

Commandant, who had no intention to fight, joined them, and they destroyed the fort, and returned to Choongul Peenth.

The French Commander-in-Chief, with his army, consisting of four or five thousand troops, all Europeans, now disembarked at Kuddalore, and the Prince, after the lapse of two days, visited him, and having renewed and strengthened the foundations of worldly friendship, said, "It is now necessary that you with your gallant army,^a without fear or delay, should turn to our aid, and help us to destroy and root out our enemies, and, when that is done, each of us will then return to his own country."—The French general, however, pleaded the discomfort and length of the sea voyage, and the want of preparation in his military equipments, as reasons for a short delay.—The Nawaub, also, hearing of the arrival of the French at Kuddalore, according to agreement, their meeting with the Prince, and his endeavour to excite them to do away with the seditious and rebellious people, (the English,) marched towards Beelpoor, when the Prince met him there, and detailed to him the delay required by the French, and other matters. The Nawaub, therefore, sent them some bullocks, to

° *عدو کداز خونخوار* melting their enemies, and drinking their blood.



draw their guns, and some other articles of necessity, and then returned towards Arkat. In the course of the march, however, the scouts and spies from the outposts which surrounded the English army, came in, and reported that General Coote, with a very large force, exceedingly well equipped, was again marching towards Rai Vellore, under cover of the forest of Naglapoor, and the confines of the territory of Bomraj the Poligar. The Nawaub, therefore, instantly put the whole of his army in motion, for that quarter. Syud Humeed, Shaikh Oonsur, and Monsieur Lalli, with their divisions of troops, were sent to defend Arkat; while Kureem Sáhib, with four thousand horse, and two thousand foot, was despatched towards Madras, that he might shut up the road against all reinforcements and convoys proceeding to join the English army. The Nawaub himself then marched on, and, leaving the Prince in the plain near Arnee, encamped near Dhoby Gurh. During this time, the General, traversing by forced marches, high and difficult mountains and arid plains, arrived from the environs of Kulkeri at Rai Vellore, and halted there.

It is not to be omitted here, that, after the battle of Sool Nuggur, the brave Commandant, (Muhammad Ali), notwithstanding that worthy servant had committed no fault deserving punishment, was



nevertheless, accused of having wilfully neglected his duty in opportunities of defeating the English. He was displaced, therefore, from his Risala, and remained in the suite of the Nawaub, with only one horse for his own riding. About this time a number of Bunjaras,^f belonging to the victorious army, having with them about four or five thousand bullocks, laden with grain, were proceeding by the road of Arnee to Arkat. The English General hearing of this, despatched a body of troops across the Ghaut of Kunumbari, to follow and way lay the Bunjaras. The officer commanding this force made a forced night march, and took the whole of the bullocks and grain; the unfortunate Bunjaras being dispersed at the first volley. As soon as the Prince heard of this, he followed the captors of the grain, with a select body of horse, and recovered two or three thousand of the bullocks, by making desultory attacks on them; and, after this, having posted matchlock men, and archers, to shut up the road of the Ghauts against future incursions, he, according to the Nawaub's orders, encamped in the neighbourhood of Chunbargurh. Still, however, he made excursions^g every day in the direction

^f A tribe of Hindoos who carry grain about on bullocks for sale.

^g سوارى



of Kylas, and Vellore,^h and sought all opportunities to defeat and destroy his enemies. It happened one day, while he was thus on the watch, that, from the vicinity of Wanumbari and Amboor Gurh, supplies of provisions were advancing to the Prince's army by the road of Pulligundah and Balinjpoor;ⁱ and the General, becoming acquainted with the advance of this convoy, detached four hundred musketeers to intercept it. When, however, this detachment had advanced two or three fursungs, tracing the route of the supplies, they had arrived safely in camp. The outlying picquets hearing of the detachment, and informing the Prince of its approach, he, like a hungry lion, sprang after them, and by his courage and by casting the terror of his sword and bow over them, took them all prisoners; and, having cut off the hands and noses of the greater part, he dismissed them.

The General now, after enjoying a month of leisure and ease, having put his troops in good condition, advanced by the route of Chunbar Gurh straight towards Dhoby^j Gurh. The Nawaub, also, got his troops in readiness, and gave the command of

^h Dylor.

ⁱ برنجپور

^j Hydur's encampment being at Dhoby Gurh. The description of this action is I think designedly obscure.

the right and left wings, and the main body of his army, to the most honorable and faithful of his servants; and, separating his baggage and followers from his army, with a select^k body of men, strong and brave as Roostum,^l and his artillery burning his enemies, remained formed for action.^m

It happened, at this time, that the Nawaub was seated on his Koorsi, or chair, in a garden beneath a banyan tree, and was viewing the various evolutions of the troops, when the disgraced Commandant, who was standing among the Nawaub's body guard, immediately climbed up the tree like a rope dancer,ⁿ and hid himself among the branches and leaves, in such a way that the Nawaub should know nothing of the matter. It chanced, at that very moment, that the fortune of the battle turned,^o or was reversed, for the breeze of victory began to blow on the standards of the General; so much, indeed, that at one charge he drove all the advanced parties before him, and, rushed on straight to the garden, like a whirlwind, or hurricane, pouring forth the storm of his fury. The Nawaub, on seeing this attack, ordered his officers and the Bukhshees to draw the artillery from under the cover of the garden,

^k چند

^l رستم توان شدو بریان

^m The commencement of the action is not described.

ⁿ دارباز

^o قضیه جنگ منعکس گردید

and bring the guns to bear on the rear^p of the General's army; and the musketeers and archers to keep up a well directed fire and discharge from both flanks; and these orders were immediately put in execution. At this time the Nawaub sent for his horse, (a bit of lightning), to stand near him, when the Commandant called out aloud, from the top of the tree, "this is the moment for a man to show his manhood."^q The Nawaub, looking up to the top of the tree, smiled, and put off his mounting on horseback. The cavalry of the body guard and the cuirassiers^r were now put in requisition, to arrest the progress of the enemy. The mighty elephants, also, armed in all ways, were drawn up along the front as a wall, while, like lions, the conquering troops plying their swords, bows, and spears, despatched a great multitude to eternity. But, in spite of this, the English troops, perfectly steady and unshaken, withstood all attacks, and with their muskets, bayonets, galloper guns, and howitzers,^s raining fire, kept open the gates of death before the faces of their opponents, and made the battle-field like a rose-garden

^p عقب

^q Intimating, I believe, that Hydur should remain where he was.

^r فولاد پوش

^s رھکلہ This word signifies a bullock-cart or carriage.

with the blood of the faithful. In this state of the contest, the Prince Tippoo, and other officers, however forcibly they represented, that this was not a place in which the Nawaub could remain ; that, the English with matchless bravery, had arrived near, and that the Nawaub's troops, after fighting hard to stop their progress were mostly killed and wounded ; that, the plain was soaked with the blood of the slain on both sides ; and that they now hoped the fire of Hydur's anger, would be extinguished by the pure water of mercy ; still the Nawaub, notwithstanding their entreaties and arguments, would not stir from the place, but ordered another line of musketeers, archers, and rocket^u or riflemen to cover the front of his position, and there he remained. The faithful servants of the Nawaub, being now without resource, thronged under the tree, and having, by signs and threats, disturbed and alarmed the brave Commandant, they induced him to come down from the tree, and with his hands tied, to fall at the feet of the Nawaub, whom he thus addressed. " Huzrut, mount your horse, this is a dangerous place, and not proper for you to remain in. Leave this deserted garden to the crows and owls,^u and to-day plant your victorious standards, exalted as the sun and moon, in the plain of

جزال

^u Meaning the English army, apparently.



Arnee. Please God, to-morrow we will give our enemies such a defeat, that no one shall be able to find out what has become of them till the day of Judgment. The Nawaub after this mounted his horse and rode towards Arnee.

The truth is, that to bear the infirmities of temper of the brave man, and to allow him every encouragement, is indispensable to all kings and princes. In short, the commandant alone, from that place putting his horse to speed, charged like lightning straight into the ranks of the English troops; and, in spite of the showers of balls falling around him, he with his sharp sword having cut down a drummer and a standard bearer, notwithstanding he himself was wounded by a ball in the forehead, and had received a bayonet wound in his side, brought off the English flag, and returned to the presence, where he presented it to the servants of the Nawaub, and, in his honest plain spoken manner said, "this is a proof of what cowards can do." As a reward for his bravery he received a thousand praises and acknowledgments, with the honours of a valuable gorget, a dress with an embroidered vest, pearl necklace, the Nawaub's own shawls, &c.; and he also raised the head of dignity, by being restored to his rank^v and command in the army.

