is a second officer of a ship; and you have come from the Sultan, the shadow of God: Whatever conferences it may be necessary to hold let them be held with you."

We, thereupon, gave in writing to the Chiefs the ten articles respecting provisions etc. the particulars of which are specified in a separate paper; and the chiefs being extremely pleased with it went to their own houses and they have since sent, on their own part, those ten articles in detail to Paris.

Chapter IV*Account of our return from the Mauritius to the Resplendent Presence (Huzur)*

The four chiefs of Mauritius told us personally that the European Ripaud had brought us here on a false representation to the Sultan: That at present they had no forces; that had we arrived four months earlier, a small reinforcement would have been sent with us; that as a succour to the Dutch two ships had been sent to Batavia more than three months ago; that had we arrived sooner, these ships should have gone as a reinforcement with us.

We observed to the chiefs that for forty years a friendship had subsisted between them and Your Highness, the circumstances of which, it was not necessary to particularize; that it was the most ardent wish of Your Highness's heart by a mutual concert to extirpate the English Nation and raising the standard of Victory and affording assistance and protection to the country of Hindustan to cement still stronger the bonds of union and friendship: that our Sovereign had with this determined view sent us to them and that they should act in such a manner as to increase the honour and reputation of both parties.

They replied, that it was certain, in a short time, a large army and efficient succours would be sent from Europe and that they were ready to do everything in their power to promote the service of the *Sarkar*. After this conversation they returned to their houses.

Chapter V

The chief of Mauritius caused proclamation to be made in the city, by beat of drum, and sent letters to the neighbouring Island, inviting those to come forward, who were desirous of entering into the service of Your Highness.

After an interval of fifteen days some persons assembled and the chief having sent for us mentioned that after fixing the pay of the *Sardars*, seamen, gunners and artificers, they were about to send them with us to Your Majesty's presence; that it would

be proper for us to give a writing, purporting that the allowances which had been established at the Mauritius should be regularly paid to the persons sent by them.

We replied to this that we had come here to obtain extensive succours and a large army and not to carry away recruits; that had we come to procure recruits, we should certainly have come furnished with instructions for settling their pay and the entertaining to them, rested with Your Highness and that we had no power to give a writing to this effect. These particulars were stated in writing to the chiefs who wrote to us in reply that if we would not give what they desired in writing, it was of no consequence; that they should, at their own discretion, put the persons who had accepted service on board the ship, and send them with us; that should Your Highness entertain them in your service and allow them the pay fixed by us, it would be well; that otherwise, these men should be sent back on the same ship to Mauritius.

Chapter VI

We submitted six propositions to the Chiefs of Mauritius:

1st Proposition: That they should send two respectable persons, on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, to Paris, for conducting the negotiation.

They accordingly did send two respectable persons to Paris.

2nd Proposition: That we should enter into treaty that their standard and that of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* should be united.*

They replied that this could not be done here by them without receiving powers from Paris.

3rd Proposition: That factory be established at Mauritius on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*.

To this they consented.

4th Proposition: That they should send to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* some nutmeg and clove trees.

To this they agreed and have sent them to the royal presence with us.

* In other words, that a Treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, should be concluded.

5th Proposition: That we would not carry with us to *Huzur* the recruits whom they proposed to send.

6th Proposition: That in the event of Your Highness being desirous of sending *Wakils* to Paris, they should be conveyed thither on the ship now arrived.

To this they assented.

Chapter VII

Ripaudo, the European came to us at night twice, during our residence at the Mauritius. The first time he came, he said, that General Malartic and the other chiefs had shown great displeasure and anger towards him asking him why he had, by a false representation to the Sovereign of Mysore, brought us there. Ripaudo asked us to give him an instrument in writing, purporting that he had not by speaking to Your Highness been the means of bringing us: for that Monsieur Munderool (Meneron) had, at a former period, made a representation to the Your Majesty, recommending that Your Highness should send *Wakils* on your part to France and elsewhere, for the purpose of obtaining succours. We thereupon told Ripaudo, that he had delivered a statement to the royal presence and that it was evident that it was his advice on which we had been sent here and proceeded to this quarter and that we would never give any such writing.

The second time that Ripaudo came, he said that Mir Ghulam Ali, speaking of the business of the negotiation had mentioned that he (Ripaudo) had certainly suggested to Your Majesty the deputation of the *Wakils*; but he denied ever having recommended anything of the kind. We were informed too by Descomber, the first in Council, that Ripaudo was in the practice of holding very improper and disrespectful discourse, saying that they had kept him in confinement; that having obtained his release by stratagem, he had proceeded hither; that in consequence of this very improper discourse, they had disgraced Ripaudo and turned him out of the city.

Descomber further asked, why Your Highness, the Nizam and the Marathas did not unite and drive the English out of Hindustan? He said, it was certain that by the union of these three, the English might be routed out of that country. That 500

Frenchmen had been in the service of Ram Raja; upon hearing which they (the English) had peremptorily remonstrated with him and had caused him to dismiss the 500 Frenchmen; that Ram Raja was very much dissatisfied with the English and that it was his wish to produce a good understanding between Your Highness and Ram Raja.

We further learnt from Descomber, that at Paris, one day, when all the French gentlemen being assembled in consultation, it had been asked, "whether the French had any ally in Hindustan" ? That at this time a friend of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* was present who replied that Your Majesty were a powerful friend and that on hearing this all the gentlemen were highly pleased.

We were informed by Monsieur Cossigny, that the* letters of Your Highness which had been sent to France under the care of Mons. Pierre Moneron, had arrived ten months before in France.

At the time of our coming away we made enquiry of General Malartic respecting Ripaud. He replied that on his receiving Your Highness' commands regarding him, he would take him into custody and send him to Your Highness; that the former *wakils* had been guilty of many improper acts, and that your Highness ought not to send such persons as *wakils*.

He showed us the place in which gun-powder is manufactured and pounded by the power of water mill and a new manufactory where the charge of powder with which the guns are loaded, is equal to two cartridges and the balls for these guns weigh 60 pounds; they make the balls as hot as fire and throw them into these guns which they fire off. The balls carry as far as 200 *Sultani diras* (or yards). In this manner they fired off the great guns three times for the purpose of showing them to us.

He showed us the gardens in which the nutmeg and clove trees are cultivated.

* No copies of these letters have yet been discovered their date also is unknown. It is evident, however, from M. Cossigny's letter in the French correspondence, No. 12, Division B that their object was the same as that of the Embassy to the Mauritius in 1797. Pierre Moneron, a person of some note in the French Revolution was the bearer of these letters.

He showed us the bridge, (or Pier) on both sides of which there are two batteries, and on each of these batteries there are sixty excellent guns, the balls of which being made red-hot, and thrown into the guns, they are fired off, and by these balls the ships of an enemy may be burnt.

He showed us fire-works of different sorts, all very excellent of their kind.

He entertained us with plays and music, etc. which merit to be highly extolled.

He showed us the manufactory for guns, swords, cartridge boxes and the various implements of war.

We had nine interviews with the above mentioned General.

The Island of Mauritius, is in length 60 *kaus* (120 miles) in breadth. The city is situated at the foot of a hill.

The following particulars were ascertained from—

A Danish ship had arrived at Mauritius with letters from Paris. All the chiefs of the Councils of Mauritius being assembled and having read the letters, remained during one day overwhelmed with fear and anxiety. We enquired of *—“why all the gentlemen had remained a whole day in consternation”? He replied, that after the French King was killed, a new system had been established. That there were** five chiefs of the first order; that there was a Council of *Antients*, consisting of 250; and a third order of young men, whose number amounted to 500; that these chiefs consulting together conduct the affairs of the State. That the Germans had made peace with the French; but that the English having bribed the former with millions of money had separated them from the French and brought them over to their own party; that through the means of the Germans, they had also brought over to their interests two of the chiefs of the first order, (the Directory) and a great number of those of the second and third orders; and that they secretly determined to bring about a peace between the French and English, which being discovered, by the other chiefs who were not engaged in the intrigues of the latter Nation, they thereupon asked the chiefs who were in the interest of the

* Name of the person not forthcoming.

** Meaning the Directory.

English, for what reason they were intriguing to accomplish a peace with that Nation? They replied that they had been seduced into this error by the instigation and artifice of the Germans: They in consequence put all these French chiefs, the partisans of the English, into close confinement and appointed 5,000 horse, as a guard for the custody of them. The English *wakils* (agents or ambassadors) who had come to favour the scheme, took to flight* that in consequence of this circumstance, a misunderstanding had again arisen between the Germans and the French and that peace at this time could by no means be established between the French and English. This account was a matter of public notoriety at the Mauritius.

The French declared to the English that peace can be established with them only on condition that they should be content to be placed in the same situation that they were in forty years ago; that on those terms they certainly might have peace. The English are reduced to the greatest difficulties and distress: they are burthened with an enormous debt and there is no money in their country. How long will they be able to subsist on the resources which they draw from Bengal and elsewhere? There being so much reason to believe, that the English are in a weak and shattered condition, the rulers of Constantinople, America, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, have united with the French and their *wakils* (Ambassadors) are assembled at Paris.

We having ascertained all the foregoing particulars by enquiry at different places, have represented them to Your Majesty's perusal to the best of our ability. To add more were to transgress the bounds of respect. We trust that we shall be honoured with the kindness and favour of Your Highness.

Chapter VIII

We remained at Mauritius one month and eighteen days, and having embarked from there on a ship on the 19th of *Rābbani* of the year *Sauz* 1225 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad

* This probably is an indirect reference to the sudden departure of Lord Malmesbury from France.

(the 7th March, 1798) we arrived in safety at Courial (Mangalore). We embarked at the Mauritius on Thursday in the evening. General Malartic and all the chiefs came on board to see us and delivered into our hands the letters for the royal perusal. They urged the Captain of the ship very strongly to do everything to promote our case and contentment and told him to carry us to Mangalore.

The General then addressing himself to us, observed, that the persons who had formerly come on the part of Your Highness, had carried off a great deal of money on false pretences; that they had expended large sums without effecting anything; they had, therefore, sent General Chapuy for the purpose of remaining at the Court of the Sultan of Mysore, also General Dubuc for superintending naval affairs and Monsieur Desmoulin for the purpose of disciplining the troops; that he had in addition to these, sent sailors, gunners and others to accompany them. He mentioned these particulars verbally and observed that the remaining circumstances would appear from his letter to Your Majesty. Thereupon, all the guns of the ship and of the other ships having been fired, the General returned to his house and the anchor of the ship being weighed we proceeded towards Courial (Mangalore): having taken on board some persons at Bourbon, we proceeded straight to Courial (Mangalore).

The ship on which we were arriving near the Lacadives took a *patamar* in which there were some Malabar men and we asked from where they came? They said from Cannanore. We asked what news there was from Tellicherry and whether there were any English ships there or not? They replied that there were two ships there*. Immediately on hearing this news, the *patamar* was released and the ship was steered towards Tellicherry. Everybody, however, objected, observing that as the *wakils* were on board it would be improper to go to Tellicherry for the purpose of fighting. The Captain of the ship replied, that after receiving accounts of the English ships, should he not go in quest of them, he should be highly culpable and deserve to be put to death: he would, therefore, by no means acquiesce.

* The Roymand and Woodcot.

Accordingly on Friday the 3rd *Bahari* of the year *Shadab*, 1226 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, (the 19th of April, 1798) we arrived at Tellicherry and found one ship at anchor there. Near the evening another ship had come into the road of Tellicherry, when on a sudden, a violent storm arose and the lightning striking the ship, she was dashed to pieces on the shore. One man was killed by a stroke of the lightning and eight were wounded.

At this time another English ship, which had come from Bombay, made her appearance and entering the roads of the port came to an anchor. Neither of the ships had yet furled their sails when the French ship on board of which we were, went in between the two English ships which were in the roads of Telli-cherry and came to an anchor. The Captain of our ship called out to each of these ships to haul down her colours, upon which both ships fired off their guns and an engagement ensued. The ship, which had been previously at anchor, struck her colours, and the one which had come from Bombay, getting up her anchor was making off but she was also taken and brought back.

Passing by the fort and battery, the two prizes (British ships) and our own ship were anchored in the sea. The number of the prisoners, chiefs and others, taken in the prizes amounted to about 300 Europeans. Having put our own men on board their ships we confined their crews on board our own ship.

In the morning a *Sardar* (chief) came on board our ship from Tellicherry and a French *Sardar* set off for that place; what conferences were held by them, or what arrangement they made, we did not ascertain. Some few of the English were detained and the remainder were set at liberty; both the prizes were dispatched to the Island of Mauritius. We heard that two ships were worth five lakhs of Rupees and the goods, money, effects and different articles were valued at five more.

The remaining persons having been sent on shore to Telli-cherry, the next day we weighed anchor and steered for Courial (Mangalore); but a two masted vessel having in the sight, we stood in, and having come up with her, upon enquiring what ship it was? We were answered, Tipu Sultan's. Upon asking under whose charge she was? They replied, she was under charge of

an *Asaf*, (or officer) named Shaikh Shihabu-din ; that they were bound to Muscat but having met with a severe storm they had been obliged to bear up for Tellicherry ; that the Mate and *Nakhuda* (Captain of the ship) had on board three thousand bags of rice and a small quantity of black pepper. The Captain would fain have sent her to Mauritius ; but we represented that the ship had come there in consequence of a storm, and that it was not proper to send her to the Mauritius, since she, in fact, belonged to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. The Captain asked, how she could come to Tellicherry to dispose of her rice if she really belonged to the *Sarkar* ? To this we replied that the cognizance of that affair belonged to our Sovereign alone: Finally, the Captain put eight men on board and brought her along with us to Mangalore at which port we arrived after a passage of forty-nine days from Mauritius and landed at noon on Wednesday the 8th of *Zulqada* (the 26th April, 1798).

On our arrival at Mangalore, we heard that an English ship from Bengal, bound to Bombay had come to Mangalore, where a French ship was at anchor under English colours ; that the English taking her for one of their own ships, had come in for water and requested the other to assist her to proceed to Bombay, by supplying her with water. The French Captain said, that they would supply her with water and send her to the place of her destination but at the same time told the *Sardar* of his own ship immediately on the arrival of the *Sardars* (the English) to seize the ship. Accordingly having put people on board the ship, they dispatched her to the Mauritius. We heard that the ship had on board Bengal goods to the value of five lakhs of Rupees.

Courial (Mangalore) is distant from the Mauritius 900 *kaus*, but by the route of... *it is 1100 *kaus*. Paris is distant 2000 *kaus* from Mauritius.

Having attentively ascertained these accounts, we have committed them to writing. Should any errors have occurred in the course of writing them, we shall be forgiven.

(Signed)

Muhammad Ibrahim.

* Name illegible.

No. 20

N.B. The following is substantially the same as that in the French correspondence, marked No. 22.

Draft of a letter from Huzur (Tipu Sultan) to the Executive Directory of France, dated the 17th Rabi I, 1213 (30th of August 1798)*

To the distinguished and exalted in rank, the refuge of old and faithful friends, the Executive Directory of the French Republic. Be the peace of God upon them !

By the favour of God ! always consider the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and the people of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* to be the true friends of the French Nation; a cordial friendship must be maintained between them as long as the sun and moon shall endure. Though, which God forbid ! the earth and the skies should be taken from their places, yet shall not our mutual friendship be impaired. The English, constantly burning with hatred and jealousy at the friendship of the *Sarkar* with the French Nation and stimulated by jealousy and enmity formed an alliance with the Nizam, the Marathas and other of my enemies and without provocation carried on a long and severe war against me. When my foes became too powerful for me my people resolved that placing their hope in God, they must oppose themselves in a mass in the field of battle and then the Lords' will, be done. The people were afterwards spoken to on my part to this effect, that the French were my ancient friends and that this disturbance was owing to my connexion with them. That it was for the present, necessary to come to an accommodation according to the pleasure of my enemies; and then inform my old friends, the French who would, no doubt, join me in taking measures to obtain redress by furnishing me with troops and granting me their alliance. In consequence, I yielded, in conformity to the requisi-

* There is apparently some error in the original Persian, with respect to the date, unless it be supposed, that the date at the beginning marks the time of transcribing the letter into the book in which the original of this translation was found, and that at the end, is the actual of the letter. The last, corresponds with the date of the French letter.

tion of my enemies, three crores and thirty *lakhs* of rupees and the best and the richest half of my country; a sacrifice which was occasioned solely by my attachment to the French. What led to this was the error and misconduct of Conway who intriguing with the Governor of Madras, by name (Sir) Archibald Campbell, told him that now was the time to make war and that he would favour his views; and accordingly, the English prepared for war and took the field. It is, therefore, my desire to obtain full redress from the English for that outrage. It has indeed long been my design to state this affair to the French, and prosecute my revenge. I, therefore, dispatched two ambassadors to the Mauritius from where I received replies agreeably to my wishes, together with a flag of the Nation, brought by *Chef de Brigade* Chapuy, and another person, a Captain Dubuc, who were sent by General Malartic and Admiral Sercey, beside sixty soldiers. Of these two persons I have retained the *Chef de Brigade* Chapuy and having honoured the other, Captain Dubuc, with the office of Ambassador, have sent him to strengthen the foundation of friendship and to bring a large force.

Please God, after the arrival of a suitable force from that quarter (France) and uniting it to my own, I will crush our mutual enemy. I also send by Dubuc and the two ambassadors of the *Sarkar*, a standard of this State. On its arrival you must unite it in the face of your nation with your own, and then, after the custom of your country bind yourselves by engagements to the Ambassadors of the *Sarkar*, who on their part also, will bind themselves according to the usage of the *Sarkar*. All further particulars will be made known by the verbal representations of *Citoyen* Dubuc and the two Ambassadors named Abdur Rahim and Muhammad Bismilla. No point which concerns our mutual interests must be undertaken but by mutual advice, for in this consists the friendship of the parties; and every object to be undertaken must be first secured by written obligations according to your tenets. Though the foundations of the earth and skies be shaken, yet shall not our mutual friendship be impaired.

Dated the 20th of July A.D. 1798 answering to the 2nd of *Jafari* in the year 1226 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad.

The following eleven articles are enclosed in this letter, and are also inserted in the written instructions to the Ambassadors.

Particularisation of the eleven articles (proposed by) the *Khudadad Sarkar*, which being drawn up are enclosed in the letter addressed to the persons above-mentioned (the Directory).

Article 1

Ten or fifteen thousand soldiers including Cavalry and Artillery men, to be brought.

Article 2

During the war of the *Sarkar* with the English, a fleet of ships of war to remain on the Coast, to afford assistance and supply necessaries.

Article 3

After the arrival of the required force, provisions, bullocks, horses etc. (spirituous liquors excepted) shall be supplied by the *Sarkar*.

Article 4

Marches, halts and other orders to be at the pleasure of the *Sarkar*.

Article 5

The ships should anchor and the troops be disembarked at Porto Novo, between Pondicherry and Tranquebar. Immediately upon receiving intelligence, (of the arrival of the fleet) the *Sarkar's** army will repair thither : for, to carry the war into the others' (enemy's) country is the means of protecting that of the *Sarkar* and of securing supplies of grain, etc.

Article 6

Before the arrival of the fleet at the above-mentioned place, let

* The expression is *Suwar-i-khas*, literally the special retinue and meaning the army of the Sultan commanded by himself in person.

two ships be dispatched, at the interval of twenty days, to Mangalore, to give notice of the troops to the royal presence and immediately on receiving notice, the *Sarkar's* army will commence its march.

Article 7

Excepting the territory formerly under the dominion of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, which has come into possession of the enemy, whatever new conquests may be made, shall be equally divided between the *Sarkar* and the French as shall also such Portuguese and English ships and Islands, as may fall into our hands. Should a negotiation for peace with the English have been opened before the arrival of the Ambassadors of the *Sarkar*; the recession of the *Sarkar's* territory and money must be stipulated for, and the restitution of both to the *Sarkar* be insisted on as a condition, preliminary to the conclusion of any treaty of peace.

Article 8

Whenever any disputes arise between the people of the two States, an investigation shall be made by both, and punishment shall be inflicted according to their respective laws.

Article 9

The question of peace and war to be determined by mutual advice and concurrence.

Article 10

Frenchmen going to and from the *Sarkar*, and practising trade and traffic, shall receive the same protection and indulgence as the servants of the *Sarkar*, and if they commit faults, shall be pardoned.

Article 11

Artificers of every kind to be sent : four mixed-metal gun-

founders; four white-paper-makers; four platers of mirrors; four glass makers; four dock-builders, and four ship-builders.

Dated as Above

In the *Hukmnama* or instructions, addressed to Muhammad Bismillah and Abdur Rahim, the *wakils* of the *Sarkar*, it is stated that an assignment has been granted on *Monsieur Mercier* for 12,000 rupees to provide for the expenses of the artificers and others; and that having received the money they should carry it with them; and that if, in addition to this, anything further should be required for the necessary expenses, they should take it up from *Monsieur Dubuc*, giving him a bond for the amount.

Account delivered to the above mentioned *Waki's* are written on a separate paper.

Amount of assignment on <i>Monsieur Mercier</i>	Rs. 12,000
Hire of a ship for the European Dubuc, Fillietaz, Muhammad Bismillah and Abdur Rahim at the rate of 300 <i>faruqis</i> for each person	<i>Faruqis</i> 1,200
Hire of ship for a person to accompany Abdur Rahim for 3 Europeans and 5 attendants, altogether 9 persons at the rate of 50 <i>faruqis</i> for each person	<i>Faruqis</i> 450
On account of Debay, <i>do-bhashi</i> or interpreter	<i>Faruqis</i> 150

Total <i>Faruqis</i> .	1,800 or Rs. 6,720
Exclusive of this, an advance of 6 months salary has been made from the Huzur to Dubuc and Fillietaz, making the sum of	Rs. 8,640

Grand Total	Rs. <u>27,360</u>

Altogether, an assignment for Rs. 27,360 has been granted on *Monsieur Mercier* and delivered to them. They are desired to pay to Dubuc the amount of the freight and the allowances and

the remaining 12,000 rupees are also to be delivered over to him to remain in deposit in his hands.

Account of presents sent by the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, to the five French chiefs and their wives, inserted according to custom in a separate paper and sent enclosed.

<i>Kalghis and Sarpeches.</i>	5 pair
Earrings ornamented with jewels; the invention of the <i>Khuda-dad Sarkar</i> .	5
Rings set with jewels.	5
Embroidered dresses (<i>Khilats</i>) of 6 cloths each, for the men.	5
Guns.	3
Embroidered dresses for the ladies 5 suits, of 5 pieces each.	5
Matchlock.	1
Another kind of gun.	1

Instigated by kindness and friendship these articles consisting of dresses, jewels and guns, the manufacture of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, agreeably to the foregoing particulars are transmitted to you.

Copy of two letters addressed to Admiral Sercey and General Malartic, despatched on the 4th of *Khusravi* (13th of October, 1798).

Health to General Malartic, my old and faithful friend !

Your agreeable letter, every word of which was calculated to strengthen the foundations of friendship brought by the Generals Chapuy and Dubuc was received by me and it afforded me inexpressible gratification.

These two Generals whom you have sent appear to be men of very noble qualities and excellent disposition, men of resource and experience, wise, and well-wishers to both Governments. With a view, therefore, to communicate various necessary points of importance to our friendship, I have despatched to your country, by the way of Tranquebar, General Dubuc, with two chiefs of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*. As both yourself and the whole

French Nation have for a great length of time, been the cordial friends of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, I trust that in consideration of this circumstance you will always continue to gratify my heart by informing me of your welfare.

The heavy losses, in money, territory and men, which the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* heretofore sustained, in consequence of its friendship and connection with the French Nation are very well known and it is, therefore, unnecessary to mention them. At this time too, the English having heard of my sending the *wakils* of the *Sarkar* for the purpose of obtaining accounts of your welfare are again commencing hostilities. The particulars of this disturbance, as well as of all points relating to me, will be fully made known to you from the verbal communications of Dudenaine and the letters of General Chapuy.

You are Frenchmen ! Your fidelity and good faith in the performance of your engagements are established. It is most certain that you will not in any manner be guilty of the slightest neglect in demonstrating your good wishes towards the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*.

Dated the 13th October, A.D. 1798 corresponding with the 4th of *Khusravi* of the year *Shadab*, 1226 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad.

A letter, to the same effect, was also written to Admiral Sercey.

On the back of the Original:

Drafts letters to the Directory of France with a copy of the *Hukmnama* (or instructions) for the *wakils* of the *Sarkar* consisting of eleven articles.

Account of money distributed for the expenses of *wakils* and others.

Account of jewels, *khilats* and guns granted by the Sultana to the *Sardars*.

Correspondence with the King of Afghanistan

The following numbers, from No. 21 to No. 29 inclusive, comprise a part only of the voluminous correspondence between the late Tipu Sultan and the Court and Agents of Zaman Shah, found in the palace of Seringapatam. This correspondence, it appears, commenced before the war between Tipu Sultan and the English which terminated in 1792 and the same ambitious and hostile views, against the British power in India, have marked in from its commencement to its close.

The present series commences with the deputation of two Ambassadors on the part of the Sultan to Zaman Shah, the *Amir* of Afghanistan in the year 1796 A.D. for the express purpose of encouraging that prince to prosecute his design of invading Hindustan and to form a plan of cooperation for the subversion of the British Power in India. Many letters belonging to this series are omitted because they were thought unnecessary to elucidate the Sultan's views, so completely developed by these which are now printed.

The papers Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 and translations of drafts in the Persian language, recorded in a book found in the wardrobe of the late Tipu Sultan's palace at Seringapatam. The book contains drafts of letters to Zaman Shah, to his ministers and agents, to the chiefs of Baluchistan and Cutch, and the ministers of the latter and others to the number of 22, from the year 1793 to 1799 A.D. They are not authenticated; but as the original answers to some of them came in the possession of the English though not inserted in this collection and in particular as the replies from Zaman Shah (No. 29) to Tipu Sultan's letter, to him (No. 22) recapitulates the substance of the latter, there can be no doubt that letters were actually despatched in conformity to the address and tenor of the drafts in question ; and the mission of Ambassadors in both instances, as intimated in the following correspondence is authenticated by written documents and has been confirmed by verbal evidence.

It appears, that Tipu Sultan wrote two distinct letters in reply to that of the Grand Signior, of which a translation can be found in the printed correspondence of the Governor-General with the

Sultan. One of those replies, which was transmitted by the Sultan to the Governor-General for the purpose of being forwarded, appears in a translated form in the printed correspondence above alluded to. The other, forming No. 30 of the following selection was forwarded by the Ambassadors deputed by the Sultan to Constantinople.

No. 21

Translation of Instructions from Tipu Sultan, to Mir Habibullah and Mir Muhammad Riza, sent on an Embassy to Zaman Shah:

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the Compassionate !

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

Hukmnama (or instructions) addressed to Mir Habibullah and Mir Muhammad Riza:

It is proper that on your departure from the capital you proceed to Jamalabad, and that with the advice of the *Asaf* of that place, you take shipping in company with Jiwan Dass the banker attached to the Factory of *Malikut Tujjar* (or Comptrollers of Commerce) and proceed from there by sea to Cutch. You will land at the port of Mundra, where there is the factory belonging to the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and make yourselves particularly acquainted with the state of business of the factory, and with the conduct of the *Darogahs* (or head officers) in the execution of their orders.

Having visited Raja Rai Dhan, the Chief of Cutch, you will deliver the *Khilat* (or honorary dress) and letter for him which have been entrusted to your charge. At your interview with the Raja and the Raja's brother, and the Minister Fath Muhammad, you will make professions of friendship and cordiality and lay the foundation of a firm alliance.

You will obtain from the Raja, and the other officers, a house at Mundhi for the purpose of establishing a factory on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and deliver it over to the charge of Ghulam Muhammad, Abdul Majid Khan and Jiwan Dass, *Malikut Tujjar* (officers belonging to the Commercial Department).

You will write a particular account of the situation and circumstances of the two factories, and of the Raja and other matters, and transmit it under your seals to my perusal through the *Darogahs* of the factory. If the *Darogahs* in question shall have acted contrary to their orders, you will reprimand them and bring them back to a right line of conduct so that they may not again deviate from their instructions.

The* *baiz* or form of signature in use with Tipu Sultan.

You will give public notice in writing to the merchants of Cutch, and the places in its neighbourhood, that the dealers in mares and horses who may bring them for sale to the ports of the Mysore Kingdom will be exempted from duty and that the duties on other articles also, which they may bring for sales have been taken off; that the horses will be purchased at Couriaul (Mangalore) and payment be made in ready money unless they prefer receiving their value in rice. Two declarations to this effect from us (Tipu Sultan) are committed to your charge: you will deliver them to the servants of the two factories in Cutch, that they may be shown to the merchants. Three letters also addressed to the *Asafs* of Jamalabad, Wajidabad, and Majidabad on the subject of the remission of the duties on the horses and goods of the merchants of Cutch, are sent with you are desired to deliver them to the *Asafs* in question.

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

As long as you remain at Cutch, you will every other day pay a visit to the Raja, as well as to his officers. An honorary dress has been conferred on the Raja's brother and one on Fath Muhammad, which you will accordingly deliver to them. You will mention privately to the Raja of Cutch and Fath Muhammad that you have come agreeably to the orders of your sovereign for the purpose of establishing a factory in the country of Nasir Khan; that you have no other object than to encourage foreign merchants to report to the ports of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* that as horses are necessary as one of the means of prosecuting

* The *baiz* of Tipu Sultan was a cypher, forming the words *Nabi Malik* which signify "the Prophet is Master"

holy wars ; it is desirable to procure a great number for the soldiers and warriors engaged in this service, and that you have come to make some arrangement for this purpose. Having made a representation to this effect, you will remain there for ten or twelve days, and visiting all the public officers of his Government, you will be careful to inspire them with hopes of the favour of your king and render them subservient to the will of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*.

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

“Proceeding for Cutch on a hired ship you will repair to the port of Karachi and from there to which is the place of residence of Nasir Khan and landing at the distance of one stage from that place, you will address a letter to Nasir Khan to this effect, “That you have come to His Highness with letters and an honorary dress from your sovereign and that you will have the honour to communicate to him the commands with which you are charged from our *Huzur*.”

Having written to this effect in an appropriate manner you will on the receipt of his answer proceed to the city of Nasir Khan, and paying your respect with the customary ceremonies of the place, you will present the honorary dress and the letter in trays. You will each present a *nazr* (or offering) of five *Haidari* Rupees and one *Ahmadi**, and you will offer on our (Tipu Sultan) part the salutations prescribed among the followers of the faith and at the same time making the strongest professions of friendship, address him on this effect:

“That you had been ordered to wait upon His Highness (Nasir Khan) and after being favoured by him with a guard you were desired to proceed to Persia and having seen all the curiosities of that country and visited the tombs of the illustrious you were commissioned to bring back with you the different rarities and choice productions of that country.”

Having made this representation and after two or three more interviews have taken place you will observe to him, that countries belonging to the followers of the faith, are united by one

* A coin equal to about a gold *Muhr*.

common interest; that in the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* sundry persons form an association and carry on a commerce, under the denomination of *Malikut Tujjar* that they beg to represent to His Highness, that if he will be pleased to favour them with a place for a factory, at the port of Karachi, and give them the necessary assurances they will establish a factory at that port and carry on a commerce, paying His Highness the established duties according to the custom of his Government; that the *Malikut Tujjar* had, accordingly, addressed a letter to His Highness on the subject and sent an honorary dress which only waited his acceptance.

Having made a representation to this effect you will deliver the letter and dress and taking his *qual* (or engagement) and an order to the Governor of Karachi with respect to the assignment of a place for a factory, you will proceed to that port and fix on the spot accordingly.

From there you will proceed either by land or water, with the greatest prudence and circumspection to the country of His Majesty, Zaman Shah, and on your return, you will again visit Nasir Khan and on your arrival at Karachi, you will select a respectable person from among the merchants for the purpose of conducting the business of the factory and deliver over the place to his charge.

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

On your arrival in the country of Zaman Shah, you will repair to the seat of Government which is at Kabul and halting at the distance of one stage from the city, you will address a letter to the *Wazir* (or Minister) and despatch a message with it by the *Mirdah* (or head) of the messengers to this effect: "That you had come to attend (His Majesty) on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, in the capacity of Ambassadors, and waited His Majesty's pleasure."

When the Minister shall send for you, you will repair to Kabul and take up your residence at that place which he may point out at your interview with him. You will carry the letter and *Khilat* (honorary dress) with you and present them to him in trays; you will each present a *nazr* of five *Ahmadis*, and

according to the custom of that Government you will pay the proper compliments; if it should be customary to sit after waiting a little and receiving the commands of the *Wazir*, you will do so; should it, however, be customary to stand, you will remain standing; then taking the letter and dress from the trays you will place these at some little distance in front of the *Wazir* and offer the respects and compliments of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* in the manner prescribed among the followers of the faith and observing that all true believers are brethren, make the strongest professions of friendship in terms suitable to the rank of the parties; you will then enter into discourse with him and represent that:

“You are Sayyids, the descendants of Fatimah (the daughter of Prophet Muhammad); that you have repaired to the presence of His Highness, and are ready to obey his commands, and that you entertain hopes through his means to be honoured with permission to pay your respects to His Majesty (the King of Afghanistan).

You will address yourselves to him in this manner, and having through the *Wazir* obtained admission to the presence of His Majesty Zaman Shah, you will place on the trays the letter, the dress, jewels, and saddles, and then present them in the manner which the *Wazir* may desire and agreeably to the customs and etiquette of that Court. You will also, according to the established forms of that Court, offer the proper compliments and stand up with your hands folded together. When you shall receive an order to sit down, you will seat yourself accordingly; and whatever may be the etiquette of the place, you will be careful to observe it.

Having thus paid your visit to that august Court through the *Wazir*, in the manner which is proper for Ambassadors, you will represent that, “having come a distant journey from the Exalted Presence (Tipu Sultan), you have presented yourselves before His Majesty; that many affairs of importance have been entrusted to you, which at His Majesty’s leisure, you would represent to him”.

Dated the 17th of *Rahmani* of the year *Saud*, 1223 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad (about March 1796).

Written by Sayyid Husain.

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

The first time of your attending the Court of His Majesty Zaman Shah, you will, each of you, present a *nazr* of eleven *Ahmadis*.

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

An escort of nine soldiers is sent with you for the purpose of guarding the articles belonging to the *Sarkar*. You will take care that they perform their duty and that they keep their arms clean and bright; that they regularly attend at the five daily prayers, and that they perform their ablutions and offer up holy ejaculations upon the parade. You will hire at the different stages, bullocks, or whatever species of carriage is in use in that country, for the purpose of transporting four suits of clothes for each of the soldiers, at the expense of the *Sarkar*, and you will also hire the necessary carriage in the country for the conveyance of the baskets, containing *Khilats* and other articles belonging to the *Sarkar*, which you will carry with you.

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

You will receive 750 *Faruqis* for the payment of the wages of the different servants who accompany you, and you will pay them their allowances according the established rates.

In addition to this, you will receive for your contingent expenses, 500 *Imamis* the value of which is stated in the account and you will take them with you.

Thirty-four *Ahmadis* of gold have also been given you for the purpose of enabling you to offer the *nazrs* mentioned above. You will take ten silver *Haidaris*, from the 500 *Imamis* before stated, and present them as *nazrs*, agreeably to the foregoing directions.

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

No. 22

*Translation of a paper entitled, "Proposition to His Majesty Zaman Shah."**

The imbecility and ruinous condition of the kingdom of Delhi are more obvious than the sun. As Delhi which is one of the seats of the government of the Muhammadan faith has now been reduced to this state of ruin, so that the infidels altogether prevail, it has become proper and it is incumbent upon the the leaders of the faithful to unite together and exterminate them.

I am very desirous of engaging in this pursuit, but there are three sects of infidels (Nizam, Marathas and the English) in the way of it; and although when we are united, there is little ground for apprehension, yet the union of the followers of the faith is necessary. If that ornament of the throne, the conqueror of kingdoms, should adopt (one of) two plans for effecting this, it will tend to the glory of the faith.

One of them is as follows:

"That Your Majesty should remain in your capital and send one of your noblemen in whom you have confidence to Delhi with an army; that this person on his arrival there should make the necessary arrangements, and after deposing the infirm king (Shah Alam II) who has reduced the faith to this state of weakness, select, from among the family some one properly qualified for the Government. He (Your Majesty's General) should remain one year (in Delhi) for the purpose of settling the country and taking with him the chiefs of the country who are Rajputs and others direct his standard towards the Deccan so that (with so imposing a military array) the Brahmins, and others on the road (the various castes of Hindus, through whose country he marches) may come forward and join him; while I, from this quarter, with the aid of God, will raise the standard

* This appears to be a memorandum of a plan of cooperation between Tipu Sultan and Zaman Shah, which the Ambassadors of the former were instructed to propose to the latter.

of holy war and make the infidels* bow down under the sword of the faith. After these shall have been sacrificed to the sword and no longer exist, the remaining infidels will be nothing. Afterwards, the settlement of the Deccan may be concluded in any manner which shall be mutually agreed upon."

The second plan is this:

"If none of Your Majesty's noblemen should be sufficiently in your confidence, or equal to the undertaking, and if Your Majesty should be entirely at ease with respect to the state of your country and government: it is proposed, that you should in person proceed to Delhi, and having made the necessary arrangements there, and established one of your confidential servants in the office of *Wazir* (or Minister) return to your own capital. The person who may be selected for the office of *Wazir* must be a man of address and enterprise that remaining a twelve month with his army at Delhi he may be able to bring under subjection the chiefs of the neighbouring country. The second year, Your Majesty should also send from your capital a small army as a reinforcement so that the *Wazir* appointed by you as above-mentioned may proceed with the chiefs of Hindustan towards the Deccan; should these infidels direct their power to that quarter, by the grace of God, the hands of the heroes of the faith, in this part of the world shall be raised for their chastisement. After their extirpation, it will be proper to enjoin the *Wazir* acting on behalf of Your Majesty to fix upon a place of rendezvous, and there to meet me, so that the proper means may be adopted for the settlement of the country."

You are to make a proposition to His Majesty to the above effect and request him to determine upon whichever of the two plans he may prefer and then furnish you with a written engagement accordingly, under His Majesty's hand and seal, adding: that if His Majesty will be pleased to give both of you permission and have the goodness to send a confidential person

* The English, Nizam and the Marathas seem to be here meant.

with you, you will repair to the presence of your Sovereign, and having also obtained from him an engagement in writing. Corresponding with the instrument above alluded to, you will return with the confidential person above-mentioned, to my presence (Tipu Sultan); but that should His Majesty desire one of you to remain with him, one of you will continue in attendance accordingly, and the other will proceed with His Majesty (Zaman Shah's) confidential servant to the Deccan and return with the writing from thence to the presence of His Majesty (Tipu Sultan).

No. 23

Translation of the Draft of a letter from Tipu Sultan to Zaman Shah.

(The letter commences with an invocation to the Deity and to Prophet Muhammad and others as usual in the correspondence of persons of the rank of Zaman Shah, and Tipu Sultan; as the idiom of the English language will not admit of an adequate translation of the figurative expressions used upon these occasions, and as it is not in any degree essential to insert them, they are wholly omitted; for the same reason the complimentary titles and designations applied to Zaman Shah throughout the letter are for the most part left out in the translation).

“Thanks to God ! that at this happy time I have the satisfaction to hear that Your Majesty, the ornament of the throne, the promoter of religion, the destroyer of infidels and oppressors etc. employs your whole time and exerts every faculty in the support of the enlightened religion, and is wholly devoted to its cause. The report of Your Majesty's piety, justice, religious zeal and courage, so grateful to the feelings of all the followers of the faith, and especially to me, has afforded me inexpressible joy and satisfaction. In return for this, near a hundred thousand followers of the faith, nay more, assemble every Friday, the *sabath* of the Mussulmans, in the two mosques of the capital, better known as the Aulah and the Aqsa mosques; and after the prescribed forms of prayer, supplicate the Bestower of all things according to the words of Scripture, “Grant thy aid, O God

to those who aid the religion of Muhammad; and let us be of that number: Destroy those, O God! who would destroy the religion of Muhammad; and let not us be their number." And pray that the Almighty will render Your Majesty, who is the supporter of the faith and all its followers, victorious and successful over their enemies.

I confidently trust that the Almighty in conformity to His holy word, "He who prayeth unto Me his prayer shall be granted," will listen to their supplication and render Your Majesty, who is the defender of the faith, and one of its brightest ornaments, successful and victorious.

Your Majesty must doubtless have been informed that my exalted ambition has for its object, a holy war. The fruit of this just design has been that in the midst of this land the Almighty protects this tract of Muhammadan dominion like the Ark of Noah and cuts short the extended arm of the abandoned infidel. The report of Your Majesty's zeal and piety render me, and all the followers of the faith, most anxious to open a personal and direct communication of sentiments with Your Majesty; but the obstacles to this are fully apparent to Your Majesty and, therefore, upon the principle (as laid down in the law) that it is sufficient that two persons should have the honour to see* the new moon in order to establish its actual appearance, the respected Mir Habibullah and Mir Muhammad Riza, who are among the highest in rank in the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* and are worthy of admission to Your Majesty's Presence (*Huzur*) are now sent as Ambassadors to Your Majesty's Imperial Court with letters, which according to the saying, "a letter is half a meeting," may

* The Muhammadan months are lunar; and their commencement, respectively, depends upon the actual appearance of the moon's first quarter. As the intervention of clouds of vapours often obscures the moon at one place when it is visible at another, the evidence of any two persons, declaring that they have seen it is deemed sufficient to establish the fact of its appearance and the first day of the month (or moon) is assumed accordingly: Should the moon, however, not be seen before the 31st of the month that day is considered as the first of the ensuing. It is a common practice among the Mussulmans of high rank to salute the appearance of a new moon by cannon and to send each other congratulatory messages upon the occasion.

be considered as an invaluable substitute for personal communication in order that I may be gratified not only by obtaining accounts of Your Majesty's prosperity, success and glory but enjoy the pleasure of seeing Your Majesty as it were by substitution; and that the foundations of friendship and attachment, which are productive of benefits, both spiritual and temporal, may be strengthened and improved; and also that the persons above-mentioned may have the honour to represent to Your Majesty my sentiments upon some important subjects and the circumstances of the enfeebled condition of the faith in the regions of Hindustan, which I have entrusted to their verbal communication; besides this I would propose, if it meet Your Majesty's approbation that these persons of rank may constantly reside at Your Majesty's Court, to be the channel of correspondence and the means of improving mutual harmony and attachment.

Under the sacred exhortation, "Bestow presents among one another," I beg leave to send by the persons, above-mentioned, a few of the articles of this country as is due among those who are connected by the ties of religion. I confidently trust that Your Majesty will gratify me by accepting them and honour the Ambassadors, by admitting them to Your Majesty's (*Huzur*) presence, and send them back to this quarter with the utmost expedition."

Here follows a list of the presents.

No. 24

Translation of the draft of a letter from Tipu Sultan to Mulla Abdul Ghaffar Khan, one of the Principal Ministers of Zaman Shah, the Ruler of Afghanistan.

