Chapter-II
A SURVEY OF HISTORIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

In the swiftly changing paradigms of Indian Historiography several significant developments and perceptible shifts could be noticed in the recent past. Even a superficial survey of historical writings on India during the last one hundred years would clearly indicate such developments and shifts in Indian Historiography. One of the dominant features of Indian Historiography in the pre-Independence period is the upsurge of ideological conflicts and communal polemics, which have greatly marred Indian historiography.

Indian historical writing on south India in a true sense was an organized one during the colonial period. The British and European writers laid the foundation for the growth of South Indian historiography. Later on Indian nationalists continued the tradition in a different perspective. During the colonial period the emphasis in historical writings was mostly political and sectarian; some attempts were made to explore socio-economic life of India’s past. In the post-independence period some new trends appeared in historical writings. Issues like freedom, democracy, secularism and development of scientific attitude, impact of religious fundamentalism, Marxism, socialism also made a strong impact on Indian historiography. In recent decades historiography in India has undergone a lot of change with changing perspectives.

The histories written during the colonial rule by European writers suffered from the lack of proper scientific perspective. They were all more or less advocates of colonial rule and colonial exploitation. The hostile
attitude of the Imperialist or colonialist historians is understandable. They were all beneficiaries of the system. Their conscience was moulded by that ideology and hence they had to paint a prejudiced portrait of their enemies; that too of an enemy like Tipu Sultan.

The imperialist historians, many of them being British nationalist and administrators, held the view that India, prior to the British rule, was groaning under oriental despotism, which rendered the country underdeveloped and half civilized and that it was only under the benign rule of the British that an era of unprecedented progress was ushered in. A corrective in historical writings of colonial authors was a casualty. They were highly biased and more often contained interested reports.

The colonial state is seen as a theater for state experimentation, where historiography, documentation, certification, and representation were all state modalities that transformed knowledge into power. In the history of colonialism, as also in the way in which colonial knowledge continues to live on in the historical sources and anthropological assumptions we depend upon in our study of the pasts of Indian society. Colonial power was deployed and how they exercised their power and accumulation of knowledge were both parts of a single project. Colin Mackenzie, the first Surveyor general of India, who managed the first survey of South India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries after the secession of land from the Nizam and then, after Britain’s 1799 triumph at Srirangapatna against Tipu Sultan. Mackenzie not only mapped the newly possessed land, doing triangulated maps and topographical surveys: he collected even historical artifacts and documents he could find. Extravagantly exceeding his brief from the East India Company, he employed and trained a group of Brahman research assistants, and collected innumerable facts relating to India’s past traditional and religious
facts along with the local knowledge about the people they were ruling.¹ This knowledge was to enable the British to classify the categories, and bind the vast social world that was India so that it could be controlled. The body of knowledge was gathered, ordered and classified, and then it was transformed into usable forms such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, gazetteers, legal codes, and encyclopedias.

In British India, Historiography is the most complex, pervasive, and powerful instrument. History for the British has an ontological power in providing the assumptions about how the real social and natural worlds are constituted. History in its broadest sense was a zone of debate over the ends and means of their ruler ship in India. From the beginning of their large scale acquisition of territorial control and sovereignty, the British conceived of governing India by codifying and reinstituting the ruling practices that had been developed by various states and rulers. They sought to incorporate, as much as possible, the administrative personnel employed by various regimes. Thus knowledge of the history and practices of Indian states were seen as the most valuable form of knowledge on which to build the colonial state.

The second step of historiography involved the ideological construction of the nature of Indian civilization, as typified in the major historical writings of Alexander Dow, Robert Orme, Charles Grant, Mark Wilks, James Mill, and James Tod. The historiographical practices and narrative genres of these writers can obviously be subjected to critical analysis, but beyond this they can be seen to have begun the formation on a legitimizing discourse about Britain’s civilizing mission in India. The third

¹ William Cook Mackenzie, Colonel Colin Mackenzie; First Survey General of India, Edinburgh, 1952.
step involves histories of the British in India. This entails what might be thought of as “Popular” history—the study of representations, whether in India or in England of specific event; thus creation of stories of the defeat of Tipu Sultan, the Black Hole of Calcutta etc. involved the creation of emblematic heroes and villains, as individual and types, who took shape in illustrations, various popular performances, and; their history was made concrete through the construction of memorials and sacred spaces in India.

The survey evokes a wide range of activities to the overseen while examining something over or examine something; to measure land for the purpose of establishing boundaries; to inspect; and to supervise or keep a watch over a person’s place. In other contexts it can mean to establish the monetary value of goods and objects, for the British in India. In the late eighteenth century, it also meant a form of exploration of the natural and social landscape. The result was the vast official documentation project that included the survey of India, under the direction of George Lambton. The history of this documentation project has tended to be written in terms of the “genius” and or obsessions of great surveyors- James Rennell, William Lambton, Colin Mackenzie, Alexander Cunningham, and Francis Buchanan Hamilton. But this “great man” theory of surveying can be enriched by a study of the practices by which such knowledge was compiled, the underlying theories of classification and their implications for governing India.

The English East India Company had acquired Eastern states of India without much resistance during the middle of the eighteenth century.

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2 Buchanan, F.H. Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar, in 3 vols, 1807
3 James Rennel, Memoir of a map of the Peninsula of India from the latest authorities, London, 1793
4 Mackenzie Collections, General and Haider Ali and Tippoo Sultan, vol. 41, 46 & 61.
5 Buchanan, F. H. Journey, 1807
However, further expansion of the company rule did not go unchallenged. The army of the Mysore kingdom under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan represented real threat to further expansion and consolidation of the company’s rule. Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan became the target of an organized campaign of propaganda. Tipu Sultan was to be branded as the ideal, typical “oriental Despot” This was the desperate attempt by the British East India Company writers to justify their colonial invasion and subjugation of South India.

Wilks wrote his *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an Attempt to Trace the History of Mysore in 1810-1817*. This voluminous book traces the history of Mysore, focusing more on wars and political developments. This book written with great literary flair is eminently readable. Yet, as a work of history it suffers from innumerable defects of a very grave nature. One of the major defects of Wilks was that he did not consult the official data which was available in abundance. The book also remains a classic example of biases and prejudices of the British writers.

Col. Wilks was born in the Isle of Man in the second half of the 18th century. The Isle of Man gave Mysore, not only Mark Wilks, but also, Mark Cubbon, his own illustrious nephew. He was not only the nephew of Wilks, but also a disciple of Wilks in the affairs of Mysore. Wilks first found employment as a cadet in the Madras Army in April 1783 at the age of 23 years, then secretary to the Military Board in Madras and Fort Adjutant. Later in 1789, he obtained his chance to get into active service and was appointed Brigadier Major and Aide-de-Camp to Col. Stuart. He remained

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7 Wilks, Vol-I, p.v
8 Ibid, p.vii
with Col. Stuart through the war against Tipu Sultan, was with him at the battle before the battle of Srirangapatna.

