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Nawwab Amiru'l-Hind Walajah 'Umdatul-Mulk
Asafid-Dawla Muhammad Ali Anwaru'd-Dln Khan
Bahadur Zafar Jang Sipah-Salar.

Referred to briefly in this book as Hazrat-i-A'la by the author.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY ISLAMIC SERIES-No. 4.

GENERAL EDITOR

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

**SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF
THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC
II**

TOZAK-I-WALAJAHi

(SECOND PART)

BY

BURHAN IBN HASAN

TUZAK-I-WALAJAHI

OF

BURHAN IBN HASAN

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., PI,
*Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu
University of Madras.*

PART II

**From the Battle of Ambur 1162 A.H. to the Capture of
Pondicherry, 1174 A.H. (1749.1761 A.D).**



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1939

PREFACE.

THE present volume is a continuation of that which was published in the same series about five years ago. It carries on the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic from the battle of Ambur to the fall of Pondicherry. That the appearance of this continuation has been so long delayed is due to a variety of causes, one being the absence of the editor out of India on study leave for two years. It is hoped to bring out the remaining parts of the Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic at an early date.

The period covered by this volume includes most of the events that tended in the direction of establishing the supremacy of the East India Company on the Coromandel Coast; occasionally the scope of the narrative takes us from the East Coast to the English settlements in Bengal. The book abounds in details of the indebtedness of the English to the rulers of the Walajahl dynasty in the Carnatic.

Of the Persian manuscripts that serve as sources of information for the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic, Burhan's *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* comes to an end with this volume.

The editor is highly indebted to the ready and generous help of Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachariar, M. A., Professor of History, Annamalai University, for the valuable historical notes. He is also grateful to his friend and colleague Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, for reading through proofs of this book and for making helpful suggestions.

*University Buildings,
Triplicane, Madras,
1st November, 1939.*

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR.

TRANSLITERATION

ا	a	ذ	<u>dh</u>	غ	<u>gh</u>
ب	b	ر	r	ف	f
پ	p	ڑ	r̥	ق	q
ت	t	ز	z	ک	k
ٹ	t̤	ژ	zh	گ	g
ث	<u>th</u>	س	s	ل	l
ج	j	ش	<u>sh</u>	م	m
چ	ch	ص	s̤	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ض	z̤	و	w
خ	<u>kh</u>	ط	t̤	ہ	h
د	d	ظ	z̤	ء	•
ڈ	d̤	ع	•	ي	y

Vowels

The short vowels are expressed thus:—

a	for	<i>fathā</i>
i	for	<i>kasra</i>
u	for	<i>ẓamma</i>

The long vowels are expressed thus:—

ā	for	long <i>fathā</i>
ī	for	long <i>kasra</i>
ū	for	long <i>ẓamma</i>

ay	to express	<i>fathā</i>	before y
aw	to express	<i>fathā</i>	before w

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

PART II

TOZAK-I-WALAJAHI—(Contd.)

The arrival of Hidayat Muhiyyitd-Din Khan at the city of Arcol; the return of the nobles of Pay an ghat; the departure of Abdul Wahhab Khan Bahadur towards the suba of Haydarabdd; Hazrat-i-Ala obtaining the deliverance of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur and his other brothers and relatives from imprisonment; the arrival of Hiddyat Muhiyytfd-Din Khan at the port of Phulcheri; the entertainment given him by M. Dupleix; his march to Tan fore with the idea of subduing it, and his unsuccessful return owing to the intervention of Bazrat-i-A'la.

After the battle of Amburgadh, Hidayat Muhiyy'n'd-DIn Khan hastened towards the suba of Arcot, where he found himself in possession of the reins of government, the *jagirdars* of the Nait community having submitted to him, and the zamindars of the land paid their allegiance to him just as he wished. He brought under his control the suba of Nellore also, Abdul Wahhab Khan Bahadur having gone away to

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATtC

Haydarabad on hearing the news of the martyrdom of his aged father.