But, to return—when the Nawaub proceeded towards Arnee, and encamped there, the General encamped at Dhoby Gurh, and on the second day he marched to Aliabad. The troops of the Nawaub, however, still vigorously attacked the General's army on all sides; and, by suddenly charging them, and plying them with rockets, they carried away strength and stability from the feet of the infidels. After the General had encamped at Aliabad, the Nawaub thought he perceived that his views lay towards the Ghaut of Chungum, and the Barh Mahl; or, that he was preparing to march to Trichinopoly, under cover of the hills and forests. He, therefore, marched from Arnee towards Bagmar Peenth, where he displayed his victorious standards, and intimated to his Kuzzaks, and rocket-men, that they should have free liberty to plunder as much as they pleased; and eager for the spoil of their enemies, they came upon the heads of the English, like a black thunder cloud, and rained a perfect storm of musketry and rockets on every side of their army. Many of the men and women from Bengal, and the Sameris,^w (a low tribe from the Karnatic), with loaded camels and bullocks, were taken prisoners and made slaves. The English army was, in consequence, thrown into confusion, and sought

^w These people are called Dares in Hindostan.

the cover of the river Anumungalum, where they halted till the evening. In the course of the night they marched on to the front of Hydur's outposts;^x for, in the way of protection, several Risalas of Musketeers, and four or five pieces of cannon, had been posted near Arnee, to command the road. Night, however, had drawn the veil of sleep and forgetfulness over the heads and faces of their courage, when, all at once, the English made an attack, and two of the guns were taken. The battalion of Hydur Ali Beg, Risaldár, who was then advancing, met and mixed with the troops of the enemy and a furious battle followed, in which a great number of men were killed and wounded, and the remainder drew themselves off to one side from the contest. The General, therefore, pressed on and surrounded the fort of Arnee; and determined to take that fort; and, certainly, several regiments of the British exerted themselves nobly; for, keeping up a continual fire, they advanced even to the gate. Nevertheless, the Killadár, whose name was Sidi Imám, behaved like a hero, in repelling his enemies; and, by a continual fire of cannon, musketry, rockets, hand-grenades, and stones, he beat back his assailants. Indeed, he himself, with a few good swordsmen, leaving the fort by a postern gate, fought with

^x ہمیش منقلائی

so much intrepidity, that the stories of the prowess of Roostum and Isfendiar were thrown into the shade by his actions, and a river of blood flowed from the field of battle. But, to return—Even the General himself, for the sake of justice, was compelled to bestow a thousand praises on the bravery and devotion of the garrison; and, suddenly retiring from the fort, he forthwith proceeded on the road to Wandiwash. The Nawaub although he quickly followed him, could find no opportunity to attack him to advantage; he, therefore, encamped on the plain of Turwatoor, and the General, after halting two days at Wandiwash, marched towards Madras. The Nawaub then moved towards Timri, where he cantoned his troops for the rainy season.

About this time, spies reported that in consequence of the oppressions of the magistrates and petty officers of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, all the towns and villages of Koimbetore, Dindigul, and Paulghaut, were deserted and left with a lamp,^y *i. e.* an inhabitant; that the Peasantry had been ruined, and the idolators^z had set fire to the mosques and houses of the people of Islām, and had raised the standard of rebellion in those provinces, far and near; that, promptly seizing the opportunity, the Naimars of Kalikote had also trodden the path of

^y بي چراغ

^z عبدة اوثان

deviation, or irregularity, had raised the head of pride and insolence, and had filled the country with terror; and that they had sent for a body of English troops, from Mudhura, and with their aid continued to plunder, and spill the blood of God's people.

When this news reached the Nawaub, he despatched the Prince, (Tippoo), with a large force and artillery, to reduce that country to order; that is to say, Koimbetore, Paulghat, &c.; and four thousand horse, under the command of Lala Chu-beela Ram, with the Risala of Sultan Singh Silladár, were sent to ravage the district of Nelloor, and to collect grain and bullocks. Maha Mirza Khan Bukhshi, and Noor-ulabsar Khan, with two or three thousand horse, were sent to take possession of the districts of Kalistri, Vinkut Giri, and Bimraj, &c., the territory of the refractory Poligars. A Firman also, in the name of Mukhdoom Sáhib, who was Governor of the country south of Puttun,^a and other officers of the frontier, was issued to the effect, that the Nawaub had heard that the infidel Naimars had withdrawn their heads from the collar of obedience and service, and did not consider themselves restrained, or held back, from plundering their own country, and it was therefore necessary they,

^a Seringaputtun. The word Puttun signifies a city and it is therefore common to many cities in India.

(the officers), should, in future, to the utmost of their ability, prevent those pagans from doing any injury to the peasantry or the poor inhabitants. When this Firman was received by Mukhdoom Sâhib, he assembled his troops, and, with the officers of revenue, and pioneers,^b marched to that quarter.

The victorious Prince, after quitting his father's presence, had proceeded by forced marches to Oontatoor, by the route of Tyag Gurh, when spies arrived with news, that a body of troops from Trichinopoly and Tujawur, (or Tanjore), had joined, with an intention to reduce the forts of Turkat Pilli, Shah Gota, and the Ghaut of Munniar Koodi; that, although Syud Sâhib had exerted himself to the extent of his power to repel these troops, he had been unsuccessful; for, from want of experience, the officer commanding the troops with him, had frequently been shamefully defeated by the Kullurs^c of Tondiman, and the regular cavalry of Tanjore; and was so cowed or disheartened, that it was probable all that part of the country had by this time been overrun and conquered.

Immediately on receiving this information, the Prince galloped his horse^d towards that quarter,

^b These are called in the language of the country Muniwar and Kawuligur.

^c کولر

^d Shubdez—The horse of the Princess Shirin.

and arrived there, swift and sudden as the stroke of fate, but, before the period at which the Prince could arrive there, a circumstance accidentally occurred, which doubtless may be considered as very surprising. It appears, that one night a party of English troops marched from Trichinopoly to assault the fort of Turkat Pilli, and that a detachment, (also English), marched at the same time from Tanjore, for the same purpose ; and that, without the knowledge of each other, both these parties at the same time, arrived and raised ladders, and at one assault scaled the walls and towers of that fort. The garrison not being able to oppose their assailants, escaped by a postern and hid themselves in some place near the fort. On one side, one of the parties having mounted the wall, fired a volley ; the party on the opposite side, conceiving the fire proceeded from the resistance of the garrison, and that they were approaching, also advanced keeping up a continual fire. In this way, these parties fought, without knowing each other, for more than ten minutes, and displayed their courage among themselves, until near six or seven hundred men on both sides were killed or wounded. At this time, one of the officers called out to his men, in the English language, "forward, and charge your enemies." The officer on the other side, hearing



his own language, called out aloud, "Hold your hands, we are Englishmen," and (the firing being therefore discontinued), the two officers, advancing, shook hands with each other, and felt ashamed of their bad look out, and want of caution. Then, taking whatever stores were in the fort, they marched towards Shahgota. The next morning the infantry of the garrison returned into the fort and remained there until the Prince arrived, who, when he heard the adventure of the night before, smiled like the dawn of the morning. He, however, withdrew the garrison, and left the fort empty.

When the English battalions left this place, they joined some of the Kullers of Tondiman with their force, and surrounded and assaulted the fort of Shahgota. The officer who commanded in the fort was a Soubadár, of the name of Shaikh Hu-meed, and he, with a garrison of about two hundred men, manned the walls and towers;—and, not suffering himself to be frightened by his enemies, defended himself with great spirit, pouring such a heavy fire of musketry, with all kinds of fire-works or missiles, from the top of the walls, that the assailants could not stand it, but fled in confusion. Having collected and reformed their men, the defeated officers were about to try a second



assault, when, all at once, the sound of the kettle-drums, and trumpets of the Prince's army, reached their ears, and they became aware that a reinforcement had arrived. They, therefore, made haste to retire, under cover of the hills and jungle, to Sheo Gunga. The Prince that day encamped before the fort; and, after bestowing on the Soubadár a thousand commendations in reward for his gallant conduct, made him a present of a pair of gold armlets, a puduk, or gorget, and a jowmala,^e or a string of pearls, and took him on with his army.

