CHAPTER-V

RESISTANCE AND CONFRONTATION TO COLONIALISM

The term ‘Colonial’ means reducing a foreign territory into subjugation making its political economy a subordinate adjunct to serve the needs of the mother country. It was an entirely a new phenomenon in Indian history. Subordinating ones political economy to serve the needs of “mother country” virtually implied loss of freedom and independence of the colonized. No ruler in India during the eighteenth century understood this better than Haider Ali and his son and successor Tipu Sultan. Consolidation of the British colonial rule by mid eighteenth century in the Cauvery valley region introduced a mechanism of very efficient extraction of taxes from the peasants unsurpassed during any of the earlier regimes in the region. This was bound to become still more rigorous and efficient in future if the British were allowed to further consolidate their position. This in short was the wharf and woof of colonialism in India meant. It was precisely for this reason Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan collected all their energy and offered the toughest resistance to the spread of British rule in India. The kingdom of Mysore came on the world stage not because of just four wars fought against the British, but because of the kind of administration introduced in Mysore and the new economic regulations that were introduced which geared the political economy of the Kingdom to face any challenge to protect its interests.1 The first two wars that Haider Ali fought against the colonial power indicated that the British were not invincible in the battle and the two wars that his

1. William Kirk Patrick, Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan, Commercial Regulations Corresponding with 25th March 1793 and 2nd April 1794, Appendix-E, p.xxxiii.
son fought indicated some serious inadequacies and shortcomings which Tipu Sultan could not overcome, in the midst of such a serious threat to his life and Kingdom.

Haider Ali’s rise to power is one of the romantic developments in eighteenth century. His rise like that of many other great men, was as much due to his energy, enterprise and daring as to his opportunities a detailed study of his carrier from 1750 to 1760 reads logically to the conclusion that he had a calculated programme which unfolded itself stage by stage, but so many of his successes he owed to external complications with their quickness and sudden changes in the course of events that it is very difficult to say what he owed to his own foresight and how much to circumstances. Intrepid and swift, he was always ready to take advantage of his opportunities.² The Wodeyars of Mysore had left the administration into the hands of two generals Devarajaiah and Nanjarajaiah; Krishnaraja Wodeyar II was only a puppet in the hands of two generals. The Marathas used to invade Mysore quite frequently and took away vast amount of wealth from the rulers of Mysore. The Marathas increased their rights over Mysore in the middle of the eighteenth century. The series of Maratha invasions during the Peshwaship of Balaji Bajirao, which began in 1753 and continued in 1754, 57 and 1759. Another complication appeared at this movement. The Nizam of Hyderabad put forward his right to Mysore territory as a representative of the Mughal Empire.³ He claimed sovereignty from the Maratha demanded Chauth over all their states and the principalities to the south of the Tungabhadra that had once submitted to Aurangzeb.

² Mysore Archeological Report (MAR) 1930, p.80
Dalvoy Nanjarajaiah decided to relay more on the Nizam and paid tribute to Nasirjung, son of the Nizam in 1746, but Nasirjung was murdered in 1750 and the Mysore government failed to get the support of Nizam in opposition to the Marathas. The Nizam with the help of a French General invaded Mysore and imposed on it a tribute of 56 lakhs. The Dalvoys of Mysore created further complication by interfering in the civil war at Carnatic. Nanjarajaiah went with a huge army to Trichirapally and wasted three years incurring a huge loss of four crore rupees. Haider was in the service of Nanjarajaiah participated in the Carnatic war. Trichinopally, Haider’s great training ground was amidst constant strife and turmoil. His fibre was hardened, his observation quickened his resourcefulness and his character developed. It was here that he came face to face with the western military superiority. Haider also learnt at Trichirapally the secret of Maratha success in attack. He was perhaps over dazzled by the discipline, skill and the inventive power of westerner as he compared it with the supineness and want of cohesion of his own people to make a study of any other warfare. He came to understand the natural difficulty and danger of war with a European power in the excellent school at Trichinopally.

The Mysore government had become totally bankrupt due to the misdeeds of the Dalvoys. The soldiers rebelled against the king when they were not paid their salaries. At this critical hour Haider came on the scene. He paid the soldiers with the treasure he had acquired by a stroke of luck during his campaigns. Haider was appointed the

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5. Om Prakash, Hydar Ali and Tipu Sultan, Anmol Publication ,New Delhi,1986,p.9
*Fauzadar* of Dindigul. He strengthened his army and came to possess 5,000 regular infantry, 2500 horses, 2000 peons and six Guns.

Haider, a stronger leader not only saved the collapsing Mysore kingdom but, decided to build the kingdom as a safe fortress against the attacks of the Europeans. 6 There were many petty chieftains in the erstwhile Mysore state and its border. Haider saw an excellent opportunity to wipe-out these petty rulers and build a strong kingdom in the south. He ran over these chieftains called Paleyagars one by one thus he conquered Sira, Bellary, Gutty, Nidagal and the Bedanur. This wealthy city had benefited from its location at the convergence of the many trade routes passing from Mangalore to the Ghats. The hills lying between the Malabar Coast and the central south Indian plateau surrounded by wooded hills and fortified defiles, it was a natural fortress. 7 Where he defeated Rani Verammaji and carried away the huge treasury of the Keladi kingdom in 1763, 8 these conquests brought the ports of Honnavara, Mangalore, Bhatkal and Sadasivagad to Mysore Kingdom. Having got possession of Sea coasts, Haider could now think of having a navy. 9

He conquered Chitradurga fort and took Madakarinayaka the *paleyagar* of Chitradurga as a prisoner thus Haider Ali marched rapidly to the north and threatened to conquer the areas south of the Krishna which were under the control of the Marathas. 10

In the meanwhile he had a break in which he would make a successful invasion of Malabar, while staying in Bedanur he received

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10. *MAR 1930, P.100*
an invention from the Ali Raja of Cannanore who sought the help of Haider in his domestic trouble in 1765.\textsuperscript{11} He marched into Malabar with a small army overran some of the petty chieftains of that region until he was challenged by the Zamorin of Calicut. Haider was able at last to force the Zamorin pay and he agreed to pay tribute to Mysore.\textsuperscript{12}

Haider’s march to Malabar sent tremors to the British who were consolidating their position in the West coast in 1764. Haider Ali.\textsuperscript{13} He sent his minister Anantharao to Tallachery demanding arms and men to assist him and promising to allow free movement of goods which were received by the company. The British factors protested against the proposed invasion of Malabar and rejected his demand for arms and men; they reminded the Mysorean of the company privileges in Malabar. In the meanwhile Ali Raja of Cannanore encouraged by this development took the side of Ambuttaban of the Kollatheri family; to create trouble the English took advantage \textsuperscript{14} of the trouble and that of the Kollathanadu to by claiming the disputed territory of Randuttara was under their protection. Haider’s invasion of Malabar was a serious threat to the British settlement there.\textsuperscript{15}

The Tellicherry chief reported the matter to Bombay and Madras government. They were making arrangements to check Haider, the treaty had reduced all the important Malabar powers to submission Haider even defeated Liet.Hapkins thus Haider was seen rapidly consolidating his position and could easily deplore the company of its

\textsuperscript{11} C.K.Kareem, Kerala Under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, KHA,Paico Publishing House, Coachin,Kerala,1973,p.20
\textsuperscript{12} Duncan.J Historical Remarks on the Coast of Malabar, \textit{ Asiatic Researcher}, Vol.V, 1798, P.30
\textsuperscript{13} Rajendran,N, Establishment of British Power In Malabar, Chugh Publications, Allahabad, India, PP.162-3
\textsuperscript{14} Om.Prakash, Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, p.160.
\textsuperscript{15} Rudrangshu Mukherjeeand Lakshmi Subramanian,(edn.) Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World, Oxford University Press, Delhi,1998,p.83
trade in the region.\textsuperscript{16} The Zamorin was compelled to surrender to Haider fearing further humiliation committed suicide by setting fire to his own palace. Haider moved further and after the successful submission of the rajas of Cochin and Cranganore who agreed to pay tribute.\textsuperscript{17} But after Haider Ali returned, they revolted in the Malabar region and the Malabar rulers approached the British for help. Some of the princes attacked the Mysore forces. Haider Ali returned to Malabar built strongholds and suppressed the Nairs by depriving them of their privileges. He promised to respect the trading privileges enjoyed by the English.\textsuperscript{18}