After the truce with Tipu in 1792, Wilks served as Assistant Adjutant General in 1793 and later he became the Military Secretary to General Stuart in 1794. Between 1794-99, he became the Military Secretary and Private Secretary to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras. In 1803, he became the Resident of Mysore, officiating for Sir John Malcom. Wilks continued his duties as the Resident till 1808 and later he left India.

Wilks *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an Attempt to Trace the History of Mysore,* which is a patently biased account of the history of South India, written by an Englishman, mainly to defend the politics of statusquoism practiced by the English. His works are based mainly on English records and on some of the local accounts and oral information. He had little or no access to Marathi, French, Dutch, Portuguese and such other sources as have been brought to light in recent times. Naturally his account is often one sided. A few inconsistencies and inaccuracies are visible in his account, particularly in his treatment of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. He has spread certain erroneous views about Haider Ali in his eager desire to glorify the British army and the achievements of his compatriots. Such a misrepresentation of facts is often set at naught by a study of the original sources both indigenous and foreign. Wilks described Haider’s taking over of Mysore as ‘Usurpation’. The later English writers followed such description faithfully. The colonists were justified and legitimated their occupation of Mysore and this was easier if their predecessors Haider and Tipu were called ‘Usurpers’. But they did not use the same approach when they dethroned the Wodeyars in 1831. This work presents the real heroes of Indian History in a highly negative light, which is
severely criticized by historians in independent India in an attempt to decolonize and deconstruct colonial history. ¹

Wilks describes, Haider Ali a defeatist and this was intended to convey how even such a formidable adversary as Haider Ali realized his folly in entering into hostilities with the English, and soon realized the value of friendship with them. This observation of Wilks has unfortunately found currency in almost all later writings in Indian history whose authors had to depend solely upon the accounts of Wilks and Bowring for the history of Mysore, and it has done incalculable harm to the career and personality of Haider Ali, one of the greatest statesmen and soldiers of the eighteenth century. Haider Ali was not a defeatist as Wilks’ account would lead us to believe. He was a man of strong determination and unswerving purpose, bold and courageous and never despondent in defeat. He strove his utmost till his death for the success of his undertaking even though he was deserted by his allies. He even spurned the Treaty of Salbai and the terms offered by General Goddard through his envoy and told the latter ‘I have not entered the Carnatic and made war these two years for the purpose of going out as I came and if I choose to do so, there would be no need of waiting for your orders; rather than do that I will stay two more years and I care not for the expenses.’¹

In fact, a considerable part of the first volume of his *Historical sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore* written during the voyage to his home. The book was published in 1810 and later reprinted with notes by Murray Hummick of the Kings College, London in 1930.

According to several contemporary scholars, the History of Mysore displayed a degree of research, acumen, vigor and elegance that must render
it a work of standard importance in English literature. Wilks carefully avoided giving the title history to his work. He gave the title in a different way. *The Historical Sketches of the South of India in An Attempt to Trace the History of Mysore from the Origin of The Hindoo Government of the State, to the Extinction of the Mohammadan Dynasty in 1799.* According to Sir James Mackintosh this was the first example of a book on Indian History founded on a critical examination of testimony and probability.

In 1826, Col. Wilks was elected a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society for his knowledge in various branches and for his historical sketches of South India. Wilks makes the following statement in the opening page of his book: “The golden age of India, like that of other regions, belongs exclusively to the poet. In the Sober investigation of facts, this imaginary era recedes still farther and farther at every stage of the enquiry; and all that we find is still the empty praise of the ages which have passed.”

Despite his intellectual abilities and scholarship, Wilks had not shown an impartial and objective stand towards the late eighteenth century history of Mysore. It is true that he was a functionary of the British administration who had participated in the campaign against Tipu Sultan. But while writing history, he should have risen above political prejudice. But while writing on Tipu’s period, he could not control his anger against the greatest enemy of the British rule in South India. Wilks often criticized him as a fanatic who was destined to lose the kingdom because of his religious policy. But an unbiased and reasonable approach on the basis of historical sources reveal that Tipu was the founder of a modern state through his multi faceted and dynamic development policies. Many such policies were ahead of his time. They contributed to a quick transformation from medievalism to modernity. Several writers, who appeared subsequently, blindly followed the view
points of Wilks. Bowring who wrote the book on Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, he did not attempt to have an independent path of research to write on the history of Mysore.

Bowring’s works, entitled *Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan (Rulers of India series)* was just a rehash; a mere repetition of what had been earlier written, without any fresh unearthing of facts or new interpretation. He reproduces passage after passage of Wilks on various aspects of life, mission and the history of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. Even William Logan, the celebrated author of *Malabar Manual* (in 2 Vols.), despite his erudition on the land revenue system and land relations, continued to be biased against the Mysore rulers and their administration in Malabar. As far as the history of Haider Ali and Tipu were concerned, Col. Wilks was the ultimate authority for most of the subsequent writers. In the “*History of British India*,” James Mill states that for opinions his (Col. Wilks) partiality deserves to be watched.

Lt. Col. Alexander Beatson wrote his commentaries entitled, ‘*The view of the Origin and conduct of war with Tipu Sultan*’ published in 1800. Alexander Beatson participated in the wars against Tipu Sultan and hence it was quite natural for him to be highly prejudiced against the Mysorean rulers. The war and its details were fresh in the minds of the war veterans. Hence, Beatson who was in the battlefield against Tipu Sultan and who was in the battlefield against Tipu Sultan and who was also contemporaneous to the events naturally wrote his accounts on the origin and conduct of the war with Tipu Sultan in a highly prejudiced manner sharing the strong feelings of the time.

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Similarly, Maj. Dirom’s work, *A narrative of the campaign in India which terminated the war with Tipu Sultan*, published in 1794 is another contemporary work of this category, which is also an example of greater degree of prejudice and woeful lack of objectivity\(^\text{10}\).

Kirk Patrick edited the *Select letters of Tipu Sultan*, published in 1811, Patrick compiled and published the *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*. This work has been charged with dexterous manipulation and interpolation of letters written by Tipu Sultan. Some of these letters have been translated in a highly faulty manner into English. These letters were discovered by Col. Ogg-Tarreekhe Khoddady i.e., the Khoddady Annals or History of Khodadad Sarkar. It contains predominantly the letters addressed to Meer Kazim, Chief of Muscat factory, the Imam of Muscat, the Rajah of Pegu, Gulam Alikhan, Ambassador to Constantinople, Ghulam Mohammed Amil of Mangalore, Monsieur Cossigny, the Governor of Madras and others who were closely associated with Tipu Sultan in his economic and political endeavors\(^\text{11}\).