In this state of things, news arrived from the Pass or fort of Munniar Koodi, that one night a party of English troops attacked that fort, the garrison being absent on a night expedition to collect cattle and grain, in the towns depending on Sheo Gunga; and that the Náik of the fort, with twenty soldiers, and a few women, belonging to the soldiers and residing in the fort, when they became aware of the arrival of the enemy, not knowing they were English troops, and supposing them Kullurs of that neighbourhood, shut the gate, and prepared to receive them. All the women therefore assembled, and mixing cow-dung and water, heated pots and kettles full of this mixture over the fire, until

^e A string of small pearls probably, as Jowmala signifies a string of barley.



the assailants had placed ladders against the wall and mounted, when the women, all at once raising a great shout, discharged the pots full of this boiling hot water on the heads of the storming party; while large pieces of stone, which had been laid in order on the wall, were also without ceremony cast over on them. On the other side, the little garrison gallantly pressed forward to repel the enemy, and pierced the breasts and heads of many of the assailants with balls and arrows, so that they all at once took to flight. Hearing the report of muskets from the fort, the foot soldiers of the garrison, who had gone forth to forage, or make a night attack, now hastened to return, and for the honour of the Hyduri state, fell briskly upon the enemy's rear. The storming party, being therefore hopeless of success, retreated.

The Prince was highly pleased at this exploit, but withdrew the garrison; and, having sent for them, he gave to each of the foot soldiers, as a reward for their bravery, a silver bracelet, or armlet, and to the Náik, a pair of gold armlets, and then marched towards Turwur Paleh. On the road, intelligence reached him, that the Poligar of Turwur Paleh, with his own troops, two hundred English soldiers, and the servants of Itebar Khan, the Collector of revenue, had marched from Tri-



chinopoly to his own district ; and, having collected much grain and cattle there, were returning again to Trichinopoly. On hearing this, the Prince immediately made a forced march in that direction, and came upon the heads of this detachment like a thick cloud, just as their officers were preparing to cross a deep river, and were sending over their baggage in boats, and baskets. The Prince instantly gave orders to attack and plunder them ; and the victorious troops rained upon them on all sides such a storm of arrows, rockets, musket balls, &c. that the officers of the enemy only, with the greatest difficulty, rowing hard in their boats, reached the opposite bank in safety. The soldiers threw themselves upon the rushing waters, like bubbles, and strove hard to escape, by striking out their hands, and feet, and, while they were in that condition, some of Hydur's brave troops, who could swim, cast themselves into this death-like torrent, shouting like thunder, and in their rage drowned some, but the greater part they drew forth like fishes, and cast them on the shore. The stores of grain, &c. were then placed on the heads of the prisoners, and despatched to the presence.

But, to return—The victorious Prince placed a strong garrison in Turwur Paleh, under the command of an officer named Mihi-ud-din Khan, Meh-



mun, and he himself marched straight to reduce Koimbetore, &c. The English army, which had left a garrison in the small fort of Kurroor, and had arrived in the vicinity of Dharapoor, on hearing of the rapid advance of the Prince, abandoned the whole of the heavy stores they had collected, and the same night entered Kurroor. From that place, however, they again marched at night, rashly intending to make a night attack on the Prince's army. It happened that, on the road, a spark of fire from a Hooka,^f which some one was smoking, was carried by the wind to a box of ammunition, laden on a bullock; and that exploding, blew up all the rest of the boxes of ammunition, and nearly a thousand soldiers were blown into the air, like kites and crows, and burned to death. The picquets of the Prince's army were first apprized of this, by the concussion, and the column of smoke, which arose: and they immediately marched and attacked the English on all sides, and killed the greater part of that force.—A few men, however, with a thousand difficulties, and disgraces, escaped from this place of slaughter and destruction to Trichinopoly.

Mukhdoom Sáhib, who was sent with a large force to punish certain rebellious Naimars, marched

^f A kind of tobacco pipe.

on to their districts,^g and, at all places wherever he marched or halted, he seized the property and violated the women of the rebellious infidels, and left no vestiges of their habitations ; and, despatching troops of soldiers, with instructions to root out the rebels, he utterly destroyed the Talookas or districts of the idolators. In the meanwhile, he took up his residence in a small fort.

At length, one day, a party of these pagans, with a body of English troops, which had arrived from Mudhura, marched together, attacked this fort, and opened a fire of arrows and musketry on it. Mukhdoom, whose life was drawing near its close, with two hundred brave fellows, made a sortie^h from the fort, and the enemy, according to an agreement previously made among them, surrounded him, and sought to take him prisoner. But that hero, not entertaining the slightest fear of the mob of his assailants, and the pride of Islām seizing him by the skirt of his honour and station, he with his brave soldiers charged them, like a falcon in the midst of a flight of

^g The names of the districts are not mentioned, except that they belonged to the country South of Pattun, Kalistri, Vinkut Giri, &c.

^h متوجہ رزم کاہ کر دیا



pigeons, and a river of blood soon flowed from the wounds of their enemies, inflicted by their spears and swords ; but he himself drank the cup of martyrdom.

CHAPTER XXXI.

An account of the Nawaub's last expedition, that is to say, his departure for his eternal abode in Paradise : and some account of the goodness of his disposition, his habits, his abilities, and the rules of conduct he prescribed to himself ; with other matters. Also, the death of General Coote, which occurred before the death of the Nawaub, in the same year, Hijri, 1196.—A. D. 1781-2.

THE Nawaub, after the battle of Arnee, retreatedⁱ and encamped in the plain of Trivatoor. In the month of Zikad, 1196, Hijri, after an accidental scratch on his shoulders, the support of the world, a deadly boil or abscess made its appearance, and when this was shown to an able physician, he having examined it, conceived it to arise from a disordered stomach, and endeavoured to remedy it by depletion and purgative medicines. No relief, however, followed this practice ; and, the abscess becoming larger daily, the pain broke down Hydur's strong frame, and the physician, having afterwards

برگردیده^۱



ascertained the distinctive signs of the disease, stated in private to the Nawaub, that it was a disease called Surtan,^j and that its best remedy was the application of a sheep's liver ; and that stimulating medicines, by dispelling the vapours of the body, and cleansing the blood, were the most likely to cure it.

As soon, however, as the Nawaub heard that the name of the disease was Surtan, he became certain that his last hour had arrived. He, however, did not allow fear or apprehension to assume a place in his mind, but remained absorbed in the order and regulation of his army and kingdom. About this time, spies brought intelligence, that that able officer General Coote had left this transitory world. On hearing this, the Nawaub sighed deeply, and said, " he was a wise and an able man, that he should by his experience have kept on equal terms with us."^k But, to return—In this state he remained a short time on the plain of Timri, and in the environs of Rani Peenth, and again some time at Mahimundul Gurh ; and from that he proceeded, by easy stages, to Poona, a town, two Kose north of Arkat, where he pitched his tents. Here, however, of a sudden, the disease assumed great malignity, and completely prostrated his strength and

^j A Cancer seemingly.

^k تا از ما بسربرد

spirits; and he was at length obliged to take to his bed. Yet, notwithstanding his ministers frequently represented the necessity of sending for his son Tippoo,—for that the Prince, had long desired to pay his duty to his father,¹—he in reply merely said “Why do you trouble me in this manner?” At length, however, he sent for his Moonshi, (secretary), to the presence, and ordered him to write to the Prince, to the following purport, “that he was to make all necessary arrangements in that quarter, (where he was stationed) as quickly as possible, and then return; that he was deeply to consider the result of all the necessary relations, and connexions^m of the government small and great; and that, if troops were necessary to his aid, he should send for them; for that, in matters of state, he had given him power to act at discretion or as he pleased; and that he was not to neglect or forget his duties to the government for a moment.” The next day the Nawaub threw open the doors of his treasury, and gave all the soldiers of his army every Kutcheri or regiment separately, the amount of one month’s pay as a gift. On the last day of Mohurram il Huraam, he asked his attendants what was the date

¹ MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

^m لوازمات دولت This paragraph is very darkly expressed.

of the month, they replied, "this is the last day of the month Zi Huj, and to-night is the first of Mo-hurru." ⁿ He then directed that water might be made ready for him to bathe, and, although the physician objected to his bathing, they turned him out of the tent, and the Nawaub bathed. Then, having put on clean clothes, he repeated some prayer or invocation on his finger, rubbing his face; and at the same time despatched two thousand horse to plunder and ravage the country of the Poligars north of Arkat, and five thousand horse towards Madras, for the same purpose, and to alarm the people there. He next sent for some of his officers, and gave them strict orders for the regulation of their departments, and afterwards swallowed a little broth, and laid down to rest. The same night his ever victorious spirit, took its flight to Paradise.—*Verses.*° "Be he a beggar or a conquering king,"—"both must depart from this pleasant abode (the world)"—"When death follows any one,"—"He allows not a moment's delay,"—"In this chapter all are powerless; lovers and friends,"—"Wife and children,"—"The body, which has been nurtured in wealth and luxury,"—"must at last sleep in the cold grave."