By this time Haider Ali had clearly understood the strength and weakness of his Southern Indian neighbours. He clearly managed to avoid a war with the Nizam and the Marathas, but Madras government was determined to challenge the rising power of Haider Ali in the South.\textsuperscript{19}

Haider Ali, it must be admitted, was not a very shrewd diplomat and his knowledge of foreign affairs was extremely limited, but he was not also so naive as to ignore how the alarming developments of Nizam’s regime paved the way for outside interference. The French and the British rushed to fill the vacuum created by weak rulers and civil wars.\textsuperscript{20} As in Carnatic wars, even these rulers of Hyderabad invited the Europeans to strengthen their hands against their rivals who

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. p.94.
\textsuperscript{17} Duncan, op. cit. p.32
\textsuperscript{19} Sinha, N.K., Haidar Ali, p.172
\textsuperscript{20} Lakshmi Subramanian, History of India 1707-1857, Orient Black Swan Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2010, p.61
were claiming the throne. The French were successful in gaining the throne. The French were successful in gaining the confidence of Nasirjung and entrenched themselves strongly in Nizam’s capital. They dominated the administration to such an extent that the Nizam left everything in hands of the French and remained a mere puppet.

The British who defeated the French in Mahe and Pondicherry were also able to evict them from Hyderabad by 1767. The Nizam. Who realised the superior strength of the English entered into alliance with the British.\textsuperscript{21}

Haider Ali who was observing these developments decided to check the growing power of the English. The British alliance with the Nizam provoked Haider Ali and the Nizam who was waiting for an opportunity to invade Mysore advance into Haider’s territory in 1767. Haider Ali was confronting many local problems in his own kingdom. He solved the situation and won over the Marathas by promising them a sum of rupees twenty-three lakhs. The Nizam hesitated when Haider Ali improved his military strength; however Haider managed to win over the Nizam also.\textsuperscript{22}

The Maratha government which was left alone decided to pursue an aggressive policy. This brought about the first-Anglo Mysore war in Aug 1767. The Bombay government launched an attack on the western possession of the Haider Ali. The Tellicherry factory joined forces with the rajas of Kolathanadu and Kottayam and attacked Cannanore on 9\textsuperscript{th} March 1767 without success. Haider tried to establish peace with the English.\textsuperscript{23} But, the Madras government was obdurate.

\textsuperscript{22}Sinha,op,cit.,p.67
\textsuperscript{23}Rajendran. N ,Establishment of British Power In Malabar, p.164
Haider Ali realised that his position was not very strong in Malabar. He withdrew temporarily, but retained the control of Palghat, and then he marched swiftly across the Carnatic.

The British fought well but the oppression of Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan was formidable. Both of them were able to reach areas near Madras itself and plundered the place. The Madras authority got panic and begged for peace. Haider Ali virtually dictated the terms of peace which were concluded on April 1769. The Treaty showed that Haider Ali was both a strategist and a diplomat. His success was also due to the efficiency and swiftness of his vast Cavalry which made it possible for him to campaign with great skill. The court of Directors had admitted that the war had been “very improperly conducted and most disadvantageously concluded”. This was an important phase of the first Anglo-Mysore war. The treaty of Madras was based on the mutual restitution of conquest, but the fort and district of Karur were to be retained by Haider Ali. There was also a provision for an alliance or mutual aid in case either party was attacked by a third power. The Madras authority had to consent to this clause as Haider Ali insisted on this cause as it was advantageous to Haider; besides as he was always in the danger of a possible attack from the Madras.

Thus when Mysore was invaded by Peshwa Madhava Rao Haider Ali approached English for help against the Peshwa. The English did not come forward to help Haider Ali this was a clear violation of the treaty of 1769. The Madras government also refused to supply war material to Haider Ali. The Bombay government

26. Sec and Pol. Dept. Diary, No. 12, 30 Dec. 771, PP. 19-20, MSA
concluded a treaty with Haider Ali which allowed them trading privileges in Mysore in exchange for guns, saltpetre, lead etc. However that treaty was disapproved by the Bombay government which entered into a treaty with Raghoba who was contesting for the Peshwaship. Haider Ali was annoyed by the British policy of double dealing. He made preparations for an attack on the British. Haider Ali was fully aware of the military resources and capabilities of the European nations. He wanted to develop an alliance with a reliable and competent European power. He had no faith in the English and naturally turned towards the French, especially after the Treaty of 1770. Brithwaite writes “I hear from all quarters that the artillery and stores is a great object with him. He is upon no terms with the Dutch, has no opinion of the Portuguese and does not know where to look for supplies which he thinks the English will never supply him with”. 27 The French were indeed a formidable force. Haider and the French naturally became allies. He took possession of the Maratha state of Gutti. He took many Frenchmen in his service and also secured arms and ammunition from the French. He renewed his contact with the Dutch with whom he had established a good relationship.

The Madras government was undergoing a critical phase. The Governor of Madras was confined by some messengers and he died in detention in 1776. Sir Thomas Ramsbold, his successor was mostly interested in making money rather than looking after the interest of his nation. In the west the British were getting into a war with the Poona government on behalf of Raghoba. The British attacked Pondicherry and after its occupation they sent an expedition against Mahe. Haider Ali protested as he was getting his military supplies mostly through

27. Braithwaite’s Secret Correspondence, Dt. 18th Oct, 1799, Mahe (MMC) Vol.68 –A, pp.1403-12
Mahe. William Townsend made a secret correspondence in 1776 which reveals that Haider Ali organised the navy at Kundapura by soliciting the help from the Dutch.\textsuperscript{28} It was done deliberately with a view to consolidate the military base and to resist English domination in South India.\textsuperscript{29} He sent his troops to defend Mahe but, the British conquered it in 1779. This embittered the relationship between Haider and the British. The Nizam also had a complaint against the British as they withheld tribute for the northern circars.

The first Anglo-Mysore war thus did not produce any concrete result but Haider learnt valuable lessons from the war. He understood the true nature of British colonialism. The first Anglo-Mysore war produced many favourable and unforgettable results with limited resources; but he was able to threaten the British who had a vast empire. He understood that the English were not invincible. He required not only military supplies but also a good alliance to face the British. Haider Ali was convinced that they posed a great danger to the stability of his kingdom.\textsuperscript{30} Therefore he decided to take necessary diplomatic steps to halt the British. Wiliam Russel wrote a secret letter to Col. James Stuwart in 1776 which states that the French had agreed to supply about 200 European infantry, arms and dresses in order to strengthen the military base of Mysore State which fought the British.\textsuperscript{31} In 1777, a secret correspondence was sent to Col. Immanual Stuart by an English officer, which revealed that Haider Ali had persuaded the rulers of Europe, Malaya, Holland and others to send soldiers from

\textsuperscript{28}Townsend, William, Foreign Department Secret Branch Dairy No.3(A) Nov.27,1776, N.A.I, New Delhi
\textsuperscript{29}Foreign Department Secret Branch Diary No .3 (A), November. 27 1776, N.A.I.
\textsuperscript{31}Foreign Department Secret Branch Diary No. 10, April 1776 , N.A.I.
Colombo to Cochin with a view to strengthen his military base against the British.\textsuperscript{32}

It was under these circumstances that the Grand Quadruple alliance consisting of Haider Ali, the Nizam, the Poona govt and Bounslie of Nagapur was formed against the British.\textsuperscript{33} As Sinha points out, “The Anglo-Mysore war of 1767 is interesting as it was the first war in which the British government finished by suing an Indian power for peace”.\textsuperscript{34} The Indians learned a valuable lesson through this war. The weakness of the Indian armies was clearly exposed during this period. The Indians inspite of great number superiority were no match to the Europeans. The spirit, timely decision, control, swiftness and superior technique took the former by surprise. Personal bravery was futile but, the element of success by now over the other Indian powers saw that Indian sepoys trained by the Europeans were gaining resounding victories for their masters; naturally chieftains like Haider Ali started employing Europeans to train their armies.\textsuperscript{35} Major Humbaton had written to the British council, which desired that the British attack Mysore State in order to relieve the Carnatic and compel Haider Ali to withdraw from that region. The East India Company wished that the most rigorous execution be made against the possessions of European enemies in India.\textsuperscript{36}