(After the usual complimentary address adapted to the relative rank of the parties, the letter proceeds as follows):

"The receipt of your agreeable letter, which reached me through Ram Sahai, *Munshi* in the service of his Majesty Zaman Shah, and through my *Wakils* (meaning those stationed at Delhi) afforded me the highest satisfaction and recalled you to my recollection. You wrote that from the impulse of this cordial

attachment which supersedes the necessity of outward forms you had availed yourself of a proper opportunity to represent my circumstances in the fullest manner to His Majesty (Zaman Shah) and that His Majesty had been pleased to signify in reply that when the victorious standard should be displayed in the direction of Hindustan it was His Majesty's design to honour me with marks of his boundless favour, and to promote the important objects in view. This has impressed my mind with a renewed sense of your kindness: In conformity to the declaration of God and his Prophet, that:

“In this world, of causes and effects, there is nothing more estimable than union and friendship.”

It has long been my earnest desire to establish an alliance and cordial attachment between the two *Sarkars*, but, in proof of the saying:

“Everything depends upon its appointed season.”

The accomplishment of this design has been suspended for want of opportunity.

Thanks to God! that through your intervention this object has now been accomplished in the most satisfactory manner: The bonds of attachment have now been drawn a thousand fold closer than my heart had conceived. The pen is incapable of describing my gratitude for this. With a view to display this, my gratitude, and to cement the foundations of friendship and attachment, two persons, true *Sayyids* by birth, who are among the highest in rank of the servants of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, are now deputed with a letter calculated to inspire friendship, addressed to His Majesty, the Defender of the Faith, Zaman Shah. Please God, they will have the honour of paying their respects to you. I hope that you will be pleased to give your attention to several points, involving concerns of a spiritual and temporal nature which have been committed to their verbal communication; and having procured them the honour of an introduction to the Presence of His Majesty that you will enable these Ambassadors to represent to him the points which have been entrusted to their verbal report. May your days of prosperity and success be perpetual.”

Here follows a list of presents.

No. 25

Translation of the draft of a letter from Tipu Sultan to Ghulam Muhammad Khan, the Agent of Zaman Shah, the King of Afghanistan.

“Your pleasing letters have reached me in succession and their contents have been understood.

Your having represented in terms of commendation the circumstances of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* to the *Nawwab, Mulla Abdul Ghaffar Khan*; your having conveyed to him also the letters of my *Wakils* (those stationed at Delhi) and your procuring and transmitting a letter to my address from him, has impressed me with a high sense of your cordial attachment and zeal. The letter from the *Nawwab, Mulla Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, and your own friendly address, reached me through *Munshi Ram Sahai* and the *Wakils* of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*; their contents afforded me boundless satisfaction and gave new life to my regard. I am confident that, continuing in the same manner to observe the dictates of cordial attachment and what is calculated to promote the faith for which there is the sanction both of God and his Prophet, you will use your best endeavours to fulfil the objects of my heart to increase cordial friendship and strengthen the bonds of sincere attachment. This answer to your friendly letter and my reply to that of the *Nawwab, Mulla Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, are now forwarded by the respected *Mir Habibullah* and *Mir Muhammad Riza* who are among the highest in rank of the servants of my Government and who are deputed to cement the foundations of union between His Majesty *Zaman Shah* and my *Sarkars*. Through the aid of Providence, these two persons will arrive with my letters, (to the Ministers) and my address to His Majesty and will have a meeting with you. True attachment requires of you to obtain for them access to the *Nawwab* above-mentioned and enable them to pay their respects to the presence (of *Zaman Shah*); when they will represent to His Majesty the sentiments and wishes of my heart which have been entrusted to their verbal communication. I am confident that you will use your best endeavours to promote the accomplishment of my wishes and to obtain for my Ambassadors as early as possible leave to

return to this quarter with the full accomplishment of the object of their mission.

Believing me always anxious about you, constantly gratify me by letters denoting your welfare."

No. 26

Translation of the draft of a letter from Tipu Sultan to Zaman Shah, dated the 7th of Shaban, 1211 Hijri (or the 5th February, 1797).

(After the usual Address and exordium as adverted to in No. 23 the letter proceeds as follows):

"By the favour of God, Your Majesty, the ornament of the throne of power and greatness, has for the most part occupied your time in extending the religion of the Prophet; and in establishing the basis of the true faith: and continue so to do. The same of this has amply pervaded the world. These circumstances, which are as well known from east to west as the sun in the center of the heavens, suggested to my mind, that, agreeably to the command of God and his Prophet we should unite in carrying on a holy war against the enemies of our religion. The followers of the faith in these territories, always assembling at a select time on Fridays offer up their prayers in the words: "O God, slay those who have closed the way. Let their sins return upon their own heads with the punishment that is due to them."

I trust that Almighty God, for the sake of his beloved, will accept their prayers, and through the merit of a holy cause, prosper our mutual exertions to that end. And, through the influence of the words, "Thine armies shall conquer," will render us victorious and successful. Through the aid of the Giver of all victory, in reward of my meritorious resolution to prosecute a holy war, which is the proper end and object of life to those who adorn the throne of religion and dominion. I have ever been happy in the fruits of His unbounded goodness and have continued safe under the divine protection and still remain so. The proof of this is, that the dominion of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, which is surrounded by enemies (Nizam, Marathas and the

English) has stood aloof like the Ark of Noah, keeping the enemies of the faith in affectual check. The words of Scripture, "impurity and purity are not equal, however, the prevalence of the former may excite astonishment," are hereby verified.

Prior to this, two respectable *Sayyids*, Mir Habibullah and Mir Ghulam Riza, were deputed to Your Majesty on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, by sea, with the utmost expedition. Through the guidance of the Almighty, they will have the honour of paying their respects to Your Majesty and will represent the points which have been entrusted to their verbal communication. Your Majesty will also receive entailed accounts from Your Majesty's Agent, Ghulam Muhammad Khan, of affairs to the South and East and also the circumstances of this quarter.

May the sun of dignity and splendour rise from the horizon of success and glory."

No. 27

Translation of the draft of a letter from Tipu Sultan to Wafadar Khan, one of Zaman Shah's Principal Ministers, dated 7th of Shaba, 1211 Hijri (the 5th of February, 1797).

After the usual Complimentary form of address, the letter proceeds as follows:

"Your most friendly and agreeable letter, every word of which was replete with the sentiments of attachment and regard, together with letters from the *Nawwab*, *Mulla Abdul Ghaffar Khan* and *Nawwab Aminul-mulk*, have reached me, and have afforded me great pleasure.

You have written that the *Nawwab Mulla Abdul Ghaffar Khan* submitted the friendly Address of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* to His Majesty's perusal, and impressed it word by word upon His Majesty's mind; that His Majesty was extremely gratified, and had directed you, *Nawwab Nur Muhammad Khan Aminul-mulk* and *Nawwab Mulla Abdul Ghaffar Khan*; to despatch friendly letters to me. This has afforded me such a degree of pleasure and delight, that is beyond description. The knowledge also of His Majesty's determination to proceed to Hindustan has inspired my soul with confidence. May the Almighty in his

bounty, bring to effect our mutual desires. You further intimate your request, that, considering our interests the same I would commit to paper all that concerns me, and command your services in any way that I can desire. The sum of my wishes is, that His Majesty uniting with me, we should proceed to chastise these abandoned enemies and not suffer our present dominion to depart from our hands. Through the divine goodness...the southern atmosphere will regain complete purity. Prior to this the two respected *Sayyids*, Mir Muhammad Habibullah and Mir Muhammad Riza, were deputed by sea (the wicked being entirely prevalent by land) charged with certain points which I have at heart and which it is not proper to commit to writing. They will represent to His Majesty the points which have been confided to them and full credence may be given to what they shall say. The faded splendour of the faith, throughout India is evident in every article; to describe it is superfluous. May your days of prosperity and success be perpetual."

No. 28

Translation of an original letter from Zaman Shah to Tipu Sultan.

After the customary invocation to the Deity and the Prophet and a figurative address to the Sultan, the letter proceeds as follows:

"Your letter, replete with sentiments of friendship and regard, expressing your solicitude for the propagation of the faith, and the extirpation of the abandoned irreligious infidels; informing us that in the mosques, after the conclusion of public worship, supplications are made at the Throne of Grace for the increase of our dominion, and the success of our triumphant banners referring us for a further exposition of your sentiments, to the verbal explanation of your Ambassadors, Sayyid Habibullah and Sayyid Muhammad Riza; signifying that you had sent a few presents by the Ambassadors; requesting that two persons of your *Sarkar* might reside at our Court and stating other

particulars of friendship, arrived in a most auspicious season and added new ardour to our mutual friendship.

As the object of your well directed mind is the destruction of the enemies and the extension of the faith of the Prophet; please God, we shall soon march with our conquering army to wage war with them and polytheists (the English) and to free those regions from the contamination of these shameless tribes with the edge of the sword; so that the inhabitants of those regions may be restored to comfort and repose ; be, therefore, perfectly satisfied in this respect.

With regard to your request for deputing two persons to reside at our Court with a view to strengthen the ties of friendship we have to express our acquiescence.

We have sent a few articles hereunder mentioned as a token of our regard by your Ambassadors who have explained to us the message with which you had commissioned them.

Here follows list of Dresses etc. sent as presents.

No. 29

Translation of the draft of a letter from Tipu Sultan to Zamam Shah, dated the 24th of Rahmani, of the year Shadab, 1226 from the birth of Prophet Muhammad, answering to the 23rd of Shaban 1213 Hijri (corresponding with the 30th of January 1799).

(The exordium, consisting of the usual invocation to the Deity and the Prophet together with the figurative titles and designations addressed to Zaman Shah, is omitted).

“Your Majesty’s gracious letter in reply to my friendly address, and which was brought by Sayyid Habibullah and Sayyid Muhammad Riza, the Ambassadors of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, had been received, it has given increase to friendship, and augmented the sources of joy and satisfaction. Your Majesty was pleased to write that repose and happiness would be restored to the inhabitants of India and desiring that I would set my mind at ease upon every point. This has been fully understood and I have also been informed word by word of what Your Majesty was pleased to confide to the verbal communication of the Ambassadors; all which afforded me boundless satisfaction.

At this time, the English, having received intimation of the arrival of the Ambassadors of the *Sarkar* at Your Highness's court, and of the firm connection established between the two States have taken umbrage, and in concert with the infidels and the turbulent (Nizam and Marathas) have taken up arms against me. They have written* that they entertain the design to subvert the religion of Islam "Many are the words that proceed from their lips but their words are nought but lies." Please God they shall become food for the unrelenting sword of the pious warriors. "Evil designs return upon the heads of the inventors." We are labourers in the way of the Lord, and obedient to the command of God. We have no support but the aid of the King of the World, who is great and powerful; and the true Prophet, the head of the true religion, the destroyer of former abominations. Placing my dependence upon those tidings of joy, "Often doth God permit the inferior number to overpower the superior," I am prepared to exert the energies of my mind and of my faculties, inwardly and outwardly, to carry on a holy war. Agreeably to the command of God, believing it a duty of religion to communicate affairs of great importance when the interests of religion are one and the same the *Sayyids* before-mentioned are now a second time despatched to Your Majesty's Court for the purpose of representing all circumstances fully and personally; and from them Your Majesty will be amply informed of everything. Impelled by a solicitude for the defence of religion which it is incumbent upon all the princes of Islam to feel, let Your Majesty display your grateful endeavours both by word and deed to repel them. "God will aid the pure of heart, and pious".

* It appears from the testimony of Habibullah, the late Tipu Sultan's Head *Munshi*, that this assertion is founded on the passage at the close of the 4th paragraph of the East India Company's Governor-General's letter to Tipu Sultan of the 8th of November 1778 wherein he points out to the Sultan, the dangers to which he will expose his authority, the tranquility of his dominions, the prosperity of his Government, and the permanence of his religion by his connection with the French.

No. 30

Translation of the draft of a letter from Tipu Sultan to the Grand Signior.

(The following Memorandum is written in the first leaf of the book which contains the original of this translation).

In this book are entered the draft of the letters which were written to the *Grand Signior* to Zaman Shah, King of Kabul; and to Fath Ali Khan, King of Iran under date the 4th of *Ramazan*, 1213 Hijri (the 10th of February 1799).

“In the name of the most Merciful God !

After the customary invocation to the Deity and the Prophet, and a series of pompous titles addressed the *Grand Signior*, the letter proceeds as follows:

Your Highness's august letter, written on the 11th of *Rabi II*, 1213 Hijri (23 September, 1798) which was conveyed through the English (the Governor of Madras) honoured me by its gracious arrival: was the means of glory and distinction and the productive source of boundless favour. Its contents added strength and firmness to the foundations of union and attachment and its gracious expressions gave stability to the fabric of friendship.

With respect to what Your Highness wrote 'the invasion of the venerated land of Egypt by the devoted French, by treachery and deceit, notwithstanding the observance of long subsisting friendship on the part of Your Highness; the objects of that irreligious, turbulent people, and the determination of the Ottoman Porte to employ the most vigorous measures to repel that rebellious race; of my assisting and joining my brethren Mussalmans in the general cause of religion and defending the regions of Hindustan from the machinations of this enemy; that I would communicate to Your Highness whatever subject of complaint I might have against the English, when by the aid of God and Your Highness's good offices, those complaints should be removed to my satisfaction and the grounds of opposition and estrangement be exchanged for the desirable objects of harmony and union.' This, which Your Highness did me the honour to write has been understood.

By the favour of God and the benevolence of the Prophet, all the followers of the faith hold fraternity in religion; particularly the exalted Ottoman State and the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, (between which, regard and attachment are established firmly as columns, and of which friendship and union, repeated tokens have been interchanged) are aiding and assisting each other. As this labourer in the way of the Lord, is a brother in the faith, is obedient to Your Highness's all powerful will, and does not conceive any difference to exist between us, I beg you will communicate to me, as to what Your Highness's exalted mind conceives will be conducive to the welfare and interests of the followers of the faith. As the French have made themselves Your Highness's enemies, they have made themselves so to all the followers of the faith. God is the Protector and Defender of the land of Hindustan: next to Him, this suppliant at the Almighty throne does not, and will not, neglect the defence and service of the people. I am fully confident that Your Highness will be disposed to afford your assistance and support in all matters to us labourers. All Hindustan is over-run with infidels and polytheists, excepting the dominions of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, which like the Ark of Noah, are safe under the protection and bounteous aid of God. Be it known to those who stand at the foot of the throne of Supreme King of kings that the treachery, deceit and supremacy of the Christians (the English) in the regions of Hindustan are beyond the power of expression—a summary elucidation of this will be found as follows:

'A person by name Daud Khan, an Afghan, was appointed to the *Subadari* of Arcot, on the part of the Emperor of Delhi. About that time, the French and English, each with one of their detested ships, came to the coast, expressly for the purpose of trade, bringing with them, some of the products of their country such as knives, scissors, needles, china and glassware, for sale. After presenting several articles to the deluded *Subadar* as a *nazr* (or offering expressive of submission) they requested the grant of a spot of ground sufficient for a single house for their residence in order that they might import the products of Europe, paying the proper duties, and to remain there with a dozen of their people. The *Subadar* complied with their request and there the English resided for some time.

It happened, that the exalted *farman* of Shah Alam, Bahadur Shah, son of Alamgir, Emperor of Hindustan was addressed to Daud Khan, directing him to leave a trusty *Diwan* in Arcot, and repair himself to the presence. In conformity to the Emperor's summons, Daud Khan repaired to Delhi, leaving Saadatullah Khan as his deputy. Owing to the negligence and folly of the Ministers at Delhi, Saadatullah Khan became a traitor, and usurped the dominion of the country. About that period, the English and the French applied to the *Subadar* for the grant of a little ground about their houses; to which the *Subadar*, from his want of foresight, and from his innate folly, consented; and accordingly granted them the ground which they asked. After this both these nations erected small forts and stationed about a hundred men to garrison them.

Verses

“Where a country is abandoned by its Prince, every village becomes a principality.”

The relations and followers of Saadatullah Khan, each took possession of districts and erecting fortresses, established their abode. At the same time, the French and English taking with them some of the products of Europe, repaired to the districts of the relations and followers of the said Saadatullah Khan and contracted friendship with them; and under this cover, obtaining a complete insight into their character, their mode of living, the structure of their forts, the administration of their territories, and the condition of their forces, they entertained from four or five hundred men of that country and waited their opportunity.

In the meantime Saadatullah Khan died. After his death, his relations and adherents, who were very numerous, quarrelled among themselves; and one of them by name Safdar Ali Khan entered into an intrigue with the Marathas of Poona and solicited military succours. Agreeably to this request an army of the Poona consisting of 50,000 horse under the command of Raghu Fateh Singh, invaded the province of Arcot, where Safdar Ali Khan suffered his father Ali Daust Khan to be slain in battle by the army of Poona. After this these Marathas see-

ing the dissension which prevailed among the adherents and relations of Safdar Ali Khan, plundered all the inhabitants of that country without discrimination of friend or foe; carried off a hundred thousand men and women prisoners to their own country and sold them to slavery. They also took prisoner Husain Daust Khan, known by the name Chanda Khan, who was the husband of the sister to Safdar Ali Khan and carried him to Poona. In meantime, Murtaza Khan, the Governor of Vellore, and husband of another sister of Safdar Ali Khan enticed the latter to his house and put him to death. After this event, *Nizam-ul-Mulk*, the *Wazir* of Emperor of Delhi, who had made himself master of the Deccan, arrived in the province of Arcot; and appointing Anwarud-din Khan *Subadar* of that province on his own part, gave in charge to him the two infant sons of the late Safdar Ali Khan, with injunctions to protect and educate them; and then returned to the Deccan. After this, Anwarud-din Khan incited the Afghans to murder one of the children. A short time after, Chanda Khan, who was in confinement at Poona, bribing the captors with a sum of money, obtained his release and arrived in the province of Arcot, from where he proceeded to Pondicherry, then a factory belonging to the French, where he took refuge. He there procured a body of French troops, with which he marched against Anwarud-din Khan with the view to reduce the Province of Arcot. In the meantime Anwarud-din Khan sought the assistance of the English who then held a factory at Cheenaputtun (Madras). Accordingly, the English joined him with a body of troops. In proof of the words "He who affordeth assistance to the oppressor, shall fall under subjection to the very man he assisted," both these persons becoming the objects of the divine anger, sought assistance from these two infidel tribes and proceeded to hostilities. It was so decreed however, that Anwarud-din Khan fell by the hand of Husain Daust Khan. After this, Muhammad Ali Khan, son of Anwarud-din Khan, giving up both his worldly and spiritual concerns to the direction of the English and making them his protectors prepared for hostilities against Chanda Khan. In the meantime, *Nizam-ul-Mulk* died, and was succeeded by his son Nasir Jang, whom Muhammad Ali Khan invited to join him; but before his arrival, Nasir Jang's nephew

Hidayat Muhiud-din Khan fled with a small body of troops to Pondicherry and the French collecting a force which consisted of about a thousand men of their own nation and about four thousand Indian sepoy proceeded with the troops of the said Hidayat Muhiud-din Khan against Nasir Jung, who being joined with Muhammad Ali Khan, after sustaining repeated engagements with the French, laid siege to the fortress of Gingee, which is situated on a hill, and was then in their possession. The latter entering into a collusion with the *Sardars* of Nasir Jang's army, attacked it in the night. After the alarm was given, Nasir Jang mounted his elephant, when a man named Bahadur Khan, an Afghan in his service, had the baseness to kill him by a musket shot, and causing his elephant to be driven close to that of Nasir Jang, cut off his head and stuck in on the point of a spear.

Upon this event, the French set up Hidayat Muhiud-din Khan as his successor and accompanied by a body of their own troops under the command of an officer named Marquis de Bussy, directed their march towards Hyderabad. In the course of their march they halted at the fort of Rayachoti, where the traitor Bahadur Khan and the French troops commanded by Marquis de Bussy quarrelled about the divisions of the plundered treasure and jewels, and an engagement took place, in which Bahadur Khan and some other Afghan chiefs were slain, and precipitated to hell. Hidayat Muhiud-din Khan also fell in this engagement by a musket shot.

The French then conferred the succession on the worthless Salabat Jang, second son of *Nizam-ul-Mulk*, and proceeded with him to Hyderabad; whereby the whole of the Deccan may be said to have come under the authority of the French at Hyderabad. The French Christians (who amounted to near 1200 men) in a state of intoxication, in open day, entered the houses of the votaries of Islam, and violated numbers of their women. Many of the females of the nobles ripped up their own bellies and threw themselves into wells. Hence all the inhabitants of Hyderabad conceived enmity against the French.

In the meantime, Nizam Ali Khan, son of *Nizam-ul-Mulk*, imprisoned his elder brother Salabat Jang, and established himself in his room. A short time afterwards, when the utmost disagreement had taken place between the people of Hyderabad

and the French, the worthless de Bussy marched from that city with his troops and returned to Pondicherry. During these transactions, Muhammad Ali Khan in conjunction with the English carried on the war against Chanda Khan, who was a close friend of the French. The armies of both the infidel nations contended for the Province of Arcot and after many battles and much bloodshed the English and Muhammad Ali Khan, having pledged their faith to Chanda Khan, and under that sanction made him their prisoner, put him to death, and obtained possession of whole of the Arcot province, yielding a yearly revenue of nearabout four crores of rupees.

When the English had thus established themselves in Arcot they turned their views to the conquest of Bengal. To this end, with the same treachery and deceit which has been above described, they applied to the Viceroy of Bengal also, for a spot of ground; and having obtained possession of a land sufficient for a single house, they there stationed their people as for the purposes of trade and waited their opportunity. About this time the Viceroy of Bengal died and contentions arose among his children and relations. The English taking part with the one, subdued the other, and rendering that other entirely dependant upon them, obtaining possession of the whole dominion of Bengal, a territory consisting of four *subas* and yielding an annual revenue of twenty crores of rupees. Not far from there is a place called Lucknow, the Ruler of which was Mirza Amani* (Asafud-daulah), son of Shujaud-daulah. By intrigue and chicane with him, they (the English) intruded themselves into that country also. What is more extraordinary is this: lately Mirza Amani sent an ambassador to Zaman Shah, the King of Kabul. When this news came to the knowledge of the English (Governor) General,** who resides at Calcutta, he proceeded thence on a visit to Mirza Amani, and having leagued with the ministers of that country, caused Mirza Amani to be poisoned, violated the chastity of his widow, and plundered his house, of money and jewels, to the amount of twenty crores of rupees.

* This is the name by which the late *Wazir*, Asafud-daulah was called during the lifetime of his father.

** Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth).

Throughout the territory of Bengal, wherever there were men of learning, science, and rank, the English have forcibly taken prisoners their wives and daughters, violated their chastity, and carried them off to their own islands and country. Seizing the youths of the class of *Sayyids*, devotees, and learned men, and obliging them to eat the flesh of swine, they have proclaimed it by beat of tom-tom*. In the country of Bengal and in all other places where their authority prevails they have set up swine-butchers and cause them to sell the flesh of hogs publicly in the streets and markets.

All this power and authority have the English acquired in the space of forty years.

About twenty years ago, during the lifetime of my late revered father Haidar Ali Khan, disputes occurring among the worthless Maratha *Sardars* of Poona, Raghunath Rao, the uncle of Narain Rao, the head of the Poona State, treacherously murdered his nephew: the turbulent spirit of the chiefs, however, obliged him to seek refuge at Bombay, a place in the possession of the English.

The English, obtaining from him money and jewels to a large amount, detached an army with Raghunath Rao for the reduction of Poona. The Poona ministers deceitfully selected a child of two or three days old from their own class, proclaimed him as the genuine offspring of the murdered Narain Rao and as the successor to the *masnad* (throne) and assembling an army marched to oppose the English and Raghunath Rao. Finding themselves unable to cope with the English they repeatedly sent letters by ambassadors of rank to the Presence of His Late Highness (Haidar Ali) soliciting his assistance. His Late Highness prudently considering that ... it was more advisable to afford than so refuse his assistance to the Marathas belonging to the country (because the supremacy of the English was the source of evil to all God's creatures). With a view to the aid of Poona, he (Haidar Ali) marched to Madras with a vast army. Many engagements ensued and many places fell and Madras itself was near being taken, when it

* A kind of drum. Proclamations were usually made by beat of drum.

pleased God that His Late Highness should end his days in that expedition; he died in the vicinity of Arcot.

After the demise of my illustrious father I continued the war, and after many victories and the capture of numberless prisoners, the English sent their ambassadors, humbly, and by engagement and oath, to sue for peace.

Although I was not myself disposed to grant them peace, yet by the earnest advice of the nobles of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, I consented. Four or five years after, when ambassadors from the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* arrived at the Sublime Porte and after representing the sentiments of friendship returned to the royal presence, the English receiving information of the circumstances, with hearts inflamed, immediately conceived that all the tribes of Islam were about to league together for their destruction. They knew too that they had given Your Highness proofs of their evil disposition and, therefore, uniting to themselves Nizam Ali Khan and the Marathas of Poona they waged war against the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* for four years.

At length, near a hundred thousand of the followers of the faith had determined to slay their wives and families with their own hands and rushing upon the infidels drank the cup of martyrdom and plunged the infidels into hell. The counsellors, the lords, and the respected sages of Islam, all agreed, that this attack upon the dominion of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar* was in consequence of the deputation of ambassadors with letters to the Sublime Porte; and, therefore, that it was advisable by any means to accommodate matters for the present, to communicate to Your Highness all that had occurred, and joined with Your Highness's aid, proceed to exterminate the infidels. I approved the representation of my faithful servants, and surrendering three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees in treasure and half my country (which was all a dead loss to me) put an end to the contest.

The English having adopted a determined resolution to subdue the whole of Hindustan and to subvert the Muslim religion and having united to themselves Nizam Ali Khan, and the Maratha power in India have for years past, been devising the means. Accordingly, they (the English) have lately written in plain and undisguised terms, that it is their intention to

destroy the religion of Islam. "Evil designs returns upon the heads of inventors."

The Marathas, in consequence of the disagreements prevailing among the ministers at Delhi, have subverted that country and having destroyed its houses, have erected their own temples on their ruins; they have possessed themselves entirely of that kingdom, whilst a poor sightless individual of the royal family of Delhi (Shah Alam II), whose servants put out his eyes, is seated in his house, in a state the most abject. The resources of his maintenance are fixed from the sale of the fruits of his gardens and he is obliged to pay the price (of that maintenance) cringing to them.

Near five hundred thousand of the infidels of the districts of Calicut, Nazarabad, Zafarabad and Ashrafabad who were wavering on the precincts of obedience have been converted at different times.

Praise be to God, that the whole energy of the well directed mind of this labourer in the way of the Lord, on whose forehead is engraved the motto, "They dread not the terrific Day of Judgment," is continually exerted to support the religion of the Prophet. Accordingly, having lately been informed of the excessive commotions excited by the son of Abdul Wahhab in the neighbourhood of the holy Mecca, I immediately addressed letter to the supreme minister Yusuf *Wazir*, to the *Sharif* of Mecca, and the servants of the holy receptacle, purporting, that it was my intention to send a considerable force under the command of one my approved sons, and desiring them to write to me a particular account of the situation of affairs in that quarter; for the illustrious Kaaba, is the object of veneration to the followers of truth and the object of the regard of the All-powerful; and to do services thereunto, is productive of blessings both in this world and the world to come.

The respected and accomplished *Sayyids*, Sayyid Ali Muhammad and Sayyid Madarud-din, are now nominated and deputed with this friendly letter, to represent various points of great importance and to communicate the sentiments of my mind and with instructions to remain in attendance on Your Majesty during these years. I trust that they will be honoured by admission to Your Majesty's presence and have an oppor-

tunity of a personal conference and of stating to Your Majesty my sentiments and that their representations will obtain full credit with Your Majesty. May the victorious banners of Islam be ever prevalent.

A letter to the same effect as the foregoing was also written to Zaman Shah, with some alterations however, which were necessary to adapt the letter to the situation of Zaman Shah, are inserted in the margin of the draft.

DIVISION B

**PAPERS IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE RELATING TO
THE NEGOTIATIONS OF TIPU SULTAN WITH THE
FRENCH, FOUND IN THE PALACE AT SERINGAPATAM,
ON THE 4th MAY, 1799**

Journal of the Proceedings of the

General Assembly of the
Church of Scotland, 1844

Volume 10
Part 1
1844

THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR
THE UNION OF THE
KINGDOMS OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND
WITH SCOTLAND

**French Papers Found in the Palace at Seringapatam on the
4th May, 1799**

The following French Papers, from No. 1 to No. 25, are literal copies of papers found in the Palace of Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam after the capture of that place.

The copies were all attested at Seringapatam by Captain Macaulay, Private Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, and transmitted by him to Lieutenant Colonel Kirkpatrick, Military Secretary to the Governor-General.

The orthography of the French is extremely incorrect in the original papers, especially in those dated in the year 1797, which appear to have been written under the Sultan's directions by the Captain of a French Vessel then residing at Seringapatam.

From these Papers, it appears that Tipu Sultan has despatched three Embassies to the Executive Directory at Paris since the commencement of the year 1797.

The first in April 1797, which was despatched from Seringapatam, but proceeded on farther than the Seacoast, from the causes assigned in the prefatory matter to No. 13 (Persian Letters) the second in October 1797; and the third in July 1798; but the Ambassadors employed on the last, did not leave Tranquebar until the 7th of February 1799.

The nature and object of these Embassies is fully explained in the following Papers.

The papers from No. 5 to 21 contain a detailed statement of the translations of the Sultan's Ambassadors at the Mauritius, in January, February and March, 1798; of the landing of the French Force under the command of Messrs. Dubuc and Chapuy at Mangalore; and of their subsequent admission into the Sultan's Service.

In the papers from No. 22 to 25, will be found the particulars of the Embassy which the Sultan despatched to French from Tranquebar.

No. 1

Sringapatam, the 2nd of April 1797, the 5th Year of the French Republic.

Tipu Sultan the Victorious to the Citizens composing the Executive Power of the French Republic.

Citizens,

I Salute you, and with every happiness to you and your Nation. *Citoyen* (Citizen) Ripaud arrived in my country after having sustained an engagement; his small vessel had nearly foundered at (Arabian) sea. As I have for a long time been desirous of receiving intelligence from your Nation, I brought him to my usual place of residence.

I questioned *Citoyen* Ripaud with regard to the operations of the war and to your condition, and I enquired whether you thought of your ancient ally; he informed me all your plans and of your good intentions towards me and my country. His communications gave me cordial satisfaction and encouraged me to make the present advances towards a revival of intercourse by sending to you three of my confidential chiefs to testify to you my friendship and to renew our ancient alliance; in the writing which I send to you, you will perceive my attachment, my disposition and the sentiments of my heart for your Nation which I have always loved.

Study the welfare of my country as I study that of yours,

Your Ally,
(Signed) *Baiz* of the Sultan,
Sringapatam.

Sringapatam, the 2nd of April 1797, the 5th Year of the French Republic.

Tipu Sultan the Victorious to the Representatives of the People residing in the Isles of France and of La Re-union.

Citoyens (Citizens) Representatives,

You cannot be ignorant of the friendship which my father (His Late Highness Haider Ali) and myself have ever entertained for the French. I sought every opportunity of proving it during your former Government, and I have done all in my power since the commencement of your Revolution to make known to you the sentiments of my heart. From want of opportunity and of intercourse with persons acquainted with your customs and manners I have not been able before this time to inform you of my intentions.

A fortunate chance has sent me *Citoyen* (citizen) Ripaud (one of your officers) who at my request has answered all the questions which I put to him. I consider him to be worthy of my confidence, and from what he has told me, I perceive it is now the moment for me to revive the friendship which I have always entertained for your Nation. I acknowledge the sublimity of your constitution and as a proof of my sincerity I propose to your Nation and to you, a treaty of alliance and fraternity which shall be forever indissoluble and shall be founded on Republican principles of sincerity and good faith; to the end that you and your Nation with myself and my people may become one family; that the same oath may bind us for life or for death; that your enemies may be mine and those of my people; and that my enemies may be considered as yours. Thus do I wish henceforth to treat with my allies. You now see my disposition towards your country; when I shall receive a proof of yours, I will fulfil my promises; but, citizens Representatives, I will not fulfil these engagements with you until I see your forces, naval as well as military, actually arrive in India. During the last war (it is with regret that I am obliged to recall to your memory the disasters which my friendship for the French Nation has brought upon me) I maintained with zeal and courage all the pretensions of the French.

The English, the ambitious English, not having sufficient confidence in their own strength and courage to attack me singly, formed an alliance with the Mahrattas and the Nizam and attacked me in every quarter.

At the very moment when I was on the point of conquering

them, the French army under the command of Mons. de Cossigny received an order from Mons. de Bussy to abandon me, though I had paid them well, and they were in want of nothing, but what filled me with indignation was, that those order extended to Mons. de Lally, who commanded a body of the French in my pay, to withdraw himself with his party, this I opposed and on just grounds. From that moment my army became disgusted.

Reduced singly to my own resources and abandoned by my allies, I was compelled to make a peace, with the loss of half of my dominions and three crores and thirty lakhs rupees in cash.

Behold what have been my losses Representatives !

What is past is past; I have cited these truths in order to apprise you that if I should declare war against your enemies, I will not be deserted, nor shall you have the power of making peace without my previous consent, nor without including myself and my people in the treaty. For the security of our reciprocal friendship and good faith, it is necessary to stipulate one preliminary condition. It is this, that as my people are ignorant of the customs of the French Republicans, and as the Republicans are equally unacquainted with the customs of my country, if one of the citizens of either party should violate the customs of the other, he shall be reprimanded immediately by his own superior without any interruption of the good understanding and harmony which ought to subsist between good allies.

I insert this clause, although citizen Ripaud has assured me, that the observance of the most severe discipline and of respect for the laws exists in the Republican army; mine shall always be conducted in the same manner.

I require also that the Commanding Officer shall always consult me on every measure which he may undertake for the destruction of our common enemy because I am well acquainted with the country, its customs and manners. This is a reservation that he cannot consider as offensive.

Happy moment; the time has come, when I can deposit in the bosom of my friends, the hatred which I bear against these oppressors of the human race. *If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India; you have the power and the means of effecting it, by your free negroes, with these new*

citizens (much dreaded by the English) joined to your troops of the line, we will purge India of these villains.

The springs which I have touched have put all India in motion, my friends are ready to fall upon the English; for everything here rely on my discretion. Your enemies, as I have apprised you of, shall be mine. Now you are apprised of my designs, delay not to inform me of yours but make no promises which you cannot perform. I have retained citizen Ripaud to reply your letters and I will give him a salary worthy of the situation which he holds near my person. I entreat you not to be offended with him but on the contrary to approve of what he has done and to quiet his apprehensions of being considered as a deserter of his country and of his colours (a alludable motive which interests me for his welfare) I request you to authorize him to remain in his present station with me for the service of his country, of your colonies and of myself.

I detained him (*Citoyen Ripaud*), nor did he consent to remain till after much solicitation being extremely attached to the Island of Bourbon to which he belongs. In case you shall consent to my propositions, it is necessary that you should know the extent of my powers to assist the French Republic and its army.

Article 1

I engage, immediately on the arrival of the French troops on the Coast, to victual both the land and sea forces (European liquor excepted) and I will furnish all necessaries, such as flour, rice, meat, wood, etc.

Article 2

I engage also to make advance of money for all the wants of the land and sea equipments.

Article 3

I engage to provide all the bullocks necessary for the artillery

of the Republican troops, as well as the bullocks, camels and *laskars* for carrying the baggage of the officers and soldiers.

Article 4

I engage to provide palanquins for the Generals, and horses for the officer of the troops of the Republic.

Article 5

In case of the French Army should happen to be in want of gun-powder, or other ammunition, I engage to supply it.

Article 6

As soon as the French Army shall have disembarked, I engage to march with my troops, which shall in the first instance consist of thirty thousand cavalry, and thirty thousand infantry and artillery, well disciplined, with arms, ammunition, and everything necessary for the success of our enterprise.

What I require on the part of France is as follows:

Article 1

That the French Republic shall not under any pretence whatsoever, conclude peace, but with my consent and that of my people, nor without including us in such treaty.

Article 2

That as the troops of the Republic will drive such advantages from me the Generals-in-command shall undertake nothing without first consulting me to ensure the success of the common cause and of our respective armies.

Article 3

Should the French General or Republican troops, detect traitors in my country, or should I or my troops come to the knowledge

of any such in the French Army, the chief of the party wherein the traitor may be found shall cause him to be seized and executed upon authentic proofs of his guilt, without prejudice to our mutual friendship. Since engaged in the same cause, our interests are the same.

Article 4

As I propose to make the advances, and furnish the necessary supplies of money to the French Republic, both for the land and the sea forces, it is just that I should be reimbursed at the end of the war, from the sums of money which may be taken from our common enemy.

Article 5

Every capture made from our common enemy, as towns, forts, territory, money, merchandize, ships, ammunition, etc. etc. shall be equally divided at a fair valuation fraternally between the troops of the Republic and my people.

Article 6

As I have suffered greatly in supporting the cause of the French in the last war, when I lost the best part of my country, I require that all the towns, forts, territories or contributions, which I may be able to seize within my former boundaries, be exempted from the 4th Article, as they shall become mine by right and that the Republican troops shall have no pretensions or claims thereto. I claim this act of justice from my brethren.

Article 7

If the fourtune of war shall put us in possession of Goa and Bombay, the port of Bombay and the territories dependant on it, belonging to the English, shall belong of right to the French; but Goa and its dependencies shall be mine.

Article 8

I demand that all male and female prisoners as well English as Portugese, which shall be taken by the Republican troops or by mine, shall be treated with humanity and with regard to their persons that they shall (their property becoming the right of the allies) be transported at our joint expense out of India to some place far distant from the territories of the Allies.

Article 9

As the towns, ports, forts and territories stipulated in the 6th Article, are to be divided between the allies, they shall be garrisoned as they may fall into our hands and the stipulations of that article shall be afterwards arranged by the French General and myself, with a descretion, if circumstances require it to blow up any fort which may be deemed useless.

Article 10

In order to achieve the conquest of the English and Portuguese possessions, and those of their allies, it is necessary that I should be assisted with from five to ten thousand regular troops or National Guards; and from twenty-five to thirty thousand of your new citizens, (if you have put the Decree into execution) selecting, the most subtle, and best instructed of them; those in short who are likely to disturb the peace of your own colonies; I will answer for our quick and easy success.

Article 11

To facilitate the attack and capture of Goa, a port essential for your Squadron and your transports, it will be necessary to disembark at my Port of Onore situated in latitude 14.36 N. and 70 longitude.

Article 12

That I may be apprised of whether you accept or reject my pro-

positions, I request, that after having fully considered them you will despatch a Packet-Boat to Mangalore to inform me of your decision as expeditiously as possible. That nothing may be wanting on the arrival of your Squadron, a French officer will be stationed at Mangalore to afford the necessary assistance and to advise me of your intention. To avoid any further surprise or doubt, the ship during the time she may remain at anchor in the roads, shall hoist American colours with the National Flag at the main-top-mast-head, over that of the Sultan which my Envoys carry for that purpose. I am desirous and, therefore, particularly request that Citizen Aubaine may be appointed to command this Packet-Boat as he knows my harbours and is well acquainted with the customs of my country.

Article 13

I depute four of my Chiefs who have proved themselves worthy of my confidence to treat in my name on the articles which I transmit to you but should you neither have the power of accepting them altogether nor of carrying them into effect without an order from the Executive Government of your mother Country, I request you to despatch three of my chiefs in one of your best Vessels for France and to join with them some citizens whom your wisdom may select to guide and to advise them in France. I despatch these chiefs for this express purpose; they are charged with a Packet and with orders to explain my intentions to the Executive Power; I cannot send my Ship thither without giving the English reason to suspect some hostile designs on my part; if you send a Squadron send with it the remaining one of the four chiefs and also my Ship which I request may be coppered and we will arrange matters accordingly. If, however, you think that the Ship cannot be coppered without delaying the voyage of the Convoy, you will send the Ship back at the proper season with a Captain and two officers whom I will pay.

Article 14

We will commence hostilities against the English and the

Portuguese; when, in case the Nizam and the Marattas should join them, we will make war against them also for it will then be necessary to subjugate them also and to render them tributaries to us.

These, Representatives, are my intentions, do not let my attachment to your Nation expose me to the same calamity which I formerly suffered. I entreat you to reflect well before you return an answer, or you may expose me to great anguish of heart, since I shall act accordingly to the tenor of your answer. I offer up my vows for the success of our enterprise, for the continuation of prosperity to the Arms of the French Republic, one and indivisible, and for a speedy answer I swear an inviolable friendship for your Nation.

(Signed)
(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

No. 2

The 2nd of April 1797, the 5th Year of the French Republic.

Citizen General Malartique,

I Address to you as well as to your Representatives and Principal Chiefs, the assurances of my intentions, of my friendship, in short, of every sentiment of my heart towards your nation. I send four of my Chiefs to confirm these assurances verbally. I hope you will take my propositions into consideration and send me a reply conformable to the desire of my heart by the Packet-Boat which I have requested you to despatch. I expect everything from your zeal for your country. Citizen Ripaud has apprised me of the obligations due to your wisdom which has preserved your colonies. Send me troops, and I will divert the English from the idea of attacking you.

I request you to send by the Packet-Boat a person who is qualified to write my despatches in the French language. Citizen

Ripaud is not in good health and besides is no writer. I expect everything from your wisdom. I revere you.

Yours ally,
(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

Seringapatam, the 2nd of April 1797, the 5th Year of the French Republic.

Tipu Sultan, the Victorious to' the Representatives of the People residing in the Isles of France and of La Re-union.

Citizen Representatives,

You cannot be ignorant of the friendship which my father and myself have ever entertained for the French. I sought every opportunity of proving it during your former Government and I have done all in my power since the commencement of your (French) Revolution to make known to you the sentiments of my heart. From want of opportunity and of intercourse with persons acquainted with your customs and manners, I have not been able before this time to inform you of my intentions. A fortunate chance has sent me Citizen Ripaud (one of your officers) who at my request has answered all the questions which I put to him. I consider him to be worthy of my confidence and from what he has told me I perceive it is now the moment for me to revive the friendship which I have always entertained for your nation.

I acknowledge the sublimity of your Constitution and as a proof of my sincerity I propose to your nation and to you a Treaty of alliance and fraternity which shall be forever indissoluble and shall be founded on the Republican principle of sincerity and good faith; to the end that you and your nation with myself and my people may become one family; that the same oath may bind us for life or for death; that your enemies may be mine and those of my people; and that my enemies may be considered as yours. Thus do I wish henceforth to treat with my allies.

You now see my disposition towards your country, when I

shall receive a proof of yours, I will fulfil my promises; but, Citizens Representatives, I will not fulfil these engagements with you until I see your forces as well naval as military actually arrive in India. During the last War (it is with regret that I am obliged to recall to your memory the disasters which my friendship for the French Nation has brought upon me), I maintained with zeal and courage, all the pretensions of the French. The English, the ambitious English, not having sufficient confidence, in their own strength and courage to attack me singly, formed an alliance with the Marattas and the Nizam, and attacked me in every quarter. At the very moment when I was on the point of conquering them the French army under the command of M. Cossigny received an order from M. de Bussy to abandon me, though I had paid them well, and they were in want of nothing; but what filled me with indignation was that those orders extended to M. de Lally, who commanded a body of the French in my pay, to withdraw himself with his party. This I opposed and on just grounds. From that moment my army became disgusted.

Reduced singly to my own resources and abandoned by my allies I was compelled to make peace with the loss of half my dominions and three crores and thirty lakhs rupees in cash. Behold what have been my losses Representatives !