ⁿ The months of the Muhammadans are as is well known Lunar.

اکر باشد کدا یا شاه فیروز
 ببايد رفت زين کليخ دل افروز



“ The soldiers of death fear no armies ;”—“ They do not fear the warrior,”—“ A revolution of this round empty world.”—“ And at once Hydur, and what belonged to Hydur, passed away.”

Although a detail of the (excellent) disposition, and the powerful abilities of that pardoned great man, (Hydur), is far beyond the reach of either tongue or pen, still according to usage, one (good quality) for a thousand is here presented.

In penetration, and in store of practical wisdom, the deceased Nawaub took the lead from all the State Ministers, Princes, and Kings of former days. In grandeur of display, and in abundance of the elements or principles of opulence and greatness, he had no equal.^p He was the friend and protector of the soldier, and was altogether full of kindness and generosity. His court was magnificent; but, except himself, few dared to speak therein. Whatever he desired to be done, he himself ordered, and the rest of the assembly had no choice but to give their assent. He did not like great talkers, (or makers of long speeches;) the subject of conversation in his assemblies was generally relative to the order and regulation of kingdoms and empires, or to swords, muskets, jewels, horses, elephants, or invigo-

^p In the original, the sense is repeated in other words, as in other Oriental writings.

rating medicines. His understanding was wonderful. He entertained, to a boundless extent, the pride of rank and station, and the noble desire to attempt great things; but of foolish pride, or vain glory, he had none; he had expelled them from his mind. In all the cities and towns of his territory, besides news-writers, he appointed, separately, secret writers, and spies, to patrol the streets at night; and from them he received his intelligence. From morning till night, he never remained a moment idle. He was a slave to the regulation of his working establishments,¹ or manufactories, and, if any one of the officers or overseers of the works was indolent, or neglectful, he sent for him, and punished him according to his offence; telling him, at the same time, "We gave charge to you of this work, relying on your honesty and fidelity, why have you spoiled it?" When he sat down to table, he ate of all the dishes present; he, however, showed most fondness for salt and sour dishes. He finished his dinner with rice and peas.² He was not fond of sweet dishes. In his journeys or marches, he mostly subsisted on parched gram, (*Cicer arietinum*), almonds, and dry bread, made of rice, or jowar, (*Holcus spicatus*), and Khush-khush Soorkh, or as it is called in this coun-

کارخانه¹

² دال خشکه The Pigeon pea or *cytisinus cajanus*.

try, Raggi, (*Cynosurus coracanus*), with which he appeared well contented. In his dress, he was very fond of red, and na furmani, or purple, and the chintz of Boorhanpoor; the latter he wore continually. The turban he wore on his fortunate head was red or purple, one hundred hands, or cubits, in length. When he took his seat on the Musnud, he laid before him a shining short sword,* or dagger, with a hilt studded with diamonds.

All the operations or measures undertaken by Hydur's government, small or great, were superintended by himself in person; in so much, that even leather, the lining of bullock-bags, or tent-walls, and strands of rope, all passed under his inspection, and were then deposited in his stores. He kept all merchants, traders, and bankers, pleased with him, by making them kingly presents; and he also bought up their goods, with the greatest avidity, and at high prices. To horse dealers he gave presents of gold and raiment, besides the value of the horses he purchased; and so liberal was he, that if, on the road through his territories, any horse by chance died, he paid half the price of the horse, after the arrival of the tail and mane, with a certificate from the civil officers of the district. His loans, and advances of money

were scattered like sand over the face of the earth. His estimate of the value of the brave and experienced soldier, of whatever tribe or caste he might be, was very high; and any man, who had distinguished himself by his bravery, he heartily cherished and protected, and used his endeavours to promote and exalt him. Any experienced person, acquainted with business, he appointed Amil,^t Foujdár, or Ameen. He was, however, the enemy, of the indolent and luxurious; and the backs and sides of his negligent and extortionate servants were frequently softened by stripes of the whip. A man that had been removed from his place, after proof of neglect or mal-administration of his duties to government, or of extortion, extravagance, or oppression of God's people, and whose delinquencies were attested by official persons, was never restored to his office. He placed all offices of responsibility in the hands of wise and honorable persons. In all his departments, territorial and fiscal, present or absent, he maintained a newswriter, certain Hurkaras, and a secret writer; each of whom, without being acquainted with the others, acquired a knowledge of every action of his servants good or bad. Sometimes by night, secretly, and covered with a Gileem or blanket, he went out, alone, into the

^t Governor of a district, or town, and Collector of Revenue.

streets and lanes of the city, to ascertain the condition of the inhabitants, the poor, and strangers; and in camp he usually did the same. His months and years were generally spent in marches and expeditions; and, in fact, he considered his life, and the success of his measures, as dependent on his continual movements about the country. The delight given by new scenery, or a new ground of encampment, fresh springs, and the grateful shade of the tent, in no circumstances did he ever forego. For he did even as God in the Koran has commanded, "Go walk forth in the earth,"^u which passage plainly indicates the necessity for travel. In the training and education of his sons he took great pains, although he himself was apparently entirely illiterate, and had never learned to read or write. However, in the weight of his judgment, (delighting in difficulties,) given him by God, he surpassed all the learned and wise of his time; and, although sparing of speech, yet, when he did speak, his language was extremely pleasing and appropriate. To enable him to sign public documents, a qualification indispensable to rulers of kingdoms, he with much labour copied, until he could write, the form of one letter; the letter ح which he wrote reversed, in this manner ج. Yet, as has been before

فسير واقي الارض "



mentioned, he was very solicitous regarding the education of his sons, and appointed men of his court to the duties of tutors and servants to them, who made him acquainted with every particular relating to their manners and conversation; and sentinels, from the Nawaub's guard, were placed around their houses or tents.

Whenever, the Sâhibzada, (Wala Kudr) Tippoo, was commissioned to repel enemies, or to attack forts, to whatever quarter he might be sent, he was first summoned to the presence, and the Nawaub with his own lips told him, that he had selected him for this service, because he found him worthy in all matters to be employed; that he committed a force of so many horse and foot, so many guns, and a treasury of so much money to his orders; and that he must take great care no neglect occurred, and, using great prudence and caution, return successful. He then dismissed him. The officers and men, who were placed under Tippoo on this occasion, were also sent for, and strictly enjoined that, as the Prince was young, they should never allow him to be separate from them, or peril himself by inconsiderate rashness; but, on the contrary, consider his safety at all times, as placed at their responsibility by their faith and agreement. When, fortunate and victorious, the Prince returned to the

presence from his expedition, he was again placed under surveillance, as above related. In truth the well-bred and those who have acquired the sentiments and manners of the exalted,^v never allow their children to associate or play with the low^w or vulgar, and thereby fall, and be degraded from their station and rank.—*Verse*. “To avoid the friendship of bad men is profitable:” “the company of Assafoetida^x will spoil the finest musk.”^y It is very frequently seen, that the children of great men, by reason of too great liberty, the exceeding indulgence of the Father, and the society of low people, have so far sunk from the footing of nobility, and rank, that, they have never again raised the head of respectability. But, to continue—The young Princes had permission to sleep in their Zunanas, or women’s apartments, only every fourth night.

On most occasions, Hydur used patiently to bear with the petulance and coarseness of the brave men in his service. As, for instance, one day, in the Nawaub’s Court, or assembly,^z some recollections of the battle of Churkoli were introduced. The Nawaub^a said, that on that day his whole army, had followed the path of cowardice; that, they had run away before his face; that no one with his

^v والا فطرة

^w اوباش

^x انگوزه

^y مشک اذفر

^z مجلس

^a بزبان مبارک

sword in his hand had exerted himself faithfully ; and, that they, (the officers,) to save their own lives, had sacrificed those of their men. Among those who were present there, was Yaseen Khan Wunti Koodri, who had followed the path of faith and honour in that battle, and who had there devoted, as a charitable donation^b to the sword and spear, the whole of his body, and one eye ; and he said, in answer, “ Yes, Sir, (Bulli Huzrut,) what you say is true ; for such occurrences arise from fate, and depend on the will and power of no man. Yet, this eye of mine, for what was it put out ?—and for what man, (using a term of low abuse), did I lose the blessings of sight, the pleasure of beholding the lights and shades^c of this many coloured world, the object and delight of life !”—The Nawaub smiled at this, and said,—“ I did not mean you.”