It is at this juncture that Haider Ali turned his attention towards the West Asia. Haider Ali had sent Shah Nurulla, Governor of Nagar as an Ambassador to Karim Khan, the King of Persia with presents in

\textsuperscript{32} Foreign Department Secret Branch Consultation, No. 10, April.27,1781,N.A.I ,N .Delhi.
\textsuperscript{33} Secret and Political Dept. Diaries No.21,31 Dec.1779,F.685,MSA
\textsuperscript{34}.Sinha, Haider Ali,p.91
\textsuperscript{35}. MMDLT. Op.cit., Vol-I,p.121
order and fond hope of rising troops in Persia and obtains a settlement in the gulf for trading purpose. He also desired marriage between their children. This was not accepted by Karim Khan. But he gave his consent for the establishment of a trade centre at Cambroon and sent about 1,000 soldiers to strengthen the diplomatic relations between Mysore and Persia. The document also throws light on the earnest efforts made by Haider Ali to facilitate meaningful political and economic transactions between South India and the Persian Gulf.37

The second Anglo-Mysore war started in 1780. But, the war which broke out again with England in 1780 rose from the fact that the English fail to furnish the supplies necessary to Haider to fulfill the stipulations of the treaty of 1769. Grand Alliance formed after the first war never took a concrete shape as the members deserted the alliance one by one.38 The Bhounsle of Nagapur who was the enemy of Poona government was won over by Warren Hastings and he left the alliance. The Nizam also deserted Haider Ali, the Poona government also left the alliance. Thus Haider Ali was left alone to fight against the British.

During the early phase of the war the war machine of Haider Ali was superior to the British army. The army of Haider Ali burst like an avalanche and swept away many villages and towns. It carried fire and sword in the Carnatic. The Government of Madras supinely took no steps to concentrate their forces or to reinforce their garrisons; nothing was done though the army was marching. The British troops were captured. The frontier out-posts and the towns were poorly fortified and weakly held. The inactivity of the British in the face of Haider’s threat astonished both him and other observers. Haider’s army

37. Public Department Diary No.65, Part –II, 1774, MSA
was so near Madras, many of its residents became panic. The towns of Porto Novo and Canjeevaram were plundered. The armies led by Col. Bailey and Col. Fletcher were hacked to pieces. Munro, the commanding chief through his artillery and a tank retired to Madras. When Sir Eyre Coote took over the supreme command in the South the situation was critical. However, things began to improve. Eyre Coote was able to hold Haider Ali and deal with him effectively at Porto-Novlo in July 1781. Haider Ali was forced to recall Tipu who was besieging Wandiwash, in the battle of Pollilur in August 1781 Sir Eyre Coote inflicted a crushing defeat on Haider Ali at Solinger, Nagapattana and Trancomoly was also captured by the British. The British did everything possible to nullify the efforts on Haider Ali and ultimately succeeded in their endeavour.

Meanwhile, Haider Ali who was suffering from an incurable disease died in 1782. It was war that had brought Haider Ali into prominence and while engaged in war he died. He possessed two great natural talents which elevated an unlettered individual from obscurity to the supreme control of a powerful Kingdom. He fixed his steadfast view upon the chosen end and valued only efficiency. Through his strenuous exertions for over two decades Haider Ali extended the Kingdom of Mysore upto the Krishna in the north and had very nearly succeeded in making its southern frontier co-terminus with Rameshwar in the south with a tendency to advance further in the direction of the northern Circars and Travancore respectively. Despite the chronic pressure of the Marathas on one hand and the persistent opposition and hostility of the Nawab Muhammad Ali and his allies the English on the other hand this was an achievement in the political field which was

40. MAR,1930,P.100
nothing short of the great medieval Empire; indeed Mysore had practically stepped into its place as the sole Hindu representative in the land and with Srirangapatna as the centre of political gravity, his scheme of expansion in the North and the South closely resembled the Vijayanagar policy inherited by the early rulers of Mysore in the 17th century. It was sought to be developed by the Dalvoys about the middle of the 18th century and consistently followed by Haider in the later part of that century.

Haider Ali systematically played the role of the kingmaker in determining the succession to the throne of Mysore. Until his death in his early sixties from a carbuncle, during the second Anglo-Mysore ar. Haider maintained tight control over his dominions. He never allowed a British resident to be maintained at his court. He was a civilian; he was finally persuaded to undertake the training of the Mysore troops. At that time, Haider saw clearly the need for his own stronghold in shaping the destiny of Mysore at a critical period in the history of south India. He did everything for the integrity and independence of Mysore; he built on what he found at hand. He sought to combine the new with the old. Haider Ali was a good administrator as well as a warrior. Such was the system before Haider Ali: When he had subjugated the ancient Palegars, he again reinstated several of them on the condition of paying an annual tribute and he followed generally the regulation formerly established and the peculiar customs and laws of the different provinces, and much better for himself, than a more scrupulous distribution of justice, Haider was accustomed to say, rapacity in this

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41 Kate Brittlebank, Tipu Sultan’s Search for Legitimacy, Oxford University Press 1995, p.22
42 MAR,1930, P.80
case was nearly as good for his subjects. Certainly he was not a crazy innovator.\textsuperscript{43}

   Tipu who succeeded his father in the critical situation was well versed in the art of warfare as well as administration. He had participated in many of Haider’s wars and he was present where Haider dictated to the British, the terms of the peace treaty at the very gates of Madras. Later when Haider waged war against the Marathas Tipu was also associated with his father during the second Anglo-Mysore war. He distinguished himself when he defeated and captured Col .Braithwaite in November 1782. He was sent to Malabar to revive the Mysore forces there. Tipu returned to Narasrayanapet when he received the news of the death of his father and assumed the office of his father under the name “Nawab Tipu Sultan Bahadur”.\textsuperscript{44}

When Haider died in the midst of the second Anglo-Mysore war the prosecution of the war was Tipu’s immediate problem. The British were emboldened by the death of Haider Ali and rushed to take advantage of the situation. They were able take Bedanur and a few small parts but, even this possession of Bedanore came to be short lived as it was conquered by Tipu. Though the British tried to invade Mysore from the South, they were not successful in their attempt; hence they decided to end the war and entered in to negotiation. The Treaty of Mangalore was signed by Tipu on 11\textsuperscript{th} of May 1784. It was more a treaty of friendship where by Tipu consented to evacuate the Carnatic and both sides agreed to mutual restitution of prisoners.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{43} Basavaraja.K.R. History and Culture of Karnataka, Chalukya publications, Dharwad, 1984, p.259
\textsuperscript{44} EC-3, Inscription Sr.77/ MAR-1938PP.123-35
The Treaty of Mangalore gave Tipu an opportunity to usher in stability and prosperity in his kingdom. His first priority was to put down some of the rebellious Poligars. He suppressed the Poligar of Balam (Hassan) and caused a new fortress to be erected and named it Manjarabad.  

The next problem was to put down the rebellion of the Kodavas. Tipu sent his generals to suppress the rebellion raja of Kodagu. It was only after the second invasion in this part in 1785AD he finally suppress rebellion in Kodagu.

Meanwhile Tipu had been active ever since he returned from Kodagu designing measures to prevent the Marathas from taking advantage of Tipu’s engagement in the far south. As he advanced on the north of Tungabhadra, they captured Badami and other places. In 1785 Tipu marched to face his traditional enemy; he was so powerful, his troops so disciplined and his artillery so effective that he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marathas. Tipu triumphantly entered Savanur, principality of Abdul Karim Khan, Tipu conquered almost all the remaining mahals of Nawab. The Savanur state was drained by five rivers, the biggest of them all being in Krishna with fertile agricultural land. Tipu marched to Adoni which was under Muhammed Jung. The Nizam now joined the Marathas and decided to attack Tipu. Tipu marched to the north and captured Sandur, Koppal and crossed the Tungabhadra. In the meanwhile, the British were instructed by the company directors to join the Marathas against Tipu Sultan. The Marathas therefore came to terms with Tipu as a result of the treaty of Gajendragad in April 1787. Badami was ceded. Adoni, Naragund and Kittur were restored and the Nawab of Savanur was reinstated.