What is past is past; I have cited these truths in order to apprise you, that if I should declare war against your enemies, I will not be deserted, neither shall you have the power of making peace without my previous consent, nor without including myself and my people in the treaty.

For the security of our reciprocal friendship and good faith it is necessary to stipulate preliminary condition. It is this, that as my people are ignorant of the customs of the French Republicans and as the Republicans are equally unacquainted with the customs of my country, if one of the citizens of either party should violate the customs of the other, he shall be reprimanded immediately by his own superior, without any interruption of the good understanding and harmony which ought to subsist between good allies.

I insert this clause, although Citizen Ripaud has assured me that the observance of the most severe discipline and of respect

for the laws exists in the Republican army; mine shall always be conducted in the same manner. I require also that the Commanding Officer shall always consult me on every measure which he may undertake for the destruction of our common enemy because I am fully acquainted with the country, its customs and manners. This is a reservation that he cannot consider as offensive.

Happy moment ! *the time has come when I can deposit in the bosom of my friends the hatred which I bear against these oppressors of the human race. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India : you have the power and the means of effecting it, by your free Negroes, with these new citizens (much of dreaded by the English) joined to your troops of the line, we will purge India of these cursed villains.* The springs which I have touched have put all India in motion, my friends are ready to fall upon the English: for everything here rely on my discretion. Your enemies as I have apprised you of, shall be mine. Now you are apprised of my designs, delay not to inform me of yours, but make no promises which you cannot perform.

I have retained citizen Ripaud to answer your letters and I will give him a salary worthy of the situation which he holds near my person. I entreat you not to be offended with him but on the contrary approve of what he has done and to quit his apprehensions of being considered as a deserter of his country and of his colours (a laudable motive which interests me for his welfare). I request you to authorize him to remain in his present station with me for the service of his country, of your colonies and of myself. I detained him nor did he consent to remain till after much solicitation being extremely attached to the island of Bourbon to which he belongs. In case you should consent to my propositions, it is necessary that you should know the extent of my power to assist the French Republic and its army.

Below this text are the same Articles from 1 to 6 and 1 to 14 as written in the last of Paper No. 1 (French Papers).

These, 'Representatives are my intentions do not let my attachment to your nation expose me to the same calamity which I formerly suffered. I entreat you to reflect well before you

return an answer, or you may expose me to great anguish of heart, since I shall act according to the tenor of your answer. I offer up my vows for the success of our enterprise, for the continuation of prosperity to the arms of the French Republic, on and indivisible, and for a speedy answer. I swear an inviolable friendship for your nation.

Signed.

Balz of Tipu Sultan.)

No. 3

Seringapatam, the 21st of April 1797, the 5th Year of the French Republic.

Citizen General Mengalon,

Since I manifested my friendship in writing to you, my messengers have arrived with the following intelligence which will not be displeasing to you.

The Nizam, an ally of the English, and the Chief of the Mughal Emperor is very ill and his great age leaves no prospect of his recovery. He has four children who are disputing the right of succession, one of them who is much attached to me, is the favourite of the Chiefs, and of the people, and is expected to succeed.

Sawai Madhav Rao, one of the great Marhatta chiefs and a strenuous supporter of the English is dead and by a singular accident, in falling from the top of a palace. He had no children and the disputed succession has kindled a civil war in that State. Delhi is thrown into confusion, by the arrival of Zaman Shah, my friend, who has attacked the Marhattas and completely defeated them in that quarter. This is the act of Providence. Heaven seems to revenge us on the Marhattas. All the Princes of India have reason to complain of them. The Marhattas relied on the English who could not assist them, being fully employed in defending themselves.

Whilst a civil war exists in the Marhattas and Nizam's dominions, the English are not better situated, for the *Nawwab* Mirza

Amani (Asafud-daulah) and Chief of Bengal, having heard of the arrival of Zaman Shah at Delhi, commenced hostilities against them and with some advantage. At Calicut, they have been attacked by the Cotiote Raja, Conjes Ram Ram, who has killed in three sallies, 1000 Europeans and 3000 sepoy. On the coast of Malabar, they are being attacked on every side; and the revolt is general owing to their vexatious Government and to the taxes which they have imposed.

On the coast of Coromandel, from Masulipatam to Madras and Arcot, their tyranny has excited revolt amongst all the Princes, powerful and weak, who all assert their rights; and a nephew of the Nawwab of Madras, who held a command under the English, has lately been killed by his own chiefs, who had become desperate.

I inform you of these events in order to prove that it is now the moment for you to invade them and I hope that with little trouble we shall drive them out of India. Rely on my friendship.

(Signed)

(Baiz of Tipu Sultan)

P.S. General, I request your acceptance of a slight mark of the personal esteem I entertain for you, it is a weapon made in my country and which I request you to accept with the same cordiality as I offer it to you.

(Signed)

(Baiz of Tipu Sultan)

No. 4

Seringapatam, the 21st of April 1797; the 5th Year of the French Republic.

Citizen Representatives,

Of the same tenor as the foregoing except that of the post script given hereunder.

(Signed)
(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan)

P.S. Since writing my letter, I have learnt by an Arab ship that great disturbances prevail in Bengal, the arrival of the *Nawwab* Zaman Shah at Lucknow has made the English tremble, particularly at Culcutta, where they are in great consternation, as they are unable to prevent Mirza Amani Asafud-daulah from joining Zaman Shah it appears that both these princes are determined to be revenged of the English; send me then troops to join with mine, that I too may treat them as they deserve.

(Signed)
(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan)

No. 5

The Isle of France, the 26th February 1798; the 6th Year of the French Republic.

General,

The King (Tipu Sultan) has commanded us for the confirmation of the alliance with the French Republic, to take a solemn oath under the standard of the two Nations, and to perform this ceremony according to your customs; we, therefore, address this request to you; your compliance will render the bonds of our friendship, and of the offensive and defensive alliance indissoluble. We request you to assemble all the officers and men necessary for this ceremony, and in our presence, to draw up a written instrument, to be figured by all parties present, sealed with the seal of the French Republic, and delivered into our

hands; this will weaken our enemies and rejoice the two allied powers.

This is what we wish to make known to you, and we entreat you to believe us the most sincere of your servants,

(Signed)

Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim.

A true copy, by order of the Ambassadors,

(Signed) Debay, Interpreter.

No. 6

Copy of the stipulations and proposals of the Prince Tipu Sultan, which his ambassadors, Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim, have despatched to Europe from the Isle of France, by two frigates, which sailed from thence on the 5th February 1798; for establishing an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Republic, and for soliciting the assistance of France to subdue the common enemy, the English, and to drive them out of India, if possible.

The Prince engages to furnish the whole French army with the necessary provisions, such as wheat, rice, meat and ghee etc. (spirituous liquors, he cannot supply); he will provide the French army with carriage for the officers and for their baggage; he will also provide all military stores. Done at Isle of France, the 4th of February 1798.

• A true Copy,

(Signed) Debay.

Seal of Husain Ali Khan.

Seal of Muhammad Ibrahim.

Seal of Debay, Interpreter.

No. 7

The Representatives of the Colony of the Isle of France to
(His Majesty) Tipu Sultan.

Salutation and Fraternity!

Your Ambassadors have communicated to us your intention of forming with the Colony of the Isle of France, a connection equally advantageous to both the Nations.

We shall make every effort in our power to answer your wishes.

We have communicated the object of your embassy to the Legislative Body of the French Government and we are convinced that France will enter completely into your views.

The Governor-General Malartic will apprise you of the steps which he has taken already, and of those which he has in contemplation, for promoting our mutual interests.

The produce and manufactures of your dominions will find a market in this colony, either for internal consumption or exportation; and we can supply you in return with all the articles which the execution of your military projects requires.

(Signed) Fouquereaux, President.
By order of the Colonial Assembly,
Haulnier, Secretary.
(Date of writing not forthcoming).

No. 8

The Isle of France dated the 21st February 1798; the 6th Year of the French Republic.

General,

May health and happiness attend you.

It is known to you that we came here (in the Mauritius with the expectation of finding a considerable force, which, we were

informed was in this island, and with which, upon the conclusion of an alliance with our Sovereign, we expected to have returned to him to conquer your enemies who are also ours. You know that had we been deputed to make the levies ourselves, we should have brought a supply of money and all that might be necessary for that purpose.

That we might not return empty-handed, as we came, you have agreed to raise volunteers for us; the small force which you have offered cannot accomplish the designs of our Sovereign but even this inconsiderable force cannot be raised without money; all those who offer to enlist require money from us. We cannot enlist them as is contrary to our Sovereign's orders; such, however, as choose to go with us, we will take; but on condition that their pay shall be fixed by His Majesty himself. Should this proposal appear inconvenient, we request you to send ambassadors with us to adjust this point with our Sovereign; they will then learn, on what terms the French now in his service are entertained; those who may embark afterwards, shall be entertained on the same terms, and for this purpose our Monarch will send money with his Ambassadors; but it must be understood, that whether men are to be enlisted for his service, or whether your troops are to be sent to his assistance, they are to be conveyed by you.

We request you to enable us to depart speedily as our Supreme's orders do not allow us to remain long here; and by your compliance you will oblige,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed)

Husain Ali Khan,
Muhammad Ibrahim.

A true copy of the letter written by order of the Ambassadors by me, the Interpreter.

(Signed) Debay.

Seals of the Ambassadors.

Seal of Debay.

No. 9

Isle of France, the 27th February 1798; 6th Year of the French Republic.

To the Ambassadors.

Gentlemen,

I am of too sincere a temper to suffer you to remain ignorant of the great dissatisfaction which your letter of this morning has given me; your Sultan deputed you to solicit our aid on such conditions as we might deem just and not on those which you now prescribe to us.

The demands which I have proposed to you within these few days past were framed by General Dagin-court, who is particularly known to your Sultan, under whose orders he served when a Captain of Grenadiers in the battalion of the Regiment of the Isle of France, which made a campaign during the last war under the Bahadur and Tipu Sultan, I, therefore, persist in demanding for all the officers and volunteers, the pay and provisions stipulated in the last statement which I transmitted to you.

The pay which was granted ten years ago; cannot be made a rule for the pay, which ought to be given now.

Those who at that period received 150 rupees *per mensem*, now demand Rs. 600.

You do not choose to take surgeons; you shall not have them but your master will not be satisfied with your conduct on this article.

The officers and volunteers who are to accompany you, shall not make a journey of 500 leagues, to ascertain what pay Tipu Sultan may choose to fix for them; I shall order them not to disembark until Tipu Sultan shall have satisfied them, that he will allow the pay and provisions which I propose to him.

We have not sought you, you came to solicit our aid, you

ought, therefore, to submit to the conditions which I propose to you; they are just and reasonable.

Salutation and Fraternity,
(Signed)
Malartio
Governor-General.

No. 10

Isle of France, Port North West, the 18th *Ventose*, 6th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, answering to the 8th March 1798, O.S.

The Governor-General of the Isles of France, and of La Re-Union, to the *Nawwab* Tipu Sultan.

Citoyen James Denis Pitcher, a writer attached to this Government being desirous of obtaining a *Parwana* from Your Highness for the purpose of being employed in the factory which you propose to establish in this island; permit me to request your favour towards him, and the grant of the office which he solicits.

Citizen Pitcher bears the best reputation here, his morals are good, his integrity unblemished, and his temper tractable; he is besides intelligent, active and laborious.

Your Ambassadors who have seen a great deal of him and to whom he has been of some service will confirm to you all the advantageous testimonies which I feel much pleasure in rendering to the character of citizen Pitcher.

I shall be extremely obliged Sultan, by the attention you may be pleased to pay to my recommendations.

Salutation & Fraternity,
(Signed)
Malartic.

No. 11

Isle of France, the 14th *Ventose*, the 6th Year of the French Republic, or the 4th of March, 1798.

Rear Admiral Sercey,
Commanding the Naval Forces of France in the Indian Seas,

To the *Nawwab* Tipu Sultan in His Territories.

Prince Tipu,

Husain Ali Khan and Ibrahim Sahib, Ambassadors of Your Majesty have delivered to me the letter with which you have honoured me, by which I learnt that they possessed your confidence and that you desired France should send you troops in order that you might declare war against the English, the oppressors of India. I am extremely concerned that the Naval force under my command is not at present sufficiently considerable to admit of my proceeding to India, to make such a diversion as might forward your interests, but if I should be reinforced as I expect, I shall be very eager to attack upon our common enemies and to assist you in their reduction.

Previous to the arrival of Your Majesty's Ambassadors, I had addressed the Government of my country in Europe on the necessity of expediting this measure and the day subsequent to their arrival, I despatched two frigates to France with the new proposals which you offer; it is to be regretted that you did not sooner apprise us of your favourable disposition.

Sultan Tipu, Your Majesty's Ambassadors have exerted great zeal for your service, but unfortunately we were not at liberty to divert to any other object, the means confided to us for the protection of our colony: your Ambassadors having, however, informed me of your wish to have some well instructed officers to supervise and form your marine, I hasten to send to you Captain Dubuc, who commands a vessel in the service of France, and six other officers, whom I particularly recommend to your favour, and who, I hope will answer your views by their good conduct and their naval skill.

Your Majesty's Ambassadors having testified an anxious wish to return to you as speedily as possible, I have given them one of my best frigates commanded by Captain L'Hermite, a distinguished officer, whom I recommended to you.

Salutation,
(Signed)

Sercey,
Le Contre-Amiral (Rear Admiral).

No. 12

Copy of a letter from General Cossigny to the Ambassadors of the Prince Tipu Sultan at the moment of their departure •

I beg leave to offer my apologies to the Ambassadors of the *Padshah*, my ill health has prevented me from paying them a visit but I should have had nothing further to communicate to them for the information of the Prince than what I now propose to write, which I desire they will transcribe for the purpose of transmitting it to the *Padshah*, Tipu Sultan.

I assure the *Padshah*, Tipu Sultan of my respect and devotion. I give him my word that I faithfully transmitted at the time when I received them, his propositions and his letters to the French Government, and I am certain that the whole is arrived in duplicate; agreeably also to his recommendation, I observed the greatest Secrecy, that he might not be committed with the English, and because the French Government itself is not in the habit of publishing the secrets of its operations.

The proof that the propositions of Tipu Sultan, have been received, is, that they have remained secret even in France; perhaps it is not convenient for France to send an expedition to India, as it must depend upon the prospect of peace, more or less distant, with the English; but I assure the *Padshah* that he will have no reason to repent of this first step nor of the confidence he has reposed in me.

France, I am certain, will always consider the *Padshah* as one of its most faithful allies; his *Wakil*, and I, have not neglected any of the means in our power to inform the France Govern-

ment of the true interests of the *Padshah*, interests which we consider as necessarily blended with those of the French Nation in India. I hope the time will come when Tipu Sultan will be convinced that I have served him on this occasion, with the same zeal, as when I was near his person.

Peter Monneron is no more; the *Padshah* was ignorant of his death, and perhaps is still ignorant of it: he, however, has not written to him nor has he written to me although he has sent to this place a copy of the letters of Peter Monneron. It is, therefore, Tipu Sultan who has published his own secret and he cannot hereafter reproach us with the consequence.

I do not write to the *Padshah* as my health, and the gout which I have at this moment, would prevent me from doing it in the manner I could wish, and because he has not thought proper to write to me; and I moreover candidly confess, that I should be very sorry to have my letters returned in the manner that Peter Monneron's were. All the letters which I have at various times written to His Majesty Tipu Sultan, as well as those which he has personally written to me, I have constantly forwarded to the French Government; the letters have always been, and will continue to remain secret, because his interest, and that of the French Nation requires it.

I must again repeat my apologies to the Ambassadors of the *Padshah*, if my ill health should prevent me from seeing them before their departure from this colony, for I should have had the strongest desire to become acquainted with them, and to have conversed with them, respecting the *Padshah*; their acquaintance would have been more particularly agreeable to me, as their discretion and the good conduct observed by them here during the course of the embassy with which they were entrusted by their Sultan, inspired me with a very great desire to know them. It will always be highly creditable to them, to have filled with distinction and dignity, the honorable post which they occupied here for the interests of their master, and to have acquired the general esteem, and the particular regard of all the Chiefs of this island, by their wisdom, their prudence, and discretion, in the mission with which they were charged; in the execution of which they have acquitted themselves with that good sense and dignity, becoming the Ambassadors of a great Prince, from

whose justice they have every reason to expect a favourable reception. I beg them to accept my best witness for their health, and the success of their voyage.

I am persuaded that they will use their influence with Tipu Sultan, in support of the memorandum which my nephew Lahausse La Louviere has addressed to him as well as the request made by him to the Prince. His memorandum appeared to me to comprehend objects of great moment to the interests of the *Padshah*, and it is this which determined me to recommend it.

I once more request them (Ambassadors) to assure the Sultan, that I shall always take the greatest interest in his glory, and that I am anxious that the success and name of so great a Sovereign, should be extended throughout the universe.

(Signed)

General Cossigny, at his House,
the 14th *Ventose*, 6th Year, corresponding
with the 5th March, 1798.

No. 13

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC
Our Country, Honour and Liberty

Headquarters, Isle of France, the 4th of March 1798; the 6th Year of the French Republic.

Magallon, General of a Division, to *Nawwab* Tipu Sultan

Prince,

I received the letter with which you honoured me; sickness prevented me from attending the various conferences which your Ambassadors held with the Governor-General (Malartic) on the subject of the mission with which you had charged them. I have, however, no doubt that the French Republic will soon

learn and joyfully partake your overtures of friendship and alliance.

I should have been glad if the state of the French Force at this time in India, had allowed me in person to have assured you of the friendship of the Republic, and to have participated in the glory of your arms against our common enemy, but the actual state of affairs deprives me of that double honour.

I entreat you Sultan to accept my witness for the prosperity of your arms and the continuation of your glory.

(Signed) Magallon.

No. 14

To the great Prince Tipu Sultan *Bacha*, at his Court of Serin-
gapatam.

Great Prince,

A Frenchman whose name is not unknown to you, and who wishes to be useful to the generous ally of his nation, avail himself with eagerness of the opportunity offered by the return of your Ambassadors, Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim to recall himself to your remembrance.

I had the honour to write to you from Pondicherry in the month of September 1792, enclosing the manifest of the cargo of my ship the *Phoenix*, and I informed Governor Defresne that I proposed going to Mangalore for the express purpose of landing a quantity of beautiful and excellent grenadier fusees intend for you. Then the Governor told me that I ran the risk of being searched and detained by the English, but when he saw that I was firmly resolved to adhere to my project, he approved of it, and I departed. This event has afforded me the inestimable advantage of receiving many *Parwanas* from Your Majesty which I carefully preserve.

Your Minister, Ashraf Ali Khan, arrived at Mangalore in the beginning of the year 1793. He there received the fusees and was satisfied with them; I was paid only in part; he gave me an

order for rupees 14,000 upon Brown of Mahe, who gave me a bill on another person and I have not received yet payment, but it is no longer Your Highness who is responsible to me for the amount.

Being a Representative of people of the Isle of France, I had happiness of being President of the Committee of Public Safety, when your Ambassadors landed in this colony, and I was the first to testify to them the satisfaction we felt at receiving amongst us the subjects of an allied Prince to whom we are sincerely attached; but if our happiness was great for a moment our grief was profound to learn that you had been deceived by Ripaud as to our forces on this island: the only reinforcement which has been sent to us from France since the commencement of the war, is one battalion, which we have sent to Batavia to assist the Dutch, in the preservation of that place. This we did in return for the assistance which we had drawn from thence in money, provisions, and naval stores; for you must know Great prince, that our own resources are sufficient for our support, and we have sworn to bury ourselves under the ruins of our island rather than see our enemies the possessors of it.

I often had the pleasure of visiting your Ambassadors, and I succeeded in relieving them from the painful situation into which they were thrown by the failure of their mission. I encouraged them by saying that you could not desire impossibilities; and that having done everything in their power, their conscience ought to be at ease; you know, Great Prince, what I frankly declare to you, that an agent who has used every effort, although without success, has still a claim to the gratitude of those who granted him their confidence.

If Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim have not been entirely successful, if your witness have not been accomplished, it is alone to be attributed to the unfortunate circumstances of the times; but I swear by the sacred name of honour that they have used every effort to execute your orders and have conducted themselves like subjects truly attached and faithful to their master.

The conferences were conducted at the Government House with the Generals, and three Representatives of the Colony, in the number of whom I have the advantage to rank. Your Envoys

were always desirous that nothing should be made public but what could not possibly be concealed; and I may venture to assure you, Great Prince, that we have every reason to be satisfied with the correct and becoming conduct observed by them during their residence here; it was such as was to be expected from the honour of their character and from your Ambassadors. They observed that the allowances fixed for the different ranks were too great; and that the French in the camp of Lally are not so highly paid: but General Malartic relieves you from any embarrassment on that point, by permitting the French to return should you not be satisfied with what has been concluded there.

The situation of your Envoys was critical; they found themselves in a state of suspense, desirous of being useful to their Master, but at the same time apprehensive of incurring his displeasure. To have refused these succours, though trifling, would have been a confession that you would not sacrifice a small sum of money, this I think would have been impolitic not only with respect to the present, but also to future times; besides it is necessary to make some distinction in favour of those who leave their families and the comforts which they enjoy here, to serve as volunteers in a country with which they are totally unacquainted. Nothing less than our great desire to serve you would have induced us to permit these citizens to leave the colony, during the war, particularly as some of them are experienced soldiers who possess a knowledge of their professions and are, therefore, a loss to us; but there is no merit in obligations which cost nothing.

Permit me, Great Prince, to converse a moment with you. My love for my country, my attachment to its allies, particularly to the deserving son of the renowned Haider Ali, and my well founded hatred of the English or rather of their Government all this I say should convince you that I shall say nothing which is not dictated by a regard for your true interests.

What is then the fatality which has hitherto divided the Princes of Asia? Nothing is more easily understood. It is the dark policy of the English, their Machiavelian principles which have subjected so many nations to their yoke and rendered them to oppressors of Asia.

There is still time, however, to crush this ambitious nation;

but it is necessary that the Court of Poona the *Subadar* of the Deccan: the Tartars; the Raja of Travancore; all the Rajas, *Nawwabs*, and *Subas* (Governor or Nazim); that all the Chiefs of Asia in short should unite to attack, to overthrow, and finally to expel those haughty English. But it is absolutely necessary that the alliance should be founded on good faith, and that it should be skilfully formed, in order that the princes whose forces are inconsiderable may not find themselves overpowered, in consequence of a want of concert between the parties; but when the plan shall have been properly arranged, and when the English shall find themselves assailed from every quarter of Asia, their destruction will be inevitable.

You have been at war with all the Princes of Asia, you must now become their friend, and prove to them by the proposals you make, that you are really willing to become such. One Prince must not aggrandize himself at the expense of another, but it is proper that those who groan under the bondage of the English should be emancipated, and that each individual should participate in their Poils, in proportion to the aid which he shall furnish, as well as to his local position.

I will repeat, that if the alliance be made with good faith, if each of the contracting parties shall find his interests in it, the engagements will be observed, but should it prove otherwise, should any one of the contracting parties be injured, he will observe his engagements no longer than until some circumstance or favourable event shall give him an opportunity of infringing them.

If, fortunately, we should receive troops from Europe which we can dispose of in your favour; if the commission with which the naval and military generals of the colony have entrusted Citizens Magot and Seguin, the former the Commander of the frigate which carries your despatches to the French Government and the later *Aid de Camp* to Major General Malartic, sent to give greater efficacy to the application which he has made for as large a reinforcement as possible; I say, if this deputation be fortunate what will not be your advantage in having prepared beforehand the means of avenging yourself, by punishing those who have caused you to be betrayed by your own subjects; and of recovering that inheritance of which you have been in part

deprived, because the Princes of Asia, who took up arms against you, were not sensible, that in proportion as the English became powerful, they would furnish the powers of the East with arms against each other.

The difference of religion has often prevented alliances which would have proved advantageous to divers nations, but these false principles have disappeared, philosophy and reason have silenced prejudice, and the same state in Europe tolerates the Roman Catholic, the Calvinist and Lutheran Churches; the man who adores the Creator and offers up vows which are sincere and proceed from the heart is regarded by his God with an eye of benignity and forgiveness.

The dispositions of the *Suba* of the Daccan are known to you, as are also those of the Marhattas and Tartar states, I think I may venture to assure you, that the good Prince Ram Varma, Rajah of Travancore, is tired of the oppression of the English; Raman Kesvin, his Prime Minister, would I conceive be well disposed to act against these despots, had he the means; I know that it was with great reluctance he consented to send away Migot de la Combe, who commanded his troops at Parur, as well as the other French Officers who commanded his battalions.

The interests of this Raja, if I am not deceived, require equally with your own that you should propose to him an alliance; that all resentment should cease, and that your ancient feuds should be extinguished and foregotten forever: But above all, Great Prince, conduct the negotiations in such a manner that the English may not suspect it; for otherwise that Prince will be totally crushed, and the English in despoiling him, will increase their means of acting against you: Believe me, Great Prince, one of the brightest days of my life will be that on which I shall hear, that by reuniting with the Princes of Asia, you have acquired the means of annihilating the power of the English in India.

I know not, Great Prince, whether my frankness will be pleasing to you, or whether you may not consider my observations as officious, but of this I am certain, that my anxious wish is that you may make great conquests from the English, and that by this success you may be enabled to render your people and

yourself happy. This is the sincere prayer of the true Frenchman, who is with esteem and respect,

Great Prince,
Your most humble and most
obedient servant,
(Signed) M. Descomber.

Dated,
the 5th March 1788, O.S.

No. 15

Copy: Isle of France, Port North West, the 17th *Ventose* in the 6th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible (7th March 1798), Old Style.

The Governor-General of the Isles of France and La Reunion, to the *Nawwab* Tipu Sultan.

I received on the 20th February last (Old Style), your letter under date the 9th October 1797, which announced to me that you had deputed Captain Ripaud, whom you had engaged in your service, and two Ambassadors, to confer with me respecting the state of your affairs, and that I might place the greatest confidence in whatever they might communicate. Your Ambassadors afterwards delivered to me your memorandum of proposals to the Executive Directory, tending to form an alliance of offensive and defensive with the French, and by which you offer to entertain at your own expense, as long as the war in India shall last, the troops they may be able to send you.

Not thinking myself authorized by my powers to conclude this alliance with you, I immediately despatched the two frigates to France with your propositions to the Executive Directory. I have not the smallest doubt, but that they will take your proposal into their most serious consideration; and I am persuaded that they will send you as speedily as possible, the armed force of men which you demand, and which you require for the purpose of attacking your enemies, who are also the enemies of the French Republic.

In the meantime, and whilst waiting the arrival of those

armed troops, I despatch the *Preneuse* Frigate, commanded by Captain L'Hermite, to convey back your Ambassadors and their suite, with the officers, surgeons and volunteers, whom I have recruited in the two islands for your service.

I have annexed to this letter:

(1) The roll of the officers composing the marine establishment whom you were desirous of having to command your ships and to form seamen for you.

(2) The roll of the land officers, of the surgeons, and of the volunteers.

These lists exhibit the respective ranks of the officers.

You will also receive with this letter the monthly pay tables of the allowances to be given, independently of the appointments and provisions, for each rank, and for every person who shall enter your territories.

It would have been more regular, had a treaty been entered into between your Ambassadors and myself, and signed by both parties, which you might have ratified on the return of your Ambassadors, but I could not persuade them to undertake to sign the treaty; they assured me that you would most unquestionably agree to my demand, and that the appointments and pay of the troops, as well as the establishment and provisions which I had requested, would be exactly and regularly paid at the end of every month. Should it prove otherwise, I authorize all the officers, volunteers and others, to avail themselves of the return of the frigate, or of any other opportunity which may offer to return to these islands.

I must also promise, that it is my intention that they shall at all times be at liberty to quit your territories and I, therefore, request you will issue orders that they may be furnished with the necessary means; that every assistance and protection be granted to them; and that they may not be subjected to any hindrance or molestation on the part of your subjects.

The establishment of the factory which you are very anxious to have in this island, in order to facilitate the means of connecting yourself more closely with the French, presenting reciprocal advantages, you are at liberty to establish it whenever you may think proper. The two Mussalman and the Frenchman who you propose to send for that purpose will easily find a

commodious house for their reception. They shall be under the protection of the French Government, and they shall enjoy all the privileges usually granted to such establishments.

I must now mention to you the good conduct of your Ambassadors, and the anxiety they have always shown to execute punctually, the commission with which you had entrusted them: I am happy to render them this justice which they on every account deserve.

Immediately on their arrival in this Colony, they delivered all the letters, with which they were entrusted for the Representatives and for the Naval and Military Generals. They urged entreaty upon entreaty and strenuously solicited the despatch of a considerable force to their Prince, according to the tenor of their instructions, sounded on the reports which had been made to you.

After having for some time hesitated to accept of the inconsiderable assistance in men which was offered to them your Ambassadors determined to receive it upon the solemn assurances which I gave them, to despatch to you not only such troops, as might arrive from France, but also those from this Island who might hereafter resolve to proceed to India.

Your Ambassadors having likewise solicited me with great earnestness to cement the alliance existing between the French and yourself, by a formal oath, I informed them that as this alliance still remained in full force, I thought the Executive Directory and the Legislative Body of the French Republic had alone a right to renew the confirmation.

In short, I can only give you advantageous testimonies of their good conduct; they conducted themselves, I can assure you, with the most perfect honour and propriety, and all their actions have been well calculated to procure for your interest the considerable force which you had directed them to obtain.

They will tell you, that I published a proclamation which has been sent into all the Cantons of this Islands for the purpose of raising volunteers.

They will inform you that a vessel has been despatched to the Island of Re. union for the same purpose.

They will inform you likewise that a general Embargo has been laid on all the vessels in this Port in order that none

might sail for India or for the Straits until after the departure of the *Preneuse* Frigate which conveys your Ambassadors back to your territories.

I thought it necessary to adopt this last mentioned measure, lest the English, our common enemy, should be apprised of the part which you seem determined to adopt with regard to them and of the supply of men which I have sent to you.

In consequence of the request made to me by your Ambassadors, I send six cases numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, containing garden trees, plants of the Isle of France and plants of different flowers with two flasks, each containing a nutmeg full blown, an object of much curiosity in natural history. I hope you will receive them in a good order; the accounts of these articles under my signature has been delivered to your Ambassadors.

I conclude my letter by requesting you to place confidence in me and in everything that I shall write to you.

Believe not so readily those who deceive you.

Endeavour by every means in your power to point out the Marathas their true interests by satisfying them that your enemies are in reality theirs.

Write to all the Princes of Hindustan and to all the *Nawwabs* of Bengal, tell them that your enemies are also theirs, and that the time has come to rid yourselves of your common enemy.

Make sacrifices of your money, pay your army well; and give money to the Marathas.

Of what use to you is money? A great reputation is superior to everything.

Your courage and the resources of your genius are known to me, both will everywhere attend the Son of the Great Haidar Ali Khan. You are destined to surpass even his fame.

Write to me sometimes; why have you delayed so long to give me an account of yourself; you cannot have received false reports. I know, however, that much has been said to you of the Legislative Body and the Executive Directory of France.

The beneficence of the French Republic, its policy and particularly its desire to perpetuate friendship with your Government, and to confirm the harmony which has ever subsisted

between you and the French, will induce it to send the troops to India.

When you write to me, you may add to your letters a translation in French, in English, or in Portuguese.

I am your most zealous and most attached servant,

(Signed) Malartic.

Colonial: Isle of France.

Marine: Statement of the pay of the officers of the marine of all ranks, who enter into the service of the *Nawwab* Tipu Sultan.

Distinction of rank: Pay *per mensem* independently of the establishment fixed by law.

	Rs.
To a Captain of a ship, or Captain of the port,	2,000
To each Lieutenant of a ship,	500
To each Ensign* of a ship,	300
To the Master of the port,	250
To the Ship Builder,	200

We the General-in-Chief, General of the Isle of France and of La Re-union, and Commander-in-Chief of the French Establishments to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, have determined, and do hereby determine, the present rates of the pay of the officers of the marine of all ranks, to be observed in all respects.

Done at Port North West in the Isle of France the 7th March 1798, in the 6th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) Malartic.

* Infantry Officer who carried the regimental colours.

Copy

Marine : Isle of France.

Colonial: List of the officers and masters who enter into the service of the *Nawwab* Tipu Sultan.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Rank</i>	
Pierre Paul Dubuc	Captain	
Charlemagne Marc de la Rabinaire, Sangenait,	Lieutenant Lieutenant	
Jacques Barthe, Jacques Roberts, Pierre Petit, Pierre Fillietaz, Jacques Dudemain, Michel Lelee, of L'Orient,	} Ensigns	
Jacques Mullet of Bourdeaux,		Master of the Port Ship Builder

Certified as true by us, Governor-General of the Isles of France, and La Re-union, at Port North West, the 7th March, 1798. The 6th Year of the French Republic.

(Signed) Malartic.

Colonial: Isle of France.

Rates of the pay of the volunteers of all ranks who enter into the service of the *Nawwab* Tipu Sultan:

Distinction of rank: Pay *per mensem* of the volunteers, independent of provisions, which are to be furnished them.

	Rs.
To the Chief of Brigade, commanding,	2,000
To each Chief of a Legion,	1,800
To each Chief of a Battalion,	1,500
To each Captain of Infantry and Cavalry,	500

To each Lieutenant and Sub-Lieutenant,	300
To each Bearer of the Colours,	60
To each Sergeant Major and Sergeant,	50
To each Corporal,	40
To each Private of Infantry and Cavalry,	20
To each Drummer,	22
To each Surgeon,	500

We the General-in-Chief, Governor-General of the Isles of France, and of La Re-union, and Commander-in-Chief of the French Establishment east of the Cape of Good Hope, have determined, and do hereby determine, the present rates of the pay of volunteers of all ranks, to be observed in all respect.

Done at Port North West, in the Isle of France, the 7th March 1798, in the 6th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) Malartic

No. 16

The Captain in the Navy of the French Republic, Commanding the Frigate *La Preneuse*, in the Roads of Mangalore, to the Sovereign Prince Tipu, in his Palace at Seringapatam, the 25th April 1798.

Sovereign Prince,

Having been despatched from the Isle of France, by Admiral Sercey, commander of the Naval Forces of the French Republic on service in the Indian seas to bring back to one of your ports your Ambassadors, Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim, whom you had deputed by Citizen Ripoox (Ripaud), to the Government of France, I have the honour to announce to you my arrival this day the 25th of April, in the roads of Mangalore, with your Ambassadors and the Frenchmen whom General Malartic has sent to you under the orders of M. Chapuy.

Commanding the land and M. Dubuc, Commanding the Naval Forces.

I should felicitate myself the more on having been selected for this honourable commission, did not the approach of the stormy season oblige me to hasten my departure and deprive me of the honour of presenting to you in person the assurances of my respect and attachment.

I have requested Husain Ali Khan who is about to approach his Sovereign with an account of his embassy to express to you my zeal for your service and at the same time the lively regret which I feel at being obliged too soon to depart.

With as much justice as pleasure I can assure Your Majesty that your Ambassadors during the fifty days they have been on board my ship have rendered themselves conspicuous for all the good qualities and virtues required in the station with which you have invested them, and that their quitting my ship, as well as their departure from the Isle of France, has been the cause of regret to those friends whom their irreproachable conduct has gained them; nor can I wish you greater happiness than to possess many subjects as faithful and as much attached to you as they are.

Anxious to evince my zeal to serve you, and to procure you the means of corresponding with my Government before the approaching monsoon, I have the honour to acquaint you that in fifteen or eighteen days at most, I may possibly touch again at Mangalore and from there perhaps sail for the Isle of France, you might by that period honour me with your reply and your commands.

As it would be advantageous to the Isle of France and convenient to me to carry there on my return from 150 to 200 tons of rice in bags I have the honour to make a demand for the same.

I will deliver the receipt for whatever quantity I may ship, to your Government at Mangalore, to whomsoever you may please to order to make over to me the quantity required, if that be possible.

What I receive will become a debt, due by my Government to you, of which they will acquaint themselves in any mode you may think proper.

As I have already had the honour to observe to you and as you without doubt know, that in 15 or 20 days at the most your coast will no longer be safe, I offer my services and confine my request to that period, for when it is passed, I shall be under the absolute necessity of quitting Mangalore, with the regret of no longer having it in my power to be serviceable to you with my Government, and without being able to give them any intelligence from you which could prove advantageous to you as well as to Generals Malartic and Sercey, who are anxious to serve you.

As for the rest, on my zeal and good wishes for your services, rely and accept with the sentiments of my lively respect and attachment to your interests, the ardent prayers which I address to heaven for the triumph of your arms and the splendour of your Government.

I have the honour to be with a devotion which knows no bounds.

Your Majesty's most attached and zealous servant,

(Signed) L' Hermite,
Captain in the Navy, Commanding
the Preneuse.

No. 17

The Commander-in-Chief of the Forces sent by the French Government to the *Pacha Tipu (Padshah Tipu)*, the Victorious.

Sovereign *Pacha (Padshah)*,

I hasten to announce to Your Majesty my arrival in your kingdom and that of the French officers and volunteers sent to you by the Governor-General Malartic, of whom you will find the muster roll annexed.

Your Majesty will observe that among the volunteers there are about twenty soldiers of colour, of different nation and castes, the greater part of whom may be employed with advantage in the artillery.

You will there observe the Chief of a Legion, possessing every military qualification for filling with distinction the station of Commander-in-Chief, and two officers of artillery, with whom I hope you will be satisfied.

I flatter myself that Your Majesty will afford an opportunity to the military which the French Government already has sent, and may hereafter send you, of showing that they never will make any distinction between the service of a Prince whose alliance we so highly esteem and appreciate, and the service of their country.

I have the honour to inform Your Majesty that I have found here almost all the assistance which I could desire for my troops.

The zeal and activity shown by the Commandant of Mangalore in the disembarkation and reception of the troops has convinced me of the great attention which he has paid to everything that regarded us.

I can add nothing to the well deserved commendation which General Malartic has expressed to Your Majesty, of Your Ambassadors Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim their exemplary conduct on every occasion, at the Isle of France, on the passage, and particularly during the action which we had in Telli-herry roads with two English ships mounting 52 guns, having on board the officers of a regiment, a battalion of sepoys, and two standards, all which we captured and despatched to the Isle of France; has merited our general esteem.

I have the honour to express to Your Majesty, the extreme desire which I feel to present my homage to you in person and to communicate all the details respecting the Mission with which the French Government has entrusted me; and also to assure you, that I shall seize every opportunity of proving to you that your interests and your glory shall henceforth be considered by me as united with those of my country.

I request Your Majesty will enable me to proceed to your presence (*Huzur*) as soon as possible and issue your orders that the detachment with the baggage which is considerable, may follow without delay.

General Dubuc and myself hope to precede the detachment

which will be left under the orders of Dumoulin, the Chief of a Legion.

I have the honour to be respectfully,

Sovereign *Pacha*,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) Chappuis,
The Commander-in-Chief sent by
the French Government.

No. 18

The Captain of the Ships of War of the French Republic, one and indivisible, appointed by the Government to the Chief Command of the Naval Force acting under the Sovereign *Pacha* Tipu Sultan, the Victorious.

Sovereign *Pacha*,

I united with General Chappuis in apprising Your Majesty of my arrival and of that of my officers despatched by Generals Malartic and Sercey to serve under your orders.

We have no wish but to convince Your Majesty of the zeal and fidelity with which we shall act in every service which can contribute to your glory and to the success of your arms.

The French Republic, the ancient ally of your august father, has received your Embassy to the Isle of France; in a manner which cannot fail to convince you that the respective interests of the two Nations will be considered as one and we are especially deputed to Your Majesty for the purpose of renewing and consolidating that friendship and harmony which has hitherto reigned between you and the French.

The near approach of the rainy season renders it necessary that Your Majesty should give orders for our journey to your presence (*Huzur*) with our baggage as speedily as possible so that we may incur no risk of delay in our mission.

I enclose a return of the officers under my command; it seems advisable that they should remain at Mangalore until your naval

establishment shall be fixed by the report which I shall have the honour to submit to Your Majesty with regard to the situation of the coast and harbour of Mangalore, and in the meantime you should issue orders to the Governor of that place to supply them with everything necessary until your final pleasure shall be known.

I have brought a port master and a ship-builder, both well qualified for their respective department; I have also with me a master carpenter and a marine cadet.

I cannot conclude my letter without paying a tribute of praise to your Ambassadors, Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim; their duty could not have been more faithfully discharged; the Prince may be deemed happy who has such zealous and faithful subjects. I feel a particular pleasure in rendering this justice to their merit; with General Chappuis I shall relate more particularly to Your Majesty, their exertions in soliciting the Generals of the French Republic at the Isle of France for your glory and interests.

I have the honour to be very respectfully,

Sovereign *Pacha*,

Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) Dubuc,
Captain of the Ships of War of the
French Republic, one and indivisi-
ble, and Commanding the Naval
Force.

Mangalore, the 28th April, 1798.

Return of the Naval Officers of the French Republic, one and indivisible, sent by Generals Malartic and Sercey for the service of the Sovereign Prince Tipu:

M.M. Dubuc, Captain of the Ships of War of the French Republic and Commanding the Naval Force.

M.M.
St. Genes,
Barth,
La. Rabinais,

} Lieutenants in the French Navy.

M.M. Fillietas, Petit, Dudemaine,	}	Acting Marine Major. Midshipmen in the French Navy.
M.M. Lalee, Merlet, Bessiere		
	}	Master Director of the Works of the Port. Ship builder & Carpenter. Marine Cadet.

Francois Robert, Carpenter.

Eleven persons, attached to the Marine.

Mangalore, the 28th April 1798.

(Signed) Filletas,
Major of Marine.

Attested by me, Captain of the Ships of War of the French Republic, one and indivisible, and Commanding the Naval Force.

(Signed)
Dubuc.

No. 19

Copy of the Questions put to the French General by the Chiefs of the Sarkar (of Mysore).

1

We request you to inform us, if the Generals Malartic and Sercey, have sent you to the *Pacha* (Tipu Sultan) as Ambassador from them. When we are informed on this point, you shall be introduced according to your dignity and our customs.

2

We request you also to inform us, if the Generals Malartic and Sercey have sent you to serve the *Pacha*, you shall be received as men of distinction according to our customs.

3

We request you also to inform us, if you have full powers to transact business with the *Darbar*; and at the same time to serve the *Pacha*; you shall then be received and introduced as men of distinction according to our customs.

In the Camp of the *Pacha*, this 20th June 1798, Old Style (A.D.)

The French Generals having more at heart, than to give to the Sarkar of the Pacha, Tipu Sultan, the explanations and information, which it is in their power to afford as to the dignity and the object of their Mission, answer to the questions.

1

That the Governor-General Malartic representing the French Republic, in his Government of the Isle of France, has despatched us to the *Pacha*, in the quality of Envoys from the French Republic, as has also Rear Admiral Sercey, to represent them at the Court of the *Pacha*.

2

The Governor-General Malartic and Rear Admiral Sercey, have sent us to serve the *Pacha* in arms, according to our respective ranks and professions.

3

We have full power and authority in the name of the French Republic, and in the names of these Generals, who represent the Republic in the Isle of France to treat with the *Pacha* and with his *Darbar* of an Alliances between the two Nations which is to serve as the fundamental basis for all the great objects which we may have to propose; and all our treaties shall be presented to the National Convention, and ratified by the Executive Power at Paris.

Done in the Camp at Seringapatam, 1st *Thermidor*, in the 6th

Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, corresponding with the 20th June 1798, Old Style (A.D.).