One day, also, he gave the Commandant Muhammad Ali, some orders relative to a military movement ; and the Commandant, to complete his charge, required a sum of money, or a military chest, The Nawaub, at this request, became very angry, and said “ By this account thou takest monthly a large sum in gold, as much as thy mother’s dower, or marriage present,^d and spendest it in

^b وقف

^c حسن و قبح

^d مهر مادر Allusions of this kind are considered very indelicate.

all manner of ways, and now, the time having arrived when there is something to do, thou demandest more money from me. Every piece of gold thou hast received up to the present day, I will recover from thee, and, after putting thee in irons,^e thou shalt be added to the chain of thieves, or felons, deserving death, for thou hast spent much of the public money in worthless matters, and now, in time of need, thou wishest to reduce me to poverty." The hard featured and impudent^f Commandant, at this, turning his face from the Nawaub towards the Clerks of the Treasury, and, while speaking to them, alluding to the Nawaub, said "The depth of the Sirkar's (Nawaub's) understanding is evident! The old man is merely giving himself airs on his penetration and knowledge. In this matter money is indispensable, and, if not given, the measures of the government will be ruined." This impudent address was heard by the Nawaub; but he, with the indifference of a great man, and the indulgence he was accustomed to allow his servants, took no notice of the impertinence of his insolent though faithful officer, and merely told the people of the Treasury to give that vulgar,

طوق و زنجیر^e

شوخی منشی^f

greedy fellow, what he wanted. Occurrences similar to these happened frequently.

In the sciences of palmistry and physiognomy⁸ he was unequalled in his time or age. One of the keen glances of his exalted understanding did an immense deal of work. As, for instance, it decided without difficulty the enlistment of recruits, the merits of horses about to be purchased, and their price, the appreciation of valuable articles, (as the knowledge of the kinds and worth of precious stones), and the selection of them. It was equally available when he was listening to the subjects of despatches, territorial and revenue, individual^h applications, newspapers, (Ukhbar), and in issuing immediate replies, to every suitor, and to every one of these various and conflicting details. His profound knowledge also of the quality and value of arms, and instruments of war, occasioned him no trouble, but came to him as it were instinctively. To his strength of memory thousands of praises are justly due; for, although former great and mighty kings, and rulers, had the advantage of learning on their side, yet God, the true preserver,ⁱ never endowed any of them with the clear intellect and memory of Hydur.—*Verses*. "Every man is

⁸ قیافه و نظربازی

فرد یاد داشت^h

ⁱ حافظ Signifies memory and preservation.



made for his work ;” “the ability to perform his part being implanted by nature in his mind.”

One day, a religious quarrel took place between the Shiahs and the Soonnis, and the dispute had advanced, from the tongue and words, to hands and daggers, when the Jasoos, or spies, of the government reported the whole to Hydur. The Nawaub ordered both parties to be brought before him, and then said to them, “What foolish dispute is this; and why do you bark like dogs at each other?” The Soouni here replied, “Protector of the *World*, this spiteful man was presumptuous, in speaking of the successors of the last of the prophets, Muhammad, (on whom, and on his family and companions, be peace); the stars of the firmament of religion; and he even went so far as to use abusive language towards them, and your slave, at hearing him, felt as though a thorn had been broken in his heart.” The Shiah was next asked, in the same way, and he, according to the tenets of his false religion, said “Abubukr Sideek, the first Khálif, did so and so to Moortuza Alí, and Omr, the second Khálifah, did so and so, in regard to the lovely Fatima, and frequently ill-treated her. Knowing this, therefore, why are the descendents of the sons of Hussein to speak respectfully of such men.” The Nawaub, in his wisdom, not wishing to

hurt the religious feelings of either party, asked the Shiah, "Are those persons whom you reproach, alive?" The Shiah answered, "No." The Nawaub then, with the anger natural to his disposition, said to him, "He is a man who declares his opinion of the good, or evil, of another before his face, not behind his back. Do you not know that back-biting is unlawful? And I should think that, as you act in this manner, you must also be base born.^j If you ever again waste and destroy your time and that of the Sirkar in such an irreverent, wicked dispute, you may rely on it a camel bag^k and a mallet will be ready for you."¹

One day, in Hydur's court or assembly, people of both these sects, (Soonnis and Shiahs,) were present; and one of the Soonnut Jumaut related an anecdote of a traveller, who was proceeding on a journey on horseback. It happened, that the road was very miry, and, all at once, the hoofs of the horse sunk in a quagmire, and he stuck fast. The horseman, therefore, dismounted, and seizing the bridle, began to pull him out; saying, "Come forth, by the truth of the Sideek Abubukr!" The horse, however, did not move. He then said, "By the established justice of Huzrut^m (Omr,) Farook, come

^j حرام Signifies both.

^k شلیطه

¹ Seemingly alluding to some kind of punishment.

^m Term of respect.

forth!" But the horse made no movement. He then said, "By the strength of the understanding of Huzrut Osman, step forward." The horse, however, still remained stock still. At length, he exclaimed, "By the might and valour of the great Moortuzvi, or Moortuza, (Alī), step on!" The moment he said this, the horse, plunging, came out of the mud. The horseman, now drawing his sword, said, "O horse, thou art become a heretic! (Rafizi), thou art of no use to me;" and with one stroke of his sword he cut off his legs. On hearing this story, the Nawaubⁿ smiled, and said, "A wonderful fool this man must have been! Did he not know that he who was the strongest brought the horse out of the mire!"

Sometimes he was fond of sporting his wit,^o or of joking, with his associates or companions, particularly with Alī Zuman Khan. At the time the Souba of Sura was conquered, the Nawaub, one day mounted his horse to look at the city, and rode through the streets and lanes. Now it is the fashion of the city, that there are many tombs in front of the doors of the houses, and also in the streets or roads.

ⁿ This story shews that Hydur Ali, although he trimmed between the two parties, like most uneducated Mussulmen in India, was a Shiah.

The Nawaub, therefore, asked those who were with him, how these tombs became placed in the middle of the town. Those persons replied, that, apparently, the whole space had been formerly waste land; but now, men seeing that God's people were protected, and the peasantry encouraged, by His Highness, they had assembled from all parts and had built the city. The Nawaub said, "A truce to your compliments! Do you not know, that these men and women died fighting for their houses?"^p

The word Lowndika, which means the son of a slave girl, a term much in use among the Dukkanees, was also continually on the tongue of the Nawaub, and, if he was angry with any one, he called him by this name; but, it was also used as an endearing, fond, appellation, to which was attached great favour; until, one day, Alí Zumán Khan, by inferences and hints represented to him that the word was low, discreditable, and not fit for the use of men of knowledge, and rank. The Nawaub smiled, and said, "O friend, you and I are both the sons of slave women, and the two Husseins only, on whom be good wishes^q and Paradise, (or acceptance with God,) are the sons of a Bibi, or lady." These

^p Alluding perhaps to the quarrelsome character of the Dukkanees.

^q 



words highly pleased those who were present, and they fully agreed with him, for this reason, that the title of the illustrious mother¹ of those great men is the lady or Queen of both worlds.²

Whenever he despatched a body of troops to perform any particular service, he was never free from anxiety respecting that force ; constantly supplying them with all things necessary, as money, military stores, and grain for men and cattle. In the repairs of the forts which he took, and the construction of new walls or defences, he expended hundreds of thousands of pounds ; as, indeed, the state of most of the strong hill forts in the Payanghaut and Balaghaut will afford sufficient testimony.

The name of cut purse,³ thief, or highway robber, was erased from the records of the cities, towns, and villages, of his dominions ; and if, by accident, any highway robbery, &c. was committed, the Kawuligur, or guard, of that part was impaled without delay, and another person appointed to his office ; one who feared God, and had a tender heart. He kept his troops always in good humour, by gifts

¹ Fatima.

² The veneration of the Shiabs for Fatima, approaches nearly to the devotion, or worship, offered to the Virgin Mary by the Catholics.

and favours, and his peasantry highly pleased, by (favourable) assurances and agreements.