There is also an allegation that some of the Persian letters were either erroneously translated or tampered with. This covers is only few years. He has also been charged with dexterous manipulation and interpolation of letters written by Tipu Sultan. Kirk Patrick himself agreed about the incompleteness of the collection of precious letters of Tipu and also it seems purposefully lost some of the letters due to prejudice on Tipu Sultan\(^\text{12}\). He has called Tipu a cruel and relentless enemy, the intolerant bigot or furious

\(^{10}\) Dirom, Major, *A Narrative of the Campaign in India Which Terminated the War with Tippoo Sultan* in 1792, London 1794.


\(^{12}\) Ibid, (see cover page narration).
fanatic, the oppressive and unjust ruler, the mean and minute economist, the peddling trader and even the retail shop-keeper. According to C.K. Kareem, one of the Historians on Tipu Sultan states that one cannot subscribe to the view that the mistakes were unintentional. Kirk Patrick’s interpretation of the passages on Tipu Sultan appears to be highly subjective. He has taken every opportunity to taint and misrepresent the character of Tipu Sultan. At the end of every important letter he provides an observation to poison the minds of readers.

Wellesley established three separate surveys of the Mysore territories; one under the direction of Colonel Colin Mackenzie. Mackenzie was born and grew up in Stronoway on the Island of Lewis in the Hebrides. His father was a merchant, and the family had connections with the owners of the Island, the Seaforths. He had early on, shown great talent in mathematics, and assisted Lord Napier of Merchisten, the inventor of English logarithms.

Mackenzie’s ambition was to compile the source material necessary to write a history of South India. The Mysore survey continued for almost ten years. Mackenzie summarized the ancient religious and social customs of South India. In 1808 Mackenzie had sent seven volumes described as “Memoirs of the Survey of Mysore to London” as well as two volumes as “local tracts”. The accounts of the history, stories and descriptions drawn by Mackenzie’s collections to Madras, where they were placed under the charge of the Madras Literary Society subsequent to Mackenzie’s death in 1821. He was succeeded by H.H Wilson as Surveyor General of India. But, he had no knowledge of and little interest in the language and history of South India.

13. Ibid, p x.
The Directors of the East India Company were no longer interested in Mackenzie’s effort to collect the material to write the history of South India. And as such the entire materials was purchased by the company and kept in Calcutta in 1823.

Colonel Mackenzie’s collection has not fared better in the twentieth century. N.D Sundaravelu, The vice-chancellor of the University of Madras, states in the forward of Volume I of the Mackenzie Manuscript, ed. By T.V.Mahalingam “ The keen interest evinced by western Orientalists and Indian scholars testify to the importance of these documents”. His collections are generally based on ‘secondhand’ traditions and place in the field of historical research in India. Their testimony may be used as ‘circumstantial’ evidence calculated to supplement the results arrived at from other sources and furnish further details on the subject. It must be admitted that exaggerated notions on the value of the Mackenzie collection as containing original and authentic material are not justified.15

One of the important works compiled the beginning of the 19th century was that of Francis Buchanan. It was titled “A journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar.” 16It was published in three volumes in London in 1807. It was the record of the survey of newly acquired territories and population of Mysore in 1800. Francis Buchanan was appointed to investigate into the resources of country, the state of agriculture, arts and commerce. It has been argued that “the motives behind this survey were political and that it too was calculated to vindicate the invasion”.17 It concerns the State of manufacturing, religion, history, natural resources, customs and manners, etc. in those parts of India, which were

17 Kate Brittlebank, Tipu Sultan’s search for legitimacy, pp.11-12.
acquired newly by the East India Company by the force of arms. Francis Buchanan undertook extensive travels in India, visited rural areas in Mysore, Canara and Malabar and wrote extensively about rural life, socio-economic conditions, agricultural conditions, ‘agrestic’ slavery, prevailing wages of the agricultural workers, sugar production, production of iron implements, weapons, metallurgy, etc., and the result and account was published under the authority of the court of Directors of the East India Company in 1807.

Specific instructions were given to Buchanan by the Governor-General Lord Wellesley that his enquiries should extend throughout the dominions of the present Raja of Mysore and the country acquired by the company, in the late war from the Sultan, as well as to that part of Malabar which the company annexed to its own territories. By commissioning Francis Buchanan to survey Mysore, Lord Wellesley sought to prove to his opponents in London that “Mysore was a prosperous province and worthy of conquest”  

Buchanan had certainly done a commendable job within a short span of time. He visited virtually every nook and corner of the country, went into the interior villages and collected a great deal of material with his keen observation, curiosity and perseverance. Buchanan’s account will always be remembered as a valuable source material for those working on the early 19th century in Mysore, Canara and Malabar. Composing an official document, Buchanan obviously was biased against the Mysore rulers, especially Tipu Sultan. Tipu and his administration were portrayed in dark colours inspite of concrete evidence of extensive technological development in Mysore, he ridiculed and dismissed it as the ignorance of what genuine

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modernization required. Most of the facts were collected through the *Dubashis* or Brahman Head Men of Village or *Shanbogas*. The Brahmans, who managed the whole of the revenue department, were so avaricious, so corrupt, and had shown such ingratitude to Haider, that Tipu Sultan would have entirely misrepresented them. If seen in this light Tipu’s attempt to reduce their importance appears as part of the steps taken by him against cliques and coteries in his kingdom.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Europeans drew together many strands of eighteenth century thought and scholarly practice. Europeans had utilized comparative critical methods of textual reconstruction to establish the documents, records and texts by which they constituted their own “true history”. They were now prepared to give to the Indians the greatest gift they could give anyone—the Indians would receive a history.

Writing under the patronage of the Wodeyars, the same royal dynasty that that replaced Tipu in 1800, Hayavadana Rao was not likely to show much sympathy for the Sultan and we may well understand the reasons. He castigates Tipu as a bigot. Hayavadana Rao’s biased treatment of Tipu knows no bounds. He seems to surpass even Wilks in vilifying Tipu, by calling him a deifier and plunderer of temples. It was a communal interpretation without any basis. Tipu was a known patron of temples and venerated religious heads. He compensated the Sringeri Mutt for the losses it incurred when plundered by the Maratha Peshwas’s army under Parashuram Bahu. Besides, we must remember that the Brahmans dominated the administrative machinery of the state seen in this light. Apart from this possible lapse of judgment, the third volume of Hayavadana Rao’s History