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47. Chitnis, K.N. The Nawab of Savanur, Atlantic Publishers, N.Delhi, 2000, P.56
Tipu by this treaty was able to dissolve a formidable confederacy and dissipated an immense army, the members of which, embittered against each other by mutual distress, despite by ill success, disgusted by disappointment were not likely to be formidable again. Marathas recognise his sovereignty over the territory between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna and restore to him the places conquered in the course of war. Marathas address him in future by the title of Padshah.49

It is pertinent to note that the Maratha chiefs were very much impressed by the accurate marksmanship of Tipu’s artillery directed by French officers and decided to seek British help in the later stage of the war.50 The Nizam of Hyderabad was also impressed by Tipu’s invincible army and was determined to seek his friendship. He therefore sent an envoy to Srirangapatna to forge an indissoluble union between the remaining Muslim powers of the Deccan and the South. It is at this juncture that Tipu demanded intermarriage as an essential preliminary in the interest of Islam, but the Nizam refused to accept the proposal and terminated the negotiation.51

In the meanwhile Tipu Sultan introduced several reforms aimed to economic stability. He had already introduced a new and progressive land reforms system from a rigorous revenue management founded upon the encouragement of peasant agriculture and the elimination of the Zamindars.52 Tipu took up more serious and effective steps to thwart the British supremacy in trade and commerce in the West coast. He introduced by various stages the policy of state economy in which

49. Op. Cit., Kate Brittlebank, p.76
50. Ibid, p.107
51. Ismail E, From progress to polemics, in( edn. ).R. Gopal, Tipu Sultan The Tiger of Mysore, Directorate of Archeology and Museums, Mysore, 2010. p.228
the government assumed the role of a merchant. By these economic reforms he not only increased the state revenue but was able to administer a severe blow to the commercial acidities of the British. His policy of trading in spices often brought him into conflict with the foreign powers who claimed monopoly over spices in West coast. Tipu Sultan continued his policy and applying the model provided by the eighteenth century Cameralists and mercantilists. In this way he introduced a series of advanced economic reforms.\

Tipu Sultan’s activity in Malabar disturbed the British who had monopolised the trade in the region. Lord Cornwallis, who arrived in India in 1786, perceived from the very beginning that a war between the British and Tipu was inevitable. Hence he began to form a strong alliance against Tipu Sultan in the South. He created an opportunity to win over the Nizam against Tipu. Cornwallis next step was to have relation with Marathas. They humiliated by the invasion of Tipu jumped at the suggestion of an involvement with the British. Cornwallis made his treaty with the Marathas in June 1790 and Nizam in July 1790.

Tipu Sultan realised the gravity of the situation. He found the political conditions were unfavourable to him and decided to take suitable steps to strengthen his position. He had sent ambassadors to Constantinople in 1784; his aim was to secure confirmation of his title to the throne of the Mysore from the Ottoman Caliph. Like the Nizam, the Nawab of Carnatic, he wanted to possess a legal title to his territory. The Sultan of Turkey accorded permission to Tipu to assume the title of an independent monarch and the right to strike coins and to

have the qutba read in his name.\textsuperscript{54} Tipu also sought military assistance from the Ottoman Caliph to put an end to the British menace in India in order to impress upon the Ottoman Sultan, the gravity of the situation and urgency of his demand Tipu sought to arouse the religious sentiments of the Caliph by reporting to him the subversive and deceitful manner in which the British had become the overlords of large part of his territory which actually belonged to the Mughal and other Indian Rulers. Tipu also impressed upon the Ottoman Sultan that the British were humiliating the Muslims in India by forcibly converting them to Christianity and changing the Mosques to Churches. The Ottoman Sultan found it easy to recognise as an independent king but saw his request for military assistance difficult to entertain, because he himself was preoccupied with defending his possessions under Russians, Austrians and others. Hence he politely turndown Tipu’s request for a body of Turkish soldiers to be sent to Mysore to fight against the British.\textsuperscript{55}

Tipu was desirous of securing French aid. He despatched an Embassy to France but it failed owing to the disturbed conditions of France on the eve of the revolution. When at war with the English, several times he sounded for military help. Tipu sent Macmara, French squadron leader with presents to the French king with a letter soliciting aid of 2000 troops. Louis XVI and his minister were eager to help Tipu but they were helpless to take any decision in that situation. Tipu had also sent his ambassadors to Mauritius but the French Governor there did not come forward to enter into a treaty of alliance with Tipu. As Sheik Ali has observed “the French thought that Tipu has initiated a

\textsuperscript{54} Quereshi. H., “The purpose of Tipu Sultan’s embassy to Constantinople” in Journal of Indian History, V-24, 1945, P.84

war with the English at a wrong movement."\textsuperscript{56} The advice that the French gave to Tipu was to overpower Marathas at all costs. The reason why the French were not inclined to help Tipu was not only their disturbed condition at home during the revolutionary days but also due to the concessions of the fact that Cornwallis commanded the confederates. They had no doubt that they needed the military ability of Tipu, but the parties were greatly unequal.

The root cause of the third Anglo-Mysore war can be traced to the second Anglo-Mysore war and particularly to the treaty of Mangalore.\textsuperscript{57} The Raja of Travancore had signed a treaty with the East India Company in 1789 as an ally. The raja purchased two defence forts Ayacotta and Cranganore to complete the rise of defence on his northern frontier.\textsuperscript{58}

These were enough provocations for Tipu. He claimed that the fort of Cranganore and Ayikotta were held by the Dutch on the strength of a theetoram by the Raja of Travancore and therefore they had no right to sell them out. Even Tipu Sultan offers to the Dutch six lakhs of Rupees for purchase of these forts.\textsuperscript{59} The immediate cause of the war however was the attack by Tipu on Travancore which was an ally of the company. War commenced in 1790 and was carried on for two years in three campaigns. Cornwallis with the assistance of an army from Bombay soon occupied the hill forts that lay on the path towards Srirangapatna and by February 1792, began attacking the outskirts of the fort of Srirangapatna.\textsuperscript{60} Finding further resistance

\textsuperscript{57} Secret Consultations No.5 dt. April 13, 1784, Tamilnadu Archives and Historical Research, Egmore, Chennai (TAHR).
\textsuperscript{58} Poona Residency Correspondence No.52, PP.49-50. NAI
\textsuperscript{59} Military Consultations, Vol. No. CXXXI, PP. 2910-12, TAHR.
\textsuperscript{60} Madras Press List No. 36, Vol-XXIV, Sr. No. 507, pp. 2082-89. TAHR
useless Tipu began negotiations for peace which after some negations was signed in March 1792\textsuperscript{61}. By this treaty of Srirangapatna, Tipu surrendered one half of his kingdom, portions of which were given to the Nizam and the Marathas. Tipu’s sovereignty over the Kodagu ended and it that was made independent. Tipu had to pay an indemnity of three crore and thirty lakhs of rupees and send two of his sons as hostages to the British camp (Figure 14).

![Figure-14. Lord Cornwallis receiving Tipu Sultan’s sons as Hostages](Image)

\textit{Courtesy: National Army Museum, London}

British acquired Malabar and Tipu sent an ultimatum to the Travancore Raja to demolish the forts to return the refugees and to withdraw the Travancore forces. The raja replied that he always acted

in consultation with the English and tried to justify his stand over the purchase of the forts. Tipu decided to attack this fort. Cornwallis had made suitable preparation in case of sudden attack by Tipu Sultan, hence when Tipu sent his army to attack the Travancore lines the British declared war and the Third Anglo Mysore War began. The Third Anglo Mysore War was caused by the English who wanted to retrieve from the humiliating treaty they had to sign in the two Anglo-Mysore wars. They did not consider the treaty of Mangalore as a permanent one but as a temporary truce. Therefore from the very beginning they began to violate the provisions of the treaty of Mangalore. Cornwallis issued strict instructions to Madras not to enter into any negotiations with Tipu unless he made reparations for the hostilities he had committed on the Raja of Travancore. Lord Cornwallis decided to go to Madras and take upon himself subsequently both civil and military authority, but when he heard the news of General Meadows appointment as Governor of Madras he gave up the idea. Cornwallis was determined to defeat Tipu and prohibit him from attacking the native rulers. Cornwallis now intensified his efforts to get the assistance of the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The English were finally successful in getting the alliance from the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The English continued their efforts to form alliances with the despised rajas of Malabar and the rajas of Cochin and Travancore. Cornwallis came to Bangalore and began his preparations for the next campaign against Srirangapatna on 15th July 1791. Cornwallis marched to Srirangapatna. Meanwhile Tipu Sultan tried his best to recover the

62 Secret Consultations No.12, dt Sep 25 1789, TAHR
64 Secret Consultations No.1, dt. March 3, 1790, TAHR
65 Political Consultations No.8 dt. 18 November 1791, TAHR
territories lost to the English, forts of different areas of his kingdom. Liet. Chalmer gallantly came to the relief of Coimbatore. Tipu had tried his best to avoid war with the English at a time when he was not prepared fight. Before the war broke out Tipu proposed for the appointment of commissions for the settlement of the disputes but Cornwallis wanted to crush Tipu and he cancelled his proposals. Tipu again tried to make peace with the British and for this he requested the governor of Pondicherry to mediate between him and the English. But Cornwallis insisted on the payment of reparation. In 1791 March Tipu sent other proposals of peace.