During the whole of his reign, the only innovations he made were in the impression of the Hoon, or Pagoda, on one side of which was the letter τ , and on the other dots; and in the half pence^v or copper coins, the currency of this country, on one side of which is impressed the figure of an elephant. The reason of this latter was, that Hydur's own elephant, called Poon Guj, an extremely handsome animal in its form and proportions, and very steady in its paces, in so much that Hydur prized him above all his other elephants, died suddenly; and Hydur, being much grieved at his death, to perpetuate his memory had his figure stamped on his copper coinage. He made no other change. About this time, however, being one day very angry with his Ohdedars, and Howalehdars, the civil officers of his working departments, who had spoiled some work committed to their charge, by chance the Darogha or master of the mint presented himself, and asked the Nawaub what device he would have struck on his new copper coinage. Hydur, in a violent passion, told him to stamp an obscene figure^v on it; and he, agreeably to these orders, struck that day four or five thousand of these coins, and they

فلس و کاس مسی

کیر

passed among the currency for some time. At length, certain learned men made a representation to the Nawaub on the subject, and the coins were called in, and melted down. The pence and half pence of the elephant are, however, still current.

Every Monday night, whether marching, or halting, he had a set of dancing^w girls, with foreheads like Venus, and countenances like the moon, to dance before him. In the time of the Dussera, the Eed or festival of the Mahrattas, although this was a custom of the Infidels, to follow which he in his heart was averse, still, with a view to please and gain the affections of the Mysoreans, that is, the descendants of Jug^x Kishen Raj Oodere, and his ministers; for to the deceased Nawaub every heart was dear; and, also, because the service or agency of infidels is not infidelity; he held a banquet of ten days, and the sons of Kishen Raj, and also of Nundiraj, were admitted to the presence; and, for two or three hours, the Nawaub amused himself, by seeing fire works, the fighting of stags, the fierce attacks of buffaloes, and the charges of elephants, like mountains, on each other, and the boxing and wrestling of strong prize fighters, who in the Dukkun are called

طایفه^w

^x See an account of the Hindoo Princes of Mysore in Col. Wilks's History of that country.

Jetti. A Ghirbal,^y or circular enclosure, having been formed, in front of the Jetti Mahl, or theatre for prize-fighting, and a chained tiger placed therein, asses, to which strong spirits had been given instead of water, were let loose on the tiger; and, on seeing the bounds or leaps of the tiger, and kicking and braying of the asses, the Nawaub was accustomed to laugh, and be much amused. Abyssinians, also, dressed in woollen armour,^z with staves of sandal wood, were set to fight with bears. Some of the Nawaub's bravest servants, at their own request, were also selected and placed in the circle against a fierce lion or tiger. In firing at a mark, with a musket or matchlock, there was not in the world the Nawaub's equal; for, in the midst of the circle was fixed a plantain tree, and the man who was fighting with the lion was ordered to attack him round or under cover of the tree. If in the event the brave man conquered, and slew the lion or tiger, he, with presents of gold, dresses, and increase of pay, was rendered independent of all worldly want; but, on the contrary, if the tiger was conqueror, and had cast the man on the ground, the Nawaub took up his matchlock, and fired with such unerring precision that the ball passed through the tiger's head, and the man rose up uninjured.

^y غریبال

^z خفتان

At the commencement and end of his government, to terrify his adversaries, he was accustomed to order the ears and noses of the Mahratta and other prisoners to be cut off; and in the expedition to Arkat, at the suggestion of some of his villainous eunuchs, many of the loveliest maidens there, of any tribe, either with the consent of their parents or relations, or by force, were sent for, and compelled to submit to his embraces. Beautiful Slave girls, not arrived at womanhood, whom he had acquired by the same means, were also sent by him to the Natuk Sala,^a in the women's apartments, (for instruction in singing and dancing.) The Nawab was accustomed to shave his beard, moustaches, eyebrows, and eyelashes. He was very dark, and strong bodied, but of middle size.

The impression on his seal was the following verse :

بہر تسخیر جهان شد فتح حیدر اشکار
 لافتا الا علی لا سیف الا ذوالفقار^b

“Futteh Hydur was manifested, or born, to conquer the world. There is no man equal to Ali and no sword like his.”

His pocket seal bore the words فتح حیدر

In fine, from the beginning of the rise of his

^a The theatre of the Hindus.

^b A sword taken by Muhammad from an Arab at the battle of Budr, which descended to Ali.

fortune, to his death, his conduct was distinguished by vigilance, experience, and wisdom.

Some person found the date of his decease in the following sentence,

اه مرد حیدری دل رفت

“ Ah ! the Lion hearted man is dead.”

And another has found the date in these words,

جان بالاگھات برفت

“ The life or soul of the Balaghaut is gone.”

The numerical value of these letters gives the date 1196 Hijri.

ختم بالخیر



SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

THE following character of Hydur Alí, is translated from a Persian work called Ahwali Hydur Náik, No. 1845,—in the East India Company's Library. The author appears to have been a certain Mirza Ikbal.

This book which is written with apparent candour, certainly with no partiality to Hydur, after premising that there are many different accounts of Hydur's origin, states that he himself was accustomed to assert that he was derived from the Kings of Bejapoor; and that when their Government ended, and Sultan Sikundur, the last King of Bejapoor was killed, he left a son eight years of age, who was saved from his enemies and with a few jewels, taken secretly by his mother to Kirpa,^c where he remained unknown until he died, leaving a son who entered the service of the Afghans of Kirpa, as did his son also.

^c Cuddapah.



The last mentioned, left two sons, who served the Afghans of Kirpa and Kurnole in the lowest grade of military rank, that of Náík, or corporal of regular infantry.^d

The son of one of these men (whose name is not mentioned,) was named Muhammad Náík. His son was Alí Náík, and his son Futteh Náík. Futteh Náík had two sons, Hydur Náík and Shahbaz Náík. Hydur it is said, was born at Sura.

When Hydur's fortunes first rose, on the ruins of those of the Raja of Mysore, his humble and agreeable manners attracted from all parts many adventurers to his service ; and it appears that, in his Durbars, or levees, he assumed no distinction between himself and one of his private troopers, nor were any deductions made from the pay of his soldiery.

When, however, the Raja of Mysore was deposed, Hydur began to raise the head of pride. By degrees, he became strange, and forgetful, asking the names of his former friends, and requiring from them sundry obeisances, and respectful observances ; and, when his territory and army increased, he gave his troops only a month's pay in six weeks, and this, also, with the deduction or difference of Shumsi

^d بار so called, perhaps, because when formed they resemble a wall, or hedge.

and Kumri, or solar and lunar months. For instance, if a man was engaged in the service, nominally at five hundred rupees a month, he was paid for a period of six weeks, (called there a month), by Puttie, or Order, three hundred rupees only; so that, in fact, he received but two hundred rupees a month, and so with the rest, in proportion.

As his troops gradually became quiet and orderly, so in the same degree did he become vicious, and they were exposed to abuse and the whip, or heavy headed cudgel,^e and the stick or rattan.^f Towards the end of his reign he abandoned all consideration for any persons, however respectable; these persons, too, having been attracted to his service by delusive promises and dissimulation. He gave them, notwithstanding, the vilest abuse, and for the least fault put them to death. In his Durbars or levees no one dared converse, or even whisper. If any one had a wedding in his house, he could not invite any friends, except through the Nawaub, and the agency of his servants; and, even then, he gave his Wordi Hurkaras^g orders to go and see and hear what was said and done. These men, therefore, were in general bribed not to tell

^e تڙماڻ

^f چماڻي

^g وردی an English word adopted by Hydur.



the truth ; but he believed all they told him. If he had advanced any one of his servants money, the third part of his pay was stopped until the amount was refunded ; and if any one paid the debt on demand, he was accustomed to demand interest, under the pretence that he had borrowed the money from a banker for him. But, when he had obtained the interest, he said “ this man is rich, why did he borrow money from me ? seize his goods,” and, accordingly, his property was sometimes confiscated, or stolen by thieves set on by Hydur’s authority.

When he was on the field of battle, contrary to his former custom, when all he required was done by the influence of kindness and friendship, now, he looked stedfastly at the enemy, and said to his own horsemen,—“ Do you see that man, standing yonder with his soldiers ?” That man is your Father ^h—you must kill him, or be killed ; for, if you come back without killing him, I will certainly put you to death myself in this very place ;” as, indeed, to inspire terror, he had before often done. And when stimulated and forced on by the abuse he gave them, the horse had charged the enemy he sent for the Sauises (grooms or horsekeepers) of the cavalry,

^h The insinuation intended to be conveyed by these words is not to be expressed.



and, giving them bamboos and shoes, he placed them in line, himself taking post in the rear of the whole, and giving orders to them to strike and beat any one who retreated. The poor horsemen, forced on by the disgrace of the stick, and the torrent of abuse following them, gave themselves up to death uselessly. He never, however, took the pains to bury them after they were slain. As an instance of this neglect; one day, that a great battle had been fought between him and the English General Coote, the General, after the battle was over, despatched a message to Hydur, stating that his (Hydur's) horsemen had done their duty, and fulfilled the conditions of their contract with him, by sacrificing their lives in his service, and that it was now time he should perform his duty, as their master, and direct some one to bury their bodies. Stung by the sharp reproof conveyed in this message, he immediately sent for Meer Muhammad Sadik Khan, his Dewaun or Minister, and ordered him to bury them. In reply, however, to General Coote, he merely said, that he did not want any of his advice.