19 Zaheer Baber, *The Science of Empire*, p.149
of Mysore, dealing with the latter half of the career of Haider Ali and the whole of Tipu, has come in for criticism on grounds of style. Objection is raised against the writer’s tendency to repeat himself in parts. A distinguished Karnataka scholar, for instance, has this to say: ‘By proper editing the third volume could easily be reduced to half its present size of 1376 pages without any loss of sense or relevance.’ There is some point in this. The book lacks coherence and compactness and needs to be pruned and trimmed. But included within this sprawling narrative are portions of considerable significance. Hayavadana Rao’s passionate interest in Haider Ali the man, for instance, has led to his incorporating a greater amount of information on this point than is to be met with in any other account. Administration in pre-British Mysore being highly personalized in nature, the importance of such information cannot be gainsaid. The bulk of Hayavadana Rao’s work grew out of the material amassed by him in writing the historical portions of the Mysore Gazetteer in the 1930s (see especially Vol. II in four parts bringing the story from the earliest times down to 1927). An important feature of these researches is the concern shown for local sources, where and when available. Thus discussion takes place on a chronicle of the Parakala Mutt, a Vaishnava temple to which the Wodeyars extended their patronage. (Sri – Parakala – Charitra – Sangraha, personally compiled from the Mutt records by Pandit Tiruvallur Srinivasa Raghavachariar). A detailed list is also given of the religious grants of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. Hayavadana Rao’s basis for this is the Kannada work, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, by B. Ramakrishna Rao, a senior

21 Nikhiles Guha,Research on Mysore History 18th and 19th Centuries in B.Muddachari (Edn.)Souvenir ,Department of Studies in Istory,University of Mysore ,Mysore,P.12
contemporary of his who has not received due honor from later scholars. This is unfortunate for besides two volumes of the aforesaid book, Ramakrishna Rao was also the editor of two important collections of documents, *Mysore State Papers: Selections* (Mysore Government Press, 1922) and *Selections from the Records of the Sringeri Mutt* (Mysore Government Press, 1927). It is time that our gratitude to him is placed on record as one of the path-finders in the writing of the history of modern Karnataka.

The bibliography to the *History of Tipu Sultan* is the most complete to date. A good command over English and French, plus a smattering of Portuguese, has been called upon to produce the text. Record rooms in India (at Calcutta, Delhi and Madras) and abroad (specially in France and U.K.) have been pressed into service. In following the trail of the Mysore ruler, Mohibbul Hasan has been led to inquire into the conditions of the Persian Gulf region with which Tipu was desirous of developing commercial relations. His edition of the diary of Tipu’s envoy to Constantinople in 1786, the *Waqa-i-Manazil-I Rum* 22 (Aligarh Muslim University 1968), is particularly valuable in this regard. The full implications of Tipu’s trade regulations, however, escaped him. He noted that the Tellicherry Consultations and French records abounded with references to the grievances of private merchants against the Sultan, but failed to utilize them. Consequently, the prospects of breaking new ground with a discussion of the Sultan’s economic measures and motives eluded him. This has not only deprived us of a fuller knowledge of the connections between the Middle East and the western coast of India. It has also prevented us to search intensively into the root causes of the Third Anglo-Mysore War at greater

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length. Bombay was separated by the Marathas from coming into proximity with Mysore and it was not till trading interests were threatened that the Bombay merchants joined the Cochin Jews, the Raja of Travancore and the Dutch East India Company in a common front against Tipu. The outcome was to upset the balance of forces in southwest India with the scales heavily weighed against Mysore. In the event, it was left for Wellesley to deliver the *coup de grace*.

As English education spread in India, and more and more Indians acquired education in the later part of the 19th century, history writing at their hands took a new turn. Under the influence of nationalism, and as a reaction to colonial rule and colonial writings on India, ultra national writings began to appear in the garb of histories. The best examples of the kind were writers such as Raj Narain Bose, A.S.Altekar, Radhakumud Mukherjee. The Bengal Renaissance produced the writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterji which had great impact on nationalist thinking of this kind. Titles such as the Republics In Ancient India or Hindu polity saw the day and what Europe has in modern times, ancient India witnessed such forms of Government in the Vedic and post-Vedic period itself was the stand of these writers. This only indicated the other extreme of the spectrum. Sober history, however, was missing. Still, a few Indian historians trained in objectivity and eradication, satisfied with collecting facts and presenting them were not lacking. A few good histories by Indians also came to see the light of day. Having said this, there is no denying the fact that the Bengal renaissance especially the work of Bankim Chandra, *The Anandamath* caused the greatest damage as it got translated into the local languages and the indigenous writers under its influence came to produce very poisonous
literature on Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan; for example, the *Doulat* in Kannada.

Most of the time, the indigenous records which are in the local language namely Kannada, preserved in the Sringeri Mutt help us in correcting the distorted version that we find in English sources, besides helping scholars in developing an image of the rulers of Mysore much different from what one gets in colonial records. Sringeri Mutt represented the Hindu Establishment of the time besides the Melukote Establishment. Records in the Parakala Mutt at Mysore, give us a history which one would never expect. This needs a critical approach which only an erudite scholar like B.A. Salotore kind, who ransacked the Sringeri records and brought out almost a treasure for historians of eighteenth century Mysore. 23 Similarly, records in possession of the Parakala Mutt, though are not connected with Persian Gulf, gain considerable importance to judge the stand taken by the state under rulers with religious persuasion different from the subjects. The great controversy raging between two sects of Srivaishnavas over the issue of mode of worship raises its head in the later part of the eighteenth century and the matter was referred to the state when the issue assumed serious proportion. The stand taken by the state presided over by its Muslim rulers indeed was noteworthy and speaks of the concern, respect and tolerance of the rulers towards subjects of different religious affiliations and persuasions.

A great deal of critical historical writings in the form of independent essays and articles by serious Indian scholars came to be written both before and after independence. The articles and essays have been published in professional journals and periodicals. In Independent India Asok Sen has

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written very balanced and thought provoking essay in the volume edited by Barun De.  

24 Similarly Nikhiles Guha has produced a highly scholarly work on Tipu.  

In recent times an Australian scholar Brittle Bank has dealt with the rule of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan from an entirely different perspective in which she has treated the subject very impartially and objectively. A lot of fresh thinking devoid of the colonial and post-colonial colouring could be found in her work. However, if the work of Mohibbul Hasan, though quite thorough, was written in the early decade of independence and as the writer was trained in the conventional pattern, one finds conventional method. But a lot of new data has gone into its production with exhaustive bibliography.  

The work of Nikhiles Guha is quite different in its approaches and squarely tackles the colonial thought process and ditches that hindered an objective study of the history of the rulers of Mysore in the late eighteenth century. This work breaks fresh grounds in understanding the history of Mysore under Tipu.

Thus Haider Ali and his illustrious son Tipu Sultan occupy a respectable place in the nationalist historiography for the ideals they stood for and the work they did to bring the map of Mysore on world stage and left an indelible mark on the history of South India. Plebeian in origin, with no claim to blue blood of any sort it was difficult for them to create a niche for themselves, but they did it speaks of their capacity to take up the challenges that the British colonial power on the one hand and their own Indian counterparts on the other threw before them during the 18th century. Not only did they face them with brave conviction but were ready to sacrifice

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24 Asok Sen, A Pre-British Economic Formation in India, Tipu Sultan’s Mysore, in Barun De (ed.), Perspectives in Social Sciences-I, Historical Dimensions, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, India, 1977
everything including their own lives. The ideological mindset of these rulers, therefore, deserves serious study with which we are not concerned here.