The Generals of the French Republic,

(Signed)

Chappuis.

Dubuc.

No. 20

Rates of pay for the Officers of the Marine:

The Commander-in-Chief Dubuc, 2,000 rupees* *per mensem*, out of which he will leave 500 rupees, in the hands of the *Sarkar*, to be paid to him on his return and he will receive 1500 rupees *per mensem*

Lieutenants,	Rs. 250
Midshipmen,	Rs. 200
Master of the Port,	Rs. 150
Builder,	Rs. 125
Carpenter,	Rs. 50
The Marine Cadet Bessiere,	Rs. 50

*of which Mr. Filletas, the Major, who goes with me to Europe is to receive 300 rupees monthly.

Settled the 8th July, 1798.

(Signed) Dubuc,
The Commander-in-Chief.

I accept for the present 1,500 rupees *per mensem*, payable immediately, with a promise from the *Pacha* to pay me Rs. 2,000 on my return from Europe, after having executed the Commission with which he charges me.

The 8th July, 1798.

(Signed) Dubuc,
The Commander-in-Chief of the Marine.

No. 21

I have received from the *Sarkar Khuda-dad*, the sum of two thousand seven hundred eighty-one *Bahaduri Pagodas*, and five *fanams*, in the following manner, that is to say:

Eight months due to Debay,	171	$\frac{1}{2}$
Six months in advance,	128	$\frac{1}{2}$
Six months to General Dubuc,	1928	1
Six months to Fillietas,	385	10
One month to the Marine, as follows:		
One Lieutenant,	53	8
One Midshipman,	42	12
One Master of the port,	32	2
One Builder,	26	10
One Carpenter,	10	11
Total <i>Bahaduri Pagodas</i>	2781	5

In the Camp of the *Pacha*, the 28th July 1798.

(Signed) Dubuc,
Commander-in-Chief of the Marine.

N.B. Every officer or other person belonging to the Marine, who shall not discharge his duty punctually and with skill shall be dismissed and sent back.

(Signed) Dubuc,
Commander-in-Chief of the Marine.

No. 22.

The *Sarkar Khuda-dad* to the Executive Directory, representing the French Republic, one and indivisible, at Paris.

In the name of that friendship which the *Sarkar Khuda-dad*, and subjects of the *Sarkar*, vow to the French Republic, which friendship and alliance shall endure as long as the sun and moon

shine in the heavens and which shall be so solid that the most extraordinary events shall neither break nor disunite them.

The English jealous of the connection of friendship which for so long a time has subsisted between my *Sarkar* and France, some years ago united against me with the Marathas, the Nizam Ali Khan and my other enemies; and declared a war as odious as unjust, which lasted several years and of which the result was so fatal that it cost me three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees in money and my finest provinces.

The Republic is certainly not ignorant of any of these unfortunate circumstances, nor of the many efforts I made to dispute inch by inch the possession of that country which at last I was obliged to relinquish to our common enemy. I should not have been driven to such cruel sacrifices had I been aided by my ancient allies, the French who were deceived by the persidious machinations of Conway, the Governor-General of Pondicherry, who was then plotting with Campbell, the Governor of Madras for the evacuation of the place commanded by the former. No doubt the Republic will now repair the fault of their former Government by driving the English from their rich possessions in India.

These sentiments with which I have long been animated, I have made known to the Government of the Isle of France through the organ of two Ambassadors from whom I had had the great satisfaction of receiving such an answer. As I desired, together with the Republican Flag, by the bands of Chappuis, Chief of a Brigade and Dubuc, a Captain of a Ship, who also brought with them the inconsiderable succour of officers and men with which circumstances permitted General Malartic and Rear-admiral Sercey to supply me.

I retain with me the first of these officers and send the second to you as my Ambassador who in requesting your alliance offensive and defensive will, I trust, obtain such a reinforcements of troops as may enable me to attack and annihilate forever our common enemies in Asia.

I send you my standard, which, united with that of the Republic, will serve as a basis for the alliance into which our respective Nations are about to contract, and with it, the particular articles which I have charged Captain Dubuc to communi-

cate to you and I join with him my subjects Shaikh Abdur Rahim and Muhammad Bismillah, who are equally authorized to represent me with your Government.

Whatever may be the future state of our two Nations, whether blended or separate; into whatever engagements they may respectively enter; may the prosperity, the glory, and the success of both, be still the common object of each—may the sentiment which they feel for each other be guaranteed by mutual assurances of fidelity, and by oaths of reciprocal obligation, and may the heavens and the earth meet and unite, ere the alliance of the two nations shall suffer the smallest alteration.

In my Palace at Seringapatam, July 20, 1798.

(Signed) (*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan)

A Note to the Proposals to be made by Ambassadors to the Executive Directory at Paris.

Article 1

For ten or fifteen thousand troops of every description, infantry, cavalry and artillery.

Article 2

A naval force to act on the coast where our armies may be, to favour, and to reinforce them in case of necessity.

Article 3

The *Sarkar* will furnish all military stores and provisions for the army of the Republic as well as horses, bullocks, carts and tents, together with every other necessary things, *excepting European liquors, which our country does not afford.*

Article 4

On all marches and military operations, the King's (Tipu's) orders are to be observed.

Article 5

The expedition shall be directed to some point of the Coromandel Coast, and in preference, to Porto Novo; where the disembarkation of the troops shall take place; and where the King (Tipu Sultan) with his whole army will appear, either before the arrival of the French Army or at any time appointed, it being his intentions to commence operations in the heart of the enemy's country.

Article 6

The King (Tipu Sultan) desires that the Republic will inform him by despatching to Mangalore two Corvettes from Europe, within 20 days of each other, of the number of Ships and troops are to be sent from France in order that he may take the field immediately and be master of the Coromandel Coast, before the arrival of the Republican forces and thus be enabled to provide for all their wants.

Article 7

All the conquests which may be made from the enemy, excepting those Provinces which the Sultan has been obliged to cede to the English, to the Marathas and to Nizam Ali Khan, shall be equally divided between the two Nations, and according to their respective convenience. The same division shall also be made of the enemy's ships and of the Portuguese Colonies in order to indemnify the King (Tipu) for the expenses of the war.

Article 8

Should any difficulty arise between the allied armies, each shall observe justice according to their own laws and customs, and every discussion relating to them shall be conducted in writing, between the two Nations.

Article 9

Whatever may be the desire of the Republic whether to give peace to England or to continue the War, the King (Tipu) trusts the Republic will always have the kindness to consider him as friend and faithful Ally; and accordingly comprehend him in all its Treaties, and apprise him of all its intentions.

(Signed) (*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

Article 10

All persons of the French Nation, whosoever now are, or may hereafter, come within the territories of the King shall be treated as friends and allies: they shall have the liberty of passing and repassing and of trading without any molestation or hindrance, on the contrary they shall receive every assistance and succour which they may want.

Article 11

To procure for the royal service, four founders of brass and four founders of iron-cannon, four paper-makers, four glass-coaters, four glass-founders, four glass-cutters, two naval engineers, and two good ship-builders.

Given in my Palace of Seringapatam, under my signatures and that of my Prime Minister, with the seal of the State affixed the 20th July, 1798.

(Signed) (*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

No. 23(a)

To the French Republic, One and Indivisible.

Placing entire confidence in the patriotic zeal and fidelity manifested by Citizen Dubuc, Captain in the Navy of the French Republic one and indivisible and Commander-in-Chief of my

Marine. I have appointed and do hereby appoint him one of my Ambassadors to the Executive Directory (of France) at Paris there to fulfil with punctuality the orders which I have given him. For that purpose, I give him all the most extensive powers necessary to the success of the Mission which I have entrusted to him promising and binding myself to the French Republic, one and indivisible, to ratify the engagements which Citizen Dubuc may enter into in my name with the National Convention and the Executive Directory at Paris; as well as with the artists and workmen whom I have directed him to employ for my service.

Given in the Palace of Seringapatam, under my signatures and that of my Prime Minister, with the seal of the (Mysore) State affixed the 20th July, 1798 (A.D.).

No. 23(b)

Letter of Credit from the *Sarkar Khuda-dad* for Citizen Dubuc, Captain in the Navy of the French Republic, one and indivisible, and Commander-in-Chief of my Marine.

Placing entire confidence in the fidelity of Citizen Dubuc, Captain in the Navy of the French Republic, one and indivisible, and Commander-in-Chief of my Marine, I authorize him, by this present Letter of Credit to procure either from the French Republic or from individuals such sums as he may require to fulfil the orders I have given him for different purchases, or to defray expenses which he may think urgent or necessary for the advantage of his mission. Being desirous that the said Letter of Credit, should have full power and value, I hereby bind myself to pay or cause to be paid all the Bills of Exchange which Citizen Dubuc may draw upon on *Sarkar*.

Given in my Palace of Seringapatam, under my signatures and that of my Prime Minister, with the seal of State affixed the 20th July, 1798.

Copy of a letter from Dubuc to Tipu Sultan, dated the 16th December 1798, O.S. (i.e. A.D.), Tranquebar, the 16th December 1798, O.S.

To the *Sarkar Khuda-dad*.

Great *Pacha*, Health and Respect,

The men have arrived safely, but their letters, the articles most essential are still wanting, having been left on the road, I hope, however, to get them in a few days; the men were so much afraid that they have been four months on their journey; you may judge of their diligence and punctuality for your service; for my own part, I believe they must have tied their legs for three months and a half; *harkaras* which I sent to you on the 11th of last month have returned with Your Majesty's reply, dated the 29th of the same month; I hasten to send them back, as they are faithful men, and I should wish them to be liberally recompensed. The person who is to furnish the money does not appear nor do I hear anything of him. I apprehend that there will be much trouble in obtaining payment.

I consider it is indispensably necessary that you should send me an order to take up immediately all the money in the hands of Mercier, and accompany it with a Letter of Credit on the Republic, as requested by me; the importance of my mission is such, and the result promises to be so advantageous to Your Majesty that I cannot too often repeat that money ought to be considered as nothing when matters of such consequence are in agitation; I must set off, but to do this, money is necessary. In all countries money is the sinew of intrigue and of war.

If Your Majesty does not wish to be ruined by the English and to lose the assistance of your good and faithful friends, the French, show me a sufficient mark of your confidence, in supplying me with the means; they will not stop *sahukars* on the road with cash especially if it be in *Star Pagodas*. Kindly send me a supply with all expedition and I will set off immediately. I have not received cloths as yet and I am about to send persons

in search of them. I request Your Majesty will authorize me to take up a year's advance of pay, according to your promise, to enable me to procure the means of subsistence to my family during my absence; The six months for which I have received an advance will expire on the 8th of next month. I have been obliged to expend all I had and have now nothing remaining, the English having taken both my vessel and money; you will find my request reasonable, when you consider that my family is in a strange country and destitute of resources. I again solicit from Your Majesty full powers to that effect and that the means may be immediately furnished me. As the *harkaras* assure me of their return in thirty days I can get away in forty. It will be advisable that you should station here with your *wakil*, eight *harkaras* so that you may receive intelligence every eight days which I have the means of arranging. I recommend the case of the *wakil* to you, his pay is insufficient, and it is now eight months that the *kachheri* has given him nothing. He should have besides a *palki* as the Ambassador of so noble and generous a prince as yourself ought not to go on foot like a Coolie.

Are you satisfied with me? Tell me in a word you know my attachment to your person and you shall have sincere proofs of my fidelity. I beg Your Majesty to continue your goodness and friendship to my true friend and colleague General Chappuis. Kindly see him often, the more you know him the more you will be satisfied that he merits your confidence; he is a man of the purest honour, faithful, and a sound adviser.

I have been informed that Your Majesty has written to the Government of Madras and to Lord Mornington.* What will be the issue of their reply? Be on your guard against them, be ready to defend or to attack. The preparations for war by enemy seem to continue to be carried on with great rapidity. The Nizam's troops must by this time be on their march. They must be checked. The English attempted to carry off your *wakil* Sada Chidevaran, but I discovered the plot, and so it has not succeeded.

Your Majesty should write instantly to the Government of Tranquebar by a *shutur-suwar* (i.e. camel courier), requesting

* Marquess Wellesley, Governor-General of the Fort William in Bengal (1798-1805 A.D.).

its immediate protection for your General-in-Chief Dubuc, your Major Fillietaz, the Interpreter De Bay, and your *wakil* Lord Mornington, the Governor-General of Bengal and General Clarke, are expected on the Coast at the end of this month for the purpose of entering upon a negotiation with Your Majesty, which, should it not be successful, will be, followed by a declaration of war; the object of which will be, to take away your country and to dethrone you; substituting in your place and that of the heirs of your Crown, a Nawwab of their own creation; Your Majesty must perceive that nothing less than your Kingdom is at stake. You must exert yourself and in particular endeavour to preserve it by negotiation, till the moment when (I flatter myself), I shall secure it to you and to your august children forever.

By means of the intrigues carried on by the English in all the *Darbars* (Kingdoms) of India, it is easy for them to excite commotions and they may detach from you perhaps all your allies. It is very probable that by division and negotiation, in the event of their succeeding in a new war against Your Majesty, they may accomplish the destruction of the Maratha power, and seize with impunity everything which may have been ceded to them under a new treaty of peace; it is evidently in their (Marathas) interest to enter into a joint treaty with you to establish a firm security for each other and in this league each ought to cooperate in defending the acquisition of cessions that either may have made at the peace concluded at your capital with the several contracting parties. The English threaten you, the Marathas ought to support you and not allow you to be exposed to destruction, the barrier that separates you from the former ought to be preserved so that nothing may be able to break or destroy it; you may place a dependence on your allies while your interests are the same, but you will be abandoned if those interests, should cease to be mutual, or more certainly still, if they should be absolutely at variance or if your allies should begin to fear you.

Your time is short and precious you must convince them of your good intentions: anticipate the English by your activity and throw impediments in their way which shall retard their negotiations at Poona or render them ineffectual. Under such circumstances the Marathas ought to insist on the faith of

treaties to remind the English of the assistance they afforded them against Your Majesty; and to urge the gratitude which they have a right to expect. They may reconcile the different interests of the parties with the delicate situation in which they are placed, and avoid the reproach of a breach of faith either in regard to the execution of the treaty of peace generally, or any particular article of it. If these means of conciliation fail, they must immediately arm and menace the Nation which shall have infringed the treaty; the mere outcry will perhaps put a stop to all the military and hostile proceedings against Your Majesty; if otherwise, the sword must be drawn, the scabbard must be cast away where it may never again be found and the fortune of war must decide the event.

We have not yet received any interesting news from Europe. The Republic continues victorious over all her enemies and refuses peace to England. Scindhia has already taken Delhi and I think he must have completed the conquest of Akabarabad (Agra). Your Majesty will do well to despatch couriers to inform him immediately of the situation you are in.

I beg Your Majesty will read attentively my letter, which has been solely dictated by candour, truth and a regard for your real interests.

I pray to God that everything may succeed according to the wishes of Your Majesty.

I have the honour to be with respect,

(Signed) Dubuc.

The Commander-in-Chief, Captain in the Navy of French Republic, one and indivisible.

P.S. Major Fillietaz begs to offer the homage of his respect and attachment to Your Majesty.

No. 25

Letter from Tipu Sultan to M. Dubuc.

Seringapatam, the 2nd January, 1799.

The *harkaras* who were the bearers of your letter of the 16th ultimo arrived on the 30th. They have been paid Rs. ten each as a present. You must make every exertion to depart with all possible expedition, for it is urgently necessary. The cloths which you mention as not being arrived have been brought back without orders. I have caused them to be returned again without delay, but should they not arrive immediately, let not this prevent your departure. The Letter of Credit for France which you desire is in the packet. I hope that you will find the person who ought to pay you the money: We consider him as entirely to be depended upon; but if he should fail, you will endeavour by means of your Letter of Credit to arrange matters and depart as soon as possible. You need not doubt that you possess my entire confidence and that I consider you as one of my very good friends. We have settled together everything which you have to do. It is useless and even dangerous to write again because letters may be lost and what I am most anxious about is, that you should depart as quickly as possible. *Your despatches have already been once intercepted and have furnished information of your destination which is much to be regretted:* If you should write again, mention no names; we shall always understand each other: I have always written to you in that manner.

You ask me to send money from hence; how can this be done when letters pass with so much difficulty? I authorise you to take up by means of the Letter of Credit upon Europe whatever you may require for yourself as well as for other purposes; after the departure of this despatch, I will send the necessary persons to carry on the correspondence. I rely solely on Providence, expecting that I shall be alone and unsupported; but God and my courage will accomplish everything. I have sent (Envoys) to Poona but it is your departure which most interests me and which is most pressing. Overcome all obstacles and depart with speed.

(Signed).

(*Baiz* of Tipu Sultan.)

No. 26

To the Citizen Sultan Tipu, the Victorious, at Pattun (Seringapatam).

From the Republican Camp, the 3rd day of the 1st *Decade* of *Prairial*, the 5th Year (May 23, 1797).

To Tipu Sultan, the victorious, the Ally of the French Republic, and the well beloved of the Republicans and her Children; Health.

Citoyen Sultan,

I have received the letter which you have done me the friendship to write to me and I take the liberty of replying to it article by article.

With respect to that which relates to Monsieur Raymond; I have read the letter written by him to Citizen Dompars M. Raymond* more subtle than he, has the air of a man, who would be a Frenchman; or who would at least wish to be thought so, and this with a view to discover your intentions, and those of the Republic, your sister: he expresses a wish, to be informed of our means and of our force alleging that he has sacrificed the greater part of his property to prove his attachment to the French and to support the French and their name in India; that his party is called the French party and that he has always borne the French Colours.

He is known to you, Excellent Prince, and still better to France. He has made war. On Whom? On you, the Ally of my Nation: it is thus, that he would prove to you, his sincerity; he has erected the ancient standard of France: this was only to disengage you from the French who acted under your orders; He is in the service of a Prince (The Nizam) who is both your enemy and ours and has formed an unworthy alliance with the English with whom he is in constant habits of intercourse. But Your Excellency, in dealing with traitors, we must make use of their own arms. You must not let him perceive

* The Commander of the European Troops in the Nizam's Army.

that you have unmarked him. If you will but permit me to write to him I will lead him on till he falls into the very track that will answer your purposes. In politics, we must endeavour to make the arm do our work, which we would be glad to see cut off, and put it out of enemy's power to hurt us by word by deed.

I repeat to you, that Your Majesty's interests are as dear to me, as those of my own Nation; and you may rely on the frankness of my heart. Monsieur Raymond pretends to make advance to you; seems to return this mark of confidence and leave me to play my part with him. I swear to you, you shall have every reason to be satisfied, and, as cunning as he is, he shall but work to accomplish your desires.

With respect to the men who are behind the bars, had they deserved death, be persuaded that they should have received no mercy. I do not love either cowards or traitors and you may rest assured that your camp shall be ordered with all the dignity and respect which is due to Your Excellency. I do not command it, but I am a Republican, and I will make them know that you do not pay them either debauchery or their vices and that they must earn the money which you give them; that everywhere, and at all times, they must be ready to maintain your precious name and glory. They begin to listen to me. I will render them worthy of this honour and this is no trifling attempt after their late disorderly behaviour. An order from you to the Citizen Dompars, conceived the terms of the writing enclosed, would have the best effect. Your will shall be complied with; on Monday afternoon I will take out, with your permission, the citizen gunners to your place of exercise, that they may fire at the target; I make them practice daily firing at the mark. But as it is the custom among the Republicans to attach a small piece of artillery to each company of infantry, for the purpose of manoeuvring and to favour attacks or retreats, or the skirmishes of cavalry, I had requested of you merely to lend me one of your smallest field pieces; these pieces in time of action, are drawn with traces.

Your wishes are Laws, I wish you all the happiness you deserve.

Your Citizen,
(Signed) Ripaud.

This is the draft of the letter suggested by Ripaud to be addressed by the Sultan to Citizen Dompars *vide* foregoing Letter No. 26.

I desire the Citizen Dompars, as Commandant to qualify himself, that he may be able to command in person, the French Republicans who are under his orders. That he will in the same manner, require his officers to qualify themselves to command, as well as his inferior officers, I give you all one month to enable you to practise, and I shall judge myself of the military evolutions which you may be able to perform at that period. To be Republicans, it is necessary to be well informed, to possess a degree of pride, and to merit the esteem of those whose pay we receive.

Hitherto you have neglected these duties of honourable men, repair your former errors, and merit my esteem, you will daily make the citizens whom you command, without any distinction, except that of age, practice with the musket and great guns. Those who perform their exercise well with the musket and cannon will practice only every Monday on my Parade; those who will not make the most of their time shall be formed according to their respective acquirements into second and third daily, until all your citizens become qualified for the first class, both with respect to the management of the musket and of the artillery; they must all be equally expert at the musket and the artillery.

Be careful that this order be carried into execution, you will be answerable to me for it. Issue orders also to your Cavalry to instruct themselves. It is proper that all should be perfect, such is my will.

This letter establishes the fact, that Monsieur Raymond, Commander of the French Army at Hyderabad, had opened a correspondence with Tipu Sultan. With regard to the Standards under which M. Raymond's Corps served, they were delivered up at Hyderabad on the 22nd October, 1798; they consisted of the three-coloured Flag, surmounted by an emblem, representing the Ottoman Crescent, transfixing a dagger on the point of which was placed the French Cap of Liberty.

No. 27 (Intercepted)

The originals of the following translation of letters from General Buonaparte (Napoleon I) were communicated to Captain Wilson at Mocha;* and the translations were by him transmitted to the Governor-in-Council at Bombay.

FRENCH LIBERTY

Liberty

Equality

Headquarters at Cairo, 7th *Pluaise*, 7th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

From Buonaparte, Member of the National Convention, General-in-Chief to the Most Magnificent Sultan, Our greatest friend Tipu 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 delivering 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 may confer.

May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies.

(Seal).

(Signed) Buonaparte.

No. 28 (Intercepted)

Translation of a letter from General Buonaparte to the *Sharif* of Mecca, written in Arabic, without date, and received at Jidda on the 17th February, 1799.

You will be fully informed by the *Nocqueda* (*Nakhuda*;

* Port in Yemen of Arabia on the Red Sea.

Captain) of this Dow, how tranquil and quiet everything is at Cairo and Suez and between those places; and of the tranquillity which is established among the inhabitants. Not a single *Mamluk* oppressor remains in the country and the inhabitants without dread or fear employ themselves in weaving, cultivating the ground and in other trades as formerly and by the blessing of God this will be daily increasing and the duties on merchandize and the taxes will be lessened. The duties on merchandize are now the same as they were prior to their being raised by the *Mamluks*; the merchants have been granted all facilities and every assistance. The road (voyage) between Suez and Cairo is open and safe, therefore do you assure the merchants of your Country, that they may bring their goods to Suez, and sell them without dread or apprehension and may purchase in exchange for them such articles as they may wish.

I now send you a letter for our Friend Tipu Sultan, oblige me by forwarding it to his kingdom. Letters No. 27 and 28 were intercepted by the British Government.

Copies of the above letters were given to my *Munshi* for me by Shaikh Sulayman and Muhammad Amin, the Sharif's 1st *Wazir* and 1st Secretary.

(Signed) S. Wilson.

Confidential Letters

DIVISION C

**CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN TIPU SULTAN AND
THE EAST INDIA COMPANY**

Confidential

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Correspondence Between Tipu Sultan and the Company

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 7th March, 1798

The particulars of the late disturbances in Catiote and their termination by the submission of the Raja, will no doubt, have been communicated to you. From the friendship which subsists between the two States, I think it proper, however, to acquaint you that during the existence of those disturbances several letters were presented to the Company's Officers, who were sent to reduce the Raja to obedience, in your name, bearing a seal asserted to be that of your *Sarkar*, claiming the District of Wynaad which adjoins to Catiote. I am satisfied that if these letters had been written with your sanction, they would have been transmitted to me in the usual manner, and as the dictates of friendship require. Although, I can, therefore, have little doubt, but these letters were fabricated by the advisers of the Raja in question, in the hope of obtaining his own purposes, by exciting a misunderstanding between the two States; it being equally the interest of both the States that the view of such short-sighted persons should be exposed and defeated, and that measures should be adopted to prevent similar practices in future; I have thought it proper to apprise you of the above circumstances, and at the same time to assure you, that in the event of your having any claims on the District of Wynaad, I have every disposition to attend to them and for that purpose, if necessary, to direct well-informed and respectable persons to be deputed from Bombay to the spot or anywhere on the frontiers of the two States that may be concerted as most convenient to meet persons on your part to settle the right of the respective States, to that district, or to any places on the boundary between Malabar and your territories, the right to which may be unsettled. I need not add, the fullest assurances that this Government will most readily agree to whatever may appear equitable on enquiry; and I am satisfied that you will be actuated by the same sentiments of justice and good faith.

Considering the above as a proof of my sincere desire to

maintain the friendship which has been so happily established]
between the two States, I trust you will rejoice me with frequent
accounts of your welfare, &c.

(Signed) John Shore.

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General

Received on the 26th April, 1798

I have been favoured with your letter, *notifying your intention
of returning to Europe and the nomination of Lord Mornington,
who is of rank, to the office of Governor-General, in whom the
same disposition would be manifested with yourself to cultivate
and improve the friendship and good understanding subsisting
between the two States and an inviolable adherence to the
engagements by which they are connected &c. It is very well:
You must impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the
friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between us, and
constantly favour me with letters communicating your health and
welfare.

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General

Received on the 26th April, 1798

I have been highly gratified by the receipt of your letter (*vide*
that written 7th of March) and have understood its friendly
contents.

Wynaad (spelt Wynaur) is the name of a ***qariya* in my territory
in the midst of a forest of trees, with an inconsiderable number
of habitations upon it; the inhabitants of which have ever been
remarkable for their turbulence, for which reason, a small fort
was long ago erected there which is garrisoned by my troops.

* The letter alluded to, being merely complimentary is omitted.

** The same as *Mauza*. The term village does not answer to the word *qariya*
or *Mauza*, which signifies not only the village itself, but the lands
belonging to it.

They have always been disorderly and turbulent and there has been constant occasion to chastise them. The said *quariya* is situated on the tableland near Tambacherry. All the *talluks* ceded to the company were particularly specified in the treaty of peace, in order to prevent repeated altercations. I did not cede a single *talluk* to the Company on the tableland, nor has the Company any concern there. I have no doubt that in consequence of the representation of some interested person, you have written with a view to have such designing representations exposed, and, therefore, I write thus particularly. Just now no one in that *quariya* has excited any disturbance or commotion; my subjects do not frequent the country below the tableland, which has long constituted a barrier to both the parties. The plain and all below the tableland belongs to the Company; above it are my subjects. There are mountains situated between. This matter does not require investigation and deliberation.

Believing my friendly heart disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundation of harmony and concord established between the two States, I hope you will always gratify me by letters notifying your welfare.

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General

Received on the 17th May, 1798

I was much gratified by the receipt of your friendly letter*, communicating the departure of Sir John Shore, and your having taken charge of the Government until the arrival of the Earl of Mornington (*vide* that written 26th March, 1798). As you are a friend, I have no doubt of your constant disposition to strengthen the bonds of sincere attachment between the two States.

The Coorgah people have entered and taken up their abode in Kaurnt-mungul and Colour-Baji, two *qariyas*** below the ghats, and woods, where they commit violence and injure the ryots; an officer with a small detachment was, therefore, sent to

* The letter alluded to, being merely complimentary is omitted.

** A *qariya* is a village with the adjacent land belonging to it.

bring them to reason, but they will not hear reason and only want to excite disturbance. I have written this for your information, lest any persons should represent the circumstance to Company's Government in a manner contrary to what is the real fact. You must write to the Coorgah Raja, enjoining and insisting on his quitting those two *qariyas*, and remaining within his own boundary above the *ghats* and in future not to go beyond them. Believing me solicitous for the good tidings of your welfare, I hope you will constantly gratify me with your friendly letters.

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 14th June, 1798

Immediately on my arrival at Bengal, Sir Alured Clarke communicated to me your friendly letter to him, stating that some people of the Coorga country having descended from the woods and mountains, had fixed their residence in the village of Kaunt-mungul and Coloorbaji &c.

(Recapitulate the contents of the letter).

Sir Alured Clarke has also communicated to me your answer to the letter from the late Governor-General Sir John Shore, respecting the claims of the Company and of Your Highness to the District of Wynaad, bordering on Tambercherry.

Being anxious to afford you every proof in my power of my sincere desire to maintain the good understanding which had so long subsisted between Your Highness and the Company, I made it one of the first objects of my attention to examine all the papers existing on the Company's records, as well respecting Wynaad as the District of Souleah, in which it appears that Kaunt-mungul, and Coloorbaji are situated.

From these papers I find that not only the right to the districts of Wynaad and Souleah has remained in doubt, but also the districts of Amerah, and Ersarawaraseemy, and to some other inconsiderable territories on the side of Malabar.

Your Highness is well aware that it is a maxim among States, who are sincerely disposed to maintain the relations of amity

and peace to bring all contested points of this nature to a speedy determination.

A reasonable and temperate discussion of those differences of opinion, which must occasionally arise between powers of the most pacific disposition, tends to prevent quarrels between their subordinate officers, and to obviate the misrepresentations which each party is apt, in such cases to make, to the respective Government. This is the most friendly, as well as the most prudent course, and will always defeat the views of interested and designing persons who may wish to foment jealousy and to disturb the blessing of peace.

For this object Lord Cornwallis, the *Nawwab* Nizam Ali Khan, and the Peshwa *Pandit Pardhan* wisely provided in the treaty of peace concluded with Your Highness at Seringapatam, by establishing a regular mode of bringing to an amicable adjustment with the knowledge and approbation of all parties, any questions which might hereafter arise, between Your Highness and any of the Allies respecting the boundaries of your adjacent territories.

I am persuaded that it is Your Highness's disposition to maintain faithfully your public engagements with the Company. On my part you will always meet with a religious adherence to every article of the Treaties subsisting between us. On this occasion, therefore, it is my intention to depute a respectable and discreet person to meet upon your frontier such of your officers as Your Highness may please to name for the purpose of conferring together, of discussing the grounds of the respective claims, and of satisfying each other on all points respecting which any doubts may be entertained on either side.

It would not be consistent with Your Highness high reputation for justice and good faith, to refuse to enter into this candid investigation, I, therefore, entertain no doubt, that as soon as you shall have fully understood the nature of this representation you will afford every facility to the conduct of the necessary enquiries, and will use your endeavours to bring them to a speedy determination, and for this purpose that you will without delay direct your officers at *Korial Bandar* (i.e. Mangalore) to enter into conference with those deputed by the managers of the Honourable Company's affairs on the coast of Malabar. The result of the

conferences will be communicated to me by the Government of Bombay with all practicable despatch; and you may rely upon it, that after a regular discussion shall have taken place according to the established law of nations and to the practice uniformly observed on every occasion of disputed boundary which has arisen between Your Highness and the Allies, since the conclusion of the Treaty of Seringapatam, I will not suspend for one moment the full acknowledgement of whatever shall appear to be your just right.

In the meantime, as the districts of Amerah and Souleah have been in the possession of the Coorgah Raja for several years, Your Highness will no doubt see the propriety and justice of recalling the troops sent into the neighbourhood of Souleah. Your Highness must be sensible that until I have been satisfied of the justice of your claims in a regular and amicable manner, I will never suffer any of the Company's Allies or dependants, whose country and interests I consider to be in every respect the same as those of the Company, to be forcibly deprived of territories, of which they have so long held possession. With the most cordial disposition to maintain the intercourse of friendship with Your Highness, I trust that I shall always meet an equal return on your part, and, therefore, I cannot but lament, that Your Highness did not immediately report to the established channels of peaceable negotiation, in place of stationing a military force upon the frontiers of the territory possessed by an Ally of the Company.

Confident, however that Your Highness upon a full review of all the circumstances of the case, will be equally inclined with myself to conform to the dictates of justice, I am satisfied that after our respective officers shall have conferred together and explained to each other all matters that remain in doubt, we shall have no difficulty in terminating these long depending questions to our mutual satisfaction.

(Signed) Mornington.

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General

Received on the 10th July, 1798

Your Lordship's friendly letter* containing the agreeable intelligence of your arrival at Calcutta and your taking charge of Company's affairs reached me at the happiest of times and afforded me a degree of pleasure and satisfaction that cannot be adequately expressed upon paper. May the Almighty prosper to Your Lordship this event! By the Divine Grace, the exalted fabric of union and attachment, and the firm foundations of friendship and harmony between the two States are in full strength. To adhere to the obligations of existing treaties is a constant object with me. Your Lordship is from your heart a friend and well-wisher and I am confident will hold in mind the observance of union and concord. I hope you will continue to gratify me by letters notifying your welfare.

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General

Dated 1st *Safar* 1213 A.H. or 18th July 1798

Received on the 2nd August, 1798

In happy time I had the pleasure to receive Your Lordship's letter which afforded me great satisfaction and its friendly contents have been understood—(*vide* letter written 14th June).

Since the time that the country of Nugur and Koriaul was first subjugated the *talluks* of Amerah and Souleah, in which (latter) Kaunt-mungul and Coloorbaji are situated, have belonged to Koriaul, and this is proved, and confirmed by the records of a century. The names of the persons who paid the collections of those *talluks* to the officers of Koriaul, of those who collected the revenues of them, and the accounts of advances made to the ryots for the purposes of cultivation are contained in those records, and from the first establishment of the authority of this *Sarkar* down to the year 1220 of Muhammad, they have been attached to the country of Koriaul. The Coorga people have had no concern in them. Indeed, between the above *talluk*

* The letter alluded to, being merely complimentary, is omitted.

and the Coorga country vast hills interpose. By the treaty of peace, the *talluks* of Ahmadnagar otherwise called Chuckloor, belongs to my *Sarkar*, and Wynaad (or Weenaar) is a *qariya* (or village with its appertaining lands) among the *qariyas* of Ahmadnagar above the Tambercherry pass. The territory of the company is below that pass, and the hills form a barrier between.

Your Lordship has written that "subordinate officers are naturally inclined to make misrepresentations to other respective Governments in such trivial cases and to foment jealousies and disturbances". It is certain then, that in plain and simple cases, the representations of interested people will not have any weight or credit whatever with Your Lordship. Nevertheless, as Your Lordship is desirous of obtaining an explanation and removing doubts, orders have been issued to the officers of Koriaul to confer with the persons who may be appointed from the Malabar side and fairly to ascertain and remove all doubts, a person of rank shall also be deputed by me for this business.

*By the favour of God, the bonds of friendship and union are firmly drawn between the two States, and I am to the last degree disposed to give additional strength to the beneficial system of amity and peace.

Believing me gratified by the agreeable intelligence of Your Lordship's welfare, I hope you will always continue to rejoice me by your exhilarating letters.

To Tipu Sultan from the Governor-General
Written on the 7th August, 1798

Your Highness's letter gave me great satisfaction; at the same time that it reached me, I received from the Commissioners in Malabar, their final opinion upon the subject of Wynaad. After

* Letter from Tipu Sultan to the Governor of the Isle of France and to the Executive Directory at Paris, soliciting for the third time, the co-operation of a French force for the extermination of the British power in India and transmitting the specific conditions of an offensive alliance, bear date two days subsequent to the date of this letter. *Vide* French Correspondence, Division B.

a full examination of every circumstances relating to your rights and to those of the Company, I am now convinced that Wynaad was not ceded to the Company by the Treaty of peace, and, therefore, that it belongs to Your Highness. As it never will be my wish to contest the smallest particle of Your Highness's rights, I have directed the Commissioners to make a formal acknowledgement of the justice of your claim to Wynaad which district you will occupy whenever it may suit your pleasure.

As some doubts, however, remain whether the Tambercherry pass be not included in the cessions made to the company, by the Treaty of peace, I have directed to the officers of the Company to confer on that subject with the person to be appointed by Your Highness. All question between Your Highness and the Company with respect to Wynaad is now brought to a happy conclusion; the right to the Tambercherry Pass, and to the *talluks* of Amerah and Souleah and Ersarawaraseeny, still remains for discussion. You will find me sincerely disposed to consider the several questions relating to these districts, with the same impartiality, of which I have endeavoured to afford Your Highness an unequivocal testimony in the final settlement of your claims upon Wynaad.

(Signed) Morington.

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General

Dated the 20th *Rabi* I 1213 A.H. or 2nd September, 1798

Received on the 28th September, 1798

I have had the pleasure to receive Your Lordship's friendly letter, purporting that you had received the final opinions of the Malabar Commissioners upon the subject of Wynaad, after a full examination of every circumstance, that Your Lordship was now convinced that Wynaad belongs to me: that, therefore, you had directed the Commissioners to make a formal acknowledgement of my claim to that *talluk*; but that some doubts yet remained with respect to the Pass. (*Vide* letter written 7th August, 1798).

Tambercherry which is below the Ghats, by the Treaty of

peace came into the Company's possession. Above the Ghats is Wynaad which consisted of a few habitations and has for a long time been desolate; the Ghats are situated between and also belong to me; it (Wynaad) consists of nothing but forests and heaps of stones. Accordingly long ago this fact came repeatedly under ocular inspection, at the time when measures were taken for the settlement of the Malabar districts; and whatever doubts there may be upon this head will be solved by a reference thereto. In like manner the right to the *talluks* of Amerah and Souleah which appertain to Mangalore is proved by the records of a century in which are inserted the names of the collectors and defrayers of the land tax. Nay, a copy of the parts of those records shall be sent, when by referring thereto the circumstances respecting Amerah and Souleah, Ersarawaraseemy, &c. will be ascertained and laid open. Mischief-makers by starting empty disputes and altercations, hope to accomplish their own purposes; but by the favour of God, the fountains of union and harmony between the two States possess too much purity and clearness to be sullied by the devices of self-interested persons.

Continue constantly to gratify me by letters denoting Your Lordship's welfare.

P.S. *Sewaraseemy also belongs to me. The *talluks* which are ceded to the company are particularly enumerated in the Treaty of peace. I beg you will refer thereto for information.

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General
Received on the 24th October, 1798

The *talluks* of Amerah and Souleah, in which Kauntmungul and Coloorbaji are situated, have belonged to Mangalore from the year *Riza* 1070 Muhammadi to the end of the year *Shadab* 1226, a term of 156 years; thirty-six years ago a body of 2000 Coorga peons were employed in the service of the State and some villages in the *talluks* above-mentioned yielding 3423 Pagodas, continued for a short time to be assigned for their pay, but since six and thirty years that even has ceased. This trivial affair can only be ascribed to the turbulent disposition of

* This probably stands for Ersarawaraseemy.

interested men, who by nature, are ever seeking opportunities of sowing the seeds of dissension; of this, I am confident, Your Lordship must be well convinced.

The person who is now in Coorga is not of the posterity of the Coorgah by Rajas, but of a different stock.

Constantly gratify me with friendly letters.

Postscript: Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, has written to me that two persons of integrity and ability from among the civil officers (*Tallukdars*) on the coast of Malabar, have been deputed to enquire into the claims of the above-mentioned *talluks*, and will shortly arrive; orders have been issued from my *Sarkar* also, nominating Shaikh Shihabud-din and Mir Muhammad Ali, persons of integrity and honour, to negotiate with the deputies above-mentioned, and ascertain from records and facts the dependency of the above-named *talluks* on Kourial (Mangalore).

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 4th November, 1798

You have doubtless received information of another excess of that unjustifiable ambition and insatiable rapacity, which have so long marked the conduct of the French Nation. They have invaded Egypt, a country, from which they were in no danger of molestation and from whose government they could not even pretend to have received the slightest provocation. They have committed this act of violence in contempt of the treaties subsisting between France and the Porte, and without any regard to the acknowledged authority of the Grand Seignor, so long established in Egypt. Nothing can more clearly expose their total disregard of every principle of public faith and honour than this unprovoked and unjustifiable aggression; and it will no doubt afford satisfaction to every friend to justice and good faith, and particularly to every friend of the British Nation to hear, that by the success of His Majesty's Arms, that French have already suffered for their injustice, and temerity. Certain intelligence has just been received that thirteen sail of the line, which had been employed in the expedition against Egypt,

mounting 1024 guns and carrying about 10,000 men, being at anchor in the port of Baqir, near Rosetta, at the mouth of the Nile, were attacked by an equal number of His Britannic Majesty's fleet; an engagement took place which terminated in the capture of nine ships of the French line; two more were blown up, one of them of 118 guns, the French Admiral's, and only two made their escape from the valour and skill of the British Admiral. All communication being thus cut off between Egypt and Europe, the troops who have landed in Egypt must in all probability perish, either by famine or by the sword.

This very signal victory is to be ascribed to the justice of the British cause, and to the aid of Divine Providence, favouring the gallantry of our forces, and punishing the injustice and impiety of our adversary. On the same assistance I rely with confidence for a continuation of similar success and for the final triumph of His Majesty's arms, over a Nation, who have shown themselves the general enemy of mankind. Confident from the union and attachment subsisting between us, that this intelligence will afford you sincere satisfaction, I could not deny myself the pleasure of communicating it.

(Signed) Mornington.

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 8th November, 1798

I have received your letter informing me (recite the substance of the letter received on the 24th October).

It affords me sincere satisfaction to learn that you have nominated two persons of integrity and honour to meet and confer with the deputies appointed, under my orders, by Mr. Duncan (the Governor of Bombay) for the purpose of investigating the question regarding the *talluks* of Amerah and Souleah. It is only by means of regular enquiry and amicable discussion that such questions can be adjusted among independent powers. My determination in the case of Wynaad was dictated by those principles of justice and moderation which always direct the Company's Government; nor shall my scrupulous adherence to

the same principles be less manifest in my decision on your claim to the districts, at present in question; the possession of which shall not be withholden from you for an instant, if, after full investigation I shall be satisfied of the justice of your title to them.

It is well known truth that they who are the most ready to respect the just rights of others are the most vigilant and resolute to maintain their own.

I have understood your sentiments concerning the "turbulent disposition of the interested men, who, by nature, are ever seeking opportunities of sowing the seeds of dissension". For the happiness of mankind, it is to be lamented, that these authors of confusion are too numerous, assiduous, and successful in all parts of the world. In no age or country were the baneful and infidious arts of intrigue ever cultivated with such success as they are at present by the French Nation. I sincerely wish that no impression had been produced on your discerning mind by that dangerous people; but my situation enables me to know, that they 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 nor does it appear necessary or proper that I should any longer conceal from you the surprise and concern with which I perceived you disposed to involve yourself in all the ruinous consequences of a connection, which threatens not only to subvert the foundations of friendship between you and the Company, but to introduce into the heart of your kingdom the principles of anarchy and confusion, to shake your own authority, to weaken the obedience of your subjects and to destroy the religion which you revere.

Immediately after my arrival in Bengal I read your correspondence with the late Governor-General Sir John Shore and with the acting Governor-General Sir Alured Clarke and

I perceived with great satisfaction, that, in all your letters, you constantly professed a disposition to strengthen the bonds of sincere attachment and the foundations of harmony and concord established between you and the Honourable Company. I received particular pleasure from reading your last letter to Sir John Shore, in which you signified your amicable desire that he should impress me with a sense of the friendship and unanimity, so long subsisting between the two States. Your subsequent letters to me have abounded with professions of the same friendly nature.

Combining these professions of amity on your part, with the proofs which the Company's Government have constantly given of their sincere disposition to maintain the relation of friendship and peace with you; and adverting at the same time 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 negotiations with the French and 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 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 these pacific dispositions.