There were three main causes for Tipu’s defeat. First he had wasted valuable time negotiating with the French and had not provided properly for the defence of his kingdom. The British had developed superior science and organisation which Tipu forces lacked; moreover during the 1790 embassy to Turkey most of his trained personalities, great warriors, and skilled warriors were lost. Lastly he had to fight against great odds.

The Third Anglo-Mysore war ended in 1792 Tipu was not in a position to face the three fold attack made by the British. His last minute change of strategy and withdrawal from Travancore was a great blunder. The British proceeded in the direction and reached Srirangapatna without much opposition. The deciding factor was the confederation of the English, Maratha and Nizam. The loss of the two allies the Marathas and Nizam was a great handicap to Tipu. Hence he was forced to surrender. The Treaty of Srirangapatna was a humiliating Treaty which forced Tipu to surrender half of his kingdom and to pay

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66. Ibid. No. 6 dt. 23 Feb 1791.
67. Ibid. No. 7, dt. 29 April 1791.
68. Public Department Diaries, No. 89, 25 Oct 1786, MSA.
three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees as war reparations. Tipu had to pledge two of his sons as he was not able to pay the complete reparation amount.

The Treaty of Srirangapatna did not bring lasting peace in South India. Tipu was determined to take revenge against the English. During the post-war period Tipu envisaged an elaborate plan of reconstruction and repairing the damages of the third Anglo-Mysore war. He followed a three-pronged approach for this purpose. The first task he took up was increasing the resources of the state. Agriculture was encouraged and the country was soon restored to its former prosperity.\(^{69}\) No doubt, the enormous military expenditure under Haider and Tipu had a serious effect on the state economic policies. But both of them never went out of their way without recognising the traditional method. In addition to the policies of his father, Tipu introduced and reorganised the revenue regulations of the kingdom with utmost care and thus Tipu’s role came to be considered unique among Indian rulers in the sphere of economic policies and measures.

The second step was the introduction of elaborate regulations; revenue and commercial. The last angle was the diplomatic step in which he renewed his efforts to enlist the support of potential allies. Tipu introduced a series of regulations aimed at hitting the prosperous East India Company economy. These regulations which are very unique in history can be compared to some extent to the continental blockade imposed by Napoleon against the British.

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The Revenue regulations were aimed at generating the depleting revenue of the state. In the first two regulations Tipu ordered the *Amildars* to confirm with his revenue staff and introduce plans to improve the agricultural production. In case, the farmers lacked manpower, implements etc, they should try to get them from those who possess the sources abundantly. He tried to frame the land policies to suit the welfare of the farmers. First of all, he tried to bring about a cordial and direct relationship between the government and the peasants, by dissolving the *palegars*, who exercised arbitrary authority over the farmers. Some times their ambitions and aggrandizing spirit were a great hindrance to the authority of the ruler. So Tipu was more serious than Haider in Subjugating the Palegars. Tipu also insisted that *Taccavi* loans should be provided to the *ryots* on a very low interest to enable them to purchase ploughs and to improve cultivation. In case a poor men died without clearing the *Taccavi*, the arrears were to be recovered from his *Zindagee*. Concession was shown to the poor peasants while recovering the loans from them. Tipu’s revenue regulations included a procedure of giving them a good portion of the produce. In another regulation the ryots were urged to take up the cultivation of commercial crops. Through his revenue regulations several measure were implemented in favour of the tiller of the land. The *ryots* were not expected to plough the land of the *Patels* and *Shanbough*. The *Patels* have to themselves plough them. If a Patel used the farmers in the above mentioned way, the agricultural surplus was taken by the government to avoid middlemen and control over rate fluctuation of their products during the harvest. Tipu implemented

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71. Ramachander Punganuri, Memoirs of Haidar and Tipu, p.50
72. Burris Crisp, Op, Cit., No.10, p,7
73. Burris Crisp,Op, Cit., No.5, p,4
another measure to utilise the resources of the land as well as manpower with a view to get the maximum produce. He also announced a number of measures to check corruption and exploitation on the part of the revenue officers including Patels and Shanboughs. Tipu followed an indigenous method by which the ryots were lured to cultivate fallow land by providing them many incentives like such land being offered to the ryots and the land revenue would be exempted in a graded manner. He also issued instructions to grow new crops like wheat and Barley in the interiors of the kingdom. He prohibited the growth of the intoxicated plant ‘Bang’ inspite of losses of huge nature to the state exchequer. It is refreshing to note that Tipu laid emphasis on Horticulture. He insisted that every village must grow Mango and other fruit trees. Similarly he provided good scope for the collection of forest products like wax, honey etc. Tipu not only patronized the planting of many fruit trees, he also made provision to fix the price of the product so that the ryots got a fair deal.74

Tipu sultan realised the importance of the Teakwood and Acacia for the service of the government. He made the growth of these trees a state monopoly and encouraged the growth of this tree. Similarly he provided for a judicious cultivation, storage and use of Sandalwood in his kingdom. In the same way he took care to utilise horses and bullocks for government purposes and any misuse was forbidden. There was a wise system of maintaining Bullocks in each village proportionate to the zamabandi of that village. Even in the 18th century Tipu envisaged a programme of mass training with fire arms. He insisted that in every village the inhabitants should be required to keep firelocks. The officers were asked to maintain iron foundries so that

74. For more details to see The Provincial and Revenue Establishments of Tippoo Sultaun,PP.1-94
implements and weapons could be produced. Tipu introduced several measures to extend cultivation on a wider scale. Special inducements were given to bring the fallow lands under cultivation. Land left fallow for ten years were given by a Cowl. Land tax was fixed according to the classification of land and crops. Tax rebate was extended to farmers on a term basis to the ryots to cultivate. Such lands were exempted from paying any revenue in the first year, but they were to pay half the customary assessment in the second year and full amount from third year onwards.\textsuperscript{75} The barren, mountainous and rocky lands were also brought under cultivation and the industrious ryots were given all the benefits from the Sircar. Another important feature of this period was that every ryots had to maintain a certain minimum proportion of Hissa lands. The cultivator preferred this system as it drew the attention of the government in granting irrigation facilities and other requirements. In this system the state acted as the land lord and received half of the produce. Besides this, the cultivator had immediate advantage of a reduced burden of rent in case of crop failure. As Asok Sen puts it, “The preference of the farmers for this system also indicated that the agrarian economy in the area had not yet developed the capacity to achieve complete autonomy of wealth making like the capitalist countries. The system of produce sharing and its wide-spread acceptance could not but act against the logic of such unhindered accumulation”\textsuperscript{76}. Tipu also gave attention to the maintenance and training of the Amritmahal and other kind of Bullocks and he even made provision for of storing sufficient straw for these bullocks.

\textsuperscript{75} Burris Crisph ,Op. Cit., No.15, p,9
\textsuperscript{76} Asok Sen,Pre-British State System in Southern India, Op,Cit., Pp.80-81
Tipu’s contribution to the development of sericulture is inestimable, he got the seeds from various parts of India as well as outside India, and he evinced keen interest in the growth of Mulberry and the production of silk in good quantity. These enterprises benefitted all section of Tipu’s subjects. The ryots were benefitted by the growth of silk cloth trade which provided good income; it also generated good revenues for the state as it was used by the upper middle class, the rich and the priestly classes. More than all, it was also commercial good as many foreigners bought the Indian silk in good quantities. Though, silk was not a state industry it was nurtured as a monopoly by a flourishing silk market inside and outside the country.