If any one was sent in command of an expedition, and was delayed or unsuccessful, he was on his return sent for to the presence, and severely reproached by Hydur himself. If, on the contrary, he did his work soon and was successful, still, on

his return, he was abused for having, (as Hydur said), sacrificed the lives of his best men in rash, and profitless attacks. In fact, in his life he was never known to praise any one. In all his measures he availed himself of the aid of threats and violence, to instil fear into men's minds.

He was accustomed to have a party of Bayaderes, dancing women, early every night at his tents. If the woman, who danced was a Hindu, she was required to wear a white dress ;—if she was a Musulman woman, a dress embroidered with gold. In her dancing, however, she was not permitted to laugh or smile, or display any wanton steps or gestures ; she was required to dance and sing slowly. Let there be ever so many men present, the attention and eyes of all were to be fully occupied, and absorbed, in the beauty of the Nawaub himself alone. If any of the men present cast his eyes towards the dancing girls, God preserve us ! the Nawaub would immediately call out “ Look ! look well ! for your mother, (meaning the dancing girl), has left her house, and is occupied in dancing in the midst of her husbands.” If it was any one of his friends, however, he was more civil.

During his government, his recruiting for the army was carried to that extent, that he even enlisted blind men. The reason of this was, that, as he was riding out one day, a blind man asked him

for alms, and he desired his Chobedâr, (silver stick), to ask the beggar if he would take service with him. The beggar consented, and Hydur sent him off to the arsenal, and directed that he might be employed in blowing the bellows of the blacksmith's forge, and also that he should be allowed every year two cotton cloths, and a falam or five annas, (about seven pence), a day ; and when the artillery marched, he was to be placed on one of the artillery tumbrils and brought along with them. He also directed the Darogha of his artillery to enlist as many blind men as he could find.

In the taking of towns, it was his custom, after the plunder of the inhabitants, to allow them to remain in peace. After a short time, however, he was used to assemble the Dullalah, [women who beat the Dohul, (a small drum), at marriages ;] and, as they are free to enter all houses, he required them to point out where the handsomest maidens resided. To those houses he sent, and seized the girls, and had them brought to him ; and among them those who were remarkable for their bloom and delicacy, elegance of form, length of hair, and complexion, he placed among his own women ; and, in general, these women were most in request¹ by him. They had also salaries, or es-

¹ حضور طلب

tablishments, and were placed under the Jamautdār of the women, one of his senior wives; as for the rest, he never sent for them again, but either returned them to their parents, or partitioned them amongst his followers. In this way he collected a great number of women, but his old wives were the chiefs of all the new ones.

On the day that was fixed for the Nawaub to visit the Mahl, or women's apartments, every Chief lady had her division of women, dressed in a different colour, and standing apart; the red party, the green, the violet, the yellow. Some wore rose-coloured dresses, others orange, the Nafurmani or purple, the spotted, white, gold, sandal, and Mokyyush. On these occasions they sat down near him, but he seldom spoke to them; nor did they speak, except his first wife, the sister of Meer Ali Ruza Khan, the mother of Tippoo. He was always very fond of her, and compelled the rest of his women to to pay their respects to her every morning. Sometimes, however, she and Hydur used to quarrel. On these occasions, he bore the violence of the lady's tongue with great resignation and patience; until, at length, rising up, he would say, "It is from fear of your tongue that I have given up entering the women's apartments."



When he came out and sat down in his private room, he was accustomed to tell his friends, such as Ghoolaum Ali Khan, Bahadúr, and Ali Zumán Khan, that Tippoo's mother had treated him very harshly indeed; that, he had not the courage to answer, or argue with her; that, when she complained, he had no choice but to leave the apartment; but that still he was fond of her, because she undertook, in her own person, the management of every thing in his house, and laboured for his welfare; but that she had a long tongue¹ and a high sounding voice, and that he was afraid to listen to her. However, that she should do as she pleased.

Every time he entered the women's apartments she was the first person he called; desiring her to come to him. She in reply, would say, "What do you want with me?" But he never entered the Mahl without taking some valuable presents to her.

His eating and sleeping was always outside the Mahl, but every night two or three of the ladies of his family were in attendance on him.

He was very stedfast in his word to his Talookdárs, (or revenue officers), and merchants; and with these two classes of men he was never known

¹ "From morn till night the shrill alarum rung."



to break his faith.^k And this was the mode of his agreements. If any of his revenue agents farmed a district from him, although he strove to raise the amount to be paid as high as possible, yet, if any profit was derived beyond the government money, he never took more than the precise sum stipulated; indeed, many persons have offered him the surplus; but he, in reply, said, "If the amount contracted for with government, had been short, I should have exacted the deficiency; and, therefore, if the farmer gets more, I have no right to interfere between him and his good fortune." If he confided to any one the charge of a district, God protect him if he took to the value of a blade of grass, besides the dues assigned to him by Hydur! he was sure to be flayed alive. Whenever information arrived, that so much money was due from the farmer of the revenue, he first sent for him and demanded the money, and, if it was not paid, he prepared to compel him by oppressive and cruel means, of which an account will be given hereafter.

His management with merchants, generally, was so excellent as to be beyond all praise; but more particularly his kindness to horse dealers. He, however, expected, while he extended his favour to

^k He never kept his faith with any one else.



them, that they also should conform to his pleasure, and that the horses they brought should not be sold until he had seen them ; and if any horse died after it entered his boundaries, and the tail and good evidence of the fact were produced, he paid half the price of the horse. He always saw the horses himself, and, having seen them, fixed their prices. After four days had elapsed, he sent for the merchants, and having paid them separately, for as many horses as he had approved, he presented them with an order for the discharge of the Rahdari or customs, and told them they must consider themselves his guests the next day, and after that depart. When the morning arrived, he sent them a number of measures of rice, some sheep, butter, and other materials for a feast. The result of his liberality was, that horses were brought to him from all quarters ; but, if any horse dealer sold a horse before Hydur saw it, and his Hurkaras became acquainted with the circumstance, he would neither buy any of the horses himself, nor allow any one else to buy them. For this reason, no other person could get a good horse ; and, if they bought any of the horses rejected by Hydur, they were generally dear and good for nothing.

As he never gave his servants leave to return to their own countries, they, pining to visit their homes,



clothed themselves like religious beggars, and ran away secretly with these horse dealers.

Notwithstanding the great riches which God from his hidden treasures had granted to him, he was at times so avaricious that even the pen is ashamed to write an account of his meanness. Sometimes, however, on the reverse, he became very generous; but, in fact, amassing wealth appeared to him as the renovation of his faculties.¹ Indeed, many men followed him to the field, and lost their lives there, to whom or to whose children or relations, he never gave a single farthing. He never gave his dancing girls, who every day danced before him, any thing beyond their yearly allowance, except, perhaps, a trifle on very rare occasions. On those days, when before the balcony (of the palace) a lion net was suspended, and a man and a lion were placed in the area, to fight together, if the lion killed the man, nothing was given; but if the man killed the lion, he received the present of a golden chain, or necklace. In general, however, he was so good a marksman with his matchlock, that he did not suffer the lion to kill the man.

During the Dussura of the Hindus, he was comparatively liberal to his friends, the prize fighters, wrestlers, &c.; but, after all he never gave much.



He never allowed any reduction of the allowances of the Hindu temples.

His memory was excellent; to that extent that he would recollect a word for years. Any one whom he had seen twenty years before, in the dress of people of the world, he would recognize, after that period, in the patched garment of a mendicant.^m It is related of him, that, one day, he told the Darogha of his stable to bring an old saddle, which had been laid by and neglected for a long time. When it was brought and examined, he said, "there is another saddle missing; it is a Mahratta saddle, with a housing of yellow broad cloth, moth-eaten, and I desired it might be wrapped up in a cloth, and taken care of." This also, on search was found, and he had given the orders he mentioned eleven years before.