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 serious 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 for this purpose, more fully and particularly the sole means, which appear to

myself and to 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.

I shall expect your answer to this letter with an earnest hope that it may correspond with the pacific views and wishes of the Allies; and that you may be convinced that you cannot in any manner better consult your true interest, than by meeting with cordiality the present friendly and moderate advance to a satisfactory and amicable settlement of all points, on which any doubts or anxiety may have arisen in the minds either of yourself or of the Allies.

(Signed) Mornington
(Marquess Richard Wellesley).

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 10th December, 1798

I had the honour of addressing a friendly letter to Your Highness on the 8th of November last in which I stated a variety of important points, to which Your Highness would no doubt perceive the propriety and necessity of giving your earliest and most serious consideration. I particularly hope that Your Highness will have been sensible of the advantages likely to result, to all parties, from the conciliatory measure of my deputing Major Doveton to you, which I proposed in that letter.

I expect to have the pleasure of finding your answer to that letter on my arrival at Madras for which place I am on the point of setting out from Calcutta. I hope to arrive at Madras about the same time that this letter reaches you, and should any circumstances hitherto have prevented your answering my last letter of the 8th November, I assure myself that you will

immediately, on your receipt of this, despatch a satisfactory reply to it addressed to me at Madras.

(Signed) Mornington
(Marquess Richard Wellesley).

From Tipu Sultan

Dated 11th *Jumada* II, 1213 *A.H.* (or 20th November, 1798)

Received on the 15th December, 1798

It has lately come to my ears from report that, in consequence of the talk of interested persons, military preparations are on foot. Report is equally subjected to the likelihood of being true or false. I have the fullest confidence that the present is without foundation. By the favour of God, the conditions (or obligations) of peace established (between us) have obtained the utmost degree of strengthening and firmness; under the circumstances of their having been firmly observed and adhered to, of the daily increasing union and friendship, and of the constant intercourse of correspondence, it (the report) cannot possibly be entitled to credit, but the promulgation of such reports excites my surprise—my friendly pen writes this—I hope that Your Lordship will be pleased to gratify me by writing of it. From a desire to maintain the obligations of treaty and engagement, I have no other intention (or thought) than to give increase to friendship, and my friendly heart is to the last degree bent on endeavours to confirm and strengthen the foundations of harmony and union.

Let Your Lordship always continue to gratify me by gladdening letters, notifying your welfare.

From Tipu Sultan

Received at the Fort St. George on the 25th December, 1798

I have been made happy by the receipt of your Lordship's two friendly letters the contents of which I clearly comprehend (*vide* those written on 4th and 8th November).

The particulars which Your Lordship has communicated to me, relative to the victory obtained by the English fleet over that of the French, near the shores of Egypt; nine of their ships having been captured and two burned, on one of which of the latter was their Admiral, have given me more pleasure than can possibly be conveyed by writing. Indeed I possess the firmest hope that the leaders of the English and the *Company Bahadur*, whoever adhere to the paths of sincerity, friendship and good faith, and are the well-wishers of mankind, will at all times be successful and victorious; and that the French, who are of a crooked disposition, faithless and the enemies of mankind, may be ever depressed and ruined. Your Lordship has written to me with the pen of friendship, "that in no age or country were the baneful and insidious arts of intrigue ever cultivated with such success as they are at present by the French nation". Would to God that no impression had been produced on my mind by that dangerous people, but, that Your Lordship's situation enables you to know, that they have reached my presence, and have endeavoured to pervert the wisdom of my Councils, and to instigate me to war against those who have given me no provocation.

"That it is impossible that I should suppose Your Lordship ignorant of the intercourse which subsists between me and the French, whom I know to be the inveterate enemies of the Company, and to be now engaged in an unjust war with the British Nation, and that I cannot imagine Your Lordship indifference to the transactions, which have passed between me and the enemies of the English."

In this *Sarkar*, (the gift of God) 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 Mauritius, 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; those who chose to take service, were entertained, and the remainder departed beyond the confines of this *Sarkar* (the gift of God) 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 *Sarkars* (of the Company and that of the *Khuda-dad*). This title signifying literally 'God-given' was assigned by the Sultan to his Government in 1792 A.D.

It is the wish of my heart and my constant endeavours to observe and maintain the articles of the agreement of peace, and to perpetuate and strengthen the basis of friendship and union with the *Sarkar* of the Company *Bahadur*, and with the *Sarkar* of the Maharaja *Saheb Sreemant, Peshwa Bahadur*, and His Highness the *Nawwab Asaf Jah Bahadur*, and I am resident at home, at time taking the air, and at others amusing myself with hunting, at a spot, which is used as pleasure ground. In this case, the allusions to "war," in your friendly letter, and the following passage, namely: "prudence required, that both the Company and their Allies should adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence," have given me the greatest surprise.

It was further written by your friendly pen, that "as Your Lordship is desirous of communicating to me on the 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 dilutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicions and of establishing peace and good understanding on the most durable foundation; that, therefore, Your Lordship trusts I will let you know at what time and place it will be convenient to me to receive Major Doveton". It has been understood. By the blessing of the Almighty, at the conclusion of the peace, the treaties and engagements entered into among the four *Sarkars* were to firmly established and confirmed as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example of the rulers of the age; nor are they ever, liable to interruption. I cannot imagine, that means more effectual than these can be adopted for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of States, or the welfare and advantage of all parties.

In the view of those who inspect narrowly into the nature of friendship, peace and amity are the first of all objects, as indeed Your Lordship has yourself written to me, that the Allied *Sarkars* look to no other object than the security and tranquillity of their own dominions, and the ease and comfort of their subjects; praise be to God, that the sum of my views and the wish of my heart are limited to these same points. On such grounds then a just and permanent observance of existing treaties is necessary and these, under the favour of God, daily acquire new strength and improvement, by means of amicable correspondence. Your Lordship is a great *Sardar*, and firm friend, who restores justice and order to the world, and you possess an enlightened judgment. I have the strongest hope that the minds of the wise and intelligent, but particularly of the four States, will not be sullied by doubts and jealousies, but will consider me from my heart desirous of harmony and friendship.

Continue to allow me the pleasure of your correspondence, making me happy by accounts of your health.

What more shall be written ?

Dated the 9th of *Rajab*, 1213 *Hijri* (18th December 1798).

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 9th January, 1799

In pursuance of the intention which I had the honour of communicating to you my letter of the 10th December, I embarked at Calcutta on the 25th of the same month, and on the 31st following arrived at this place.

Previously to my departure from Culcutta I had the honour to receive Your Highness's letter of the 11th *Jumada II* (20th November 1798).

(Recapitulate it.)

My letter to Your Highness, of the 8th November, will have explained to Your Highness the object of the military prepara-

tions, which have been advancing in every part of the dominions of the Allies ever since the beginning of the month of July.

On my arrival at Madras I had the honour to receive your letter of the 9th *Rajab* (or the 18th of December) in answer to my two letters addressed to Your Highness on the 4th and 8th of November 1798.

I am happy to find that, in this letter, Your Highness has been pleased to admit, "that the English Nation and the Honourable Company ever adhere to the paths of sincerity, friendship, and good faith; and that they are the well-wishers of mankind". This declaration is peculiarly satisfactory to me in the present moment, because I am persuaded that a Prince of Your Highness's discernment, could not express such sentiments without full deliberation. I, therefore, accept with pleasure this declaration, as affording not only an unequivocal testimony on the part of Your Highness, to the justice of that cause in which the English Nation and the Company are engaged, but an unqualified admission, that you have no ground of complaint against the English Government.

In answer to that part of my letter of the 8th of November, in which I lamented the unhappy connection which you had formed with the French Nation, Your Highness is pleased to mention, "that in the *Sarkar* (the gift of God) there is a mercantile tribe who employ themselves in trading by sea and land: that their agents purchased a two-masted vessel; and having loaded her with rice, departed with the view to traffic; that it happened that she went to the Mauritius, 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 to your country in search of employment: that those who chose to take service were entertained; and the remainder departed beyond the confines of that *Sarkar* (the gift of God); and that the French who are full of vice and deceit have perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ship to put about reports, with a view to ruffle the minds of both *Sarkars*."

I had no knowledge of the transaction which Your Highness has thus described, until I had the honour to receive your esteemed letter. Nor was it to this transaction I adverted, when I expressed my concern at the intercourse which Your

Highness had established with the French. The facts to which I referred, were of a nature entirely different from those which Your Highness has related. If the transactions of which I complained had not indisputably proved the existence of a connection between Your Highness and the French, entirely incompatible with your engagements to the Honourable Company and to its Allies, neither the Allies, nor I, would have resorted to those measures of precaution and defence, which have attracted Your Highness's attention.

I will now fully and explicitly state to Your Highness the circumstances to which I referred in my letter of the 8th of November wherein I remonstrated against the tendency of your intercourse with the French.

Although I had been, for some time past, apprised that Your Highness had engaged with several powers of Asia in various negotiations of the most hostile tendency towards the interests of the Company and of its Allies; and although your continued military preparations corresponded with the spirit of your negotiations, I still hoped that a sense of your own interests and a regard to the acknowledged maxims of prudence and good faith, would have induced you to relinquish projects of aggression, so inconsistent with your own professions, with your real interests, and with the character of your wisdom and discretion. But I had scarcely formed that decision on Your Highness's claim to Wynaad (by which I had afforded an unquestionable testimony of my disposition to render impartial and ample justice to your rights and to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace with Your Highness), when I received from the Isle of France an authentic copy of the proclamation, a Persian translation of which accompanies this letter. (*Vide* Appendix 'A'.)

In addition to this proclamation I possess full and accurate information of all the proceedings of Your Highness's Ambassadors during their stay in the Isle of France; of whole of their conduct in exercising the powers delegated to them by Your Highness; and of Your Highness's conduct, since the return of your Ambassadors.

From the whole evidence in my possession, the following facts are incontestably proved:

Your Highness despatched two Ambassadors from your Presence, who embarked at Mangalore, for the Isle of France; and arrived there at the close of the month of January 1798. The ship on which your Ambassadors were embarked, hoisted Your Highness's Colours upon entering the harbour of Port Nord Ouest in the Isle of France; your Ambassadors were received publicly and formally by the French Government under a salute of cannons and every circumstance of distinction and respect; and they were entertained during their continuance on the Island by the French Government at the public expense.

Previously to the arrival of your Ambassadors on the Island no idea or rumour existed there of any aid to be furnished to Your Highness by the French; or of any prospect of a war between Your Highness and the Company. But within two days after the arrival of your Ambassadors, the proclamation, of which I now forward to you a translation, was fixed up in the most public places and circulated through the town of Port Nord Ouest.

Your Ambassadors, far from protesting the matter or style of the proclamation, held without reserve in the most public manner the same language, which it contains, with respect to the offensive war to be commenced by Your Highness against the British possessions in India; and they even suffered the proclamation to be publicly distributed at their own houses.

In consequence of these circumstances, an universal belief prevailed in the island that Your Highness would make an immediate attack upon the British possession in India.

Your Ambassadors were present in the island when the French Government proceeded to act under the proclamation in question: and your Ambassadors aided and assisted the execution of the proclamation by making promises, in the name of Your Highness for the purpose of inducing recruits to enlist in your service. Your Ambassadors proposed to levy men to any practicable extent, stating their powers to be unlimited, with respect to the numbers of the forces to be raised in Your Highness's name for the purpose of making war on the Company.

The Ambassadors entered into certain stipulations and engagements in the name of Your Highness, according to the tenor of the proclamation with several Frenchmen, and others who

entered into your service, particularly with Monsieur Dubuc, whom the Ambassadors engaged in Your Highness's name, for the express purpose of assisting in the war to be commenced by Your Highness against the English in India.

The proclamation, therefore, is proved to have been the act of your Ambassadors. It originated in their arrival at the Isle of France; it was distributed by their agents; it was avowed in every part by their own public declarations and finally it was executed according to its tenor by their personal assistance and cooperation.

On the 7th of March, 1798 the Ambassadors embarked at Port Nord Ouest, on board the French frigate La Preneuse, together with the force thus raised in Your Highness's name.

This French frigate, with your Ambassadors, and with the troops raised in the enemy's country for your service, arrived at Mangalore on or about the 26th of April 1798. Your Highness permitted this force to land in your dominions, and far from manifesting the least symptom of disapprobation of the conduct of your Ambassadors in any part of this transaction, you formally received them, and the French officers, and principal persons who accompanied them, with public marks of honour and distinction and you now entertain in your service a large part of the force thus raised for the purpose of making war upon the Honourable Company.

From these several facts the following conclusions result:

Firstly: That the Ambassadors, despatched by Your Highness to the Isle of France, did propose and actually did conclude an offensive alliance with the French, for the express purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the Company, and consequently against the Allies, the Peshwa and the Nizam.

Secondly: That Your Highness's Ambassadors demanded military succours from the French for the purpose of prosecuting the said war; and declared that Your Highness had already completed your hostile preparations against the Company, (and consequently against the Allies) and that you only waited the arrival of effectual aid from the French to break out into open hostilities.

Thirdly: That Your Highness's Ambassadors levied a military force in the Isle of France under the conditions of the procla-

mation, and for the avowed purpose of carrying into effect the offensive alliance, contracted in the name of Your Highness, with the enemy of the Company and of the Allies.

Fourthly: That Your Highness approved the conduct of your Ambassadors ; suffered the French force raised for the purpose of making war upon the Company and the Allies to be landed in your country ; and finally, admitted the said force into your army.

Fifthly: That Your Highness, by these several personal and unequivocal acts, has ratified the engagements contained the proclamation published in the Isle of France, and has taken the preliminary steps for fulfilling those engagements, according to the tenor of that proclamation : and that you have, thereby, precluded whatever hope might otherwise have been entertained that the proceedings of Your Highness's Ambassadors were unauthorized by your orders.

Sixthly: That Your Highness has, for some time past, been employed in military preparations, conformably to the hostile spirit of your engagements, contracted with the enemy of the Company and of the Allies.

Seventhly: That Your Highness was prepared to make an unprovoked attack upon the Company's possessions if you had obtained from the French the effectual succour which you had solicited through your Ambassadors.

Eighthly: That Your Highness by these several acts has violated the treaties of peace and friendship subsisting between Your Highness and the Allies.

Such are the grounds on which I founded my complaint in my letter of the 8th of November, and such are the motives which now compel the Allies to seek relief from that ambiguous and anxious state in which they have been placed for some years past by the conduct of Your Highness. The Allies complain that your frequent preparations for war, together with your hostile negotiations and offensive alliances with the enemy, continually exposed them during a period of supposed peace, to all the solicitude and hazard and much of the expense of war.

Even under all these circumstances of provocation the Allies entertain the most earnest desire to establish with Your Highness

a real and substantial peace, accompanied by the intercourse and good offices, usual among friendly and contiguous States: We are, therefore, ready to renew and confirm the bonds of amity with Your Highness, on such conditions, as shall preclude the continuance of those jealousies, which must subsist so long as a final and satisfactory adjustment of all causes of suspicion shall be delayed.

Your Highness is pleased to say "that you cannot imagine how means more effectual, than the existing Treaties, can be adopted for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, or for promoting the security of the States and the welfare and advantages of all parties".

In this sentiment I entirely concur with Your Highness; and if Your Highness's wisdom had not been perverted by evil Councils, from a due observance of your engagements with the Allies, no new or more effectual means would now be necessary "for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, or for promoting the security of the States and the welfare and advantage of all parties". But a new arrangement has become indispensable, in consequence of Your Highness's new engagements with the common enemy of the Allies; and I again entreat Your Highness to meet, with cordiality, the friendly and moderate advance of the Allies towards an amicable settlement of every ground of jealousy and danger.

Had Your Highness received Major Doveton, that gentleman would have explained to Your Highness, on the part of the Company and of the Allies, how this advantageous arrangement is to be obtained.

The Allies being always anxious to enter into this friendly explanation with Your Highness, I once more call upon Your Highness in the most serious and solemn manner, to assent to the admission of Major Doveton, as a measure, which I am confident, would be productive of the most lasting advantages to all parties.

I trust that Your Highness will favour me with a friendly letter in reply to this; and I most earnestly request that your reply may not be deferred for more than one day after this

letter shall reach your presence: dangerous consequences result from the delay of arduous affairs.

(Signed)

Mornington

(Marquess Richard Wellesley).

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 9th January, 1799.

In addition to my letter of this date, it has occurred to me to transmit for Your Highness's notice, a Persian Translation of the Manifesto, which accompanied the Declaration of War, made by the *Ottoman Porte* against the French, in consequence of their unprovoked invasion of Egypt, as being a Paper of importance, in as much as it developes with truth and accuracy, the atrocious views and faithless conduct of the French, not only towards other nations in general, but even when it serves their own ambitious purposes, towards those with whom they are connected by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance, and as it shows the grounds upon which the *Ottoman Porte* has been compelled to declare War against them. I shall only add, that the original of the paper in question, has been circulated throughout Europe, and published in all the Gazettes, both there and in India.

(Signed)

Mornington

(Marquess Richard Wellesley).

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General

Dated the 24th *Rajab* 1213 A.H. or the 2nd January, 1799

Received on the 11th January, 1799

The agreeable arrival of Your Lordship's two* letters, denoting your welfare, rejoiced and gratified me. A *Kharita*, in reply to Your Lordship's former friendly letter, has been written and

* Original and duplicate of that written on the 10th December 1798.

despatched. It will no doubt by this time have been received, and the sincerity of my friendship and regard, together with proofs of my solicitude for tranquillity and peace (my friendly heart being bent upon their increase) will have been made apparent. Continue to rejoice me with happy letters.

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 16th January, 1799

Your Highness has already been furnished by Lord Clive with a translation of the declaration of War, issued by the *Sublime Porte* against the French, in consequence of their having violated the sacred obligation of Treaty with the *Grand Signior*, and of their having invaded Egypt, in contempt of every principle of good faith, and of the law of Nations. You have also received from me a translation of the Manifesto, published by the *Porte* on the same occasion, exposing in just colours, the overbearing and arrogant spirit, as well as the treachery and falsehood which the French have disclosed in their conduct towards all mankind and especially towards the *Sublime Porte*.

The *Porte*, justly outraged by an aggression so atrocious and unprecedented as the invasion of Egypt, has now united in a common cause with the British Nation, for the purpose of curbing the intemperance of the French, and the *Grand Signior* having learnt the unfortunate alliance, which Your Highness has contracted with his enemies the French, against his friends and Allies the British Nation, His Highness resolved, from motives of friendship towards you, as well as towards the British Nation, to warn you, in an amicable letter, of the dangers of this fatal connection and to exhort you to manifest your zeal for the Mussalman faith, by renouncing all intercourse with the common enemy of every religion, and the aggressor of the Head of the Muhammadans.

Accordingly this letter (the testimony of friendship, and the fruit of wisdom, piety, and faithful zeal) was delivered by the ministers of the *Porte*, under the *Grand Signior's* orders, to Mr. Spencer Smith, the British Minister, resident at Constantinople, by whom it was transmitted to Honourable Mr. Duncan, the

Governor of Bombay, who has forwarded it to Lord Clive; the day before yesterday, this letter reached Madras, and a translation accompanied it, by which I learnt the valuable lessons of prudence and truth which it contains. I now forward it to Your Highness; you will read and consider it with the respectful attention, which it demands; there you will find the same friendly admonitions respecting the dangerous views of the French Nation which I have already submitted to your consideration.

When your discerning mind shall have duly examined this respected letter, you will no doubt draw the following conclusions from it:

Firstly: That all the maxims of public law, honour and religion, are despised and profaned by the French Nation, who consider all the thrones of the world, and every system of civil order and religious faith, as the sport and prey of their boundless ambition, insatiable rapine, and indiscriminate sacrilege.

Secondly: That the French have insulted and assaulted the acknowledged Head of the Muhammadan Faith, and that they have wantonly raised an unprovoked and cruel war in the heart of that country, which is revered by every Mussalman, as the repository of the most sacred monuments of the Muhammadan Faith.

Thirdly: That a firm, honourable, and intimate alliance and friendship now subsists between the *Grand Signior* and the British Nation, for the express purpose of opposing a barrier to the excesses of the French.

Fourthly: That the *Grand Signior* is fully apprised of the intercourse and connection, unhappily established between Your Highness and the French, for purposes hostile to the British Nation, that he offers to Your Highness the salutary fruit of that experience which he has already acquired of the ruinous effects of French intrigue, treachery and deceit; and that he admonishes you, not to flatter yourself with the vain hope of friendly aid from those, who (even if they had escaped from the valour and skill of the British Forces) could never have reached you, until they had profaned the Tomb of your Prophet, and overthrown the foundation of your religion.

May the admonition of the Head of your own faith, dispose your mind to the pacific propositions, which I have repeatedly but in vain, submitted to your wisdom ! and may you at length receive the Ambassador, who will be empowered to conclude the definite arrangement of all differences between you and the Allies, and to secure the tranquillity of India against the disturbers of the world !

(Signed)

Mornington

(Marquess Wellesley).

Letter from Sultan Salim, to the Indian Sovereign, Tipu Sultan, dated Constantinople, the 20th September, 1798 delivered to Mr. Spencer Smith, His Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary etc.

We take this opportunity to acquaint Your Majesty, when the French Republic was engaged in a war with most of the powers of Europe within this latter period, our *Sublime Porte* not only took no part against them, but, regardful of the ancient amity existing with that Nation adopted a system of the strictest neutrality and showed them even such acts of countenance as have given rise to complaints on the part of other Courts.

Thus friendly disposed towards them and reposing a confidence in those sentiments of friendship which they appeared to profess for us, we gave no ear to many propositions and advantageous offers, which had been made to us to side with the belligerent powers, but pursuant to our maxims of moderation and justice, we abstained from breaking with them without direct motive and firmly observed the line of neutrality ; all which is well-known to the world.

In this posture of things, when, the French having witnessed the greatest marks of attention from our *Sublime Porte*, a perfect reciprocity was naturally expected on their side, when no cause existed to interrupt the continuance of the peace between the two nations, they all of a sudden have exhibited the unprovoked and treacherous proceedings, of which the following is a sketch:

They began to prepare a Fleet in one of their harbours, called

Toulon, with most extraordinary mystery, and when completely fitted out and ready for Sea, embarked a large body of troops, and they put also on board several people, versed in the Arabic Language, and who had been in Egypt before; they gave the command of that armament to one of their Generals, named Buonaparte, who first went to the Island of Malta, of which he took possession and thence proceeded direct for Alexandria, where being arrived on the 17th *Muharram*, all of a sudden landed his troops, and entered the town by open force, publishing soon after manifestoes in Arabics among the different tribes, stating in substance that the object of their enterprise was not to declare war against the *Ottoman Porte*, but to attack the *Beys* of Egypt, for insults and injuries they had committed against the French merchants in the time past; that peace with the Ottoman Empire was permanent, that those of the Arabs, who should join, would meet with the best treatment: but such, as showed opposition would suffer death: with this further insinuation, made in different quarters, but more particularly to certain Courts at amity with us, that the expedition against the *Beys* was with the privity and consent of our *Sublime Porte*; which is a horrible falsity. After this they also took possession of Rosetta, not hesitating to engage in a pitched battle with the Ottoman troops, who had been detached from Cairo to assist the invaded.

It is standing law amongst all Nations, not to encroach upon other's territories, whilst they are supposed to be at peace. When any such events take place as lead to a rupture, the motives, so tending, are previously made known between the parties, nor are any open aggressions attempted against their respective dominions, until a formal declaration of war takes place.

Whilst, therefore, no interruption of the peace, nor the smallest symptom of misunderstanding appeared between our *Sublime Porte* and the French Republic, a conduct, so audacious, so unprovoked, and so deceitfully sudden on their part, is an undeniable trait of the most extreme insult and treachery.

The province of Egypt is considered as a region of general veneration, from the immediate proximity of the noble city of Mecca, the Qiblah of the Mussalmans, (the point of the compass

to which all Turks turn their face in performing their prayers) and the sacred town of Medina, where the Tomb of our blessed Prophet is fixed; the inhabitants of both these sacred cities deriving from thence their subsistence.

Independent of this, it has been actually discovered from several letters, which have been intercepted, that the further project of the French is to divide Arabia into various Republics; to attack the whole Mahomedan sect, in its religion and country: and by a gradual progression, to extirpate all Mussalmans from the face of the earth.

It is for these cogent motives and considerations that we have determined to repel this enemy and to adopt every vigorous measure against these persecutors of the faith; we placing all confidence in the Omnipotent God, the source of all succour, and in the intercession of him, who is the glory of Prophets.

Now it being certain, that in addition to the general ties of religion, the bonds of amity and good understanding have ever been firm and permanent with Your Majesty, so justly tamed for your zeal and attachment to our faith; and that more than once such public acts of friendly attention have been practised between us, as to have cemented the connection subsisting between the two countries.

We, therefore, sincerely hope from Your Majesty's dignified disposition that you will not refuse entering into concert with us, and giving, our *Sublime Porte* every possible assistance, by such an exertion of zeal, as your firmness and natural attachment to such a cause cannot fail to excite.

We understand, that in consequence of certain secret intrigues, carried on by the French in India, (after their accustomed system) in order to destroy the settlements and to sow dissensions in the provinces of the English there, a strict connection is expected to take effect between them and Your Majesty for whose service they are to send over a corps of troops by the way of Egypt.

We are persuaded, that the tendency of the French plans cannot in the present days escape Your Majesty's penetration and notice, and that no manner of regard will be given to their deceitful insinuations on your side; and whereas the Court of

Great Britain is actually at war with them and our *Sublime Porte* engaged on the other hand in repelling their aggressions, consequently the French are enemies to both; and such a reciprocity of interest must exist between those Courts, as ought to make both parties eager to afford every mutual succour which a common cause requires.

It is well-known that the French bent upon the overthrow of all sects and religions, have invented a new doctrine under the name of Liberty; they themselves professing no other belief but that of *dahris*; (Epicureans, or Pythagoreans) that they have not even spared the territories of the Pope of Rome, a country, since time immemorial held in great reverence by all the European Nations; that they have wrested and shared, with others the whole Venitian State, notwithstanding that fellow Republic and not only abstained from taking part against them, but had rendered them service during the course of the war, thus effacing the name of the Republic of Venice from the annals of history.

There is no doubt that their present attempt against the Ottomans, as well as their ulterior designs, (dictated by their avaricious view towards Oriental riches) tend to make a general conquest of that country (which may God never suffer to take effect!) and to expel every Mussalman from it, under pretence of annoying the English. Their end is to be once admitted in India and then to develope what really lies in their hearts, just as they have done in every place, where they have been able to acquire a footing.

In a word, they are a Nation, whose deceitful intrigues and perfidious pursuits known no bounds. They are intent on nothing, but on depriving people of their lives and properties, and on persecuting religion, wherever their arms can reach.

Upon all this, therefore, coming to Your Majesty's knowledge, it is sincerely hoped, that you will not refuse every needful exertion towards assisting your Brethren Mussalmans, according to the obligations of religion and towards defending Hindustan itself, against the effect of French machinations.

Should it be true, as we hear, that an intimate connection has taken place between your Court and that Nation, we hope, that by weighing present circumstances as well as every future incon-

venience, which would result from such a measure, Your Majesty will beware against it, and in the event of your having harboured any idea of joining with them, or of moving against Great Britain, you will lay such resolution aside.

We make it our especial request, that Your Majesty will please to refrain from entering into any measures against the English or lending any complaint ear to the French.

Should there exist any subject of complaint with the English, please do communicate it, certain as you may be, of the employment of every good office on our side to compromise the same; we wish to see the connection above alluded to, exchanged in favour of Great Britain.

We confidently expect that upon consideration of all that is stated in this communication and of the necessity of assisting your Brethren Mussalmans in this general cause of religion, as well as of cooperating towards the above precious Province being delivered from the hands of the enemy, Your Majesty will employ every means, which your natural zeal will point out, to assist the common cause, as to corroborate, by that means, the ancient good understanding so happily existing between our Empires.

Certified translation and copy,

(Signed)

Spencer Smith

A true copy.

(Signed)

J. A. Grant, Sub-Secretary.

From Tipu Sultan To The Governor-General

Received on the 13th February, 1799

I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your Lordship's two friendly letters, the first brought by a Camel-man, the last by a *Harkara*, and understood their contents. The letter of the Prince, in station like Jamshed; with angels as

his guards, with troops numerous as the stars; the sun illuminating the world of the heaven of empire and dominion; the lumina giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory and power; the Sultan of the sea and the land; the King of Rome (i.e. the Grand Signior) be his Empire and his 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 hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion; you will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton (about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written) slightly attended (or unattended).

Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters, notifying your welfare.

Declaration of the Right Honourable the Governor-General-in-Council

For all the Forces and Affairs of the British Nation in the East Indies, on behalf of the Honourable the East India Company and the Allies of the said Company, Their Highnesses the Nizam and the Peshwa.

A solemn Treaty of peace and friendship was concluded at Seringapatam between the Honourable Company and the Nawwab Asaf Jah and the Peshwa on the one part, and the Nawwab Tipu Sultan, on the other part, and from that day all commotion and hostility ceased. Since that day, the three Allied States have invariably manifested a sacred regard for the obligations, contracted under that Treaty with the Nawwab Tipu Sultan; of this uniform disposition, abundant proofs have been afforded by each of the Allies: whatever differences have arisen with regard to the limits of the territory of Mysore, have been amicably adjusted, without difficulty, and with the most exact attention to the principles of equity, and to the stipulations of the Treaty; such has been the solicitude of the Allies for the preservation of tranquillity, that they have viewed with forbearance for some years past, various embassies and military preparations on the part of Tipu Sultan, of a tendency so evidently hostile to

the interests of the Allies, as would have justified them, not only in the most serious remonstrances, but even in an appeal to arms. On the part of the British Government, every endeavour has been employed to conciliate the confidence of the Sultan, and to mitigate his vindictive spirit, by the most unequivocal acknowledgement and confirmation of his just rights and by the removal of every cause of jealousy which might tend to interrupt the continuance of peace. These pacific sentiments have been most particularly manifested in the Governor-General's recent decision on Tipu Sultan's claim to the District of Wynaad, and in the negotiation, opened by his Lordship, with regard to the districts of Amerah and Souleah. In every instance the conduct of the British Government in India towards Tipu Sultan has been the natural result of those principles of moderation, justice and good faith, which the legislature of Great Britain, and the Honourable the East India Company have firmly established as the unalterable rule of their intercourse with the Native Princes and States of India.

The exemplary good faith and the pacific disposition of the Allies, since the conclusion of the Treaty of Seringapatam, have never been disputed even by Tipu Sultan. Far from having attempted to allege even the pretext of a complaint against their conduct, he has constantly acknowledged their justice, sincerity and good faith, and has professed, in the most cordial terms, his desire to maintain and strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord with them.

In the midst of these amicable professions, on the part of Tipu Sultan, and at the moment when the British Government had issued orders for the confirmation of his claim to Wynaad, it was with astonishment and indignation that the Allies discovered the engagements, which he had contracted with the French Nation, in direct violation of the Treaty of Seringapatam, as well as of his own most solemn and recent protestations of friendships towards the Allies.

Under the mask of these specious professions, and of a pretended veneration for the obligations of Treaty, Tipu Sultan despatched Ambassadors to the Isle of France, who, in a period of profound peace in India, proposed and concluded, in his name, an offensive alliance with the French, for the avowed purpose of commencing a War of aggression against the Com-

pany, and consequently against the Peshwa and the Nizam, the Allies of the Company.

The Ambassadors in the name of Tipu Sultan demanded military succours from the French and actually levied a military force in the Isle of France, with the declared view of prosecuting the intended war.

When the Ambassadors returned in a French ship of war from the Isle of France, Tipu Sultan suffered the military force, which they had levied, for the avowed purpose of making war upon the Allies to land in his country and finally he admitted it into his army; by these personal acts ratifying and confirming the proceedings of his Ambassadors. This military force, however, was not sufficiently powerful to enable him immediately to attempt his declared purpose of attacking the Company's possessions; but in the meanwhile he advanced his hostile preparations, conformably to his engagements with the French, and he was ready to move his army into the Company's territories, whenever he might obtain from France the effectual succours, which he had assiduously solicited from that nation.

But the providence of God, and the victorious arms of the British Nation frustrated his vain hopes, and checked the presumptuous career of the French in Egypt at the moment when he anxiously expected their arrival on the coast of Malabar.

The British Government, the Nizam, and the Peshwa had not omitted the necessary precaution of assembling their forces for the joint protection of their respective dominions. The strict principles of self-defence would have justified the Allies, at that period of time, in making an immediate attack upon the territories of Tipu Sultan; but even the happy intelligence of the glorious success of the British fleet at the mouths of the Nile, did not abate the anxious desire of the Allies to maintain the relations of amity and peace with Tipu Sultan; they attempted by a moderate representation, to recall him to a sense of his obligations, and of the genuine principles of prudence and policy; and they employed every effort to open the channels of negotiation and to facilitate the means of amicable accommodation. With these salutary views, the Governor-General on the 8th November 1798, in the name of the Allies proposed to despatch an Ambassador to Tipu Sultan for the purpose of renewing the

bonds of friendship and of concluding such an arrangement as might afford effectual security against any future interruption of the public tranquillity and His Lordship repeated the same proposal on the 10th of December 1798.

Tipu Sultan declined, by various evasions and subterfuges, this friendly and moderate advance on the part of the Allies, and he manifested an evident disposition to reject the means of pacific accommodation, by suddenly breaking up, in the month of December, the conferences, which had commenced with respect to the districts of Amerah and Souleah, and by interrupting the intercourse between his subjects and those of the Company on their respective frontiers. On the 9th of January 1799, the Governor-General, being arrived at Fort St. George (notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances in the conduct of Tipu Sultan) renewed with increased earnestness the expression of His Lordship's anxious desire to despatch an Ambassador to the Sultan.

The Governor-General expressly solicited the Sultan to reply within one day to this letter; and as it involved no proposition either injurious to the rights, dignity, or honour of the Sultan, or in any degree novel or complicated, either in form or substance, it could not require a longer consideration, the Governor-General waited with the utmost solicitude for an answer to the reasonable and distinct proposition contained in his letter of the 9th January, 1799.

Tipu Sultan, however, who must have received the said letter before the 17th of January, remained silent, although the Governor-General had plainly apprised the Prince, that dangerous consequences would result from delay. In the meanwhile the season for military operations had already advanced to so late a period, as to render a speedy decision indispensable to the security of the Allies.

Under these circumstances on the 3rd of February (twelve days having elapsed from the period, when an answer might have been received from Seringapatam to the Governor-General's letter of the 9th of January), His Lordship declared to the Allies, that the necessary measures must now be adopted without delay for securing such advantages, as should place the common safety of the Allies beyond the reach of the insincerity of Tipu Sultan

and the violence of the French. *With this view the Governor-General, on the 3rd of February, issued orders to the British Armies to march and signified to the Commander of His Majesty's squadron that the obstinate silence of the Sultan must be considered as a rejection of the proposed negotiation.*

At length, on the 13th of February a letter from Tipu Sultan reached the Governor-General in which the Sultan signifies to His Lordship "that being frequently disposed to hunt, he was accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion," adding "that the Governor-General would be pleased to despatch Major Doveton to him, unattended".

The Allies will not dwell on the peculiar phrases of this letter: but it must be evident in all the States of India that the answer of the Sultan has been deferred to this late period of the Season with no other view than to preclude the Allies by insidious delays from the benefit of those advantages, which their combined military operations would enable them to secure; on those advantages alone (under the recent experience of Tipu Sultan's violation of the Treaty of Seringapatam, and under the peculiar circumstances of that Prince's alliance with the French) can the Allies now venture to rely for the faithful execution of any Treaty of Peace concluded with Tipu Sultan.

The Allies cannot suffer Tipu Sultan to profit by his own studied and systematic delay, nor to impede such a disposition of their military and naval force as shall appear best calculated to give effect to their just views.

Bound by the sacred obligations of public faith professing the most amicable disposition and undisturbed in the possession of those Dominions secured to him by Treaty, Tipu Sultan wantonly violated the relations of amity and peace and compelled the Allies to arm in defence of their rights, their happiness and their honour.

For a period of three months he obstinately rejected every pacific overture, in the hourly expectation of receiving that succour, which he had eagerly solicited for the prosecution of his favourite purposes of ambition and revenge; disappointed in his hopes of immediate vengeance, and conquest, he now resorts to subterfuge and procrastination; and by a tardy, reluctant, and insidious acquiescence in a proposition, which he had so long

and repeatedly declined, he endeavours to frustrate the precautions of the Allies, and to protract every effectual operation, until some change of circumstance and of season shall revive his expectations of disturbing the tranquillity of India, by favouring the irruption of a French Army.

The Allies are equally prepared to repel his violence and to counteract his artifices and delays. The Allies are, therefore, resolved to place their army in such a position as shall afford adequate protection against any artifice or insincerity and shall preclude the return of that danger which has so lately menaced their possessions. The Allies, however, retaining an anxious desire to effect an adjustment with Tipu Sultan, Lieutenant General Harris, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's and the Honourable Company's Forces on the Coast of Coromandel and Malabar, is authorized to receive any Embassy which Tipu Sultan may despatch to the Headquarters of the British Army and to concert a treaty on such conditions, as appear to the Allies to be indispensibly necessary for the establishment of a secure and permanent peace.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

Fort St. George: February 22, 1799.

To Tipu Sultan

Written on the 22nd February, 1799

I had the honour on the 13th instant to receive your letter, acknowledging your receipt of my two letters of the 9th and 16th of January informing me of your intention to proceed on a hunting excursion and desiring me to despatch Major Doveton, unattended, to you.

I lament most sincerely that the friendly intimation contained in my letter of the 9th of January regarding the dangers of delay produced no effect on your discerning mind; and that you deferred your reply to that letter so late a period of the season. Your long silence, on this important and pressing occasion, compelled me to adopt the resolution of ordering the British forces to advance in concert with the armies of the

Allied powers. You are not ignorant that the period of season rendered the advance of the army absolutely necessary to the common security of the Allies. This movement of the army is to be imputed entirely to your repeated rejection of my acceptable proposal of sending an Ambassador to your presence.

Under the present circumstances to send Major Doveton to you, could not be attended with those advantages which would have resulted from his mission at a proper season.

The Allies, however, retaining an anxious desire to effect an adjustment with you, Lieutenant General Harris, Commandant of the British troops, has been empowered to receive an Embassy which you shall despatch to him. Lieutenant General Harris will also authorize such persons as he may think proper to concert in communication with your Ambassadors, a new treaty of Friendship with Your Highness, founded on such conditions, as appear to the Allies to be indispensably necessary to the establishment of a secure and permanent Peace.

(Signed) Mornington
(Marquess Wellesley)

From Tipu Sultan to the Governor-General
Dated the 10th *Ramazan*, 1213 *A.H.* (answering to
16th February, 1799)

Received on the 3rd April, 1799

A letter in reply to the gracious letter of the *Sublime Porte* addressed to me which reached you through the British Envoy and which you transmitted to me, is sent; let it be forwarded to Constantinople, by the road it came by. A copy of my reply is enclosed for your perusal. Always continue to gratify me by letters notifying your welfare. What more need I write.

Translation of Enclosure in the letter From Tipu Sultan
to the Governor-General

Dated the 10th *Ramazan*, or 16th February, 1799

Received at Fort St. George on the 3rd April, 1799

Copy of Tipu Sultan's reply to the letter addressed to him by the *Grand Signior*.

In the Name of the Most Merciful God !

Praise to the Supreme King of Kings ! who has made just and high-minded princes the instruments for exalting the standard of the established religion of Prophet Muhammad, and committed the governance and prosperity of the people and dominions of Islam to their able management and guidance. Be abundance of praises also the offering at the throne of that leader by the aid of whose prophetic mission, the benignant channels of the faith retain their course; and salutations unnumbered to that consecrated person whose divine mission is the pride of the followers of Islam, and to his illustrious offspring and companions, every one of whom was the extirpator of infidels and of those who know not the way of the Lord.

After this it is humbly represented to the Exalted Presence, the seat of justice, expanded as the heavens, resplendent as the sun; to the luminous Star of the firmament of dominion; the bright planet of the empyreum of glory and good fortune; the bloom of the bower of greatness; the refresher of the spring of supremacy; the ornament of the throne of pomp and splendour; the support of the seat of happiness and prosperity; with troops numerous as the stars; with Angels his guards; whose throne is exalted at the skies; whose dignity is as Solomon's; the ray of the benignity of God, the Sultan of the sea and the land; may the vessels of his State continue to traverse the seas of success and prosperity unpefishable ! And may the effects of his justice continue to pervade every corner of the earth !

The august and gracious letter written the 11th of *Rabi II*, 1213 *Hijri* (23rd September, 1798) which was issued through the British Envoy, conveyed upon me boundless honour and distinction, the foundations of concord and attachment acquired new strength from its contents and the fabric of friendship obtained renovated firmness by the gracious expressions it contains.

The venerated pen did me the honour to write of the irruption of the French Nation, those objects of the divine anger, by the utmost treachery and deceit, into the venerated region of

Egypt, notwithstanding the strict observance of long subsisting amity and friendship, on the part of the *Sublime Porte*; of the views of that determination of the *Sublime Porte* to adopt the most vigorous measures for the overthrow of that nation of rebels; and desiring me for the sake of the whole body of the faith and religious brotherhood, to afford assistance to our Brethren Mussalmans; support our holy theology, and not withhold my power and endeavours in defending the region of Hindustan from the machinations and evils of these enemies; that I will explain to the *Sublime Porte*, whatever ground of uneasiness and complaint the English may have given me, when by the divine aid and the intervention of your good offices all differences will be compromised, and opposition and estrangement be converted into cordiality and union. This gracious communication I have understood.

Through the divine favour and prophetic grace, all the votaries of Islam are united in brotherhood by the ties of religion; specially the *Sublime Porte* and this State, the good gift of God; for the foundations of friendship and attachment are firmly cemented between them, and repeated tokens of mutual regard have been manifested; both in word and deed they are aiding and assisting to each other. This labourer in the way of the Lord (I) am obedient to Your Highness's world-subjecting will. There is absolutely no difference between us. Let me be informed of and employed to promote, that which your exalted mind proposes for the prosperity and due ordinance of the faith and its followers, and the aid of God will alone ensure success. As the French Nation are estranged from, and have become the opponents of the *Sublime Porte*, they may be said to have rendered themselves the enemy of all the followers of the faith, all Mussalmans should renounce friendship with them, (Quotation from the Holy *Quran*): "consider not infidels as friends, consider none such but Mussalmans". I confidently hope that the gates of friendly correspondence between the two States may be always open and the sentiments of our friendly minds be disclosed to each other; May the sun of dominion and prosperity be resplendent in the east of greatness!

Dated the 10th of *Ramazan* the blessed 1213 *Hijri* (answering to the 16th February, 1799).

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Proclamation at the Isle of France

(Translation from French)

Liberty

Equality

**THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,
ONE and INDIVISIBLE**

Proclamation by Anne Joseph Hyppolite Malartic, Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General of the Isle of France and Reunion, and of all the French Establishments to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

Citizens:

Having for several years known your zeal and your attachment to the interests, and to the glory of our Republic, we are very anxious, and we feel it a duty to make you acquainted with all the propositions which have been made to us by Tipu Sultan, through his Ambassadors whom he has dispatched to us.

This Prince has written particular letters to the Colonial Assembly; to all the Generals employed under this Government; and has addressed to us a packet for the Executive Directory.