The Dutch left valuable records which are available in the Tamil Nadu Archives,\(^\text{27}\) Chennai, covering various historical aspects pertaining to the tumultuous period of Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan. Most of these records belong to the Dutch establishment in Cochin. Among these, the *Memoirs of Commander Fredrick Cunes*, the *Memoirs of Adrian Moens*, Governor of Batavia Council, the *Memoirs of Casper De Jones and the Memorandum on the Administration of the Malabar Coast* by Gollenesse, edited by Galletti, are significant. The French records also reveal a good deal of information about the Indian powers, the Mughals, the Marathas, the Nizam and Tipu. These records reveal that the French wanted the Indian powers to stand united and face the challenge of the time. *The Bibliotheque Nationale* contains historical documents on Tipu in particular. These records were formerly available both in Pondicherry and in Paris. Now, these records are available in English translation as well.\(^\text{28}\) The Archives of Port Louis, Mauritius also contain letters of Governor Cossigny to the Governor, Pondicherry concerning of Tipu.

The Memoirs written in 1781 by Adrian Moens,\(^\text{29}\) Governor and Director of the Malabar Coast, Canara and Vengurla, for his successor, the Memoirs of Johan Generard Van Angelbeck, Governor Ceylon, to his successor in Malabar, Jan Lambertus Van Spall are the other important Dutch records, which provide valuable information on the late Eighteenth century Mysore. Similarly, another book of memories by Commander

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27. Dutch record No 5 & 13, Tamilnadu State Archives, Egmore, and Chennai, India.
Godefridus Weyerman to his successor, Cornelius Breekpot in 1765, is also highly useful as source material. Another important Memoirs was written by Commander Cornelius Breekpot to his successor Governor and Director Christian Lodewijk Senff in 1769.

Crisp brought out a book entitled *The Mysorean Revenue Regulations* which is a translated work based on Persian documents. The work mainly deals with Mysorean revenue regulations of Tipu Sultan. The book is a highly authentic work which enumerates the economic policies, system and operations with special reference to Tipu Sultan. The author analyses how Tipu Sultan developed absolute state monopoly over economic activities which ultimately benefited the people rather than the traders. It is also a glorification of the state controlling the economic resources as practiced by Tipu Sultan who was great visionary and a statesman of a very high order.\(^\text{30}\)

Fullerton wrote a book entitled *A View of the English Interests in India* which provides a highly subjective presentation of the history of the period. The author takes a keen interest in promoting English interests in India through his writings.\(^\text{31}\)

Martin edited the book entitled *The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley during his Administration in India* (Vol-I). It contains documents relating to the origin of the war in Mysore, the alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad and all the events which terminated in the death of Tipu Sultan. The author was a versatile personality who combined all at once the gifts of botanist, naturalist, surgeon, economist, statistician and history writer. This work is based on

\(^{30}\) Burish Crisp, *The Mysorean Revenue Regulations*, in British India Analyzed (Translated by the Persian Original), Calcutta, India, 1795.

the first hand experience of the author who was guided by an inquisitive spirit and love of adventure. The work provides an authentic version of Wellesley’s administration which resulted in the defeat of Tipu Sultan who goes down in the history of India as a great patriot and nation builder.32

Martin edited the book entitled *The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley during his Administration in India* (Vol-V). It contains supplementary documents relating to the Mysore war, the Tanjore, Carnatic, Mahratta, Awadh and Persia treaties and matters of finance and private trade. The author has also made an assessment of the contribution of Wellesley who was a controversial and colorful personality in the history of British imperialism in India. The details of the war campaigns also provide interesting details to military historians in particular.33

Ramachandra Punganuri brought out a book entitled *Memories of Haider Ali and Tipoo Sultan* in Marathi which was subsequently translated into English. The author documents the profiles of Haider Ali and Tipoo Sultan who were great rulers of Mysore. Besides this, the author also evaluates the heroic struggle carried out by Haider Ali and Tipoo Sultan against the English army in South India. The work is a very useful source of information which throws light on the relations between South India and the Persian Gulf to a certain extent.34

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The English records which are preserved in the three Presidencies of India namely, Madras, Bombay and Bengal, throw a floodlight on the transactions between the Presidencies and Tipu. These records also offer many insights into the psychology of policy makers. The British Museum has a mine of information on Tipu which include Warren Hastings Papers (264 volumes), the McCartney Papers, Country Correspondence, Letters from Hyderabad, Memorandum and Anecdotes of the Southern Courts of Hindustan, translated by James Grant, and notes, memoranda and abstract of political events, public business, correspondence and negotiations in India (1765-1801). These records reveal abundant information about the life and mission of Tipu.

Venkatasubba Sastry, a historian of great eminence, has written a book, Modern Mysore. This work deals with the period 1799-1868 when the restored Raja Krishnaraja III passed away. Incidentally this work goes back and covers the period of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan with a perspective distinctly different from others. He published an essay entitled Some Particulars Relating to Tipoo Sultan: His Revenue Establishment of Troops, which provide an authoritative version of Tipu’s economic policy, revenue establishment and military activities based on primary sources. The work critically analyses the internal administrative and developmental activities carried out by Tipu Sultan who ruled Mysore.35

Two books deserve to be studied together. The Administration of Mysore under Sir Mark Cubbon by K.N.V. Sastry (London, 1932)36 was written with the avowed intention of carrying on the story from where Wilks

had left it. (This is stated in the very first sentence of the preface to the book). Sastri’s open idolatry of Wilks makes it necessary to incorporate some comments on the nature of work he chose to base his writings on. “It was a common characteristic of British administrators writing on India between 1764 and 1813”, says Bernard Cohn,\(^\text{37}\) to project the history of this country in terms of Oriental Despotism and warring village republics. The intention was to justify the imposition of British rule on India as an attempt to bring order out of chaos. The expositor had not only to explain the reasons of British conquest but justify the Raj to the officials and owners of the East India Company and more importantly to the Parliament and the politically sensitive public in England. Similar traits were discovered by Eric Stokes in the works of succeeding generations of British administrators, who set down their Indian experiences in the twilight of their careers in a state of retirement in England: ‘It was usually bluff, vigorous writing, meant only for home consumption, and avowedly intended to arouse public interest in Britain’s Indian empire or defend it against the misrepresentations of sentimental liberalism.’

Another group of writers equally damaging is the over enthusiasm displayed the some of the ‘pro-Tiu’ historians in justifying every action taken by Tipu as a ruler. Some of the contemporary Muslim historians have portrayed Tipu Sultan as a great champion of Islam and as a slayer of all infidels, both the Hindus and the British. This pernicious tendency quite characteristic of all Muslim chroniclers attached to royal courts has done inestimable harm to the image very person whom they sought to invest with a permanent halo.