As soon as morning appeared, he sat down on his chair,ⁿ and washed his face. During this, all his Hurkaras (spies and messengers) stood about him, on all sides, repeating the news and intelligence of the day before. His memory and his hearing were equally wonderful, for he could readily distinguish and comprehend the different voices, and details; this was really astonishing.

^m فقير

ⁿ Chowki, a kind of low stool or chair.

The people of Mysore would not give credit to what was said of him; but, on trying repeatedly, it was found that they were wrong, and this is the way in which it was proved. When the Hurkaras began repeating their news, whatever did not require inquiry was passed over in silence by Hydur; but, any news which required examination, or was important, after listening to it, he stopped all further talking, and entered seriously into the investigation of its truth.

Hydur Ali was a plain man, and free from vanity or self sufficiency. He was not fond of delicacies, nor particular in what he ate. He gave no orders about his table, but ate whatever they placed before him. His mode of living was, however, not like that of a man of rank, but rather like that of a private soldier. At his table twice a day some of his most intimate friends used to attend, but the shares, and food, of all were alike.

In his dress, also, he was not very particular. He did not wear his Jamah (tunic or coat) often; but a vest, open in front, made of a broad kind of white cloth which is called in India, Doria, that the width of the cloth might allow of its being broad at the breast.

On his head he wore a red turban, of a hundred hands in length, or a yellow turban of Boorhanpoor



manufacture. His trowsers were made of Masulipatam chintz; and he was fond of chintz, the ground of which was white, strewed^o with flowers. He wore diamond clasps on his wrists, and two or three diamond rings on his fingers. He slept on a small silken carpet; and this, and two or three pillows, were all he required for his bed.

He was not fond of the throne, or state display, unless on the festival of the Eed; when, if some of his friends reminded him of it, he ordered his throne to be spread or arranged in form.

On Tuesdays and Fridays, from the morning to mid-day, no one could enter his presence; for on that day he was shaved. First of all his head was shaved; after that, two barbers sat down, one on each side of him, and pulled out the hair of his beard, whiskers,^p and eyebrows, with a pair of tweezers. As an instance of his plainness approaching to folly, it is related, that there was in his service a one-eyed man,^q named Yasín Khan, whose nickname was Wunti Koodri; Wunti, in the Canarese language, signifying one, and Koodri a horse, or the master of one horse. This man always served singly; and, notwithstanding he was asked to accept a Risaldári, (the command of a regiment,) he constantly refused, and for

^o ریزه

^p سبیل

^q واحد العين

that reason assumed or acquired this name. Between him and Hydur there was frequently a great deal of wit bandied about, in the public Durbar, until, sometimes, it degenerated into abuse. This man at first shaved his beard and whiskers like those of the Nawaub Bahadúr; but, when he became old, he allowed his beard to grow very long. One day, using an indecent expression, the Nawaub asked him—why he allowed his beard to grow so long. In reply, he said, “Men call those eunuchs who shave their beards and moustaches.” This was in allusion to Hydur’s custom of shaving his beard, and also to the cause of Yasín Khan’s following his example, by shaving his.

In the battle fought between the Nawaub and Trimuk Mama, the army of the Nawaub was totally defeated, and his baggage plundered. After the battle, the Mahrattas searched about every where, that they might take Hydur prisoner; and they were all impressed with an opinion, that any man who had his beard and moustaches shaved must be Hydur Náík. In these circumstances, Yasín Khan Wunti Koodri, keeping his eye on the faith and gratitude he owed his master, immediately shaved off his beard and whiskers, and folding a turban round his head, after the manner of Hydur Alí, mounted a large horse, and with three or four horse-



men ranged over the field, as if they were men of rank seeking to escape. As soon, therefore, as the Mahrattas saw them, they made sure that Yasín was no other than Hydur Ali Khan himself; and they seized him and carried him to their officer. In the mean time, however, Hydur Ali by stripping off his clothes,^r had escaped, and had reached Seringaput-tun, the distance being about three Kose (four miles and a half). When the Mahrattas found that Hydur Ali Khan had escaped, and that the man they had taken was Yasín Khan, they released him from confinement, and, from that day, he used in jest to say, that he was the true, or original, Hydur Ali Khan.

It is well known that, from the commencement of his good fortune to his death, Hydur was very fearful of treachery; and, if any ambassador came to him from a foreign State, he took every precaution for his own security. For instance—when the late Nawaub Syud Futteh Ali Khan, and Ali Nowaz Khan, who were sent by Wala Jah with a message to Hydur, first arrived, they were placed in a Hindu temple, the same which he had converted into a fort, while contending with the Raja of Mysore; and, as it was on the bank of the river, the Nawaub Syud Futteh

در لباس هیولا^r



Khan, from the dampness of the air, was seized with an old complaint, a difficulty of breathing. Of necessity, Hydur was compelled then to send for them to the fort, where he gave them the house of Khundi Rao; but he stationed fifty Hurkaras, (spies), at the gate of their house, that every thing that was said or done might be reported to him daily.

But, leaving alone cases of this kind, his old servants, and the people of the towns in his territory, dared not speak a word to each other in the street. If they were mixed in a crowd, or friendly to each other, the spies seized, and dragged them off to the Durbar, (hall of audience), that they might be punished. In like manner, no one dared to speak privately with another in his assemblies,* for fear of his displeasure.

Whoever entered his dominions, had no longer any power or controul over himself; nor had he liberty to return as he came, until he received a pass or permit from Hydur's Government. By his power mankind were held in fear and trembling; and, from his severity, God's creatures, day and night, were thrown into apprehension and terror. Cutting off the nose and ears of any person in his territories, was the commonest thing im-



aginable; and the killing a man there, was thought no more of than the treading on an ant. No person of respectability ever left his house with an expectation to return safe to it.

If any one arrived in that country, (Mysore), who, from seeing the oppression there exercised, or from other impediments, did not ask for service, he was seized and examined, and was then forced to accept service, or was turned out of the town. If Hydur gave charge of a district on the faith^t of any one, he had no power to take a farthing from the revenue beyond his own allowance. But if he took any, and it was found out, the money was demanded, and, if paid, well; but if it were not, he was seized and tied with ropes, like a horse, before and behind, and, having been stripped naked, an order was given to flog him with a whip, and a number of Jowal Doze,^u beat him cruelly over the back and loins, after which salt was thrown upon his wounds. If he complained, he was beaten on the mouth with a shoe; and if he cried, red pepper, dried and pounded, was thrown in his eyes; and he was tortured in this way every day for a month, if he did not agree to pay the money. Besides this, every two or three days, iron spits or rods were made red hot, and he was burned or branded all

^t امانی

^u Sewers of leathern bags, &c.

over with them.^v This was in addition to imprisonment, starvation, and chains. As soon, however, as the delinquent had paid the money, Hydur's rage was softened, and he presented him with shawls, and golden chains, and again offered the same office to the poor man who had just escaped from death. But, if he refused to take it, the fire of Hydur's wrath was rekindled. His cruelty, however, was still greater, when exerted in extorting money from the Hindoos.

The author of the above character says that, for six weeks after Hydur was dead, no one in camp, except a very few of his chief officers^w knew of his decease. They had heard, indeed, that he was dangerously ill, but no more was known until Tip-poo arrived in the camp ; the duty in all the departments being carried on with the same regularity as before.

العهد علي الراوي

^v Of Hydur's cruelty there are abundant testimonies.

^w Meer Muhammad Sadik Khan, Dewaun Gholaum Ali Khan, Bukhshi, Kureem Sâhib, his youngest son, and Kumr-ud-din Khan, the son of Meer Ali Ruza Khan.





A statement of the number of troops in the service of Hydur Ali Khan, the chief of Seringaputtun, some few years since, added to a memoir of Hydur, by Mirza Ikbal, for Mr. Richard Johnson of Madras.

Hydur Ali's stable horse	5,000
Bede or Pindara horse	4,500
Sillahdárs or men enlisted with their horses and arms.	7,000
Workmen, as masons, bricklayers, &c.	14,000
Bár, or regular infantry	20,000
Attending the Presence or body guard	4,000
Garrisons, and detachments in differ- ent parts of the country : exceed- ing	100,000
Africans from Habsh and Zung Bar	1,400
Hurkaras, runners, spies	1,700
Pioneers	1,000
Servants of the household, tent Lascars, Chobedárs, &c.	700
Blacksmiths and carpenters in the ar- senals at Chundur Nuggur, Se- ringaputtun, Bangalore, &c.	3,200

162,500

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