1. 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.

2. He promises to furnish every necessary for carrying on the war, *wine and brandy excepted*, with which he is wholly unprovided.

3. 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 and officers will find everything necessary for making a war, to which Europeans are but little accustomed.

4. In a word he only waits the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against *the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India.*

As it is impossible for us to reduce the number of soldiers of the 107th and 108th regiments, and of the regular guard of Port Fraternite, on account of the succours which we have furnished to our allies the Dutch: we invite the citizens who may be disposed to enter as volunteers, to enroll themselves in their respective municipalities, and to serve under the banners of Tipu Sultan.

This Prince desires also to be assisted by the free citizens of colour, we, therefore, invite all such who are willing to serve under his flag, to enroll themselves.

We can assure all the citizens who shall enroll themselves, that Tipu Sultan will allow them an advantageous rate of pay, the terms of which will be fixed with his Ambassadors, who will further engage in the name of their Sovereign, that all Frenchmen who shall enter into his armies, shall never be detained after they shall have expressed a wish to return to their own country.

Done at Port North West, the 30th January, 1798.

(Signed)

Malartic.

Appendix B

Extract from a letter from the Persian Translator to the Government, to the Right Honorable the Governor-General

Dated Fort St. George August 10, 1799

In obedience to Your Lordship's directions, I have attentively examined the documents which Your Lordship has selected from the mass of papers found in the Palace of Seringapatam, and I have now the honour to submit to Your Lordship the result of my examination, stating at the same time, in conformity to Your Lordship's commands, such observations as occasionally arose from the subject.

The transactions which these papers e'ucidate may be arranged under the following heads:

1stly. Deliberations, and opinions, respecting the terms of an offensive and defensive alliance against the British power, between Tipu Sultan and the French in the year 1797 A.D.

2ndly. The deputation of Ambassadors to the Isle of France and the Directory, charged with specific propositions for an offensive and defensive alliance against the British Nation.

3rdly. The proceedings of the Ambassadors at the Isle of France under the commission with which they were charged, and the result thereof.

4thly. The second Embassy of Tipu Sultan to France with M. Dubuc in 1798-99 A.D.

5thly. The deputation of Ambassadors to the Court of Zaman Shah, for the purpose of exciting that Prince to cooperate with Tipu Sultan, in the subversion of the powers of Hindustan.

6thly. A second deputation of Ambassadors from Tipu Sultan to Zaman Shah, in 1799 A.D.

7thly. A deputation from Tipu Sultan to Constantinople, in 1799 A.D.

1st Head: It appears that Tipu Sultan had, for many years, entertained the design of calling in the aid of the French, for the extermination of the British power in India.

It was the immediate object of his Embassy to the Court of France in A.D. 1788, and he seems never to have relaxed his endeavours to obtain it. The means, however, of negotiating this favourite object appear to have been but seldom within his reach, and he eagerly availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the accidental arrival of an obscure individual, by name Ripaud, to prosecute his views. This man, who commanded a French Privateer, was obliged by stress of weather to put into Mangalore in the early part of 1797; he was there apprehended, sent to Seringapatam, and placed under restraint.

It appears that Tipu Sultan interrogated this man, with respect to the disposition and ability of the French, to cooperate with him in his projected attack of the Company's possessions; and that Ripaud, who is a violent Republican; with a view both to excite the Sultan to hostilities against the English, by encouraging him to expect the effectual cooperation of the French, and to effect his own delivery, magnified the resources of his nation, and induced the Sultan to believe, that a very considerable force was already assembled at the Isle of France, and only waited his summons. This circumstance appears to have suggested to Tipu Sultan's mind the policy of again deputing Ambassadors to that Island, and eventually to France; and to have given rise to the deliberations alluded to under the present head.

It will be remarked, that the questions proposed by the Sultan to the several Departments of his Government for their opinions and advice was, not whether an offensive and defensive alliance should be formed with the French but, what should be

the terms and conditions of such an alliance, which it appears the Sultan had absolutely determined to form. Notwithstanding this determination of their Master, some of his principal officers have ventured to express their disapprobation of the plan; most of them have expressed their opinions of the little dependence to be placed upon the faith of the French Nation; and they all mention Ripaud in terms of abuse and contempt, the most unqualified and undisguised, and forcibly dissuade Tipu Sultan from conducting a negotiation of such importance, through the agency of a man of so low and despicable a character. Tipu Sultan himself, evidently shows his distrust of the French at the moment he solicits their assistance, by the guarded stipulations which he makes, and particularly by his letter to the Governor and Representatives of the Mauritius, of the 2nd of April, 1797. His eagerness, however, to prosecute his favourite plan of ruining the British power, rendered him regardless of the admonitions of his Counsellors, and of the doubts which his own mind suggested to him of the faith and honour of the French Nation.

“It is curious to trace the plan from its origin to its maturity; from its first formation in the mind of the Sultan, through its several modifications, until its completion under the form of regular articles, and its being carried into effect by the deputation of Ambassadors. In the course of those genuine effusions of his mind, he indicates that his sole motive is to revenge the injury and repair the losses he sustained during the war which terminated in A.D. 1792. In his letter to the Executive Directory, dated 20th of July, 1798, he expressly writes, “It is, therefore, my desire to obtain full redress from the English for that outrage (the privation of treasure and territory at the conclusion of the war in A.D. 1792). It has indeed long been my design to state this affair to the French, and prosecute my revenge”. He shows that he is fully aware of the probable consequence of the disclosure of his intrigues; for he observes, “The sending of the four *Sardars* of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, therefore, on a deputation to the French nation, is my own act, and the publicity of it would be productive of disturbance”. Hence the strict injunctions which he gives to his Ambassadors to keep their mission and the object of it a secret from all but the persons with whom

they were to negotiate, and not to disclose it even to them without particular precautions: and hence also, the measure of sending the Ambassadors under the assumed character of merchants, for which purpose fictitious instructions were prepared and delivered to them. But either the inadvertency, or designing policy of M. Malartic, frustrated the Sultan's caution (by the proclamation at the Isle of France, by means of which these intrigues were first disclosed to our Government) and incurred the very consequence of which Tipu Sultan had expressed his apprehension, with an implied consciousness of its justice.

It is further to be remarked, that the Sultan's views were not confined to the annihilation of the British power alone, but involved designs equally hostile to the Marathas and the Nizam; for he expressly stipulates, that the Marathas and the Nizam shall be considered as enemies, if they fulfil their defensive engagements with the Company; and the hostile designs of Tipu Sultan, against those two Powers, are expressed in a more direct and unqualified manner in several parts of this collection. The *extirpation* of the English and Marathas, under the terms infidels, is frequently mentioned in the correspondence with the Court of Zaman Shah, and designs of the most hostile nature against the Nizam, are strongly indicated in the following passages:

“With respect to the conquest of Nizam Ali's country, please God, at a proper opportunity you must so manage, that it may fall into your hands, and also that the other two powers may be made to repent their designs.”

Again;

“However, if we lay hands on the dominions of Nizam Ali, the other two infidels will still unite.”

For the intended attack upon the Portuguese possessions the Sultan has not thought it necessary to assign any reason whatever except that of convenience; and it is to be remarked, that the attack upon Goa necessarily involves the Invasion of the Maratha dominions. From the whole of the foregoing it is evident, that Tipu Sultan was actuated by a spirit of bigotry, revenge, and overweening ambition.

2nd Head: With respect to the second head, the deputation of the Ambassadors to the Isle of France and to the Directory,

and the specific propositions with which they were charged, little remains to be remarked. It appears that Tipu Sultan had been led to expect, not only large military succours from the Isle of France, but that the Government there were authorized formally to contract an offensive and defensive alliance with him on the part of the French Nation. With the view, however, to confirm and to secure the benefits of the alliance to be contracted at the Isle of France, the Sultan resolved to despatch the deputation to Europe. The specific propositions with which the Ambassadors were charged are fully detailed in Tipu Sultan's letters to the Governor of the Isle of France and the Directory, of the 2nd of April, 1797, and in the preceding papers.

3rd Head: With respect to the proceedings of the Ambassadors at the Isle of France, and their result; these are fully developed in the two narratives of the Ambassadors. From these it will appear, that the coincidence between the views of Tipu Sultan as detailed in the papers antecedent in date to the departure of the Ambassadors to the Isle of France, and their negotiations at that Island, is complete, and the validity of those papers, and the actual transmission of letters in conformity to the terms of the drafts, are fully ascertained from the record of their proceedings. The Ambassadors acted upon the ground of that supposition under which they had been deputed, that a considerable force was ready at the Isle of France to be transported to the Sultan's dominions, and they express their own and their masters' disappointment, when deceived upon this subject. They represent themselves to have addressed General Malartic in the following terms:

"It is very well known to you Sir, that the object of our coming hither, was to carry with us the succour of a large and effective body of troops. Persons of your nation represented to the *Huzur* that a considerable body of troops was actually ready at the Mauritius for the assistance of the Mysore *Sarkar*; and that, so soon as Ambassadors should be sent to the *Sardars* of the Mauritius on the part of the *Khuda-dad Sarkar*, an efficient body of men would be sent back with them, whereby the "Common Enemy would be chastised," and again after adverting to the recruits which General Malartic proposed to them to receive, they observe, "But the object of the *Sarkar* will not be answered

by so small a body of men, neither are we instructed to carry with us recruits from the Mauritius”.

The letters from the several Members of the Government, and principal officers of the Isle of France, bear testimony to the zeal of the Ambassadors in prosecuting the objects of their mission, and the actual arrival in Tipu Sultan's dominions of the officers, recruits, and artificers, is in exact conformity to the record of the proceedings of the Ambassadors, and an incontrovertible proof of its validity.

It further appears, from the following passage in a letter from General Cossigny to Tipu Sultan, dated the 5th of March, 1798, and forwarded by his Ambassadors on their return from the Isle of France, that Tipu Sultan had found means to convey propositions for an offensive alliance with the French to Europe, through the agency of his French connections at the Isle of France, even prior to the departure of his Ambassadors for the Isle of France in A.D. 1797. There is reason to believe that Monsieur Monneron was the bearer of those propositions, at least as far as the Mauritius. Upon this subject General Cossigny writes as follows, under date the 5th of March, 1798:

“I give him (Tipu Sultan) my word, that I faithfully transmitted, at the time when I received them, his propositions and his letters to the French Government, and I am certain that the whole is arrived in duplicate, agreeably also to his recommendation. I observed the greatest secrecy, that he might not be committed with the English, and because the French Government itself is not in the habit of publishing the secret of its operations. The proof that the propositions of Tipu Sultan have been received is, that they have remained secret even in France; perhaps it is not convenient for France to send an Expedition to India, as it must depend upon the prospect of peace, more or less distant, with the English; but I assure the *Padshah* that he will have no reason to repent of this first step, nor of the confidence he has reposed in me.”

It likewise appears, that soon after the arrival of the Ambassadors at the Isle of France, a deputation was sent to Europe by the Government of that Island, charged with the letter and propositions of the Sultan to the Directory. The fact is thus stated in the narrative of Husain Ali, one of the Ambassadors:

"These four *Sardars* have each written separate letters to different people, to procure a large force for the assistance of the *Sarkar*, and have deputed two confidential persons, one Mons. Seguin, the head *Aid-de-camp*, the other Mons. Magon, a Captain, in order to represent the excess of Your Highness's friendship and attachment, and charged with Your Highness's letters, addressed to General Malartic, &c. and accordingly on the 23rd* of January, 1798, they were dispatched to Europe on two ships of war with the utmost caution."

Among the papers relating to the proceedings of the Ambassadors at the Isle of France is one, purporting to be "Copy of the stipulations and proposals of the Prince Tipu Sultan, which his Ambassadors Husain Ali Khan and Muhammed Ibrahim have dispatched to Europe from the Isle of France, by two Frigates which sailed from thence on the 5th of February, 1798 for establishing an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Republic, and for soliciting the assistance of France to subdue the common enemy, the English, and to drive them out of India if possible.

Again, General Malartic in his letter to Tipu Sultan dated 7th of March, 1798, writes as follows:

"Not thinking myself authorised by my powers to conclude this alliance with you, I immediately dispatched two Frigates to France with your propositions to the Executive Directory. I have not the smallest doubt that they will take your proposal into their most serious consideration; and I am persuaded that they will send you as speedily as possible, the succours of men which you demand, and which you require for the purpose of attacking your enemies, who are also the enemies of the French Republic."

The actual arrival of the officers, recruits, and artificers entertained at the Mauritius for the service of Tipu Sultan, and his receiving them into his pay, appears by a letter from his Amb-

*The Frigates which carried this deputation actually sailed on the 5th of February, as appears from the subsequent quotation. This mistake of the date might naturally be made by the writer of the narrative who probable assumed the date of the nomination of the Embassy to France as that of its actual departure.

sadors on their return from the Embassy, which contains a list of them; and by other papers noted in the margin.

4th. Head: But the proof of Tipu Sultan's inimical designs against the British Nation do not even rest here; for it appears that, dissatisfied with the result of his Embassy to the Isle of France, he projected and executed a second deputation to France under the conduct of Mons. Dubuc, who had been appointed by Monsieur Malartic to command the Marine of the Sultan, and who had arrived at Mangalore with the Sultan's first deputation, on its return from the Mauritius on the 26th of April, 1798, and two native Ambassadors charged with the same propositions as the former, to the French Republic. The powers from Tipu Sultan to Dubuc, constituting him his Ambassador to the French Republic, and the letters to the Directory of which he was to be the bearer, are dated the 20th of July, 1798 (at which time no military preparations had been made in the Carnatic under Your Lordship's orders dated at Fort William on the 20th June) although he did not sail from Tranquabar until the 7th of February, 1799 at which place he arrived at on or about, the 21st of August, 1798. His detention there is amply accounted for in the letter from him to Tipu Sultan dated the 16th of December, 1798 and in the Sultan's reply dated 2nd of January 1799. It will thence appear, that his departure was not deferred in the hope that the necessity of it would be precluded by an amicable accommodation; on the contrary, Tipu Sultan was most anxious for his departure; Dubuc himself was impatient of the delay, and the letter of the Sultan to the Directory originally intended to be forwarded by Dubuc, was that which Dubuc actually carried. This Embassy must, therefore, be considered as independent of all relation to the defensive measure adopted by the Company and their Allies, and consequently as an additional act of aggressive and unprovoked hostility against the British Nation.

As coming within the scope of Your Lordship's directions, I now proceed to contrast the hostile conduct of Tipu Sultan with the amicable and candid negotiations of the British Government with that Prince and the friendly professions with which his letters abound, at the very time when he was employing "every energy of his mind and his faculties," as he himself expresses it,

to accomplish our destruction. On the very day of the return of his Ambassadors from the Isle of France, a letter was received from Tipu Sultan in reply to one from the late Governor-General Sir John Shore dated the 7th March 1798 notifying Your Lordship's succession to the station of Governor-General wherein he requests Sir John Shore to impress Your Lordship with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between the two States.

The coincidence of date is not otherwise remarkable, than as it indicates a period in which Tipu Sultan must have expected the early arrival of those auxiliary troops, by whose aid he hoped to subvert the foundations of that Power towards which he was professing the most amicable sentiments. In the same spirit of diplomacy Tipu Sultan, in his answer to Your Lordship's address, dated the 10th of July, 1798, only ten days prior to his letter to the Directory forwarded by M. Dubuc, congratulates Your Lordship in the warmest terms on your accession to the Government, and renews with additional strength the expression of his disposition to maintain the relations of amity and concord, and to adhere to the obligations of existing treaties.

On the 18th of July, only two days prior to the date of the letter to the Directory of France before alluded to, when it must be supposed he had planned the deputation of M. Dubuc and the other Ambassadors to France, he addressed to Your Lordship another letter, in reply to your Lordship's of the 14th of June, in which he accedes to the proposition which Your Lordship had made for a conference of deputies to decide the existing territorial disputes, and repeats his professions of inviolable friendship.

Your Lordship's next letter to the Sultan of the 7th of August announced to him the cession of the District of Wynaad, after an investigation impartially carried on by the servants of the Company without the intervention of his deputies. But while so solicitous to afford to Tipu Sultan every proof of the justice and pacific disposition of the British Government, the circumstances of his diplomatic and hostile conduct rendered it necessary for the Company and their Allies to arm, either to support their just demand of satisfaction and security, or to defend their rights.

As the intentions of the British Government were sincerely

pacific; as it merely required security, when the circumstances would have warranted an unconditional recourse to hostilities, there was evidently nothing inconsistent between the *pacific* and amicable language of its letters and its military preparations. The conduct of Government towards Tipu Sultan was in strict conformity to its professions; but no law of justice, honour or policy could require the British Government, either to omit military preparations essentially necessary to its security, or to communicate their object to Tipu Sultan, until it should be out of his power to render them abortive.

In Your Lordship's letter of the 8th November, 1798 to Tipu Sultan, Your Lordship candidly explained to him the ground of complaint against him, the cause and object of the military preparations and proposed to depute to him an Ambassador, for the purpose of effecting an accommodation of existing difficulties, and of establishing peace and harmony between the two States upon a firm and durable basis. Tipu Sultan's reply to that letter, and to another which Your Lordship had written to him on the 4th of the same month communicating the defeat of the French Fleet at Aboukir received by him on the 25th of December, exhibits a singular compound of dissimulation, and treachery.

The French nation which he extols for "their observance of faith and sincerity," with which he wishes "to renew and strengthen the friendship which has subsisted with it from the time of his late father," with which he solicits to enter into "the most inviolable engagements and alliance to establish a union of interests and a friendship that shall not be impaired though the foundation of the earth and the skies be shaken," that nation he stigmatises as "faithless and enemies of mankind," at the very time his Ambassadors are proceeding to France to implore its aid, and he extols the sincerity, friendship, and good faith of the English nation, at the moment that he aims a blow at their existence in India.

The explanation which he makes of his connexion with the French is a singular instance of *prevarication and subterfuge*. The detection of his schemes produced no relaxation in the prosecution of them. The notification of his willingness to receive Major Doveton, and the departure of M. Dubuc from Tran-

quebar on his Embassy to France were circumstances nearly coincident in point of date. I take the liberty in this place to remark to Your Lordship, the exact conformity of the circumstances stated in Your Lordship's minute of the 12th of August 1798 respecting the Embassy of Tipu Sultan to the Isle of France and his inimical designs against the Company, with the facts now so incontestably established.

5th Head: The Fifth head respects Tipu Sultan's deputation of Ambassadors to Zaman Shah. This Embassy took place in the years 1796 and the negotiations were carried on, as opportunity offered, to the end of January 1799. His intercourse indeed, with Zaman Shah is to be traced by letters in the possession of Government as far back as 1793; and with Timur Shah, the father of Zaman Shah, to a much earlier period. The object of all is the same; to extirpate "infidels" (the English) from the country of Hindostan. Although the name of the English does not occur in the papers prior to his letter to Zaman Shah of the 30th January 1799, yet they are evidently the principal objects of the cooperation which he proposes to form; a circumstance which is further confirmed by the concluding part of the articles inserted at the commencement of Husain Ali, where it is stated that, "Zaman Shah, King of the Afghans, and the greater part of the powers of India are united with the Sultan, and will not cease until they shall have driven the English out of India".

Of the negotiations of the Ambassadors at the Court of Zaman Shah, there is no record—Their instructions for conducting the negotiation with Zaman Shah appear to have been merely verbal and in the letter from Tipu Sultan to Wafadar Khan it is expressly stated so, but the general result of the Embassy appears in the answer of Zaman Shah to Tipu Sultan's letter, sent by the Ambassadors on their return, in which he expresses his concurrence and intended cooperation in the views of Tipu Sultan. It appears that on the 5th of February, 1797 Tipu Sultan addressed additional letters to Zaman Shah and his Ministers, differing but little in substance from the former, but in more urgent terms: by what channel these were sent, it does not appear.

6th Head: In consequence of the measures adopted by the British Government, it appears that Tipu Sultan resolved to

depute the same Ambassadors a second time to the Court of Zaman Shah, and he accordingly prepared letters (bearing date 30th of January, 1799) which he despatched with those Ambassadors, whose actual departure with the letters is ascertained from written documents in the possession of the Company's Government and from verbal testimony. In this letter Your Lordship will observe, that Tipu Sultan ascribes the military preparations of the British Government against him to his deputation of Ambassadors to the Court of Kabul.

It is not easy to devise terms of calumny and rancour more virulent, than those contained in this and the following letters against the English Nation. But neither in this letter, nor in any other, has he stated any ground of complaint against the British nation, as applicable to himself. Where he has been candid, he has stated his motives to be those of bigotry and revenge, and where he has been otherwise, he has been obliged to have recourse to the grossest and most unfounded calumny; which only serves to show his want of motives to justify his implacable hatred and unwarrantable designs against the British nation.

If any proof were required of the insidious views of Tipu Sultan in signifying his tardy acquiescence to the deputation of Major Doveton in his letter received 13th February, 1799, it is amply afforded in this letter, written, as appears by the date, some days before the transmission of the letter to Your Lordship last mentioned, in which he declares that, "he is prepared to exert the energies of his mind and of his faculties, inwardly and outwardly, to carry on a holy war". This cannot be interpreted to mean merely, that he is prepared for resistance if compelled to take up arms, for he well knew that peace and war were at his option; this expression, therefore, could only mean, either that he was determined to take up arms against the English under any circumstances, or at all hazards to refuse the just demands which he expected the Company and their Allies would make upon him. He acquiesced, therefore, in the deputation of Major Doveton with a determined resolution to reject the proposals which he should be instructed to make, and with no other view than to benefit by the delay he thereby hoped to occasion in the operations of the army in the field. This argument is corrobor-

ated by his correspondence with M. Dubuc at Tranquebar. I hereby take the liberty to remark the exact coincidence of the facts with the reasoning upon this subject, contained in Your Lordship's declaration of the *22nd of February, 1799*.

7th Head: With respect to the seventh head, Tipu Sultan's Embassy to the Grand Signior the fact is ascertained by records in the possession of the Government, as well as by the papers upon this subject among those selected by Your Lordship. The letter with which the Ambassador was charged, is dated 10th February, 1799. This letter is a second reply to that from the Ottoman Porte to Tipu Sultan dated in September 1798, forwarded through the British Envoy at Constantinople to Fort St. George, and by Your Lordship, transmitted to Tipu Sultan, with Your Lordship's letter under dated 16th January.

Your Lordship will recollect, that another letter from the Sultan, purporting to be a reply to that from the Grand Signior was transmitted by Tipu Sultan to Your Lordship to be forwarded, and was received on the 3rd April, 1799. There is little to remark upon this extraordinary production, except its extreme virulence and insincerity, and the gross, though ridiculous, calumnies which it contains. In this letter Tipu Sultan affects to consider the French Nation as his Enemy, although it will be remembered, that M. Dubuc and the Sultan's native Ambassadors sailed from Tranquebar for France the day before the date of it, charged with a commission to contract an offensive and defensive alliance with that nation, and to obtain from them military succours. The Sultan, adapting his language to his purposes without regard to truth or consistency, in this letter ascribes the war of 1790 to his having deputed an Embassy to the Ottoman Porte; and in his letters to the French, he imputes it to the connection he had formed with France. The object of this letter is to prejudice the Grand Signior's mind against the English, and to gain some assistance through his means.

The observations upon Ripaud's letter to Tipu Sultan contained in Lieut. Col. Kirkpatrick's letter to Your Lordship, given hereunder preclude the necessity of any remarks on my part.

The intercepted letter from Buonaparte to that Prince appears so far important, that it tends to confirm the suspicions, which

have always been entertained, of the ultimate object of Buona parte's expedition to Egypt.

(Signed)
A True Extract,
N.B. Edmonstone,
Persian Translator to the
Government of the East
India Company.

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Kirkpatrick to the Governor-General, 26th July, 1799

“Among these letters there is one dated in May 1797 particularly interesting, as clearly proving the intercourse which subsisted between M. Raymond, formerly Commander of the Nizam's regular Infantry, and Tipu Sultan. This document is the more important, as it is extremely doubtful whether we shall ever be able to ascertain any further particulars relative to the nature and extent of this connection; M. Dompard, through whom it seems to have been formed and maintained, and who commanded the French party in the Sultan's service, (usually denominated Lally's Corps) having died about the same time with Raymond, and his papers being probably lost, or without our reach. Enough, however, is established by the letter in question to demonstrate, that the danger which menaced the British interests in India from the French Party at Hyderabad was of the most serious kind: and that, had hostilities occurred between the Company and Tipu Sultan during its existence, there is good reason to believe the Sultan would have been openly joined by that party.”

(signed)
Kirkpatrick

Appendix C

Extract from the Governor-General's Minute in the Secret Department, dated the 12th August, 1798

The first regular authentication of the proclamation* which I received, was contained in the letter from Lord Macartney of 28th March, and in that from Sir Hugh Christian of the same date, received on the 18th of June. It could now no longer be doubted, that the proclamation actually had been issued by the Governor-General of the Isle of France. Whatever may have been the motives of Monsieur Malartic in this transaction, the object of Tipu Sultan was always plain and clear, although fortunately for our interests, his success has not yet been answerable to the extent of his design. Of the object of that design I soon possessed ample proof, arising from the best evidence which the nature of the case could admit.

In the first place it appeared by the general tenor of the letters from the Cape, as well as by every public account which had been given of the transaction to be an undisputed fact, that Tipu Sultan despatched two Ambassadors to the Isle of France, and that the proclamation in question was published subsequent to their arrival, and during their residence in that island. These facts would perhaps have been sufficient without further enquiry

*Vide Appendix A.

to warrant a strong presumption, that this proclamation, purporting to declare the object of the embassy, must have been framed with the consent and knowledge of the Ambassadors of Tipu Sultan then on the spot, and must have corresponded with their instructions from their sovereign, whose orders they would scarcely have ventured to exceed in a matter of such serious consequence as the conclusion of an alliance offensive and defensive with the French.

In order, however, to obtain the most accurate information with respect to the circumstances attending the reception of the embassy, the publication of the proclamation, and the conduct of the Ambassadors, I examined upon oath some respectable persons, who were present in the Isle of France during the residence of the Ambassadors at Port Nord Quest; from the concurrent testimony of these persons, since corroborated by intelligence from various quarters, I obtained a connected account of the whole transaction.

Tipu Sultan dispatched two Ambassadors, who embarked at Mangalore for the Isle of France, and arrived there at the close of the month of January 1798. They hoisted Tipu Sultan's colours upon entering the harbour of Port Nord Quest, were received publicly and formally by the French Government, with every circumstance of distinction and respect, and were entertained during their continuance on the island at the public expense. Previously to their arrival, no idea or rumour existed in the island of any aid to be furnished to Tipu Sultan by the French, or of any prospect of a war between him and the Company. The second day after the arrival of the Ambassadors an advertisement was published of the same purport as the proclamation and immediately afterwards, the proclamation was fixed upon the most public places, and circulated throughout the town. The Ambassadors (far from protesting against the matter or style of the proclamation) held without reserve in the most public manner the same language which it contains with respect to the offensive war to be commenced against the British possessions in India; they even suffered the proclamation to be publicly distributed at the place of their residence. In consequence of these circumstances an universal belief prevailed in the island, that Tipu Sultan would make an immediate attack upon the British possessions in India which opinion had gained so much force, that the persons who gave this evidence, and all

those who arrived at that period in India from the Isle of France, expected to find us at war with Tipu Sultan.

The Ambassadors were present in the Island, when the French Government proceeded to act under the proclamation in question and they aided and assisted the execution of it, by making promises in the name of Tipu Sultan for the purpose of inducing recruits to enlist; they proposed to levy men to any practicable extent, stating their powers to be unlimited with respect to the numbers of the force to be raised. The Ambassadors aided and assisted in the levy of 150 officers and privates for the service of their Sultan under the terms and for the purposes in the proclamation. Few of the officers are of any experience or skill, and the privates are the refuse of the democratic rabble of the island: some of them are volunteers, others were taken from the prisons and compelled to embark, several of them are *kaffiris* and people of half-caste. With such of these troops as were volunteers, the Ambassadors entered into several stipulations and engagements in the name of Tipu Sultan.

On the 7th of March, 1798, the Ambassadors embarked on board the French Frigate 'La Preneuse', together with the force thus raised, and they publicly declared an intention of proceeding to the Isle of Bourbon, with the hope of obtaining more recruits for the same service.

The proclamation, therefore, originated in the arrival of the Ambassadors at the Isle of France, was distributed by their agents, was avowed in every part by their own public declaration, and finally was executed accordingly to its tenor by their personal assistance and cooperation.

The proclamation itself furnishes the most powerful internal evidence of the concurrence of the Ambassadors in all its essential parts, the principal facts stated therein are:

That Tipu Sultan through two Ambassadors, despatched for the purpose to the Isle of France, had addressed letters to the Colonial Assembly of the Isle of France, to all the Generals employed there, and to the Executive Directory of France, and had made the following propositions:

1st. "That he (the Sultan) desired to form an alliance offensive and defensive with the French, and offered to maintain at his expense, during the continuance of the war in India, whatever

troops should be furnished by the French, and to supply (with the exception of certain stores) everything necessary for carrying on the war."

2nd. "That he (the Sultan) had given assurance that all his preparations were already completed, and that the Generals and officers would find everything necessary for carrying on a species of war, to which Europeans have not been accustomed in their contests with the native powers in India."

3rd. "That he (the Sultan) only waited for the succour of France to declare war against the English, and that *it was his ardent desire to expel the English from India.*"

Upon the ground of these facts, the proclamation recommends a general levy of men for the service of Tipu Sultan, and it concludes by assuring "all the citizens who shall enlist, Tipu Sultan will give them an advantageous rate of pay and allowances, which will be fixed by his Ambassadors, who will also engage, in the name of their Sovereign that the Frenchmen who shall have enlisted in his army, shall never be detained there, after they shall have expressed a desire of returning to their native country."

The avowed purpose of this proclamation is to acquaint the inhabitants of the island, with the propositions made by Tipu Sultan through his Ambassadors on the spot. It enumerates those propositions with a particularity of detail, which could never have been hazarded in the presence of the Ambassadors, if the facts stated had not been correctly true, or if the propositions enunciated had varied in substance from those communicated by the Ambassadors under the orders of their Sovereign. But the last paragraph of the proclamation, connected with the conduct of the Ambassadors as already described, establishes in the clearest manner their participation in the whole transaction. That paragraph contains a direct reference to the powers of the Ambassadors, and engages on their behalf that they shall enter into certain stipulations in the name of their Sovereign, with respect to the pay and final discharge of such French subjects as shall enlist in his army under the conditions of the proclamation.

The accounts which I have received from the Isle of France concur in stating that the Ambassadors openly acted under this part of the proclamation and in the name of Tipu Sultan,

entered into engagements and stipulations with the recruits, according to the assurances specified in the proclamation. Monsieur Dubuc now Master Attendant at Mangalore, stated to one of the witnesses whom I examined; the whole substance of the engagements which had passed personally between him and the Ambassadors, all of which engagements referred immediately to Tipu Sultan's intention of commencing war upon the Company with the aid of the French force, then about to be levied.

It appears from the evidence which I have collected, that the Ambassadors had not brought to the Isle of France a supply of treasure sufficient for advancing bounty money to the recruits: it was stated that an apprehension of the English cruizers had prevented the embarkation of treasure for this purpose; and no doubt was entertained, that if the Ambassadors had been better provided with money, they might have raised a much greater number of men, who refused to engage on the mere security of promises in the name of Tipu Sultan.

The ambassadors together with the force thus collected during the time of their mission in the Isle of France, landed from the Frigate La Preneuse at Mangalore on the 26th of April, 1798. Accounts vary with respect to the exact number of the force landed; the most probable are, that it did not exceed two hundred persons. Tipu Sultan, (far from manifesting the least symptom of disapprobation of the conduct of his Ambassadors in any part of the transaction) formally received them and the officers and leading persons so landed, with public marks of honour and distinction: one of his Ambassadors resided for some time with the French recruits in a fortress near Mangalore; and the Sultan has admitted the whole levy of officers and men into his service.

Referring, therefore, to the conduct of the Ambassadors in the Isle of France, to their arrival at Mangalore with the force levied in consequence of their mission, and finally to the reception of the Ambassadors and of the French recruits by Tipu Sultan, the following conclusions appeared to me to be established.

First. That the Ambassadors despatched by Tipu Sultan to the Government of the Isle of France, proposed to that government an alliance offensive and defensive against the British

possessions in India, which alliance was accepted by that government, and its acceptance formally notified by a public proclamation.

Second. That the ambassadors were charged with letters from Tipu Sultan to the Executive Directory of France, which letters were stated to contain the same proposition, and that the Ambassadors delivered those letters to the Governor-General of the Isle of France for the purpose of transmission to France.

Third. That the Ambassadors in the name of Tipu Sultan gave public assurances that he had actually completed the necessary preparations for commencing immediate hostilities, and that he only waited the arrival of succour from the French to declare war against the East India Company, for the express purpose of expelling the British nation from India.

Fourth. That the Ambassadors demanded unlimited military succour from the French, and levied a military force in the Isle of France with the declared object of commencing immediate war against the British nation in India.

Fifth. That this force has been actually landed in Tipu Sultan's country, and publicly admitted into his service with signal marks of approbation and that the Ambassadors have been received with similar distinction.

Sixth. That Tipu Sultan (by receiving with public marks of approbation his Ambassadors, who had concluded in his name an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and by admitting into his service the military force raised for effecting the objects of that alliance), has personally ratified the engagements contained in the proclamation of the Governor-General of the Isle of France, and has proceeded to act under those engagements, conformably to the tenor of that proclamation.

Seventh. That although the succour actually received by Tipu Sultan, under his offensive alliance with the French, is inconsiderable, yet the tenor of the proclamation, the proposition made to the French Government for unlimited military aid, and the declarations of the Ambassadors prove, that it was the intention of Tipu Sultan, to receive into his service the largest force which he could obtain, for the purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the Company in India.

Having thus entered into offensive and defensive engagements

with the enemy, having proceeded to collect in conjunction with the enemy a force openly destined to act against the possessions of the Company, having avowed through his public Ambassadors that he has completed his preparations of war for *the express purpose of attempting the entire subversion of the British Empire in India*, and having declared that he only waits the effectual succour of the French to prosecute offensive operations, Tipu Sultan has violated the treaties of peace and friendship subsisting between him and the East India Company, and has committed an act of direct hostility against the British Government in India.

Before I proceeded to apply the principles of the law of nations to the conduct of Tipu Sultan, it appeared proper to enquire what had been the conduct of the Company towards him for some years past, and whether he had received any provocation to justify or to palliate his late proceedings ?

Since the conclusion of the Treaty of Seringapatam, the British Government in India have uniformly conducted themselves towards Tipu Sultan not only with the most exact attention to the principles of moderation, justice and good faith, but have endeavoured by every practicable means to conciliate his confidence, and to mitigate his vindictive spirit. Some differences have occasionally arisen with respect to the boundaries of his territory bordering upon the confines of our possessions on the coast of Malabar, but the records of all the British Governments in India will show, that they have always manifested the utmost anxiety to promote the amicable adjustment of every doubtful or disputed point, and that Tipu Sultan has received the most unequivocal proofs of the constant disposition of the Company to acknowledge and confirm all his just rights, and to remove every cause of jealousy, which might tend to interrupt the continuance of peace.

The servants of the Company in India have not, however, been ignorant of the implacable sentiments of revenge which he has preserved without abatement since the hour of his last defeat. It has always been well understood, that *Tipu Sultan's resentment was not to be appeased by any conciliatory advances on our part, nor by any other means than the recovery of his lost power, the disgrace of the British arms, and the ruin of the British*

interests in India. With such views it was expected that he would eagerly embrace the first favourable occasion of striking a blow against our possessions: and his intrigues at the Courts of Hyderabad and Poona, together with his embassy to Afghan king, Zaman Shah (although managed with such a degree of caution as to avoid the appearance of direct acts of aggression), were sufficient indications of an hostile mind. But none of these circumstances have in any degree affected the conduct of the Company's servants towards him.

The correspondence between him and the late Governor-General, and the letters from Bombay on the subject of the District of Wynaad, furnish ample proofs of a sincere desire to bring that question to a fair issue, "with the consent and knowledge of both parties," according to the tenor of the 7th Article of the Treaty of Seringapatam. I appeal in the letter which I dispatched to him soon after my arrival in Bengal, proposing an amicable adjustment of the same question, as well as of his recent claims upon certain parts of the District of Coorga, for a testimony of the pacific spirit which has marked my first communication with him; although perhaps a less mild representation might have been justified by his unwarrantable precipitation in stationing a military force on the frontier of Coorga, before he had made any trial of the prescribed and regular channels of negotiation.

Tipu Sultan cannot, therefore, allege even the pretext of a grievance to palliate the character of his recent acts; he has indeed alleged none, but has continually professed the most sincere desire to maintain the relations of amity and peace with the Company. In his letters to Sir John Shore (written a short time before the return of the Mysorean Ambassadors from the Isle of France and received at Fort William on the 26th of April, 1798, the day on which the French force landed at Mangalore), Tipu Sultan declares, "that his friendly heart is disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strength the foundations of harmony and concord established between the two States". And he signifies his desire, that "Sir John Shore would impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between the two States".

This is not the language of hostility, nor even of discontent.

From what disposition in the friendly heart of Tipu Sultan these amicable professions have proceeded, how they are connected with a regard to truth and justice, or calculated to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord, and to impress me with a sense of the Sultan's friendship can now admit of no question, since it is now proved, that these letters were written, at the very moment when Tipu Sultan was in anxious expectation of the hourly arrival of that military succour which he had solicited from the enemy for the express purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the Company's possessions.

The motive, therefore, of Tipu Sultan was no other than that avowed in his correspondence with the enemy, and published under the eyes of his own Ambassadors, "an ardent desire to expel the British nation from India".

It appears highly probable that he was instigated by the promises and exhortations of the Government of France (whose emissaries have reached his councils) to hasten the execution of a project, in which every consideration of interest, and every sentiment of passion would induce the French to embark with a degree of zeal, ardor, and rancour not inferior to his own.

The importance of these possessions to all the most valuable interests of Great Britain has pointed the particular attention of the Government of France to the destruction of our Empire in India. The prosperity of our settlements in India has long been the primary and undisguised object of the jealousy of France, avowed by all her ministers in every negotiation and by all her rulers in every stage of her innumerable revolutions. Tipu Sultan, therefore, might reasonably hope, that if the cessation of hostilities on the continent of Europe should at any time enable the French Directory to turn their views to the disturbance of the peace of India, such an adventure would be amongst the earliest of their operations.

The conclusion of a peace upon the continent of Europe may have appeared both to Tipu Sultan and to the French to offer a favourable opportunity for the prosecution of their joint design. The premature disclosure of this design may perhaps be imputed rather to the policy of M. Malartic, than to the imprudence of Tipu Sultan: whether the scope of that policy was to involve us in a war with Tipu Sultan, or to expose his treachery to our

view is yet a matter of doubt; but whatever circumstances occasioned the premature disclosure of the design; whether the design was wisely or rashly conceived; whether it has partially succeeded, or entirely failed; are questions the solution of which in no degree affects the offensive nature of an aggression so unprovoked, and of a violation of faith so flagrant and unqualified.

The history of the world scarcely furnishes an instance, in which any two powers have united in confederacy or alliance precisely with the same motives. The party proposing an offensive alliance against the East India Company cannot be absolved from the consequences of such an act, by any apparent or real indifference in the party accepting such a proposal: the conduct of Tipu Sultan, therefore, cannot be correctly estimated by reference to the supposed motives of Monsieur Malartic.

From the application of the acknowledged principles of the law of nations to the facts of this case, I formed my judgement of the rights of the East India Company and of my own duties with reference to the aggression of Sultan Tipu. The course of reasoning which I pursued, may be stated in the following manner:

The rights of States applicable to every case of contest with foreign powers are created and limited by the necessity of preserving the public safety; this necessity is the foundation of the reciprocal claim of all nations to explanation of suspicious or ambiguous conduct, to reparation for injuries done, and to security against injuries intended.

In any of these cases, when just satisfaction has been denied, or from the evident nature of circumstances cannot otherwise be obtained, it is the undoubted right of the injured party to resort to arms for the vindication of the public safety; and in such a conjuncture, the right of the State becomes the duty of the government, unless some material consideration of the public interest should forbid the attempt.

If the conduct of Tipu Sultan had been of a nature which could be termed ambiguous or suspicious; if he had merely increased his force beyond his ordinary establishment, or had stationed it in some position on our confines or on those of our allies, which might justify jealousy or alarm; if he had renewed his secret intrigues at the Courts of Hyderabad, Poona, and

Kabul; or even if he had entered into any negotiation with France, of which the object was at all obscure; it might be our duty to resort in the first instance to his construction of proceedings, which being of a doubtful character, might admit of a satisfactory explanation. But where there is no doubt, there can be no matter for explanation. The act of Tipu Sultan's Ambassadors, ratified by himself, and accompanied by the landing of a French force in his country, is a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war, aggravated by an avowal, that object of the war is neither explanation, reparation, nor security, but the total destruction of the British Government in India.

To affect to misunderstand an injury or insult of such a complexion would argue a consciousness either of weakness or of fear. No State in India can misconstrue the conduct of Tipu Sultan; the correspondence of our Residents at Hyderabad and Poona sufficiently manifests the construction which it bears at both those Courts; and in so clear and plain a case, our demand of explanation would be justly attributed either to a defect of spirit or of power. The result of such a demand would, therefore, be the disgrace of our character and the diminution of our influence and consideration in the eyes of our allies and of every power in India.

If the moment should appear favourable to the execution of Tipu Sultan's declared design, he would answer such a demand by an immediate attack; if on the other hand, his preparations should not be sufficiently advanced, he would deny the existence of his engagements with France, would persist in his denial until he had reaped the full benefit of them, and finally after having completed the improvement of his own army, and received the accession of an additional French force, he would turn the combined strength of both against our possessions, with an alacrity and confidence inspired by our inaction, and with advantages redoubled by our delay. In the present case the idea, therefore, of demanding explanation must be rejected, as being disgraceful in its principle and frivolous in its object.

The demand of reparation, in the strict sense of the term, cannot properly be applied to cases of intended injury, excepting in those instances, where the nature of the reparation demanded

may be essentially connected with security against the injurious intention.

Where a State has unjustly seized the property, or invaded the territory, or violated the rights of another, reparation may be made, by restoring what has been unjustly taken, or by a subsequent acknowledgement of the right which has been infringed; but the cause of our complaint against Tipu Sultan, is not that he has seized a portion of our property which he might restore, or invaded a part of our territory which he might again cede, or violated a right which he might hereafter acknowledge; we complain, that, professing the most amicable disposition, bound by subsisting treaties of peace and friendship, and unprovoked by any offence on our part, *he has manifested a design to effect our total destruction, he has prepared the means and instruments of a war of extermination against us; he has solicited and received the aid of our inveterate enemy for the declared purpose of annihilating our empire:* and he only waits the arrival of a more effectual succour to strike a blow against our existence.

That he has not yet received the effectual succour which he has solicited may be ascribed either to the weakness of the Government of Mauritius, or to their want of zeal in his cause, or to the rashness and imbecility of his own councils; but neither the measure of his hostility, nor of our right to restrain it, nor of our danger from it, are to be estimated by the amount of the force which he has actually obtained; for we know that his demands of military assistance were unlimited, we know that they were addressed not merely to the Government of Mauritius, but to that of France, and we cannot ascertain how soon they may be satisfied to the full extent of his acknowledged expectations. This, therefore, is not merely the case of an injury to be repaired, but of the public safety to be secured against the present *and 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 upon his future means of offence.