Alexander I. Chicherov authored a book entitled *India: Changing Economic Structure in the Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries* which is based on documents of the Mughal Empire, chronicles, memoirs, inscriptions, travel and records of the European trading companies. This work is suggestive of not a stagnant society and economy but a system which was undergoing change. The author uses these sources to analyse how in a feudal system, (on the eve of the colonial period) the output of textiles, metal products, salt, sugar, wood work, leather items and so on were transformed from household village crafts supported by the village economy to production for various markets, with the beginning of wage labour and dependence on merchant capital. The work outlines the history of crafts and trade during the period Sixteenth - Eighteenth Centuries which also includes the initiatives of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan.\(^{38}\)

Ravinder Kumar’s book entitled *India and The Persian Gulf Region* (1858-1907) is basically a study in British Imperial Policy. The author brought out this book based on his doctoral research work. The researcher analyzed the British imperial policy in the Persian Gulf as it was shaped by the British Empire in India. The study mainly emphasizes the role played by the British Government of India in the shaping of imperialist policy. The work is primarily based on the records of the National Archives of India in New Delhi proper perspective on the British imperialist policy with special reference to the Persian Gulf.\(^{39}\)

Mohibbul Hasan edited a book entitled *Waqai-i-Manazil-i-Rum* which is a dairy of a journey to Constantinople by Khwaja Abdul Qadir,

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Secretary of Tipu Sultan. He was sent as an emissary to Constantinople by Tipu Sultan in 1786 to establish commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire. The embassy consisted of a couple of members headed by Khwaja Abdul Qadir. This book reveals a highly useful account of the activities and experiences of the party from the time it left Seringapatam until its departure from Basra to Constantinople. The author throws light on Tipu’s commercial ambitions in the Persian Gulf and on certain aspects of his administration.40

Praxy Fernandes authored a book entitled *Storm Over Seringa Patam: The Incredible Story of Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan* which provides accurate and credible information about the struggle launched by Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan against the colonial forces in the second half of the Eighteenth Century. The scholar also presents very useful information on the strategic relations between South India and the Persian Gulf during the period of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, based on authentic primary sources.41

Pamela Nightingale authored a book entitled *Trade and Empire in Western India (1784-1806)* which is a pioneering study of development of European imperialism in the East ranging from mercantilist to the free trade era. The author clearly states that Western India was a private interest of ‘country traders’ who chiefly determined the course of the English East India Company’s annexations of territory both in Gujarat and Malabar which broadly come under South India. The author also discusses the role of certain personalities including Tipu in developing economic and political transactions between South India and other parts of the world.42

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M.H.Gopal authored a book entitled *Tipu Sultan’s Mysore: An Economic Study*, which is based on the doctoral research work carried out by the author. The study provides ample information about the economic history of the Mysore Kingdom, of which the Kongu region was a part. The work brings out the salient features of the economic and agrarian activities carried out during the reign of Tipu Sultan. This work facilitates a correct understanding of the economic policy of Tipu Sultan who was a great ruler of Mysore.43

Surendra Rao in his work *Critical Study of James Mill* is based on the historical work carried out by the scholar. The work provides adequate information about the observations made by James Mill on the innovative administration of Tipu Sultan. According to Mill, Tipu’s dominions indicated many qualities of good government – “a country highly cultivated, and abounding in population; in short, prosperity for surpassing that which any other part of India exhibited, not excepting the British dominions themselves”. Tipu also hurt the English pride and awakened their apprehensions by his empty bragging through which he tried to project a magnified image of his power. Mill was apparently sympathetic towards Tipu whose administrative talent and personal merits he appreciated ungrudgingly, though not without references to his religious persecutions. The researcher concludes that the final destruction of Tippoo’s power by Wellesly was not less unjust.44

C.K.Kareem conducted a study on *Kerala Under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan* which was brought out in the form of a book. The author stated that the history of India was written by the English, for the English, with the

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specific view that the Sun may never set on the British Empire. The work reveals certain vital facts that have been concealed by vested interests. The work also highlights that Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were uncompromising enemies of the English who made pioneering efforts towards combating the English and other Western powers and safeguarding local interest. The work was undertaken with the purpose of reconstructing the history of the Mysorean rule in Kerala on the basis of original documents and authentic data.  

Amirie Abbas authored a book entitled *The Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean* which exclusively deals with the political relations between the Persian Gulf and India. The author provides a detailed account of the origin, growth and development of strategic relations between India and the Persian Gulf over a period of time and provides a limited glimpse of the role of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in developing these relations.

U.K. Nambiar brought out a book entitled *Our Seafaring in the Indian Ocean* which is based on his doctoral research. The scholar observed that the history of coastal Karnataka’s seafaring has (upto now) remained largely a neglected field of historical research, even though adequate evidence of Karnataka’s links with Egypt existed during the reign of the Ptolemy’s. The study reveals that sea trade and seafaring passed largely into the hands of the Arabs, the Moslem rulers of coastal Deccan, and the rulers of the South and North Kanara coast land. The last spurt of Karnataka’s maritime activity occurred during Hyder Ali Khan and Tipu

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Sultan who made serious attempt to check the English domination of the sea.\(^{47}\)

Asok Sen has authored a book entitled *A Pre-British Economic Formation in India of the Late Eighteenth Century: Tipu Sultan’s Mysore*, which valoureses Tipu Sultan of Mysore as one of the most implacable enemies of the British power in India during the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century. The work is based on original sources of information and the work also highlights mercantilism, civil society and economic development with special reference to Tipu Sultan. The clear restrictive aspects of Tipu’s commercial policy came out most sharply in the measures adopted for the prohibition of trade with neighbouring states and these are highlighted by the author. The whole frame work of Tipu’s administration, economic reforms and alliance building is aptly analysed.\(^{48}\)

Kabir Kausar authored a book entitled *Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sultan* which is compiled by an archivist with methodical and scientific approach. The book is indeed highly useful source material of the late Eighteenth Century history of India, It also relates the story of Tipu who cherished the welfare of both the Muslims and the Hindus in Mysore State. The author has further marshalled some astonishing facts with consummate skill in interpreting the sterling qualities of Tipu Sultan.\(^{49}\)

B. Sheik Ali authored a book entitled *Tipu Sultan-A Study in Diplomacy and Confrontation* which is based on the doctoral research carried out by the author. The book reveals that the domestic policy of Tipu


\(^{49}\) Kausar, Kabir, *Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sultan*, Light and Life Publishers, New Delhi, India, 1980.
aimed at making his State prosperous and progressive. The author also highlights the external relations of Tipu. This is a very useful source of academic endeavour which presents Tipu in the correct perspective.⁵⁰