Tipu Sultan had a clear idea of the kind of agriculture crop to be grown. Due attention was paid to improve commercial crops to be grown. Exemptions from revenue liabilities and concessions were stipulated in his regulations to promote the growing of betel-leaf, betel-nut and coconut trees. Ryots were also encouraged to grow sugarcane. The government encouraged the growth of Sandalwood.

Due to the personal interest taken by the Sultan, substantial improvement and expansion of cultivated area took place. Special stress given on the growth of commercial crops like, sugarcane, mulberry, wheat, and plantation of betel-leaf, mango, and sandal wood trees increased the flow of revenue to the state treasury. Even Sir John Shore noticed the flourishing condition of agriculture in the pre-British period. He commented in his minute of 18th February 1795, “the peasantry of his dominions are protected and their labours encouraged and rewarded.”

77.Sir John Shore, Minute of 18th Feb.1795, Asiatic Annual Register. 1800.
Commercial Regulations introduced by Tipu Sultan in the interwar period point out his sagacity, farsightedness and a good knowledge of the economic conditions. They were the most effective steps taken against the colonial domination of the European powers in India. As Saki states, “The uncompromising and death-defying fight against colonialism put up by both Haider and Tipu has been rare event among the rulers of India, all of whom during this period encountered British and to French colonialism”.

After the third Anglo-Mysore war Tipu embarked with the boycott of all trade with the British in the same breath also initiated Mysore state trade. These policies served the singular purpose of waging Mysore’s commercial battle against the colonial aggressor. The trade activities of European companies mainly Dutch and English which were dallying on the supremacy of their Navy and the trade privileges seized key possessions in India’s maritime trade put an end the monopoly position formerly held by Indian and other Asian merchants. A large part of local merchant’s capital began to move from the sphere of independent commercial activities to catering to the investments of European trading companies as Saki further observes, “there was a vacuum which the mercantile class of Karnataka was, on its own incapable of filling them. Thus it utilised the state which was the only agency capable of fulfilling although on a limited scale, all those requirements”. The introduction of state capitalism is a unique and appropriate setup devised by Tipu Sultan in the later part of his reign. Tipu devoted a lot of time to design and start his state factories all over the state, these factories were expected to such produce silken

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78. See Appendix-A.
79. Saki, Making History, Vol-I,P.442
80. Ibid.p.450
stuffs, sandalwood, pepper, cardamom, coconuts, rice, sulphur, elephants, etc, and each day provided for import and export.\textsuperscript{81} He insisted that the officers should pay minute attention to all the concerns of the department to investigate the account to avoid frauds, or embezzlements, people who violated the rules and embezzlement the state revenues were strictly punished.

Tipu set up many boards of trade called \textit{Mulikat Tujasr}(prince of merchants) to conduct trade in a systematic fashion.\textsuperscript{82} He gave importance to the collection of necessary equipments and for the building of ships in the Indian docks. There were elaborate regulations regarding shipbuilding and regulation of trade.\textsuperscript{83} Tipu set aside four lakhs of \textit{Rahitis} for the purpose of commercial activities. His extensive laws for the organization of a navy in the modern system with harbours, naval board, ship buildings, etc were much ahead of his time. He desired to organize a powerful navy to counteract the European activities in India. He made provisions for the purchase of gold and silver coined or uncoined and silken stuffs by paying in money. He selected 32 places of commercial value while making provision for appointment of suitable staff for that purpose.\textsuperscript{84}

Tipu also made provisions for establishing seventeen factories outside Mysore, which also included several favourite stations. He also made many subsidiary regulations respecting the more on which the accounts of these transactions were to be kept.\textsuperscript{85}

It is very interesting to note that Tipu made some miscellaneous regulations. One of the miscellaneous regulations expects the
government to encourage the ryots by providing the fare price for the product and to revise the rates regularly. He prescribed duties and restrictions on many of the Asofas and Amils were allowed to employ their own property in trade and were more over exempted from the payment of duties.\(^{86}\)

The chief officers of several departments were expected to attend the durbar and the courts so that they can familiarise themselves with the transactions of the government. Tipu was aware of the judicious use of various animals for transportation. He found several excellent ways of using the elephants in the military and commercial transactions.

Tipu took proper care for minting the coins in the state. The coins issued by him are of great artistic value and known for their accuracy also. He established twelve mints at various places, like Mysore, Bedanore, Srirangapatna, Gooty, Bangalore, Chitradurga, Calicut, Satyamangalam, Dindigul, Gurumakonda, Dharwad and Furrokkabad. Tipu issued gold, silver and copper coin. His coins do not bear his own name or the name of the Mughal Emperor, but they carry the initial letter of his father’s name ‘H’. The coins are dated both in the Hijira and Mauladi eras. He struck gold coin mohar and Ahmadi equal to four pagodas. The half of mohar or siddiqui equal to two pagodas. The half mohar or Farauqi equal to 3half rupees and the panam equal to one tenth of a pagoda. He issued Silver coins of various denominations. In copper he issued in Osmani or double paisa the johar or paise Bahari or half paise etc.\(^{87}\)

\(^{86}\)Ibid. P. Xlvii
\(^{87}\)Henderson JR, The Coins of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan,Madras,1921
The commercial and revenue regulations of Tipu Sultan clearly reveal his vast wisdom and his capacity to evolve policies and schemes to enrich the economy of his state. Equally important is his endeavour to devise tools, instruments and directions to achieve his goal, which merits a serious study. The Sultan ardently believed that the state economy could be made viable to challenge effectively and decisively the encroaching British power in India. Tipu’s capacity to adopt state capitalism, which was a unique experiment at that time in India. It was a two edged sword, on the one hand, it aimed at revenue generation. On the other hand it was also able to reduce the commercial activities of his rivals. Similarly the establishment of various factories abroad like Jedda, Muscat, and Cutch was a multipurpose proposition where the products of that state were brought for sale in the factories also acted as political centres. They provided shelter and information for the delegation and officers who came to their countries. In this way Tipu’s revenue and commercial regulations had a potential of increasing the wealth of state and reducing the exploitation by the European colonists. These regulations also project Tipu as a secular ruler who aimed at the welfare of his people irrespective of all classes, religion, language and race. Students of history need to devote more attention to a deep study of these regulations.

Some of the factories and commercial centres in the Gulf played a crucial role in contacting the people of those countries as well as the foreigners who assembled; it was Tipu’s intention to build political relations with many of the rich gulf countries. If time had permitted,

88 William Kirkpatrick, Select Letters, P.XXXIX (Jedda factory established in 1787)
89 Ibid, At Muscat (in Oman) two factories functioning from 1786 up to June 1799.
91 Sect and Pol. Dept Diary No.88, April 1800, PP.1603-05 MSA
Tipu would have built bridges with many European and African commercial centres. It is also very interesting to note that Tipu had an ambitious programme to educate the pilgrims who assembled at Jeddah regarding the evil of colonial battle against the European colonial enterprises. Tipu tried to inspire, educate and persuade Marathas to join the common cause of expelling the English from India. The Marathas did not realize the importance of Tipu’s message and continued to intensify factors of disunity and destruction. They had neither the vision nor a mission for the liberation of the country. They were fighting for their survival. They were short-sighted. They had neither the sight nor the might to rule the country let alone defeat their enemies and establish peace and power in the country.