Appendix D

English Records of Maratha History—Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 3, The Allies' War with Tipu Sultan, 1790-1793, by Nirod Bhushan Ray (Bambay, 1937)

No. 319

Extract of a *Parwana* from Tipu Sultan to the *Patels* of Coorg.

Dated: 26 May, 1791

It is well known to me that you have for a long time experienced much trouble in your country and under this consideration I forgive everything which has happened—you may now fulfil your several duties as subjects and observe all the customs of your religion agreeably to ancient practices, and whatever you formerly paid to your own Rajas, the same, I expect, you will now pay to this *Circar* (*Sarkar*).

No. 333

From Tipu Sultan to Cornwallis, the Governor-General.

26th June, 1791 (received on 12th July, 1791)

In order to increase the friendship and good understanding with the English Company, the *Nawab Asoph Jha* and *Seremunt Pandit Purdhaun*, Mapoje Ram is sent on the part of the *Ahmudy Sircar*. It is incumbent on our ancient intimacy that the three powers should admit him and act in such manner as shall add strength to the friendship and connection between the *Sarkars* abovementioned which will tend to the peace and happiness of mankind.

Appendix E

The Last Moments of Tipu Sultan and his Journey to the Eternity

Tipu Sultan fantastically attired, stood firing coolly at his advancing foes from guns which were hastily loaded and handed to him by his attendants. His courage availed him little. Soon staggering back,—the crimson stain on his white jacket showing where a bullet had found its mark,—he mounted his horse, and tried to make his way towards the enemy. Once again he was wounded, and yet again; then his horse was shot under him, and he fell weak and dizzy to the ground. So he lay alone, the soldiers hurrying past him thinking only of their own safety and caring little for their master's hapless plight. At length came one more greedy than the rest. He espied the richly-jewelled belt of the fallen Sultan, and strove to wrest it from its place. Then the fierce spirit of the Tiger flickered up in one last despairing effort; drawing his sword he slashed blindly at the would-be robber. The same instant he fell back with a bullet through his brain. So perished the proud Sultan of Mysore! A few hours afterwards Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the future "Iron Duke", found the royal corpse, divested of jacket and turban, sword and belt, beneath a ghastly heap of his dead and dying subjects.

The funeral of the dead Sultan was an impressive ceremony; it almost seemed as if the very elements had conspired to do

honour to his obsequies. In the stately mausoleum of the La Bagh, by the side of his father Haider Ali, the body of the slaughtered Chieftain was reverently laid to rest. The heavy clouds which had been gathering thickly overhead, gave an air of darkness and depression to the scene, and in their deep-toned mutterings and rumblings one might almost detect a voice of sorrow and despair. Then stepped forward the chief *Qazi* to perform the last solemn rites over the corpse, and as he did so the lowering storm broke forth in wild stupendous fury. The sad wailing of the mourners died away to silence, and frightened looks were turned heavenwards where crashed and thundered the divine orchestra in its tribute to the dead. Out of the sable-low-hanging clouds vivid streaks of lightning, writhing and twisting like fiery serpents, darted towards their prey. Terrified, the natives broke and ran, but many were stricken down, and rows of scorched and blackened victims bore witness to the storm-fiend's sacrifice to the memory of the terrible prince.

"Surely", said the people, "this is a sign that has come to us. No longer shall we be a free nation; for the rule of our Sultan has passed away, and the power of the British is upon us".

(*Romance of Empire of India* by Victor Surr ridge, pp. 179-80).

Appendix F

TIPU SULTAN'S OBSERVATIONS

(Compiled from fifth edition of the "Sword of Tipu Sultan"
by Bhagwan S. Gidwani)

The quotations given below show different facets of Tipu's philosophy and character. These have been classified under the following headings:

I. Tipu as a Nationalist

- (1) "The Nation is greater than the greatest of us all." (p. 338)
- (2) "There is a law more inexorable than any law made by man. It is the law of death for a nation which ignores the rights of its citizens." (p. 225)
- (3) "Freedom is not fulfilment." (p. 334)
- (4) "A day will dawn when our people will shed fear. With that gone, the very foundation of terrorism and deception shall disappear." (p. 339)
- (5) "The glory and greatness of India is a cause worth living for; but do not forget, it is also a cause worth dying for." (p. 337)
- (6) "I am born in this soil. This is my native dust, the cradle of my being. Here I shall die." (p. 156)

II. Tipu's Vision of the Future of India

- (7) "If I did not have faith in the coming generations, if I did not feel that they would pick up the fallen torch, if I feared that they would be without commitment to the cause of their nation, I would have an empty, sinking feeling in my heart and an apprehension that I would die in vain. But that is not so. A day will dawn when our people will shed fear. With that gone, the very foundation of English terrorism and deception will disappear. My faith in the destiny of this nation is unshaken and in that lies my dream, my happiness and my bliss." (p. 339)
- (8) "Though you have seen in India the crumbling ruins of a proud civilisation, a day shall surely dawn when this country shall regain its lost heritage." (p. 210)
- (9) "Yes, India will emerge free and independent long after we have perished... But freedom is not fulfilment. The question that tears at my heart is: What will be the face of India then? *Will our countrymen learn something from the past or will they be blind to the warnings and tread the same old paths of disunity and destruction? Will they preserve the soul of the Country or will they let it rot with linguistic, communal and petty tribal rivalries? Will they set up provinces or divisions with each casting a stone at the other or will they be guided towards the common goal of greatness through individual, collective and co-operative effort?*" (p. 334)
- (10) "Shall we always be thus? Will stupidity, selfishness and the temptation of greed which has now overtaken us, continue to dog us? *Will each part of India try to tear the eyes of the other; will each of its provinces or divisions try to march forward in isolation from the rest; will they attempt to propagate their own citizenship on narrow regional consideration?...* If that happens, many will fall away, betray one another, hate one another and I can see the tragedies that lie before this land. It shall then be no different from

being the plaything of a foreign conqueror." (p. 334)

III. Tipu and the Emergency—his views on the Rights of Man

- (11) "For over a thousand decades in the past, this country resolutely valued individual freedom and social justice unto the least and the lowliest. The Kings then fell into loose and easy ways. Drunk with power they forgot the sanctity of their given word. *In the name of security, they initially restricted and then destroyed liberty.* On the pretext of defending their frontiers, they raised taxes and confiscated wealth, all—so that they and their sycophants could lead a life of ease, pleasure and luxury." (p. 225)
- (12) "The main purpose of Government is to establish order, and that the King, as head of the government, is the first social servant, and ultimately dependent on the suffrage of his subjects." (p. 202)
- (13) "Yes, it was the people's pleasure to bring the King and their pleasure to part with him if he failed to fulfil the contract." (p. 202)
- (14) I speak to you "of the liberal thought of ancient India which clearly enunciated the principle that the contract with the sovereign was dissolved if the sovereign failed in his duty to uphold justice and the fundamental rights of his people and that in such a case people not only had the right but also an obligation to remove the tyrant, by revolution, if need be." (p. 209)
- (15) "What you call anarchy appears to me to be a just cry for liberty." (p. 206)
- (16) "Are we to learn nothing from the history of honour and the tradition of nobility of this country? Can we not grasp the basic truth that power resides in the people and that we are only trustees of that power? By what moral right can we exist independently of the people, clothe ourselves in arrogance and bend their will to our coercion?" (p. 224)

IV. Tipu's Views on the American Declaration of Independence

- (17) American declaration of independence—"Treason, surely, but treason by who? It seems to me it is the King here who commits treason against his subjects." (p. 201)
- (18) "What is thrilling here is that the ancient Indian concept of kingship should come to be transformed into deeds far away in the United States of America, spelling disaster for a colonising, imperial power." (p. 201)
- (19) "These Americans were men of honour, am certain, and the path they would take would be not only of glory in the future but of atonement for the past." (p. 208)
- (20) "Every blow that was struck in the cause of American liberty throughout the world, in France, India and elsewhere and so long as a single insolent and savage tyrant remains, the struggle shall continue." (p. 210)

V. Tipu's Views on Religion, Communal Harmony and Tolerance

- (21) "Who are my people? All of them—Yes those that ring the temple bells and those that pray in the mosques—they are my people and this land is theirs and mine." (p. 213)
- (22) "We hereby declare that from this day, it, shall not be lawful in the Kingdom of Mysore and for any Mysorean beyond this realm, to discriminate against anyone on the basis of religion, caste or creed." (pp. 229-30)
- (23) "The *Quran* requires you to say to people of scripture: We believe in that which has been revealed unto us and revealed unto you; our God and your God is one and unto Him we surrender. We hold this God-given law dear to our heart, based as it is on human dignity; reason and brotherhood of man. With reverence we have also read the *Vedas* of the Hindus. They proclaim their faith in universal unity and express the belief that God is one although He bears many names." (p. 229)

- (24) "Religious tolerance is the fundamental tenet of the Holy *Quran*." (p. 229)

VI. Tipu's Views on the Means and the End

- (25) "To me, means and the end are convertible terms in spiritual and philosophical sense and I cannot conceive that questionable methods can bring about the realization of a result that is worthwhile." (p. 213)

VII. Tipu's Views on the Role of Ruling Classes as Trustees of the People

- (26) "Can we not grasp the basic truth that power resides in the people and that we are only trustees of that power?" (p. 224)
- (27) "All praise and glory be to the most high God, who breathing life into a handful of clay gave it the form of man, and who has raised some chosen individuals to rank and power, riches and rule, in order that they might administer to the feeble, the helpless and destitute, and promote the welfare of the people." (p. 223)
- (28) "To quarrel with our subjects is to war with ourselves. They are our shield and our Buckler; and it is they who furnish us with all things. Reserve the hostile strength of our Empire, exclusively for its foreign enemies." (p. 223)

VIII. Tipu's Views on Bonded Labour, Slavery

- (29) "The Pharoas built the Pyramids with the labour of their slaves. The entire route of the Great Wall of China is littered with the blood and bones of men and women forced to work under the whip and the lash of the slave drivers. Countless millions were enslaved and chained, and thousands upon thousands bled and died to make it possible that the magnificent structures of Imperial Rome, Babylon, Greece and Carthage should be built. To my mind, every great work of art and

architecture—be it in countries to the East of India or in the West—is a monument not so much to the memory of the men who ordered them to be built but to the agony and toil, blood and tears of those unfortunates who were driven to death in the effort to build it.”

“What does such a monument standing impassive, in brick or stone, commemorate? What is its message to all wayfarers who pass it? I believe its message is that here around it is the ruin of an empire, founded on tyranny and anguish of people driven from their homes, chained and enslaved so that a vain and haughty emperor might harbour illusions of his glory.”

“And what is the tradition of this proud land which we call India? Its entire architecture, from the Taj Mahal of recent times to the ancient Sanchi Stupa of 2000 years ago, was built by free and devoted men. But why stop there? Go back into thousands of years of the history of our people. Can you tell me of a single structure; of a single monument; of a single edifice built in this land by forced labour? You cannot, for I know it that for 2000 years—nay, even from pre-historic times—this country refrained from imitating the foreign custom of forcing people to donate free labour.” (p. 227)

IX. Tipu's Views on Prohibition

- (30) “...For the social, economic and moral good of our people, there shall be total prohibition on distilling and selling of liquor. Licences shall be issued for limited quantities strictly for sale to foreigners...”. —From Tipu's Revenue Regulations of 1787.” (p. 225)
- (31) “...Your report, stating you had strictly prohibited the distilling and vending liquors and had moreover made over the whole body of vintners enter into written engagements to desist from selling liquors is understood. You must make the distillers also execute similar agreements and then assist them to take up some other occupation...”. —Tipu Sultan's letter to Ghulam Hyder, *Amaldar* of Bangalore, dated 4th January, 1787. (p. 225)

- (32) "...This is a matter in which we must be undeterred and undaunted by financial considerations. Total prohibition is very near to my heart. It is not a question of religion alone. *We must think of the economic well-being and the moral height of our people and the need to build the character of our youth.* I appreciate your concern for immediate financial loss but should we not look ahead? Is the gain to our treasury to be rated higher than the health and morality of our people...?"
—Memorandum of Tipu Sultan to Mir Sadiq, 1787.
(p. 225)

C. Tipu's Views on Women's Lib

- (33) "It pained me to see some women of Malabar going about with their breasts uncovered. Such a spectacle offends the sight and aesthetics; certainly it is repugnant to good taste and morality. You had explained that these women belonged to a tribe whose custom enjoined that they should not cover themselves above the waist. But since then I have been wondering. Is it a question of immemorial custom or is it a question of poverty of the tribe? If it is the latter, I would like you to supply their wants so that their women should be decently draped. If, however, it is a question of time-honoured custom, I would like you to try and use your influence with the religious leaders of the tribe to see if such a custom can be done away with. For this purpose, I wish you to use friendly persuasion without giving any offence to their religious susceptibilities. The arguments that you might employ in this regard will naturally depend upon the foundations on which this custom is rooted. But you may keep the following in view:

- Do customs of this tribe impose any corresponding disability on males also? If not, such a disability on women alone is contrary to principles of justice and is, therefore, discriminatory?
- Did this custom originate because of poverty of the

tribe? Or did it originate as a punishment by a King? In either case, the kingdom can now intervene to help.

—Even if the custom is based neither on poverty nor on punishment but is rooted in antiquity, how would the sons of the tribe feel about their elders who permitted their mothers to go about half naked, exposed to ridicule and disgust of bystanders?" (p. 226)

XI. Tipu's View on the Need for a King to Sacrifice his Life

- (34) "By what right do I command my men to die for my cause if I should be afraid to lay down my own life? In the face of a common calamity, is the King to escape sacrifice and suffering? And why should I prolong the hours when there is no more profit in them? I should only make myself ridiculous in the eyes of others and of my own—if I cling to life needlessly. Would you advise a Tiger to follow the life-style of a jackal; would you?" (p. 337)
- (35) "The unalterable, inevitable course of my destiny leads me to the necessity to sacrifice my life—to die for a cause bigger than an individual's life." (pp. 342-3)
- (36) "Soon the English will begin their final assault. I know that I am not invulnerable or under special protection of heaven. I know, therefore, that I am in danger—and this is the danger from which I shall not run away." (p. 342)
- (37) "Such death cannot be in vain. Someone, somewhere, some time will pick up the fallen torch, for, once lit, it can never be extinguished." (p. 166)
- (38) "We are not fighting for ourselves alone. How can we then think of ourselves alone?" (p. 343)
- (39) "No, man cannot give up. For the sake of an ideal, for justice and truth, for the freedom and happiness of his people, he must stand up to tyranny and face pain and death." (p. 165)

XII. Tipu's Assessment of Why India Fell—Disunity

- (40) "The hour of our humiliation has arrived. This land, which I love more than my soul, is dying an unnatural death. We have been assassinated—yes, by the enemy within us." (p. 335)

XIII. Tipu's Views on Law

- (41) "No man shall be punished save in accordance with law. The law of immemorial custom and as enshrined in our traditions shall be honoured by us." (p. 222)
- (42) "Flogging and whipping—be they to extract confessions or as punishment—are repugnant to humanity and reason. They do not achieve their purpose. They degrade the victim. They dishonour the person in whose name they are ordered." (p. 222)

XIV. Tipu's Views on Treatment to Captured Enemies

- (43) "Looting a conquered enemy enriches a few, impoverishes the nation and dishonours the entire army. Wars must be linked only to battle-fields. Do not carry it to innocent civilians. Honour their women, respect their religion and protect their children and the infirm." (p. 221)

XV. Tipu's Views on the Rights of Agriculturists

- (44) "Agriculture is the life blood of the nation". (p. 228)
- (45) "The newly cultivated land shall belong to the cultivator and his descendants.....and no one shall dispossess him." (p. 229)

XVI. Tipu's View on the Continuity of Indian Culture

- (46) "I am proud of the spiritual and cultural advancement of our people. That is their glory and their greatness. Let no Kingdom—past or present—claim the credit for

that continuity which has flourished in this land for thousands of decades." (p. 230)

XVII. Tipu's Views on Man's Purpose in Life

- (47) "Are they not sinners who merely proclaim the name of the Lord and in their assumed devotion, surrender their duty on this earth, when the Lord himself has taken birth for protecting righteousness?" (p. 165)
- (48) "Can man seeking a surrender to the Divine choose a path different from the one taken by the Lord? Can man obtain a release from the problems of the world or be indifferent to them, when God Himself cares?" (p. 165)
- (49) "Surely, then, man's purpose was to live in the world and save it. Life was, therefore, a mandate for action and none can be anchored in Eternal Spirit by mere renunciation." (p. 165)

XVIII. Tipu's View on the Role of Government

- (50) "What then is to be the role of our social structure, of the Government and of its various agencies? It is my belief that our basic task is to guarantee material welfare of our people—full employment and the satisfaction of their needs for food, clothing, housing, education of natural justice and human rights can be honoured only if people are assured of economic wealth." (p. 230)

XIX. Tipu's Views on Economic and Commercial Policies

- (51) "Our economic and commercial policies must be based on growth and dynamism. It is not enough merely to improve our methods of production of the traditional items. We must diversify into new fields of activity suited to the richness of our soil and the genius of our people." (p. 230)
- (52) "You can be assured of fullest co-operation from the Government in your quest for tapping new sources of

wealth, quality-control and improved methods of production. In your prosperity is the prosperity of the Nation and a swifter realisation of our goal that every citizen of this Kingdom must be usefully and gainfully employed." (p. 231)

XX. Tipu on Tourism

(53) "People may go out, tour and travel, and see for themselves the beauty and grandeur of this glorious country, to identify themselves with the land—its hopes, its people and its customs." (p. 235)

XXI. Tipu on Environment and Ecology

(54) "Animals and birds are a part of God's creation. He fears that their wanton destruction will upset Nature's balance." (p. 235)

(55) "Relocation of an ammunition factory from the banks of the Cauveri river, although such location facilitated transportation, on the ground that the fish in the river died as the result of sulphur wastes being thrown into the river." (p. 235)

XXII. Tipu's Reply to Overtures of Governor-General Lord Cornwallis to Join the English Against Marathas

(56) "Of this I am certain, that God shall not allow that day to dawn when I have to fight alongside the English to face the Indians." (p. 216)

XXIII. Tipu's Reply to Overtures of Governor-General Wellesley, Earl of Mornington to Join the English Against Marathas

(57) "And it would be dishonourable to fight against one's own people and to throw them at the mercy of an alien invader." (p. 303)

XXIV. Tipu's Doubt Regarding Renouncing Kingship

- (58) "Is it not worthwhile to spend a serene life with my books and my thoughts than with the sword? Must I be on horseback chasing a battle when all I long for is to spend a quiet time with my wife and children? Is the call to arms mightier than the call to prayer? Is the battlefield more important than the shrine of saint? You know, Purnaiya, I love to paint but tell me if I wish to paint these native hills on my canvas, do you think I should do so with the blood of those that have been slain by me in battle?" (p. 156)
- (59) "I wish to paint the sunshine, the fresh air, the flowering trees and the blue seas but not with the colour of blood."... "I wish to paint the cry of faith, not the wail of the wounded; I want to bring on my canvas the dreams and yearnings of man and not his death and degradation. I wish to heal, not to kill." (p. 156)

OBSERVATION BY OTHERS

Observation about Tipu by his *contemporaries*—as indicative of the life and times of Tipu Sultan:

- (1) "I fear, my friend, that Tipu's memory will live long after the world has ceased to remember you and me."
(p. 323)
(Duke of Wellington)
- (2) "Tipu stands deserted by the people that matter—people with wealth, commands, influence and land. I wasn't thinking of the uncounted millions of his Empire who love and revere him. Their love and reverence would count for much if wars were won on the basis of prayers and blessings."
(pp. 238-239)
(General Abercromby of Lord Cornwallis)
- (3) "Strange, is it not, that he should have alienated the high and mighty who are backed by sword and wealth,

only to find a place in the hearts of the vast multitude which counts for nothing." (p. 239)

(Lord Cornwallis)

- (4) "A king with a notion that under his Kingdom the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest—what else does he deserve? He combines economics with ethics and sees no distinction between them; he asks the wealthy to shed privilege, protects the cultivator, remits taxes, and when the landlords complain, he talks to them of social justice; they who have risen to wealth or inherited fortunes—he asks them to act as trustees for people's welfare. No wonder they fear that some day he will be asking beggars to mount horses and take the rod of authority." (p. 239)

(General Medows to Cornwallis)

- (5) "How amazing is the spirit of this King." (p. 239)

(Lord Cornwallis)

- (6) "There is another thing we need before we march against Tipu Sultan—Yes, we need an excuse to attack him. You told me that Tipu Sultan combines economics with ethics. I too like to combine politics with good appearances. An honourable excuse is always necessary to lend honour to any action." (p. 240)

(Lord Cornwallis)

- (7) "Sultan has no existence apart from his people. His joys and grief are your joys and grief. His dreams are your dreams. In the glory, honour and pride of his people is his glory, honour and pride. Come then, gather under his banner, sure in the knowledge that whatever shall be denied to him shall be denied to you and whatever he shall secure shall be rendered unto you. Therefore, I say this to you, let this Kingdom be cleansed of treason and treachery; let the entire nation be prepared to face the villainous enemy from within and without; let us rise to dignity and heroism—belief in justice and

love of the country; let us show our scars with honour and pride... . Let us then be resolved to perish rather than lose our liberty." (p. 257)

(Lakshman, a Commander of Tipu)

- (8) "If it would avail, I would even at the cost of my life try to restore to the Kingdom of Mysore, the power it once had. You must remember this, that every hour that postpones the defeat of Tipu Sultan, is an hour that prolongs the independence of the Maratha nation." (p. 313)

(Nana Farnavis to Peshwa)

- (9) "Do not, please, commit the grievous error of losing faith in man. True, the insolence of might has humbled us for the moment. Yes, this is the hour of our humiliation and defeat. But a day will dawn, when this nation will reconquer its lost heritage. It may not happen in your lifetime or mine. But surely it will come to pass. Then the world will remember that there lived a King like Tipu Sultan in that shameful period of India's History who alone and unaided challenged the might of the English. This will be the immortal memory that Tipu Sultan will have imprinted on the ages to come." (p. 297)

(Purnaiya, *Diwan* of Mysore,

- (10) "Of course I fear him; Yes, I fear him greatly. He is not like other Rulers of India that we have known. I fear also the example he sets to other rulers. Fortunately all of them are far too pusillanimous to follow his example; but in the long run such an example can have a disruptive influence on the empire." (p. 303)

(Governor-General Wellesley)

- (11) "He has the strength of his people behind him; yes, he is a man of the people. Their heart beats in unison with his. But look, at his weakness too. The nobility, the aristocracy, the governors, commanders,

men of privilege, wealth and position will never forgive him. They who were lords and masters of the people are now there to administer to the wants, wishes and welfare of the people. In economic terms, it is possible to gain some advantage through such a system but when a crisis comes or war threatens, what happens? Who is to lead the people? Those who are disenchanted with the master and are ready to desert him? A man of privilege will forgive everything except the loss of his privilege. Tipu Sultan may make the finest speeches to fire people's loyalty but who is to lead his people into action? He, alone by himself? So what you see as Tipu Sultan's strength is also his weakness. Yes, they call him Tiger and indeed he is brave as a tiger but he can lose his Kingdom by his folly." (pp. 303-4)

(General Harris to Wellesley)

...of privilege, wealth and position will not be
...They who were bold and master of the
...are now there to administer to the
...welfare of the people. In consequence
...to gain some advantage through
...a crisis comes or war threatens, will
...lead the people. These are the
...and are ready to do
...will forgive everything
...The Sultan may make the
...loyalty but will not
...stand by himself. The
...strength is also his
...and subject to
...kindness of his

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Appendix G

COINS

Tipu Sultan issued coins in gold, silver, and copper. These were in far greater variety and number than those of Haidar Ali Khan, his father. His name is not found on any of his coins yet they were so beautiful and artistic that Henderson, the author of "the Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan" describing them tells us:

"Many of the gold and silver pieces afford indisputable testimony to the decorative value of the Arabic script, and it may be doubted if any coin more attractive in this respect than Tipu's double rupee has ever been struck in India... ."

A knowledge of Tipu Sultan's calendar and coinage is essential for those who want to have the study of his reign and kingdom in details. Hereunder are given their description in brief:

Ahmadi:

Gold coin of an average weight of 211 grains and equal to four *pagodas*.

Sidiqi:

Same as the foregoing but weighing 106 grains and equal to two *pagodas*

- Faruqi:* Also known as the Sultani *pagoda* having an average weight of 52 grains and equal to rupees three and annas eight. It was of gold and named after the Second Caliph of Islam, *Hazrat Umar Faruq*.
- Haidari:* A silver coin of an average weight of 355 grains (double rupee).
- Imami:* Same as the foregoing but having an average weight of 175 grains (one rupee).
- Abidi:* A silver coin with an average weight of 87 grains (half rupee).
- Baqiri:* Same as the foregoing with the weight of 43 grains (quarter-rupee).
- Jafari:* Silver coin of 20 grains (one-eighth-rupee).
- Kazimi:* Of silver weighing 10 grains and one-sixteenth rupee in value.
- Khiz(a)ri:* Half of the weight and value of the foregoing coin. This was the smallest of the silver coins.

The other coins were as follows:

- Usmani:* Double paisa made of copper of 350 grains.
- Mushtari (Jupiter):* Same as the foregoing.
- Zuhra (Venus):* Same as the foregoing but having an average weight of 175 grains.
- Akhtar (Star):* Of 42 grains (quarter-paisa copper coin).
- Qutb (Pole-star):* Of 18 grains (one-eighth-paisa copper coin).

Appendix H

Months of *Mauludi* Calendar instituted by Tipu Sultan:

First Stage

1.	Ahmadi	consisted of	29 days
2.	Bahari	-do-	30 „
3.	Jafari	-do-	30 „
4.	Darai	-do-	29 „
5.	Hashimi	-do-	29 „
6.	Wasii	-do-	30 „
7.	Zabarjadi	-do-	30 „
8.	Haidari	-do-	29 „
9.	Tului	-do-	29 „
10.	Yusufi	-do-	30 „
11.	Izadi	-do-	29 „
12.	Bayazi	-do-	30 „
	Total		<u>354 days</u>

The first month was after the name of the Prophet of Islam; second referred to spring; third to *Hazrat Imam* Jafar Sadiq; the sixth *Imam* of Shias; fourth to Dara famous for imparting impartial justice and splendour; fifth for Hashim the ancestor of

Hazrat Muhammad (who was also known as Ahmad; peace be on him); sixth for *Hazrat* Ali who was *Wasii* (the executor of the will of the Prophet); seventh for green colour of the emerald or topaz signifying the green revolution; eighth for his illustrious father Haidar Ali Khan; ninth for rising the sun which was worshipped by many of his non-Muslim subjects; tenth for *Hazrat* Yusuf (Joseph being the ideal of manly beauty); eleventh for *Izad* i.e. God and twelfth for the book or education.

Second Stage

1. Ahmadi
2. Bahari
3. Taqi
4. Samari
5. Jafari
6. Haidari
7. Khusravi
8. Dini
9. Zikri
10. Rahmani
11. Razi
12. Rabbani

Tipu Sultan made these changes in 1787 A.D. Now the fourth month (*Samari*) signifies various kinds of wealth; seventh for his kingdom after the name of a celebrated king of Persia (Iran); eighth for the religion, ninth for Zikariya (Zacharias); tenth for God; eleventh for contentment and pleasure and twelfth for God who spreads education.

Tipu Sultan's new era was styled as the *mauludi* era and is dated from the year 609 A.D. when the Prophet of Islam announced himself as the Messenger of God. There is difference of about thirteen years between the *hijri* and *mauludi* era.

sigillum of the seal affixed *untersligelm* on the agreement suggests that it was engraved in A.H. 1182/A.D. 1768 when the Sultan was about sixteen years of age.

Agreement:

Seal of Tipu Sultan

1. I must be punished if I do anything without [the prior permission of *Hazrat Khudawand Nimat* (Nawwab Haidar Ali Khan).
2. I must be hanged if I commit any act of theft or embezzlement while performing duties pertinent to the government.
3. I must be put to gallows if I am found telling lie or commit any act of treachery.
4. I should be exiled after being denosed if I am found to accept *nazr* (offering); or any such thing from any quarter without the information of *Huzur* (Haidar Ali Khan).
5. I must be killed if found indulged in consultation with any person or agency on matters other than pertaining to my relevant duties and functions.

۶
 ہر گاہ کہ در طلب سرکشی و بی رعایتی کنی کہ در حال و جواب
 ان بالتصویر شخصی منقرض از کف و غیر ذلک از معرفت اسرار
 و جواب جواب تو و سایر اسرار دولت و جواب کنی کلید
 قلم نیک

۷
 اگر از دولت خود و خرد و اسرار و ابیات و حکمت از خبر
 و تصورات منقرض از کف و غیر ذلک است به صلح او و جواب
 قلم نیک

۸
 اگر خدای تعالی از روی حسد و کینه و الوعیم از مصلحتی اللہ را بل
 و از شکر هر یک طرف و جواب منقرض از کف و غیر ذلک است به صلح او و جواب
 از روی حسد و کینه باید اول
 قلم نیک

عکس تحریر سلطانی

6. If I am assigned the governorship of any territory of the State and armed force is placed under my command for the said purpose then I would be duty bound to act in consultation only with those nobles or officers who are appointed by the *Huzur* in this connection. In case I am found acting otherwise my head must be severed.
7. I pledge herewith to act only on the advise of the councillors appointed by the *Huzur* if I receive any communication from any quarter (local or foreign).
8. I am placing these clauses on the record of my own accord with their memory preserved duly in my heart and, hereby, resolve to strictly adhere to them; and in the event I am found acting contrary to the spirit of the text I must be punished in the manner deemed suitable by the *Huzur*.

I would be duty bound to act in consultation only with those officers of the staff who are appointed by the State in the command of the district and I should not be bound to act in consultation with any other officers of the staff who are not appointed by the State in the command of the district.

Handwritten signature and text in Urdu script.

Biographical Notes

(of persona grata and persona non-grata)

Biographical Notes

(of persons cited and persons mentioned)

Biographical Notes

Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington (1769-1852 A.D.)

Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister: fourth son of the first Earl of Mornington: born May 1, 1769: educated at Chelsea, Eton, and Angers in France: gazetted Ensign in March, 1787, and, passing through several regiments, became Major and Lt. Colonel in the 33rd regiment in 1793. After some campaigning in the Netherlands, 1794-95, and starting for the West Indies, he landed with his regiment at Calcutta on February 17, 1797. His brother, the Earl of Mornington, assumed office as Governor-General at Calcutta on May 18, 1798. Wellesley commanded, as far as Penang, the Bengal Division of an expedition to Manila, but was recalled on account of Tipu, who had been negotiating with the French and native Courts to turn the English out of India. After negotiations, the war with Tipu of Mysore broke out early in 1799: Wellesley commanded the Nizam's troops, invading Mysore: Tipu's troops were routed at Malavilli, in March, 1799, by a Force under him: Tipu was then besieged in Seringapatam by General Harris, Wellesley commanding the reserve during the attack, May 4, 1799. On its capture and the death of Tipu, Wellesley was placed in command of Seringapatam, stopped the plundering, and restored order. He subsequently administered the lately conquered territory as Governor, with great ability: and hunted down "the

freebooter of Mysore," Dhoondia Waugh, in September 1800. In 1802-03, the Maratha powers, Sindhia, Holkar and the Raja of Berar, formed a confederacy against the English. General Wellesley, with the Madras Army, reached Poona in time to save it from destruction by Holkar. He was made Chief Political and Military Officer in the Deccan and South Maratha country: after taking Admadnagar on August 12, he attacked on September 23, 1803 with about 8,000 men including only about 1,500 Europeans, and defeated the whole Maratha force of 50,000 men, near the village of Assaye. He was equally victorious in the battle of Argaum on November 29, 1803, in which the Maratha power was broken: he took Gawilgarh on December 15, 1803, and made peace by treaties which secured great cessions of territory to the East India Company. In 1804 he disbanded the Army of the Deccan. At Bombay he was presented with a sword of honour, and before he left Madras for England, in March, 1805, was made K.C.B. He declined the Commander-in-Chiefship of Bombay. The remainder of his career is included in English and European history. He died at Walmer, September 14, 1852 (DIB).

Azamul Umara (1731-1804 A.D.)

His name was Ghulam Saiyid Khan and his titles were *Sahrab Jang*, *Muinud-Daulah*, *Mushirul-Mulk*, *Azamul-Umara*, *Arastu Jah*. His father's name was Farrukh Nizad Khan who descended from the famous Iranian Emperor Chosroes I, Anushirwan. He was first appointed as Collector of Berar. Then was promoted to the post of the Governor of Aurangabad. *Mushirul Mulk* took an active part in the important battle of Kardala. After the battle was over, he had to go to Poona with the Marathas. His negotiations were at last fruitful and after two years in 1212 A.H./1797 A.D. he returned from Poona. He was also sent to Nagpur on a mission of goodwill. Nawwab Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur, the fifth Nizam was so much pleased with his services that he bestowed upon him the unique titles of *Farzand-i-Arjumand* and *Wakil-o-Mukhtar-i-Daulat-i-Asafia*. He was Prime Minister for a quarter of a century and died in his 73rd year in 1219 A.H./1804 A.D.

Bhagwan S. Gidwani (1923 A.D.)

His father Mr. Shamdas P. Gidwani was the President of the Sindh Hindu Maha Sabha. Born in 1923 A.D., presently he is the Director-General of Civil Aviation of the Government of India. He engaged himself in the study of Tipu Sultan for years together and consulted records on Tipu Sultan wherever on earth they were available. He began his voyage of discovery by reading all there was to be read in the archives and libraries of India. The National Archives of India at Delhi and the Madras Government Records Office provided him with the largest number of unpublished records. Besides, he obtained access to the many manuscripts of the Asiatic Society (formerly known as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal). He consulted a large number of documents and records in the libraries at Calcutta, Madras and Pondicherry. Thereafter, he continued his search in foreign countries. The libraries and archives throughout the world yielded treasures far beyond his expectations. During his visit to the India Office Library and Records, London, he came across what proved to be a vast store-house of information on Tipu Sultan. There were manuscripts, published and unpublished records of secret proceedings and top-secret consultations, *memoranda* and minutes on the affairs of the East India Company, Council deliberations of military and political affairs in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. He also studied carefully the private collections and confidential correspondence of the British Governors and Governors-General. Taken together, they constitute the most extensive and unique record of how the English Empire-builders thought, felt, acted and reacted about Tipu Sultan. Also he found remarkably informative collections available in the Public Record Office at London, the Bodleian at Oxford, the National Library of Scotland and a host of other libraries, record offices and museums scattered throughout Britain.

Having obtained so much material in Britain, he knew that the trail obviously could not end there. There were so many clues in that material itself to indicate that much would be available on the other side of the channel. France, then became his next hunting ground and off and on, over a long period he

continued his research there. Of the long list of libraries and archives there which yielded the most relevant papers and documents, he mentions specially names of the *Archives Nationales* and *Bibliothèque Nationale*. He had also the opportunity of obtaining copies of some documents which are particularly relevant to the history of Tipu Sultan from the '*Archives du Minister des Affaires Etrangères*'.

After aforementioned strenuous efforts what Mr. Gidwani dug out, about the most misunderstood. Hero of the Struggle of Freedom, he has stored in his famous title, "The Sword of Tipu Sultan".

Bhao Bakhshi (?-1802 A.D.)

His name was Sadasheo Malhar. He was one of the chief officer of Mahadaji Sindhia. His reputation spread and he first came into prominence when he succeeded in negotiations with the English. By order of Sindhia he paid visit to Warren Hastings in 1784 A.D. at Lucknow. He had a conciliatory disposition and promoted peace and amity between the English and the Maratha Chiefs. When Daulat Rao Sindhia came to power after succeeding Mahadaji in 1794 he appointed Bhao Bakhshi as his *Diwan*. He held the office of *Diwan* off and on till he died sometimes in the beginning of the year 1802 A.D. (CPC, Vol. III, p. 5.)

Bussy-Castelnau, Charles Joseph Patissier, Marquis De (1718-1785 A.D.)

French officer: was in La Bourdonnais' expedition to India in 1746: through his influence, *Salabat Jang* was made Nizam of Hyderabad in 1751, on the death of *Muzaffar Jang*: Bussy secured French ascendancy at Hyderabad and the great of the Northern *Sarkars*: fighting for the Nizam, he defeated the Nawwab of Savanore, but was, through jealousy, ordered in 1756 to leave the Nizam's territory. He soon regained his supremacy: refused assistance to Surajud-daulah, Nawwab Nizam of Murshidabad in 1757: he seized Vizagapatam and other English fortresses, and secured Daulatabad for *Salabat Jang*. In June,

1758, when at the zenith of his power, he was recalled by Lally, the new French Governor-General at Pondicherry: in the battle of Wandiwash, in which Sir Eyre Coote defeated Lally, in January 1760, Bussy was taken prisoner by the English, but released. After the capture of Pondicherry on January 16, 1761, no mention is made of Bussy in India until 1783, when he was landed with French troops, by Admiral Suffrein, to reinforce Cuddalore, then besieged by the English. On the declaration of peace between France and England, Bussy withdrew the French troops from the support of Tipu. He is said to have gained a large fortune in India and to have been highly regarded by Dupleix. He died at Pondicherry in January 1785 (DIB).

Campbell Sir Archibald, Baronet (1769-1843 A.D.)

Son of Captain A. Campbells: born March 12, 1769: entered the Army, 1787: went to Bombay, 1788, and served under Sir Robert Abercromby, A.D. 1790-92: was at Seringapatam, 1792: at Cochin, 1795, and the defeat of the Dutch in Ceylon, 1796: was at Seedaseer and the final siege of Seringapatam, 1799: served in Portugal and under Sir John Moore, 1808: commanded a Portuguese regiment, 1810: was Brig-General with the Portuguese, 1811: knighted, 1814: K.C.B. 1815: was Portuguese Maj-General, 1816, in command at Lisbon: went to India again with his regiment, 1821: commanded in the first Burmese war, 1824-26 and took Rangoon and Prome, and, marching on Ava, made the Treaty of Yandaboo in February 1826: G.C.B. governed the ceded Provinces still 1829, when he returned to England: Baronet, 1831: Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, 1831-37: Lt-General, 1838: was unable through ill-health to accept the appointment of C-in-C Bombay in 1839: Colonel of the 62nd regiment, 1840: died October 6, 1843 (DIB).

Clarke, Sir Alured (1745 ?-1832 A.D.)

Field-Marshal: born about 1745: entered the Army, A.D. 1759: served in Germany, Ireland, America; was Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, 1782-90: on the way to India, in 1795, he co-operated with Lord Keith in the capture of Cape Town from the Dutch

East India Company: in India was C-in-C in Madras, January 1796 till March 1797; Member of the Supreme Council and provisional C-in-C Bengal from April, 1797, and confirmed in the Chief Command in India in May, 1798, retaining it till July, 1801. He was in command of the force with Sir John Shore when the latter, as Governor-General, went to Lucknow to depose Wazir Ali and set up Saadat Ali as *Nawwab-Wazir* of Oudh in January 1798. He acted as Governor-General from the resignation of Sir John Shore in March, 1798, till the arrival of Lord Mornington in May, 1798. He was K.B. in 1797: General in 1802: G.C.B., 1815: Field-Marshal in 1830, and died September 16, 1832 (DIB).

Cornwallis, Charles, First Marquis (1738-1805 A.D.)

Governor-General: son of Charles, first Earl: born December 31, 1738: educated at Eton: entered the Guards, 1756: studied at the Military Academy, Turin: served in Germany, 1758-62: at Minden M.P. for Eye: became Earl in June, 1762: Lord of the Bedchamber: Constable of the Tower, 1770: Maj-General, 1775: served in the American war, 1776: second in command in 1778 to Sir H. Clinton: forced to capitulate at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, no blame attaching to him: in 1782, and 1785, he refused to go to India, but against his will, accepted the Governor-Generalship in A.D. 1786: held the appointment from September, 1786, being also C-in-C and K.G.: he reformed both the civil and military services: in December 1790, he took the command in Madras against Tipu: captured Bangalore, March 21, 1791: defeated Tipu near Seringapatam: took Nandidrug, October 19: Savandrug, December 21: besieged Seringapatam, February 1792, when Tipu submitted, and signed peace: ceding territory and paying a large indemnity: Cornwallis created a Marquis, August 1792. He then announced the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue to be paid by the zamindars in Bengal, 1793, acting against the advice of Sir John Shore he reformed the Law Courts: he sailed for Madras to attack Pondicherry, but it had surrendered before his arrival: he left Madras, homewards, on October 10, 1783. From England, he was sent to military service on the Continent: was Master-General of the Ordnance from 1795: when military questions caused anxiety in Bengal, Cornwallis

was reappointed Governor-General on February 1, 1797: did not proceed to India: his services were required as Viceroy and C-in-C Ireland, to crush the rebellion of 1798: defeated the French there under General Humbert: supported the Act of Union, but resigned the Viceroyalty in 1801, when the King declined to agree to Catholic Emancipation: deputed to negotiate the Peace of Amiens, 1802. In 1805 he was re-appointed Governor-General and C-in-C in India, and assumed charge on July 30: sent out to inaugurate a pacific regime instead of the expansive policy of Lord Wellesley. But it was too severe a tax on his age and health. On his way up-country, in pursuit of his pacific policy, he died at Ghazipur, October 5, 1805. Statues were erected in his honour at Calcutta and Madras (DIB).

Doveton, Sir John (1768-1847 A.D.)

Son of Frederick Doveton: born 1768: entered the Madras Cavalry in 1785: served against Tipu, both in Cornwallis' campaign of 1791-92 and in Harris' of 1799, and in the pursuit of the bandit Dhoondia Waugh, under Colonel Wellesley: commanded the Hyderabad Contingent in 1814, which was utilized in the Pindari war of 1817. After the battle of Sitabaldi in November 1817, Doveton marched to Nagpur to assist the Resident, Jenkins, against Appa Sahib, the Bhonsla Raja. Appa surrendered, and his troops, after a fight, abandoned Nagpur to Doveton, who was made C.B. in 1818 and K.C.B. in 1819: retired, 1820: Lt-General and G.C.B. 1837: died at Madras, November 1847.

Harris, George, First Baron, of Seringapatam and Mysore (1746-1829 A.D.)

Son of the Rev. George Harris: born March 18, 1746: educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich: Cadet in the Royal Artillery, 1759: was with the 5th Foot in America: engaged at Bunker's Hill in 1775: severely wounded: served in the West Indies: went out to India with General Sir William Medows (q.v.) as A.D.C. and Private Secretary, while the latter was Governor and C-in-C at Bombay (1788-90), and at Madras

(1790-92): in the campaigns of 1790-91, against Tipu, and in the attack on Seringapatam, 1792: saved £ 40,000 for Medows: commanded at Fort William, Calcutta, in 1794: Maj-General: commanded at Madras, 1796-1800, with a seat in Council, and acting Governor from February to August 1798: in 1799 commanded 50,000 men against Tipu: routed him at Malavillion March 27 and took Seringapatam May 4, 1799: Mysore was annexed: retired to England, 1800: Lt General, 1801: General, 1812: made a Peer, 1815: Governor of Dumbarton Castle. Died May 19, 1829.