Raman Menon. V.K. has produced a translated version from the French work entitled Michaud’s History of Mysore under Haider Ali and Tippoo Sultan. The author describes in elaborate detail the reigns of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan and also traces the relations between Indian and European politics in the Eighteenth century. The author has provided a detailed analysis of Tipu Sultan’s administration and highlights the peace and prosperity of Mysore during his regime. The author’s pity for Tipu Sultan’s foibles is as great as his admiration for the statesmanship of Haider Ali. On the whole, the work is one of the most unbiased contributions to Indian History according to many scholars.⁵¹

Kate Brittlebank brought out a book entitled Tipu Sultan’s Search for Legitimacy. This is based on the doctoral research work carried out by the author. The work provides a highly impartial and authentic version of Tipu Sultan’s heroic struggle against British imperialism. The author has also turned the search light on the patriotic initiatives launched by Tipu Sultan in defending the sovereignty of Mysore State and promoting social harmony and national integration in South India as a whole. This work is indeed a welcome addition to the scholarship on the history of South India in particular.⁵²

Saki authored a book containing two volumes entitled Making History: Karnataka’s People and their Past which traces the history of

⁵⁰ Ali, B.Sheik, Tipu Sultan-A Study in Diplomacy and Confrontation, Geetha Book House, Mysore, India, 1982
⁵¹ Menon, Raman V.K., Michaud’s History of Mysore-Under Haider Ali and Tippoo Sultan, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, India, 1985.
⁵² Brittlebank, Kate, Tipu Sultan’s Search for Legitimacy, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1995.
Karnataka history from the time of the first signs of human habitation 40,000 years ago, till the time of its conquest by British colonialism. The work is primarily based on a wide range of primary and secondary sources which highlight the impact of British colonialism on Karnataka. The author has also primarily dealt with the role of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, who fought tooth and nail against British colonialism in South India.\textsuperscript{53}

Irfan Habib edited a book entitled \textit{Confronting Colonialism: Resistance and Modernization under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan}. The book is based on a collection of papers presented in the Indian History Congress held in 1998 at Patiala. Certain valuable papers on Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in old issues of journals were also included in the book. The book clearly reveals that Haider Ali was a remarkable figure in Indian history who tried to organize a joint effort to drive the British out of India while his son Tipu continued the struggle and tried to enlist the co-operation of Napoleon and the Sultan of Constantinople. The work in particular enumerates the resistance and modernization under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the second half of the Eighteenth Century.\textsuperscript{54}

Irfan Habib brought out a book entitled \textit{State and Diplomacy under Tipu Sultan-Documents and Essays} (1999) which was published by the Indian History Congress. The volume contains a number of papers that had appeared in the Proceedings of the various sessions of the Indian History Congress and in various journals. In particular, an essay on Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan by the editor Prof. Irfan Habib provides some useful information.


on the strategic relations between South India and the Persian Gulf under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan in Eighteenth Century.\footnote{Habib, Irfan (ed.) \textit{State and Diplomacy under Tipu Sultan-Documents and Essays}, Indian History Congress, Tulika, New Delhi, India, 2001}

N.N.Vohra edited a book entitled \textit{History, Culture and Society in India and West Asia} which contains the presentations made in various seminars conducted by the India International Centre. The work focuses on the social, religious, cultural, political and developmental aspects of the historical inter-relations among the countries in South Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, East Asia and West Asia. The work also reveals that the history and geography of Western Asia and the Indian subcontinent characterized by a continuous flow-of people, ideas, goods, services and cultures traveling back and forth in a two-way process. An essay on South India and the Gulf deals with the trade and diplomacy during the late Eighteenth Century with special reference to Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan to a certain extent.\footnote{Karan Singh and N.N. Vohra (eds) \textit{History, Culture and Society in India and West Asia}, Shipra, India International Centre, Delhi, 2003}

Mers Beaumont and Green (1774) wrote a dairy on the diplomatic relations maintained by Haidar Ali and Carreem Cawn, King of Persia. The diary states that Haider Ali intended to promote commerce between South India and Persia on the one hand and arrange intermarriage between their children on the other. The document further reveals the farsightedness of Hyder Ali with respect to developing strategic relations between South India and the Persian Gulf.\footnote{Mers Beaumont and Green. \textit{Public Department Diary} No.65, Part II, Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay, 1774}

Bussora (1776) wrote a diary on the cordial relations maintained by Hydar Ali and Persians. The diary reveals that the Imam of Muscat had
received five vessels sent by Haidar Ali for the assistance of the Persians. The document clearly states that Hydar Ali had cultivated cordial diplomatic relations with fellow Muslim rulers in the Persian Gulf. This was intended to check the menace of European imperialism and strengthen Indo-Persian ties.58

Tipu Sultan wrote a letter (No.22, August 30, 1798) to the Executive Directory of France which reveals that the French had wished to maintain cordial relationship between themselves and Tipu Sultan in order to contain the growth of British power in South India. The correspondence also states that the English were constantly burning with hatred and jealously at the friendship of Tipu with the French nation.59

Crawford (1798) wrote a diary on French Relation with Russia, Australia, England and Spain. It reveals information about the British trade establishment of India and the Arabian Gulf in general. The diary specifically states that Tipu Sultan concentrated on West Asia mainly to strengthen strategic relations between South India and the Persian Gulf in general and particularly, to promote economic progress of the region. The diary also gives a clue that Tipu Sultan industriously endeavored to contain British imperialism in India.60

Wilson (1800) wrote a diary which deals with the economic transactions between Tipu Sultan and the Shariff of Mecca. Tipu had sent an ambassador to the Shariff in order to establish a factory at Judda. The ambassador had presented Three Thousand Venetians in cash and two large parcels of Kinkauls, shawls and other precious articles, with a view to

58 Bussora. Public Department Dairy, No.69, Part III, Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay, 1776.
59 (Appendix,) Wood, M. A Review of the Original Progress and Result of Late Decisive War in Mysore, Letter No.22 from Tippoo Sultan to the Executive Directory of France, August 30, 1798.
60 Crawford, J. Public Department Diary No.88, P.904, Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay, 1798
winning over the Shariff and promoting beneficial economic ties between the two regions.61

The Governor Council of Bombay sent a communication to James Augustor Grant, Secretary to the Home ministry, (the Governor) which reveals that Tipoo Sultan had established factories at Cutch and Muskat in order to promote economic bonds between South India and the Persian Gulf. It is evident from the correspondence that Tipoo had prepared the ground in a meticulous way to enlarge the economic and political base of his kingdom.62

Grant wrote a diary which deals with the correspondence between himself and Duncan, the Governor of the Bombay Council. The contents reveal that Grant, a member of the Governors Council had suggested to the Governor to abolish the factories and establishments of Tipu Sultan in Kutch in order to restrict and decrease the economic supremacy of Tipu Sultan in the Persian Gulf.63

Fatteh Mohammad wrote a diary when he was the Principal Dewan of Kutch. The correspondence states that there were about 35 persons who worked at the factories established by Tipoo Sultan at Kutch. It is evident from the correspondence that public property of every kind was procured by Tipoo Sultan and the belongings primarily consisted of jewels, kihilats, swords, guns, silver and candle sticks and so on. The details of the journey

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61 Capt. Wilson, *Foreign Department Diary*, Letter No.36 dated March 14, 1800, National Archives of India, New Delhi, India, 1800.  
62 Grant, J.A. *Secretary to Governor of Bombay Council, Political and Secret Diary*, No.103 page 7807, December 1800, Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay.  
63 Grant, J.A. *Secretary to Governor of Bombay Council, Political and Secret Diary*, No.103 page 7814, 13. December 1800. Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay
from Surat to Karachi and Karachi to Kutch are also furnished in the correspondence.  