There was great confusion in the land, and the people had become scattered. There was delay in the receipt of the revenues from the zamindars who were aware of the absolute authority of Hazrat-i-A'la and of the strength of Nattharnagar. Days passed on in fear and hope, and they were as hesitating as cats on a wall. The question as to whom they should submit to in the end occupied their thoughts. Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din-l^han became depressed and desparate because of his lack of money and he was disturbed at the idea that his troops might desert him. So, as an expedient, he agreed to set free on payment of three lacs of rupees (as ransom) Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, Muhammad Najibu'llah Khan Bahadur, Abdul Maali Khan, Afzalu'd-Din Muhammad Khan, Raja Sampath Rai and others who were prisoners in the hands of the treacherous enemy, and were wounded by the sword of cruelty. As soon as Hazrat-i-A'la heard this, he sent the stipulated amount through a responsible agent, obtained the release of his two brothers, his nephews and others from captivity, and invited them to his presence. Then, with great respect towards his elder brother, with compassion towards his younger brother, and with sincerity towards all, he laboured to give relief to their minds which had suffered the sorrows and pains of imprisonment. Since Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-DIn Khan had at the time of his liberating the prisoners conveyed to Hazrat-i-A'la through Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur an oral message demanding Nattharnagar, Hazrat-i-A'la according to the wise proverb " Self-confidence is bad " caused his brother to encamp at a distance of six *kurdh* from Nattharnagar.

To sum up: When Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan found leisure from the management of the affairs of the *suba*, he hastened towards the port of Phulcheri for the purpose of devising plans to subjugate Nattharnagar. M. Dupleix, the

UNSUCCESSFUL MARCH ON TANJORE

governor marched forth a considerable distance to receive him, and escorted him to the fort, where he had made preparations to adorn the table of hospitality, and arrange the carpet of merriment. They drank of the cup of friendship, and became so infatuated with each other that they exchanged dresses and each found in his mirror the reflection of the other. When, in the course of their talk, they turned to deliberate on the subject on hand, the host spoke enthusiastically as follows:—

"It is a weak imagination that thinks the subjugation of Nattharnagar easy. The attempt will bring the shame of failure. War against Muhammad Ali Khan (Hazrat-i-Ala) will bear no fruit. The striving in that direction will not bring any advantage. For he is a *sarddr* possessing great wisdom and sagacity. He is a commander (endowed) with understanding and power. He is most experienced in every manner of attack, and engagement. He is skilled in the methods of war; the master who subdues the kingdom; the king who wields an experienced sword. The superiority of his stratagem ties the hands of brave men. The boldness of his schemes will, with the aid of a straw blade, shake a hill to its foundations. In opposing him the enemy loses his head and becomes helpless. I had occasions to know his method of fighting, and regretted having opposed him. My fear is that a war with him will be prolonged, and will awaken all the dormant mischief. So first of all it is necessary for us to fill our coffers."

The other members of the council approved of his view;¹ and after an exhaustive enquiry into the situation they unanimously came to the following decision. "The zamindar of Tanjore is in possession of a vast treasure; his affairs are in great confusion; his army is a flock without a shepherd; his authority is only nominal. An army must march against him; we must *get* him under our control and seize his treasure. Then from that place we can spur the horse of our desire in whatever

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

direction we choose. For, Tanjore is adjacent to Nattharnagar. Its subjugation means the achievement of our desire."

This decision approved of, they poured the materials of mischief on Tanjore, and laid siege to its fort on all sides. The zamindar, Pratap Singh, was helpless, and was overtaken with fear. He wrote a letter to Hazrat-i-A'la describing his condition, who decided that in the circumstances his assistance was most desirable, and sent a distinguished army with necessary equipments. The fort was thus enabled to withstand the siege and the besieged gained strength. When the besiegers, Hidayat Muhiyytfd-DIn Khan, Husayn Dost Khan, and M. Law, the commander of the French forces, learnt of the arrival of auxiliaries from Nattharnagar and the consequent strength to the fort of Tanjore, they understood that the struggle would be prolonged. Further, the forces of the *sarkdr* severely cannonaded the enemy; M. Law was wounded in his cheek by a piece of wood from a tree aimed at by the gunners. Many a cruel and rebellious man from among the enemy was slain. So they gave orders to stop fighting, and negotiate for peace. The frightened zamindar thought that peace was most suitable, sent cash and presents and thus made the besieging enemy depart from his presence. During the retreat of the enemy the bustle and the clamour of the tigers in the forest of Nattharnagar (army of Hazrat-i-Ala) and of the brave and valiant soldiers of Tanjore followed them and did not allow the herd of fleeing army to escape from their hands. At every place they stretched out their brave and valiant hands from the sleeves of fierceness and violence and never lost a minute in slaughtering and plundering the enemy. The havoc created by their cannon lightened the confused runners of their weight (of baggage) ; and by the time they reached Phulcheri they were reduced to great straits. The Mahratta marauders who had appeared on that part of the country plundered them and the picking hand never failed to get anything from their pockets,

PROSPERITY OF HAZRATJ-A'LA

The happy account which describes the good events and prosperity in the life of Hazrat-i-A'lti, the possessor of glory and greatness, i.e., The Nawzvab Walajah Amirtfl Hind, May Allah grant stability to his kingdom and authority by the grace and the goodzwill of the Leader of the prophets and of his noble and praiseworthy family. May Allah's blessings be upon them all till the day of judgment.