Tipu continued his programme of enlisting the support of the French and Afghanistan. He tried repeatedly to contact and convince Napoleon of the needs for an Indian expedition, but unfortunately France itself was burning with revolutionary fever and the government was not in a position to take up the cause of any outside country. Similarly he renewed appeals to Zamanshah of Afghanistan for military help. It did not fetch any fruitful result. The local conditions, lacked up sufficient knowledge on the conditions in Mysore and the long distance to be covered were the main reasons for the Afghan king to drop the idea of sending an army to help Tipu Sultan. Afghanistan though a small state figured prominently in Tipu’s foreign policy. Tipu Sultan hoped that the tiny state of Afghanistan would be the ideal ally for fighting against the ruler of

93. Ibid, No.82, July 1799, p. 5451
94. Ibid, No.87, Feb 1800, pp. 382-4
96. Foreign and Secret Department, No.2 , Jan. 23.1797, p.23, NAI.
Sind and the colonial exploitation and racial discrimination. Tipu had learnt that Zamanshah had wellcomed the new ruler of Sind and the people of this province were well known for their strong anti colonial attitude; it inspired Tipu to develop cordial relation with these rulers. Tipu understood the geo-political significance of this region and his strategy of utilising the enemy’s enemy for advancing his own interest are to be applauded. In this context his efforts to get assistance from the Ottoman Sultan ended in a great failure. The Sultan had developed an, anti-British stance in the recent years and was not in favour of supporting Tipu Sultan even though Tipu advanced the religious card for this purpose. The Ottoman Sultan was not prepared to throw himself on the side of Tipu Sultan of Mysore. Tipu’s alliance with French stood in the way of his close relationship with the Ottoman Sultan. Lastly there was no favourable response from his old allies in south India. The Marathas had expressed resentment against Tipu and usual by preferred to remain neutral so that they derive benefit for themselves. The Nizam was committed to a strong pro-British policy. One by one all proposals of outside assistance fell through and Tipu was exposed to the cruel attack of British colonialism.

Thus Tipu faced a series of failures in his diplomatic attempts to win allies. The failure on the part of Tipu Sultan to enlist support of the French and the Afghans is sometimes considered as the deciding factor for Tipu’s fall. But the French and Afghan propositions were almost non-issues during the last part of the 18th century, when the British conquered Tipu Sultan. It is more of a success story of the British

97. Talpur Mirs were jealous they, exclusive and they were shrewd they distrusted foreigners and kept their doors locked against their, especially the British. Sarfaraj Khan the ruler of Cutch was a famous for his anti-British policy, This was the reason to attract the Tipu to establish his factories at Mundra and Mundhwea at Cutch./ C. Gurusiddiaiah, Commercial Establishment of Tipu Sultan at Cutch ,(ed)B.R.Gopal, Directorate of Archaeology and Museausns,Mysore,2010,p.246-253
diplomacy rather than the betrayal of Tipu’s allies which determined the result of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore war.

The credit for this great diplomatic war should go to Lord Wellesley who shrewdly and diligently weaved a series of alliances and erected the necessary road blocks for any help whether outside or inside to vanquish Tipu Sultan of Mysore. The British came to know through their intelligence that Tipu was thinking to procure military assistance from French and from Afghanistan. The British had taken a serious view of Tipu’s violation from the treaty of Srirangapatna and his desperate efforts to secure military help from all quarters. Wellesley was aware of that, the difficulty in the way of French assistance to Tipu Sultan. Hence he devoted his attention to isolate Tipu Sultan from all possible allies and supporters. They were aware of the chances of Tipu and Marathas coming together against their common enemy namely the English. The only way to prevent this disaster was to destroy Tipu first and take up the Marathas later. Therefore they made signs of friendship with the Marathas who were always suffering from uncertainty and inability.

The Nizam of Hyderabad was not favourably disposed towards Tipu Sultan and hence the chances of alliance between these two were bleak, but the English were not very comfortable with the gulf countries and particularly the Sultan of Oman and later Zamanshah of Afghanistan.

Tipu had pinned great hopes on the Sultan of Oman and tried to make use of his position and power. Oman was in a strategic position and controlled prominent trade routes. Most of the trade with India and China passed through Oman. Another interesting factor was that the

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99. Mohibbul Hasan, History of Tipu Sultan, p.287
French had developed a close relationship with Oman. Tipu wanted to capitalise on these favourable factors. The British were far ahead of him. They were fully convinced of the enormous strategic importance and potential of Oman; Sultan’s proposal of an alliance with Tipu Sultan would have been a very serious threat to the British. All these factors compelled the English to rush to the Sultan of Oman with the proposal of an alliance. This alliance in 1798 contained an assurance from Oman that it will not entertain any European or Asian power in Oman. In this manner the English neutralised the Sultan of Oman who could have been a deciding factor in the war of Tipu against the English. For the Sultan of Oman the Indian trade which the British handled and passed through Oman was more important than a friendship with an unknown ruler in a corner of India.

Afghanistan again was not a very vast and powerful country to pose a great threat to the English. But, its strategic position gave it an extraordinary advantage over other regions and countries. Afghanistan was situated on the main route to India and could stop or allow passing of forces. Hence the English continued to treat this mountainous state as a vulnerable point from the point of view British diplomacy. Afghanistan was vital in case of an attack from a European country like Russia; Hence Wellesley took necessary care to weaken the chances of Zamanshah joining hands with Tipu Sultan. Hence the British pursued their favourable game of divide and rule. They first created religious disturbances involving the shias and the sunnis. Then they went further and encouraged the Zamansha’s brother to rise

100 Sec. & Pol. Diaries, No. 100, Oct. 1800, PP. 6234-38, M.S.A
against the king.\textsuperscript{102} This created a serious domestic crisis and ruled out any possibility of Zamanshah taking interest in the affairs of Tipu. After silencing all rivals and enemies and creating sufficient road blocks in these directions, the English began their attack and drew their sword against Tipu.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image132x332_to_515x639}
\caption{THE PAINTING OF LAST FIGHT BY TIPU SULTAN}
\label{fig:tipulastfight}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{103} Secret (foreign) Department File No.360,18 Sep 1798.NAI.

In 1798 Wellesley concluded a subsidiary alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad and also engaged the Peshwa to enter into a war against Mysore.\textsuperscript{103} Thus blocking of every possible road towards Mysore, the British army with 21,000 men under the command of General Harris marched towards Mysore in Feb 1799. About 16,000 troops from Hyderabad under Colonel Wellesley camped near fort.
Another flank arrived from Bombay under General Stuart and a large force under Colonel Read and Brown assembled at Tiruchinopoly to march on Srirangapatna, took its position near Tipu’s capital of Srirangapatna. There was little time for Tipu to prepare himself against such a mighty power (Figure-115). The fourth Anglo-Mysore war was a very brief encounter. The British entered Srirangapatna fort on May 4th 1799. Tipu died fighting and the war came to an end without too many engagements and losses. Mysore lay at the feet of the British. They heaved a sigh of relief at the destruction of their most powerful opponent in India. After eliminating Tipu from Mysore the English did not rest comfortably. They had clashed with Marathas several times and realised the potential of the Maratha force in India. But, the Marathas they were not united under a strong state as they used to be under Shivaji. The first three Peshwas were a divided house of Maratha confederation. Five Marathas houses had neither uniformity nor unity. Poona was a hotbed of court conspiracies, rebellions, assassinations and frequent change of governments. Whatever may be the weakness of the Marathas they had remained a serious threat to the British as they had done with many Indian rulers. They pursued their policy of divide and rule and forced subsidiary alliance on the Peshwa. After the death of Nana Padnavis there was no able ruler in Poona. It was a civil war between Baji Rao and Holalkar which gave an opportunity to the British to interfere in the Maratha affairs. The Treaty of Basin was concluded between Baji Rao II and the British. The British were led by Lord Wellesley and General Wellesley (Wellington). The combined forces marched to Poona allegedly in order to restore Baji Rao II to throne. Wellesley took Poona defeating the Maratha confederacy.

Haider Ali was not a descendent of any ancient line of kings. Haider’s first appearance as military general of Mysore was followed by the pretention to the Nawabship of Sira. People still recall with pleasure the details given here of the establishment’s law, customs and forms of government that prevailed in Haider’s dominions.

FIGURE-16. HYDER ALI AND HIS BEDAR POSTMAN

Courtesy: Archeological survey of India.