Hyder Ali (1717 or 1722-1782 A.D.)

Son of Fath Muhammad, a military commander, and *Jagirdar* of Budikota in Mysore: born in 1717 or 1722: first known as Naik: employed by the Mysore Raja as a volunteer in the siege of Devanhalli in 1749: next against Arcot, and in the subsequent struggle for the Nizamat: by 1755 he was Military Governor of Dindigul, then a Mysore stronghold: by 1759 he commanded the Mysore Raja's Army, and received the title of *Fath Bahadur*. He gradually obtained the control of affairs and assumed the sovereign power, deposing the Hindu Raja, Chikka Krishnaraj Wadiar, captured Bednore and conquered Malabar in 1766. Allied with the Nizam, he invaded the Carnatic in 1767, and on the Nizam's retirement, prosecuted the war alone: in 1769 he was within five miles of Madras, when the Madras Governor concluded an offensive and defensive Treaty with him, and the Bombay Government made another Treaty with him in 1770. He was more than once reduced to great straits by the Marathas, who several times invaded the Mysore dominions, but the English declined to assist him. When the French and English declared war in 1778, and the English took Mahe, Hyder, who had become the most formidable power in the Peninsula, received the missionary, Schwartz, as an envoy from the Governor of Madras, but, negotiations failing, invaded the Madras territory in 1780, defeated Colonel Baillie at Perambakam, took Arcot and other places: he was defeated at Porto Novo on July 1, 1781, by Sir Eyre Coote, who relieved Vellore, and met him in the indecisive action at Arni

on June 2, 1782. He died near Chitore, December 7, 1782, Hyder was a born soldier, a first-rate horseman, heedless of danger, full of energy and resource, severe, cruel, cold, indifferent to religion, shrewd in business—though quite uneducated—with a retentive memory: he inspired great terror: with better support from the French, he might have driven the English out of Southern India (DIB). Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan were the first Sovereigns in India who actually prohibited the exercise of *sati* in their dominions. (Foreign, Political Consultations, 18-9-1839, Nos. 61-62. Cited in the Indian Historical Records Commission's Proceedings, Vol. XLIV 1976 Bikaner).

Jagadguru Shankaracharya

Sringeri is a village situated below a lake on the bank of the Tunga. It is the chief of the four places where Shankaracharya established *maths*. Being the head of the temple the *Jagadguru* is looked upon with great reverence. In 1916 A.D. the Director of the Department of Archaeology in Mysore discovered in the temple of Sringeri thirty bundles of record of Tipu's reign. They cover the period from 1791 to 1798 A.D. From one of these letters it appears that the *Jagadguru* had to leave his temple due to raid on Sringeri by some Maratha *Pindaris* in 1791 A.D. under one Raghunath Rao Patwardhan. These Maratha *Pindari* plundered the monastery and all its valuables and committed the sacrilege of displacing the sacred image of the golden *Sarodha*. They killed and wounded the *pujaris* and *Brahmins* also. When Tipu heard of the Maratha raid he remarked, "People who have sinned against such a holy place are sure to suffer the consequences of their misdeeds at no distant date in this *Kaliyug* and according to a verse: "*Hasadhbih Kriyaa Karma rudabhir anubhyate*" (People do evil deeds smiling but will suffer the consequences weeping). Treachery to *gurus* will result in the destruction of the line of descent. (Cited in the "History of Tipu Sultan" by professor Mohibbul Hassan Khan, pp. 355-56).

Kennaway Sir John Baronet (1758-1836 A.D)

He was son of William Kennaway: born March 6, 1758: educated at Exeter Grammar School: entered the East India Company's military service in 1772: in 1781 he was Persian Secretary to Col. T.D. Pearse, commanding the force sent from Bengal to the Carnatic: Captain in 1781: served under Sir Eyre Coote against Hyder in the Carnatic: in subsequent campaigns up to 1786: then became A.D.C. to Lord Cornwallis, who sent him in 1788 to insist on the cession of the Guntur *Sarkar*, as agreed upon, and to make a Treaty of July 1790, with the Nizam; Baronet, in 1791: he also made the Treaty of Seringapatam, of March 1792, with Tipu; he was the first Resident at Hyderabad from April 28, 1788; retired to England in 1794; died January 1, 1836 (DIB).

Kirkpatrick, James Achilles (1764-1805 A.D.)

Lt. Colonel: son of Colonel James Kirkpatrick, and brother of William Kirkpatrick. He was born in August 1764: educated in France and at Eton: joined the East India Company's Madras Army in 1779-80; in the Mysore war 1791-92: in charge of garrison at Vizianagram, 1793: Assistant to his brother William, Resident at Hyderabad in 1795, succeeded him in 1797: negotiated the several treaties of 1798, 1799, 1800, 1802, 1803, 1804 on behalf of the Governor-General with the Nizam of Hyderabad for various objects, the suppression of French influence, etc., gaining the full confidence of the Marquis Wellesley: brought the Nizam's contingent of 60,000 men into the field against Tipu, 1799: died while Resident at Hyderabad, on a visit to Calcutta, on October 15, 1805.

Madhava (Madhoji) Rao Sindhia, Maharaja of Gwalior (1730-1794 A.D.)

Son of Ranoji Sindhia, who, originally a slipper bearer of the Peshwa, rose to be an officer of rank: Madhava was illegitimate, the fourth of his five sons. He and his brother Dattaji were present in the war of 1751 against the French and at the battle

of Panipat, where the Peshwa was completely defeated by the Afghans under Shuja, 1760-61: after this battle, which virtually over-threw the Maratha design to conquer the whole of India, Madhava became Ruler of Ujjain, in succession to his father. In the following years, he was an ally of the Poona Regent Raghunath, or Raghoba, fighting against the Jats of Bharatpur and against the Rohillas, annexing the fort of Gwalior and generally consolidating his power. Intrigues at the Court of the Peshwa and of the Emperor of Delhi against the British ended in the Treaty of Salbai between the Peshwa and the British in 1782, and led Warren Hastings to appreciate his talents so greatly that he left him virtually a free hand in the administration of Central India and Hindustan. He now came to be recognized as an independent Prince, though nominally the vassal of the Peshwa and Delhi Emperor: with the aid of De Boigne, who entered his service about this time, he soon made himself feared by his neighbours, but in his attempt to attack the Raja of Jaipur was repulsed by a conspiracy of Rajput chiefs and Ismail Beg, who defeated him. In the revolt of Ghulam Qadir against the Emperor of Delhi, in 1788, Sindhia took no part, but, after Delhi was retaken, he espoused the cause of the blind Emperor. One of his first acts was to re-engage De Boigne as Commander of his forces. He defeated Ismail Beg and the Rajputs in 1790, and entered the town of Ajmer. In 1791 he formed the famous alliance with Lord Cornwallis against Tipu, which ended in the latter's defeat at Seringapatam. In 1794 he proceeded to Poona to invest the young Peshwa with the Vice-regency of the Empire, and received from him the title of Deputy Vice-Regent. In his absence, his territories were attacked by Ismail Beg and Holkar, who were both defeated by De Boigne. Madhava Rao died suddenly at Poona on February 12, 1794, and it is not improbable that he was the victim of foul play on the part of Nana Farnavis, who was jealous of his influence. He early recognized the military power of the British, and did not oppose them for long. In his schemes of self-aggrandizement, he worked as the subordinate of the Peshwa and the Delhi Emperor (DIB).

Madhav Rao Narayan Peshwa (1774-95 A.D.)

He was the posthumous son of Peshwa Narayan Rao. Nana Farnavis and other ministers carried on the administration in his name during his minority. When the young Peshwa came of the age to assume the powers to administer his State by himself Nana Farnavis one of his regents refused to part with his power and kept the Peshwa in strict tutelage. Weary of the galling restraint the Peshwa threw himself from the top of his palace and died on the 27th October 1795 two days after the incident (CPC, Vol. VII, p. 5).

Malet, Sir Charles Warre, Baronet (1752-1815 A.D.)

I.C.S.: son of Rev. Alexander Malet: born 1752 : went out to Bombay in the East India Company's Civil Service: became Resident at Poona 1785: negotiated at Poona, on June 1, 1790, an offensive and defensive Alliance with the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu; Baronet, 1791: Member of Council, Bombay, April 1797: retired 1798 F.R.S., F.S.A.: died January 24, 1815 (DIB).

Medows, Sir William (1738-1813 A.D.)

Governor: son of Philip Medows: born December 31, 1738, joined the 50th regiment, 1756; served in Germany, America at Brandywind, 1776; at St. Lucia, at the Cape of Good Hope, 1781; to India; 1782, cooperated with Sir E. Hughes in dispersing the French fleet under Suffrein: Governor and C-in-C, Bombay from September 1788 to January 1790; held similar appointments at Madras from February 1790 to August 1792; took the field, 1790, against Tipu; took some places, but the campaign was generally unsuccessful; Cornwallis took command in person in 1791-92; Medows captured Nandidrug, October 19, 1791; led a column in the attack on Seringapatam February 1792; to England 1792; K.C.B: General 1798: Governor of the Isle of Wight: C-in-C, Ireland 1801: died November 14, 1813 (DIB).

Mir Qamaruddin Ali Khan

Mir Qamaruddin Ali Khan was son of Tipu Sultan's uncle, Mir Ali Riza Khan, commonly known as Mir Sahib. He fought several battles with the Marathas and the English and captured Coimbatore from the latter in the second Mysore War. But later he proved a traitor and intrigued with the English and the Nizam which resulted in the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. He was rewarded for his treachery by grant of *jagir* of Gurramkonda by the Nizam.

Muhammad Ali Khan Walajah, Nawwab of the Carnatic (1717-1795 A.D.)

Second son of Anwarud-din Khan, Nawwab of the Carnatic; present at the battle of Ambur, escaped to Trichinopoly: he was appointed Nawwab by Nasir Ali, the Nizam of the Deccan, in 1749: was besieged at Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib and the French, until relieved by the English: on his behalf Clive took Arcot, 1751 and he was successfully supported as Nawwab by the English, both against Chanda Sahib, the candidate assisted by the French, and against the rebellious *Poligars*: recognized as Nawwab by the Treaty of Paris of 1763, and acknowledged as independent of the Nizam by the Mughal Emperor in 1765; entitled *Walajah*: he contracted large debts to the East India Company and the English adventurers who crowded his Court and prayed upon him: he assigned districts for their payment: by Treaties of 1763, 1781, 1785, 1787, 1792, arrangements were made for their liquidation, by the English managing the Carnatic, etc.: he died October 16, 1795: his intrigues with Tipu were discovered after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799, whereupon the English assumed the government of the Carnatic, making provision for the family of the Nawwab (DIB).

Nana Farnavis (1741-1800 A.D.)

The famous Maratha Brahman minister; his real name was Balaji Janadhan; he was present at, and fled from the battle of Panipat, 1761. When Madho Rao I became Peshwa in 1761,

his uncle, the Regent, Raghunath Rao, gave Nana Farnavis the office of *fardnavisi* (recordwriting). He became the intimate friend of his sovereign, Madho Rao who died in 1772, and was succeeded by his brother, Narayan Rao. Nana Farnavis became head of the Civil Department and chief director of all Poona political movements until Madho Rao II died. Narayan Rao murdered in 1773 by his uncle Raghunath, who usurped the Peshwaship, until Narayan's widow, Ganga Bai, had a child named Madho Rao Narayan. A Regency, consisting of Nana Farnavis, Sakaram Bapu and the widow, ruled the State until Nana Farnavis became virtually supreme ruler of Poona. In March 1776 the Treaty of Purandhar was concluded between the Maratha and the English; this treaty Nana Farnavis obstructed, and he was believed to have made a secret engagement with the French. He and Sakaram quarrelled; the latter, striving for the restoration of Raghunath sought help from the Bombay Government; Nana Farnavis, being the paramour of Ganga Bai, supported Madho Rao the Peshwa: further hostilities occurred, the English supporting Raghunath: the Convention of Wargaum, made in 1779, was disavowed, eventually peace was restored by the Treaty of Salbai on May 17, 1782, which Nana Farnavis ratified, Raghunath's cause failed, and he soon died. Sakaram was made over to Nana Farnavis by Sindhia, confined in a fort, and died there. Madho Rao's title as Peshwa and Nana Farnavis' Regency were recognized. The latter was then the real head of affairs at Poona. Lord Cornwallis received from him a contingent of Marathas against Tipu in 1791. Antagonism arose between Nana Farnavis and Madhav Rao Sindhia (q.v.) each having claims against the other. Sindhia died in 1794, leaving Nana Farnavis without a rival among the Maratha. They made great demand on the Nizam and defeated his army at Kurdla in March 1795. Nana Farnavis was then at the height of his prosperity as Minister, when the Peshwa, Madho Rao, committed suicide. Raghunath's son, Baji Rao, became Peshwa. Nana fled, was seized at Poona and imprisoned: became reconciled to Baji Rao: they evaded alliance with the British Governments: Nana Farnavis died on March 13, 1800 (DIB).

Nizam Ali, Nizam of Hyderabad (?-1803 A.D.)

Son of Qamaruddin, the first Nizamul-mulk: dethroned and imprisoned his brother, the Nizam *Salabat Jang*, 1761, and became Nizam: devastated the Carnatic, 1765, but was driven back: the Madras Government made a Treaty at Hyderabad, November 12, 1766, through Brig-General Caillaud with Nizam Ali for mutual assistance, and the grant of territory for a subsidiary force. Nizam Ali unexpectedly deserted the English, and with Hyder Ali invaded the Carnatic, but, by another Treaty of February 26, 1768, renounced Hyder and regained the English alliance on certain terms: in 1788 he made over the Guntur Sarkar to the English on certain payments: in the war with Tipu, Nizam Ali made a treaty of offensive and defensive Alliance with Cornwallis, 1790, and gained territory at the end of the war, 1792: the Marathas revived a claim against the Nizam for arrears of chauth, and war resulted in the defeat of the Nizam and his army at Kurdla in March, 1795: he had to cede territory and pay three crores of rupees: his eldest son, Ali Jah, rebelled, but was captured by the Nizam's French troops: another Treaty of September 1, 1798, was made between the British and the Nizam: Nizam Ali agreed to disband his French battalions: in the second war with Tipu, 1799, the Nizam's army cooperated with the British troops, and the Nizam received territories by the partition Treaty of Mysore: these territories were ceded to the British for the payment of the British subsidiary force at Hyderabad: Nizam Ali died in 1803 (DIB).

Perron (1755-1834 A.D.)

General: his proper name was Pierre Cuillier: A Frenchman: went out to India as a petty officer, in 1780; deserted his ship, and entered the service of the Rana of Gohud about 1781: afterwards of Bharatpur; and in 1790 was taken by De Boigne into Madhoji Sindhia's Army; was at the battles of Patan and Merta, the siege of Kanaund, where he lost a hand; won the battle of Kurdla for Daulat Rao Sindhia against the Nizam; on De Boigne's retirement, in 1796, Perron suc-

ceeded him as General, in command of Sindhia's Army; subdued Rajputana; gained a victory at Sounda, 1801; carried on fighting with George Thomas of Georgeghar and Hansi, who was defeated; said to have instigated Buonaparte's designs on India, offered his resignation to Sindhia in 1803, but withdrew it; and was with his forces, under Sindhia, during the second Maratha war of 1803, and in possession of Shah Alam II, the Mughal Emperor; dismissed all British officers from Sindhia's service; after capture of Aligarh by Lake, on September 4, 1803, from Sindhia's troops, and defeat at Koil, Perron was superseded by Ambaji Inglija, and deposed from the command by Bourguien, and his life threatened; he fled to Lake; his troops defeated at Delhi, Agra and Laswari, Perron went to Lucknow, losing most of his immense accumulated fortune; he then went to Calcutta and Chandernagore; reached Europe in 1805, and lived in retirement in France till his death in 1834 (DIB).

Purnaiay (?-1812 A.D.)

A Brahman of the Medual sect: was a Treasury Officer in the employ of Hyder Ali in Mysore, and on Hyder's death kept the Army in order until Tipu arrived from Malabar; was *Diwan*, or finance minister, to Tipu for years; and on his death in 1799 was retained in the post under the English Resident, when the Hindu dynasty was restored by Krishna Raj Wadiar, a child of three being made Maharaja. He was greatly trusted by the Residents and during his administration of Mysore the country was greatly benefited by the improvements which he introduced, while he accumulated large sums in the Treasury; he received a *jagir*. Krishna Raj, at the age of 66, was permitted to assume the government in December 1811: Purnaiay, exasperated at the loss of power, but unable to resist, retired to Seringapatam on pension, and died March 29, 1812 (DIB).

Shah Alam (1728-1806 A.D.)

Son of the Emperor, Alamgir II; born June 15, 1728; known as the *Shahzada* Ali Gauhar; proclaimed a rebel by his father; he escaped from Delhi to Shujaud-daulah *Nawwab-Wazir* of Oudh;

after the death of Sirajud-daulah (q.v.) and election of Mir Jafar; he claimed Bengal, and advanced into Bihar, supported by Shujaud-daulah; compelled to retreat from Patna; re-appeared 1759, and assumed the name of Shah Alam on his father's death, 1759; defeated Ram Narain near Patna, but was routed, January 1760 by Caillaud, and Miran, son of Mir Jafar; marched towards Murshidabad; compelled again to retreat; besieged Patna, but was beaten off by Capt. Knox's force; was taken prisoner by Major Carnac, 1761, in Bihar; and allowed to retire to Oudh. Mir Kasim agreed to pay him 26 lakhs a year from Bengal; after the battle of Buxar, in which Shujaud-daulah was defeated; Shah Alam sought British protection and made a Treaty; in 1765, at Allahabad, he granted the *Diwani* (the superintendence of the revenue) to Lord Clive for the East India Company on payment of a tribute of 26 lakhs a year; in 1771 he found himself under Madhoji Sindhia, the Maratha, who installed him as Emperor of Delhi; he lost the English tribute; the Rohilla Chief Ghulam Qadir seized Delhi and put out Shah Alam's eyes, 1788; the Marathas restored him to the throne; he was taken under British protection after the Marhata war of 1803; died November 10, 1806 (DIB).

Sirajud-daulah (1731? or 1736-? 1757 A.D.)

His name was Mirza Muhammad; eldest son of Zainud-din Ahmad, called *Haibat Jang*, the nephew and son-in-law of Aliwardi Khan, Governor of Bengal; adopted by Aliwardi as his heir; succeeded Aliwardi as Nawwab on April 9, 1756; was offended with the English for giving protection at Calcutta to Kishan Das, who escaped with treasure from Dacca; actuated by rapacity, he attacked Calcutta and took it on June 20, 1756; was finally responsible for the tragedy of the Black Hole, and callous to the sufferings of the survivors; European and native historians have dilated on his cruel and profligate character. Clive and Watson retook Calcutta on January 2, 1757; the Treaty made between them and the Nawwab proved only temporary; a confederacy was made against him by Clive, who marched on Murshidabad; Sirajud-daulah was defeated at the battle of Plassy, June 3, 1757; he fled to Rajmahal, where he was captured and put to death at

Murshidabad by order of Miran, son of Mir Jafar on July 4, 1757 (DIB).

Stuart, James (1741-1815 A.D.)

Son of John Stuart; born March 2, 1741; educated at Cuiross, Dumfermline, Edinburgh; entered the Army in American War of Independence; to India as Brevet-Lt. Colonel, 78th regiment in 1781; Lt. Col.; under Coote against Hyder, at Cuddalore, 1788; under Medows, 1790; and Cornwallis, 1791-92, against Tipu; Maj-General; commanded the expedition against the Dutch in Ceylon, 1795; commanded the Forces at Madras, 1796; and the Bombay Force at Seringapatam, 1799; C-in-C, Madras, 1801; Lt. General, 1802; in the Marhata war, 1803; retired, 1805; General, 1812; died April 20, 1815 (DIB).

Wellesley, Richard Colley, Marquess (1760-1842 A.D.)

Governor-General; born June 20, 1760; eldest son of first Earl of Mornington; educated at Trim, Harrow, Eton, Christ Church, Oxford; Student; Latin Verse Prize, 1780; became Earl of Mornington, 1781; M.P., 1787-96; Knight of St. Patrick, 1783; Lord of the Treasury, 1786; Member of the Board of Control, 1793; Privy Councillor, 1793; made Baron Wellesley, 1797; accepted Governorship of Madras, 1797; became Governor-General of India May 18, 1798 to July 30, 1805; met high Indian officers at the Cape, on his voyage outwards; reversed his predecessor's policy of non-interference; induced the Nizam to remove his French officers, and made the Marhatas neutral; opposed French intrigues; found Tipu seeking help from the French at Mauritius; when negotiations failed, declared war on Tipu; went to Madras; Tipu was defeated and killed at Seringapatam, May 4, 1799; Hindu dynasty restored in Mysore; some Mysore territory annexed; the Nizam ceded districts for support of troops and became an ally and a protected ruler; Wellesley created a Marquess, December 1799; assumed the administration of Tanjore, maintaining the Raja; annexed the Carnatic, pensioning the Nawwab with a fifth of its revenues; made Treaty with Saadat Ali, *Nawwab-Wazir* of Oudh, for cession of territory and

for reforms; sent Malcolm (q.v.) to Persia to make treaty against Afghanistan; sent Baird's expedition to Egypt against the French; refused to restore, as ordered, the French possessions in India; resigned his appointment, but requested to remain; made Commander-in-Chief; made treaty of Bassein, December 1802, with the Peshwa; compelled to make war against Marhata Chiefs, Sindhia, Bhonsla, Holkar; defeated them at Assaye, Argaum, Delhi, Laswari, but, in consequence of Monson's disastrous retreat before Holkar, Wallesey was recalled, 1805. He established, in 1800 A.D., the College of Fort William for education of civilians; it was only allowed by Court of Directors, on a reduced scale, for native languages; ordered the observance in India of Sunday as a day of rest; after retirement, was unsuccessfully attacked in Parliament by Paull and others, for his policy in Oudh; sent to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary in 1809, in furtherance of Peninsular war; became Foreign Secretary, 1809-12; K.G., 1812; failed to form a coalition ministry, 1812; differed in opinion on important subjects from the Duke of Wellington; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1821-28 and 1833-34, advocated Catholic emancipation, suppressed disturbances, combated famine; Lord Steward of the Household, 1832-33; Lord Chamberlain, 1835; retired, 1835; granted £20,000 by the East India Company; his Despatches, Minutes, etc. printed, 1836-37; his statues erected in London and Calcutta; died September 26, 1842; he maintained his classical scholarship and studies to the end; he, also, was called "The great Proconsul" (DIB).

Zaman Shah Abdali (before 1793-after 1800 A.D.)

Grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, or Durrani, Ruler of Afghanistan, who died 1773, son of Timur Shah, who died 1793. He reigned at Kabul, and reduced to poverty Painda Khan, the Barakzai chief. He marched on Lahore, 1796, reduced the Sikhs, threatened to invade Hindustan, and invited Lord Wellesley to join him in conquering the Marhatas. The fear of an Afghan invasion was seriously regarded by Lord Wellesley but came to nothing. Zaman Shah returned to Afghanistan to establish his authority at Qandhar, and had the leading Barakzais massacred. He was dethroned by his brother Mahmud Mirza of Herat, assisted

by Fath Khan Barakzai, about 1800, and was blinded; Zaman Shah fled to Ludhiana, and became a pensioner of the East India Company (DIB).

Pratap Singh

Pratap Singh, Sawai of Jaipur succeeded to the throne of Jaipur on the death of his brother, Prithvi Singh in A.D. 1778 and ruled until A.D. 1803. At the time of his succession he was a boy of thirteen years. There was terrible confusion in the State under his administration. He was one among those pupets of the East India Company who congratulated the Governor-General on the defeat of Tipu Sultan.

Ghulam Qadir Khan Rahilla

Ghulam Qadir Khan Rahilla was the son of Zabita Khan. Emperor Shah Alam II appointed him his Regent and the *Bakhshi* in 1787 A.D. Turning against the Emperor he took possession of the Red Fort of Delhi by force and subjected the weak Emperor, his worthless Princes and beautiful princesses both young and aged to inhuman torture in an attempt to collect money from them. The Emperor was dethroned and blinded by him. He then placed Mirza Bidar Bakhat, son of Emperor Ahmad Shah on the throne of Delhi in 1788 A.D. He was, however, got his well merited punishment at the hands of Mahadaji Sindhia, also known as *Patel Sahib*.

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Glossary

(of Non-Anglican Words; Judicial and Revenue terms etc.)

Glossary

A

- Ahmadi* (P) From Ahmad the name of the Prophet of Islam, *Hazrat* Muhammad. Sultan Tipu's Kingdom of Mysore (*Ahmadi Sarkar*).
- Ahmadi* (P) An old coin of Tipu Sultan of an average weight of 210 grains.
- Ahmadi* (P) First month of Tipu Sultan's *Mauludi* Calendar.
- Amaldar* (P) Collector of revenues.
- Amani, Mirza* Nick-name of *Asafud-daulah*, *Nawwab-Wazir* of Oudh.
- Amil* (A) Agent; collector of revenues.
- Aminul-mulk* (A) Trustee of the State (a title).
- Amir* (A) Chief; noble; also a wealthy person.
- Arzi* (P) Petition; respectful statement or representation.
- Asad Allahi* (A) Literally lion (*Asad*) of God (Allah); name of a naval ship of Sultan Tipu.
- Asaf, daftar* Office of the Revenue and Finance Departments of Tipu Sultan.
- Asaf Jah* (P) Asaf in the rank; see *Asafud-daulah*.

<i>Asafud-daulah</i>	Asaf of the Empire; Asaf was the name of the <i>Wazir</i> of <i>Hazrat Sulaiman</i> (a title). Title of the <i>Nawwab-Wazir</i> , son of <i>Shujaud-daulah</i> of Oudh.
<i>Ashrafi</i> (P)	A gold coin; A gold <i>mohr</i> introduced by king Ashraf.
<i>Azamul-umara</i> (A)	A title which means highest among the nobles (Please see notes). He was <i>Wazir</i> of the Nizam.
<i>Azdud-daulah</i> (A)	Companion or Assistant of the Empire (a title).
<i>Aulia</i> (A)	Plural of <i>Wali</i> ; Friends (of God), saints.

B

<i>Bahadur</i> (P)	Brave; gallant.
<i>Bahaduri</i> (Pagoda)	A coin of the Mysore State.
<i>Bahari</i>	Second month of Sultan Tipu's <i>Mauludi</i> era.
<i>Bahr, Mir</i> (P)	<i>Bahr</i> means sea or ocean; <i>Mir</i> means Chief. Chief of Ocean; Admiral.
<i>Baiz</i> (A)	A mark signed on the public writing by the ruler or a top ranking officer.
<i>Bakhshi</i> (P)	Pay master.
<i>Bandar</i> (P)	Port.
<i>Bednur</i>	Its old name was Haidarnagar.
<i>Begam</i> (P-U)	From Beg, a lord or prince. Hence a lady of rank; a queen or princess.
<i>Begari</i> (P-H-U)	A person who is employed without any remuneration.
<i>Bibi</i> (P-H-U)	A lady, a matron; title of the queen of Cannanore (Malabar district).
<i>Brahman</i> (H-U)	The upper caste of the Hindus.

C

Citoyen (F) Citizen.

D

Dafa-dar (A-P) *Dafa* means section; *dar*, one who holds. Commandant of a body of horse (*suwars*) (cavalry section).

Daftar (P) Office; records; chapter or a volume of a book.

Darbar (P) Court of an Indian ruler, king, potentate or monarch.

Darogha (P) Official in any department, now applied to subordinate controlling officers in the Police and Jail Department.

Dewaswom Temple's property.

Dharma-samsthana Religious place.

Dilawar-Jang (P) Title given to nobles meaning (*dilawar*) brave in war (*jang*).

Diler Jang (P) Bold in war or battle.

Dira (A) A yard (measure).

Dira, Sultani (A-P) A yard of Mysore kingdom.

Diwan (P) Revenue Minister; Chief Minister.

Do-ab (P) *Do* means two; *ab* means water. Tract lying between two rivers; especially the area between the Jamuna and the Ganges.

Dobhashi (H) The person who knows two (*bhashas*) languages and is employed as the interpreter between two persons who do not know the language of each other.

F

Fanam (S) It was anciently a gold coin but latterly of silver or sometimes of base gold. Having various local values, one star

<i>Farnawis</i> (P)	pagoda was equal to 42 <i>fanams</i> or <i>panams</i> . From <i>fard nawis</i> (please see notes).
<i>Faruqi</i> (A)	A gold coin of Tipu Sultan having an average weight of 52 grains. It was struck after the name of <i>Hazrat Umar Faruq</i> the Second Caliph of Islam.
<i>Firoz Jang</i> (P)	Victorious or triumphant in war (a title).

G

<i>Ghat</i> (H)	Landing place on the bank of a river.
<i>Ghee</i> (U)	Boiled butter; Oil made of pure *butter.
<i>Ghulaman</i> (P)	Plural of <i>Ghulam</i> i.e. servant; an ordinary employee; orderly.
<i>Grand Signior</i>	Means the <i>Khalifa</i> (Sultan of Turkey).

H

<i>Habashi</i> (P)	Resident of Habasha (Abyssinia); an African.
<i>Hadis</i> (A)	History; tradition particularly with regard to the sayings and activities of the Prophet Muhammad.
<i>Haidari</i> (A)	A silver coin of Tipu Sultan weighing 355 grains; it was a double rupee and the most beautiful coin, an Indian mint ever struck.
<i>Harkara</i> (P)	<i>Har</i> means every; <i>kar</i> means business. Messenger; emissary; spy; courier. It was a dignified office during the Mughal period. <i>Mansab</i> and <i>Jagir</i> were assigned to the post-holder during the Mughal period.
<i>Hirasat</i>	Name of a year in Sultan Tipu's Calendar.
<i>Hijri</i> (A)	Muhammadian lunar year started from the date of migration of <i>Hazrat Muhammad</i> the Prophet of Islam from Mecca to

Medina. The Ist *Hijri* year corresponds to 622 A.D.

Hukm-nama (P) Letter containing (*hukm*) order of a superior authority.

Huzur (P) Presence; Court; government; the ruler or potentate of any state or kingdom.

I

Ikramud-daulah (A) Honour of the Empire (a title).

Imami (P) A silver coin (rupee) of Tipu Sultan, of 175 grains.

Imtiazud-daulah (A) Distinction of the dominion (a title).

Inam (A) Gratuity, gift, present, reward, grant of rent-free land.

J

Jafari (A) A silver coin of Tipu Sultan of 20 grains.

Jafari (A) Fifth month of Tipu Sultan's revised *Mauludi* Calendar.

Jagadguru (H) Religious leader of the world (Shri Shankaracharya).

Jagirdar (P) Holder of *jagir* hereditary assignment of land and of its rent as annuity.

Jumada I & II (A) Fifth and sixth months of the lunar year. They are written as *Jumadiul-awwal* and *Jumadiul-sani* or *akhar* (but not *akhir*).

K

Kachehri (H-U) Court-house; office of high officers.

Kalghi (H-U) An ornament set on the turban of nobles and *sardars*.

Kaus (S) From the word *Krosa* (measure of distance). In India it is a measure of distance varying from one-and-a-half to two miles.

- Khalifa* (A-P) A deputy; successor; a successor of the Prophet of Islam. The last was the *Khalifa* of Turkey.
- Khan* (P) A prince, a military general; it was a title given to almost every officer but now has no importance.
- Kharita* (P) Receptacle, small silk bag in which letters for rulers and potentates or *persona-grata* are enclosed.
- Khilat* (A) A dress of honour presented by superior to an inferior as a mark of distinction.
- " *Karchobi* *Khilat* consisting of embroidered garments.
- " *Mahtabi* *Khilat* comprising golden dress.
- Khuda-dad* (P) Given by God.
- " *Sarkar* (P) The kingdom bestowed by God the Almighty. Tipu Sultan assigned this title to the Government and State of Mysore.
- Khusrawi* (P) Seventh month of Tipu Sultan's *Mauludi* Calendar.
- Kunwar* (H) Prince; particularly son of a *Raja* or *Maharaja*.

L

- L'Isle de France* (F) The isle of France, or Mauritius as it is now called, is an island (now independent) in the Indian Ocean, 550 miles east of Madagascar. It was discovered by the Portuguese in 1507 A.D. and given the name Cerne. On its occupation by the Dutch in 1598 A.D. its name was changed to Mauritius. The French occupied the island in A.D. 1710 and called it Isle of France. The English to whom it belonged since its capture from the French in A.D. 1810, renamed it Mauritius.

The Isle of Bourbon, now known as Reunion, is a French island in the Indian Ocean, 115 miles south-west of Mauritius and 350 miles east of Madagascar. It too was discovered by the Portuguese. The French took it in 1649, calling it successively Isle of Bourbon, Reunion (1798), Isle Bounaparte (1809), and Reunion again since 1848. The island was held by Britain from 1810 to 1815. David Patrick, *Concise Gazetteer of the World*.

- askar* (H) From *Lashkar* i.e. army.
askari (H-P) A soldier.
Le Citoyen (F) The citizen; this was the title given to the Ruler of Mysore, Tipu Sultan, by the French *persona grata* (after the Great French Revolution).

M

- Maharaja* (H) King of kings.
Maharana (H) King of kings.
Malik (A) A king; a title of honour.
Malikut tujjar (A) A chief merchant of a city or kingdom. The head of Tipu's Commerce Department.
Mangalore Its old name was Korial.
Mamluk (A) A purchased slave or captive; also referred to the dynasty of slaves.
Mansab (A) Office; dignity; military title signifying the number of *suwars* under the rank holder (*mansabdar*).
Masnad (A) Literally cushion; seat; throne; seat of authority.
Mauza (P) A village.
Mir (P) Chief; noble; the head of a department.

<i>Mir Asaf</i> (P)	The head of the Revenue and Finance Department of Tipu Sultan.
<i>Mirdah</i> (A-P)	A commander of ten; a head of the mace-bearers.
<i>Mir-i-bahr</i> (P)	Admiral of Tipu Sultan's kingdom.
<i>Mir-i-Khazin</i> (P)	Chief of Tipu's Treasury and Mint Department.
<i>Mir-i-Miran</i> (P)	The chief of the department of army called <i>Zumra</i> which was composed of men born in Mysore.
<i>Mir-i-Yam</i> (P)	The head of the Marine Department of Sultan Tipu.
<i>Mirza</i> (P)	A Persian title; when it is put after a name it usually means a "prince".
<i>Muallim</i> (A)	A tutor; professor; the pilot or the mate (of a ship).
<i>Mubarakud-daulah</i> (A)	Auspicious personage of the State (a title).
<i>Muharram</i> (A)	Ist month of the lunar year.
<i>Muhr</i> (<i>Mohr</i>)	Seal; a gold coin weighing about 11 grams.
<i>Muinul-mulk</i> (A)	<i>Muin</i> means helper; <i>mulk</i> means country; State, Government or kingdom. Hence helper of the State (a title).
<i>Mukhtar</i> (P)	Agent; <i>wakil</i> ; representative; regent.
<i>Mulla</i> (A)	A school master; doctor; judge; learned man; priest.
<i>Muzarai</i> (A)	Sown fields; lands in tillage.

N

<i>Nabi-malik</i> (P)	<i>Nabi</i> , a Prophet sent by Allah (God) with His message. It means that Prophet (Nabi) is the master or lord. Here <i>Nabi</i> means <i>Hazrat Muhammad</i> .
<i>Naib</i> (A)	Assistant; Deputy.
<i>Nakhuda</i>	Captain of a ship.
<i>Naik</i> (<i>Nayak</i>)	Leader.

<i>Nasirul-mulk</i> (P)	Defender of the Empire (a title).
<i>Nau Kasan</i> (P)	New recruits.
<i>Nawwab</i> (A)	Plural of naib; a deputy; a ruler.
<i>Nawwab-Nazim</i> (P)	Title of the <i>Subadar</i> (governor) of Bengal.
<i>Nazr</i> (A-P)	Ceremonial present or gift, generally from an inferior to a superior.
<i>Nizam</i> (A)	Title of the <i>Subadar</i> of the Deccan who after being independent of the Mughal suzerainty assumed this title.
<i>Nizamul-mulk</i> (A)	The title of the <i>Nizam</i> of Hyderabad meaning Administrator of the country.

O

<i>Ottoman porte</i> (F)	Referred to the Empire of Turkey as the <i>Khalifa</i> of Islam. Pl. see <i>Sublime porte</i> .
<i>Oudh</i> (U-H)	Old name of what is now called Uttar Pradesh.

P

<i>Pacha</i>	<i>Padshah</i> i.e. king.
<i>Padshah</i> (P)	King.
<i>Pagoda</i>	A coin current in southern India.
<i>Palki</i> (U-H)	Palanquin.
<i>Pandit</i> (H-U)	A learned man; a doctor of literature.
<i>Pargana</i> (P)	Subdivision of a district.
<i>Parpattegar</i>	Temple authority.
<i>Parwana</i> (P)	A letter from a man of power to his subordinate or citizens residing under his jurisdiction; Order; written command or precept.
<i>Peshkash</i> (P)	Offering or a tribute to a superior, government or ruler.
<i>Peshwa</i> (M-P)	Literally a guide. It was a title assumed by Balaji Vishwanath, the Brahmin Prime Minister of Raja Sahu, the Marhatta King

of Satara. The office and title both became hereditary in his family, to whose remarkable statesmanship the subsequent growth and extension of the Marahttas empire was largely due. But Madho Rao Narayan *Peshwa* (1774-95 A.D.) was kept in strict tutelage by Nana Farnawis.

Pindari (H-U)

Mounted marauders in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They according to Hobson-Jobson (pp. 711-13) "are a low tribe of robbers entertained by some of the princes of the Deccan, to plunder and lay waste the territories of their enemies and to serve for guides".

Poligar

South Indian feudal chief.

Puduvat

Money offered to the gods of the temple.

Pujari (H)

A person who worships in a temple; one who conducts public worship and receives the offering either on his account or that of the management of the temple.

Q

Qala-dar (P)

Qala means castle; fort and *dar* means one who has. Commander or Governor of the fort, fortress or castle.

Qamar (A)

Moon.

Qamari (A)

Lunar year.

Qariya (P)

A village; small unit of population.

Qaul (A)

Promise; an agreement, contract.

Qibla-i-aalam (A-P)

Qibla means focus of attention and *aalam* means world. Hence focus of attention of the world.

Qutbud-daulah (P)

Qutb also means lord or chief; the pole-star of the State (a title).

R

- Rabbani* (A) The twelfth month of Sultan Tipu's revised *Mauludi* Calendar.
- Rabi* (A) Harvest reaped in spring which is sown after the rains.
- Rabi I & II* (A) Also *Rabiul-awwal* and *Rabiul-akhar* (not *akhir*) 3rd and 4th months of lunar year.
- Rafiud-daulah* (A-P) Exalted of the State (a title).
- Rah-dar* (P) *Rah* means road and *dar* means one who holds. The collector of tolls or the road-keeper. It was a revenue office very important during the Mughal period.
- Rahmani* (A) Tenth month of Sultan Tipu's revised Calendar of *Mauludi* era.
- Raja* (H-U) A king.
- Rajab* (A) The seventh month of lunar year.
- Rani* (U-H) Queen of a Hindu king (*Raja*).
- Ramazan* (A) Ninth month of lunar year. During this month the Muslims are interdicted from eating, drinking and sexual intercourse from the dawn to the dusk.
- Razi* (A) The eleventh month of Sultan Tipu's Calendar; formerly it was called *Izadi*.
- Riza* (A) The name of a year of Sultan Tipu's Calendar.
- Rustam Jang* (P) A Rustam in the war (a title); Rustam was a great warrior of Iran.

S

- Safar* (A) Second month of lunar year.
- Sahib* (A) Master; owner.
- Sahukar* (H-U) Banker; moneylender; a wealthy merchant.
- Salam* (A) Compliments; a salute; a gift from a farmer to the government.

<i>Sanad</i> (A)	Diploma; deed or patent of grant by the Government; right or privilege.
<i>Sardar</i> (P)	Leader; officer; ruler or a chief.
<i>Sarkar</i> (P)	Government or authority.
„ (P)	Tract of territory (comprising some <i>parganas</i> under the Mughal rule, corresponding roughly to a division of the country.
„ <i>Ahmadi</i> (P)	Government of Prophet Muhammad. Name assigned to State of Mysore by Tipu Sultan.
„ <i>Khuda-dad</i> (P)	God-given kingdom. The style of referring to Mysore State by Sultan Tipu.
<i>Sarpech</i> (P)	Ornament of silver, gold or jewels generally placed in front of the turban.
<i>Saaz</i> (P)	The name of a year of Tipu Sultan's Calendar.
<i>Sawai</i> (H-S)	Title of Maharaja Jaipur (From <i>sawa</i> , a quarter more).
<i>Shaban</i> (A)	Eighth month of lunar year.
<i>Shadab</i>	The name of Tipu's Calendar year.
<i>Shamsi</i> (A)	Of lunar ^{sun} , lunar ^{solar} year or month.
<i>Shawwal</i> (A)	Tenth month of lunar year.
<i>Shihabdar</i> (P)	A matchlock holder.
<i>Shujaud-daulah</i> (A)	The gallant of the Empire; the title of Asafud-daulah's father.
<i>Shutur-suwar</i> (P)	Camel rider.
<i>Suba</i> (P)	Province.
<i>Suba</i> (H-P)	<i>Subadar</i> or Governor of a <i>suba</i> or the province.
<i>Subadar</i> (P)	Governor of a province during the Mughal rule and now an infantry officer in the Indian army.
<i>Suba-Seth</i> (P-H)	A diamond merchant.
<i>Sublime Porte</i> (F)	The gate of the Palace of Sultan of Turkey (Caliph) where justice was administered; The Government of Usmani Empire.

<i>Sultan</i> (A-P)	A king.
<i>Sultani-dira</i> (P)	A measurement equal to a yard (introduced by Tipu Sultan).
<i>Suwal</i> (P)	Commonly mis-spelt as <i>sawal</i> ; question, request.
<i>Suwar</i> (P)	Commonly mis-spelt as <i>sawar</i> ; horseman.

T

<i>Taliuqa</i> (A)	District or a division of a province.
„ <i>dar</i> (A-P)	A head of the <i>talluqa</i> .
<i>Taqi</i> (A)	Third month of Sultan Tipu's revised Calendar; previously it was <i>Jafari</i> .
<i>Tatoo</i> (H)	A horse of low breed.

W

<i>Wafadar</i> (P)	Faithful; loyal; obedient servant.
<i>Wakil</i> (A)	Authorised representative; attorney; pleader; lawyer.
<i>Wakil-i-mutlaq</i> (A-P)	<i>Wakil</i> means representative; <i>mutlaq</i> means absolute.
<i>Wala-Jah</i> (P)	High (<i>Wala</i>) in rank (<i>Jah</i>) (a title).

Z

<i>Zamin</i> (P)	Land; landed property.
<i>Zamindar</i> (P)	Land-holder; landlord.
<i>Zun</i> (P)	Woman; lady
<i>Zar</i> (P)	Gold, wealth.
<i>Zeest</i> (P)	Life.
<i>Ziaul-mulk</i> (A)	The light of the kingdom (a title).
<i>Zulhijja</i> (A)	Twelfth month of lunar year.
<i>Zulqada</i> (A)	Eleventh month of lunar year.

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