

## CHAPTER XXIV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Malartic.”

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

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

**Liberty! Equality! Bonaparte,**

*Member of the National Convention,*

*General-in-chief,*

*Headquarters at Cairo, 7th Pulviso,*

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

To

THE MOST MAGNIFICENT SULTAN,

OUR GREATEST FRIEND TIPPU SAHIB.

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

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

“Bonaparte.”

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

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

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