Wood authored a book entitled *A Review of the Original Progress and Result of the Late Decisive War in Mysore*. This contains several letters exchanged between Tipoo Sultan and Zamaun Shah, the Ottoman Sultan and others. The letters No.21 to 29 comprise a part only of the voluminous correspondence between the late Tipu Sultan and the Court and Agents of Zamaun Shah, found in the palace of Srirangapatna. The correspondence reveals that Tipu Sultan had cultivated a diplomatic alliance between South India and West Asia with a view to promote the economic and political status of Mysore State. 

Kemball submitted a report to the government entitled *Past Policy of the British Government towards the Arab Tribes of the Persian Gulf* which contains copies of treaties and agreements entered into by the East India Company with the Arab Tribes of the Persian Gulf. These agreements were effected through British mediation during 1806-1853. The contents of the report are based on historically authentic sources of Arabian tradition. 

Hennel prepared and published a document entitled *Historical Sketch of the Beniyas Tribe of Arabs from the Year 1761 to the end of the Year 1831*, which provides authentic information about the Arabian tribe called Beniyas. It also reveals that Haidar Alikhan had ordered the recruitment of one thousand horsemen from Shiraz – a city in Iran (Persia) in order to develop the defence force in the state of Mysore. It is also evident from the work that Haidar Ali made pioneering efforts in developing

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65. Wood, M. *A Review of the Original Progress and Result of Late Decisive War in Mysore*, Letter No.22 from Tipoo Sultan to the Executive Directory of France, August 30, 1798.
strategic relations between South India and the Persian Gulf in Eighteenth century.  

Hughes Thomas compiled and edited the document entitled *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government* which contains historical and other information connected with the province of Oman, Muskat, Bahrein and other places in the the Persian Gulf. The unpublished document reveals that the Imam of Muskat threatened Bussora on account of ancient claims he possessed against the Pasha of Baghdad. It consists of very useful information pertaining to economic transactions between South India and the Persian Gulf which occurred in Eighteenth century. The document also provides useful information about the role of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan in promoting diplomatic relations and economic bonds between these two significant regions of the world.  

Forrest compiled the document entitled *Selections from State Papers on East India Company’s Connection with the Persian Gulf (1600-1800.)* Which provides useful information about Tipu Sultan’s factory at Muscat. Tipu Sultan also established fruitful relations with the Turks and prepared the ground for economic transformation in the state of Mysore. Tipu Sultan sent ambassadors to Kabul, Constantinople, Muscat and other parts of the Persian Gulf in order to establish and maintain commercial relations between South India and the Persian Gulf.

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Thomas delivered a lecture on *Arab Rule under the Al Bu Sa’id Dynasty of Oman 1741-1937*. Which presents the principal personalities in the ruling family of Al Bu Sa’id, predominantly in terms of their administration and developmental endeavors. The article also states that Napoleon wrote two letters from Cairo to two Eastern potentates, namely the Imam of Oman and Tipu Sultan, which did not reach their destination because of the interception of the British.\(^{70}\)

The Above mentioned diaries provide much valuable information not only on commerce but also on Haider’s and Tipu’s relations with Persian Gulf’s but also their attitude towards the native states for the formation of the anti-British confederacy.\(^{71}\)

Immanuel authored a book entitled *The Modern World System – Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy (1600-1750)*, which reveals the politics of manipulation adopted by the western powers. The author evaluates the victimization of local interest on account of the expansion of European Colonialism in Asia, Africa, Middle East, Latin America and other parts of the world. The book opens the eyes of the academicians and the general public in developing countries, and cautions them not to become victims of European neo-colonialism.\(^{72}\)

Mikhin wrote a book entitled *Western Expansionism in the Persian Gulf*. The author discusses the expansion of European forces, namely The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British who were attracted by the natural resources (including oil) abundantly were available in the Persian

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The scholar reveals that the western nations occupied the Persian Gulf region with a hidden agenda and the nations of that region have paid an enormous price indeed for this interest.\(^7^3\)

We have a vast and veritable reservoir of sources pertaining to the tumultuous period of Tipu Sultan. They are scattered in the record offices of Madras, Calicut, Delhi, Hyderabad, Paris and in the India Office Library London. Some of them like the Foreign and Home Department Secret Consultations, Foreign and Political Secret Consultations, Foreign Miscellaneous volumes, Factory Records like the Tellicherry Diaries and Tellicherry Consultations, Anjengo Consultations, Forest Records, Military Country Correspondence, Military Sundries, Baramahal Records, Poona Residency Correspondence, Madras Secret Consultations etc., provide a great deal of factual information on the period on various aspects. Apart from these, there are a series of early British land settlement records and reports, which required a lot of factual reporting at the grass-root level for the successful introduction of land settlements. They provide indirectly, insights into the agrarian situation in the territories of Tipu Sultan during the previous decades.

Our understanding of such personalities suffers mainly because; we study them by applying the yardstick of an ideal fountainhead of virtues. Our concept of leadership itself is still basking at the mythological level. Glorification mania, sub-national and sub-regional sentiments also stand in the way of an objective understanding of a person like Tipu. His personality can be assessed only by objectively examining his motivations against the backdrop of his own milieu and carefully observing the changes at each

stage. For such a successful study, a historian has to use certain psycho-analytical tools also.

A record of truth is what they all seem to seek. Objectivity is what they proclaim to adhere to. Yet for many, truth has become so pervious that they have to, at times, protect it with a bodyguard of lies. Most of the works are affected with the distortion and misrepresentation.

Thus all these issues are to be taken into account while examining the rule of Haider and his son Tipu Sultan to arrive at a proper prospective. The texts containing information will have to be first deconstructed in order to correctly reconstruct the history of Mysore. It may be added in summation that there is a great need and scope for extensive studies and research on the subject to extricate Tipu Sultan who is sandwiched between imperial colonialists and the sectarian communalists who have written their own myriad books on the subject.