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105 MAR 1930, P. 80
Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan managed to implement a reform in a sphere where even Akbar had rolled back; they abolished the *jagir* system and the feudal privileges of the local *Poligars*. Haider Ali took very keen interest in possession of rarities of arms; he inspected them during this audience. He was entirely free from bigotry, and never cared what faith his officials followed, so long as they obeyed his orders. There can be no doubt that he was a born leader of men and that his administrative qualities were of a very high order. He appointed *Hindus* to all high posts of administration under him and he never had any cause to regret his choice. They were faithful to him even after his death.\(^{106}\) As a soldier, Haider in his life time was without any equal in India and without many in the world. He was a bold, original, and an enterprising commander, skilful in tactics, and fertile in defeat. He was the only Indian prince of his life time who organised and maintained a navy. His rudimentary navy was destroyed by the English. As an administrator Haider displayed the qualities of skill, courage, mercy, charity, discipline, impartiality and wisdom.

Haider had no personal animosity against the English, but merely his political differences had led to the invasion of the Carnatic. His relations with Bombay were cordial. Haider was a realist and his general policy seemed to strengthen his own position and not to discriminate against any power on the account of its nationality.

Haider and Tipu are interesting figures because they elevated a small principality to the position of an important kingdom, and they brought that kingdom in to contact with the bigger world. For an oriental he was singularly faithful to his engagements and straight forward in his policy towards the British.

Haider was doubtlessly one of the greatest leaders Asia has produced. Without the advantages of education, he acquired an extensive knowledge of the sciences of war and politics; and by his superior talents raised himself from a private station to the sovereign of a powerful kingdom.

He administered justice with impartiality and gave encouragement to agriculture and to commerce.\textsuperscript{107} He did not like great talkers; the subject of conversation in his assemblies was generally related to the order and regulation of kingdoms and empires or swords, muskets, horses or invigorating medicines. His understanding was wonderful. He was, however, the enemy of the indolent and luxurious. The backs and sides of his negligent and extortionate servants were frequently softened by stripes of the whip.

Tipu Sultan was the famous fascinating figure of the eighteenth century, despite his defeat by the triple alliance in 1792 and heavy losses he was still one of the richest rulers of India. Tipu was a remarkable personality with a sound moral character, rarely seen in men in positions he occupied. Tipu possessed certain qualities that assigned him a name in history. Endowed with a modern mind, political acumen and economic sense; qualities that were rare among the rulers in India at that time. He was well educated, intensely devout, valiant and tactful. One of the best estimates of the personality of Tipu is perhaps the one quoted by J.R. Henderson; “He was a great man such as one India will never see again. He had great ambition wonderful ability, perseverance, and the art of leading men’s hearts more than they were aware of, or cared to acknowledge. He was kind and considerate to his servants and a steady friend to those he loved”.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid. pp. 250-1.
On the whole, a systematic organisation of the agrarian lands and revenue management was attempted by Tipu Sultan by keeping the welfare of the peasants in mind. Both Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were confronted with expensive wars which consumed most of the revenue of the kingdom. In spite of that Tipu Showed signs of a progressive ruler by affecting a series of regulations rectifying the existing loopholes. He aimed at securing the long term interest of the farmers and affected some useful reforms in that direction. Tipu reached out in all directions seeking resources to legitimise his own rule, resources which might look symbolic but which seemed very real to him and his subjects. By seeking to control each of this, Tipu was carrying out his unified political agenda. He was an industrious and benevolent ruler of eighteenth century. Tipu was certainly not as tactful as his father or tolerant, but he was a despot of the contemporary kind, a fanatic to those who were rebels and traitors. Checking the frauds of intermediate agents by severe and exemplary punishments the Sultan protected his ryots who were chiefly of Hindu religion from the enormities of revenue collectors.108

We understand that the political initiatives of Tipu Sultan’s revenue regulations aimed at changing the economy tremendously, pushing down the land gentry, uplifting of the oppressed and hard working people, while still supporting the backward classes.109 The fact remains that Tipu paved for the all-round development and transformation of a feudal aided society to progressive society. The ardent desire of the Sultan to eliminate the British and other foreigners from out of South Indian soil, unfortunately did not get the support of the local rajas, rebel chiefs and rulers like the Nizam of Hyderabad, the

108 Burrish Crisp, Revenue Regulations, British India Analyzed, Vol.I p.6
109 Ibid.p.27
Marathas etc. In addition to this, they all supported the foreigners at the cost of the best interests of India.

Mysore under Tipu Sultan became the best example of South Indian state of monopolies and systematic commercial policy.\textsuperscript{110} The policies of the Mysore state were perhaps the most ambitious and successful. Tipu’s boundless habitual energy especially before 1792, kept him, marching from one conquest to the other. His soldier-like bearing, his personal bravery and his absolute refusal to reveal himself to the British at the time he was about to be slain and deprived of his down commanding administration. His zeal for reform was a prominent feature of his rule. No department of administration was left untouched by his desire for reforms. It extended from the army to weights and measures and in some respects he was much ahead of his times. It is a fact and remains as such. Had the efficient and effective reigns of the sultans continued, the whole of the Mysore region would have achieved far more progress and development in all areas like trade, industry, agriculture, ports, roads, canals etc. In that case, the socio-economic and political history of the whole Mysore would assuredly have been far more sensational and more glittering. Tipu’s charming suffered from a few considerably responsible for his ultimate ruin. His life-time was spent in his attempts at realising this hope in vain. Another weakness in his character was the want of stability in administration. Tipu’s lack of understanding of human nature and his political wisdom certainly mislead him to adopt such measures which contributed to his fall. Despite the fact that he was a good soldier and died a soldier’s death fighting with a sword in hand. His grand military mistake is acknowledged to have been the neglect of his Cavalry;

\textsuperscript{110}Nikhiles Guha, Pre-British System in India 1761-1799, p.49
proper use of which would have rendered his easy conquest a far more arduous task.

The achievements of Haider and Tipu Sultan were on no accounts to be ignored in the study of modern history. Particularly the success of Haider Ali who rose to a great height from a humble origin is an exciting story of military adventurism with a small band of committed soldier and encircled by powerful enemies. He threatened the mighty English and was on the verge of conquering the city of Madras this was a great shock to the English who had ignored him as a fortune seeker and usurper. But Haider possessed those splendid qualities necessary to lead a strong fight against well equipped British army. His brilliant mind worked feverishly to weave a series of alliances and agreement to corner the wily English rulers. He had also plans to build a strong navy and seek an alliance from the rulers of the Arabian Gulf, but his untimely death put an end to all his plans and proposals.

His intention was to bring about an awakening among the peoples of the underdeveloped Asian countries regarding the exploitation of the European colonist. He exhibited a remarkable political wisdom in formulating his plan. He presented a brilliant analysis of the expansion policies and programmes of the British in India. He demonstrated the harm and losses suffered by India and other countries due to the policies of exploitation by the British. At this stage itself Tipu was able to predict the developments in the world. Hence he prepared himself for the ultimate confrontation with the British.

Tipu was luckier than his father. Haider had left behind not only a vast kingdom, but a brilliant tradition of military achievements. He also
introduces a number of much needed economic and social reforms. Tipu perhaps erred in pushing his father’s proposal of external assistance too hard. His long drawn affairs with the French ended in a great disaster. The French who were in the middle of the great revolution could not do much in this matter Tipu was not successful with his approach to Napoleon also. The latter who was facing the greater threat to himself and his country could not take up the cause of Tipu Sultan against the British. Similarly Tipu’s efforts in wooing the Sultan of Oman, Afghanistan and Turkey did not produce any concrete result. On the other hand it added to his misery. The British decision to wage war on Tipu was mainly influenced by the Sultans search for allies in the gulf region and elsewhere. They were alarmed by his efforts to secure armies, weapons and allies made a comprehensive war plan to attack Srirangapatna. The Fourth Anglo-Mysore war was one of the most decisive battles in the history of India. Unfortunately it’s full and political ramifications has not been exposed. There were many implicit and explicit factors which led to attack of Tipu Sultan. The fall of Tipu Sultan was not the fall of an individual it was the fall of an ideal. It symbolised the collapse of native resistance to the British colonial expansion. It also revealed the tragic disunity, suspicion, and rivalry among Indian princes. It clearly established the fact that the British remained invincible due to this chaotic and short-sighted behaviour of the Indian rulers at that time. Tipu therefore fought alone individually against all those mighty enemies not only colonialism but also treason, selfishness and short-sightedness. Historians of India have to devout more time to fathom deep into the political and economic and social factors that prevailed, not only during the inter-war period, but also during the forty years of the rule of Haider and his son Tipu Sultan.