By the grace of Allah, our Hazrat-i-A'la is the most blessed of the family of Anwarivya, the most excellent of that enlightened family; the (choicest) flower in the basket of the children of Navvwab SirajuM-Dawla Bahadur. He was born in the town of Shajahanabad on Tuesday, the 14th of the glorious Shawwal of the year 1135 A.H. (1723 A.D.); his birth shed lustre on the world, like a bright sun, and brightened the soul and the heart of his parents. His famous father chose his happy name to be Ghulam Anbiya' (the slave of the prophets) which in consideration of the date of his birth seemed to give indications of divine support. The blessings of this soul-nouriishing event, granted to the whole world, the happiness of a perennial 'id (festival). His noble mother named him Muhammad All in accordance with her belief in the sect of Ja'fariyyah and of the twelve *imams*. During the performance of the ceremony at the expiry of the period of weaning, the great amirs of fame and distinguished nobles of high rank in Shajahanabad were loaded with unexpected presents. In his fourth year he went to Gopamaw in the company of his mother. At the time of the performance of the happy ceremony of *bismillahkhanii*, the residents of that happy town

(1) The rite of initiation, *bismillah* 'pronouncing the name of Allah', is observed when a boy reaches the age of about five years, and after this he is sent to school.

See *Herklots' Islam in India*, pp. 43-47 for a detailed description of this rite.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE GARNATIC

pronounced eloquently the expression *alhamdu li'llah*, (praise be to Allah). In his sixth year he travelled *via* Bengal with his mother and in the company of Muhammad Mumru'd-Din Khan the son of his father's first cousin, and reached the presence of his great father who at that time was commissioned by the glorious shade of Allah, namely, Muhammad Shah Padshah to accompany Asaf Jah, the wazir-designate of the *suba* of the Deccan, where he was made the *nQzim* of Chicacole and other (neighbouring) towns. He was brought up under the kind care of his father. In his fourteenth year his marriage was celebrated in great pomp and splendour, befitting persons of high rank. For three months there was music and dance; feasting and other festivities connected with such occasions were freely provided for. Thus the people were overjoyed. He became the son-in-law of a glorious and noble family by his marriage with the princess of Safawiyya sultans of Iran, a paradise on earth. The writer of these pages thinks it necessary to explain how it became possible for this country to obtain this great blessing which was purely due to ever-watchful good fortune of Hazrat-i-Ala. During the reigns of the four sultans of the Deccan, one Mir, Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad, a nephew of Shah Tahmasp Safawiyyu'l Musawil, the ruler of Iran, started on his travels and reached the far off Deccan. It seems that in leaving his home he thought as though he was going to the everlasting world. Of his two sons one by name Sayyid Ali returned to the home of his ancestors in Iran, a paradise on earth. The second son by name Mir Mansur took up his residence in the Deccan. His wife who also was of his kin, bore a daughter by name Sayyid Regam who was surnamed Saliha Begam. She was married to a relation of Nawwab Sirajidd-Dawla Bahadur by name Ahsanu'd-Din Khan Bahadur, whose mother was from the Haqqani clan, a resident of Sandila and well known among the nobles of India. A girl was born to her and was named

PROSPERITY OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

Khadlia Begam. gazrat-i-A'la whose history from the birth till his 14th year had been related, found his happy union with Khadija Begam like the conjunction of a star with another star. The bright candle of her title Nawwab Begam shed lustre on the whole family. The Bountiful Giver who had bestowed all manner of distinctions on our master (Hazrat-i-Ala) and vouchsafed to him glorious authority among the amirs of high rank and the order of nobles, favoured him also with many children. Eighteen sons and twenty-one daughters were born to him. All these attained the age of understanding and were prosperous in the garden of time. Since the splendour of the birth of some of the sons and daughters by his wives other than Nawwab Begam had not appeared at the time of writing this book, the author has given only the number of children then living. But in obedience to a subsequent order of the Nawwab in the year 1208 A. H. the names of the children born later and certain other events are related in their proper places. In short, the Lord of creation arranged the constellation of stars for the purpose of regulating the affairs of this world. Of these children possessing abundant generosity the Lord of creation arranged that five sons and five daughters be born of one mother, *i.e.*, Nawwab Begam. They were like the ten sense organs which impart knowledge to humanity.

The eldest of these was Ghulam Husayn. The reason for naming him so was as follows: For a long time no child was born to the Nawwab Begam. On account of this the mirror of the mind of Hazrat-i-A'la was dimmed with sorrow. One day on the seventh of the holy month of Muharram in the year 1160 A.H. Sayyid All Khan, the senior maternal uncle of the Nawwab Begam, appeared before the *fishiir-khana* where usually the *ta'ziyai* was kept, and with

(1) *Ta'ziya*—A model of the tomb of Hasan and IJusayn, (sons of 'Ali, the fourth caliph of Islam) carried in procession at the Muharram.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

great devotion and ecstasy prayed for a son in the holy presence of Hazrat Abu Abd-Allah Husayn, may Allah's blessing and peace be on him, his brother and his family. By the grace of Him who grants prayers, next year, *i.e.*, in 1161 A.H. (31st December 1747) on the same day of the holy Muharram and at the same hour when the prayer was made the previous year the birth of the beloved child prayed for opened the eyes of eternal prosperity in the face of the parents. Hazrat-i-Ala prostrated himself before the Lord of creation, offered thanks for this great gift, and named the child Ghulam Husayn. Since then he took upon himself the duty of setting up every year the standards of *ta'ziya* to the *imam* of creation. His grandfather (Anwaru'd-Dm Khan) who became a martyr later on, named the child Abdul-Wall, and got for him the title of TJmdatu'l-Umara and other titles from the imperial court of the Padshah at Delhi. Hazrat-i-Ala out of his paternal affection got from the emperor through Khwaja Shamstfd-Din Khan and Lord Clive the elder, the hereditary *sanad* for the grant of the Carnatic Payanghat and Balaghat to Umdatul-Umara and other appropriate titles for him and his four brothers. The details will be set forth in due course.

The second son (of Hazrat-i-Ala) was Muhammad Munawwar with the title of Madaru'l-Mulk. He grew up to be a celebrated, honoured and respected man with the title of Amiru'l-Umara. This title he got from the court of All Gawhar Shah & lam Padshah, as a reward for his services rendered in the subjugation of Tanjore. The details will be related in the second book.

The third son was Muhammad Anwar with the title of Sayftfl-Mulk. The fourth son was named Ghulam Hasan in accordance with a dream of his noble mother; he was also named Muhammad Abdtflah according to the wishes of his famous father. Out of regard for both these names, his (final)

PROSPERITY OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

name became Muhammad Abdtfillah-al-Hasan. His title was Husamu'l-Mulk. The fifth son was Abdu'l-Quddus with the title Nasiril-Mulk.

The account of the five daughters

The eldest daughter was Moti Begam. She was junior sister to TFmdu'l-Umara. When she came of age she was betrothed to Ghulam Muhiyyu'd-Din who was known by the title of Abdu'l-Hayy Khan, the sister's son of Badru'l-Islam Khan Bahadur Afrasiyab Jang. But before the celebration of marriage she had an attack of smallpox and left the scar of separation on the minds of the people.

The second daughter was Poti Begam. She was the junior sister to Madaru'l-Mulk Bahadur. She attained the age of discretion. Before her betrothal she suffered from the same disease which attacked her elder sister and drew the curtain on the face of her existence.

The death of the two sisters in quick succession within a week left an indelible scar on the minds of the parents.

The third daughter was Buddhi Begam. She was junior to Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahadur. She was known as Sultanu'n-Nisa Begam. She was married to the nephew of Hazrat-i-Ala, by name Abdul-Hadi with the title of Samsamu'd-Dawla, and had children.

The fourth daughter was Darya Begam, because of her birth during a sea-voyage, the details of which will be narrated later. She was junior sister to Husaniu'l-Mulk Bahadur and was known by the title of Maliku'n-Nisa Begam. She was married to Abdul-Wali who was distinguished by the title of Mawlawi Abdu'l-Wall Khan- Bahadur and was the younger brother of Samsamu'd-Dawla Bahadur. She had children.

The fifth daughter was Fatah Begam because she was bom on the day of the conquest of Ellore. She was junior to' Nagiru'l-Mulk Bahadur and was known by the title of

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Umdatun-Nisa Begam. She was married to Muhammad Nasir who was distinguished by the title of Hafiz Muhammad Nasir Khan Bahadur and who was the younger brother of Mawlawl Abdul-Wall Khan Bahadur. She had children.

An account of the remaining thirteen sons and sixteen daughters of Hazrat-i-A'la by wives other than Nawwab Begam

The eldest of these sons was Muhammad Ishaq Khan Bahadur, the second was Abdu'l-Ma'bud Khan Bahadur. These two were born of one mother.

The third son Muhammad Jawad Khan Bahadur and the fourth son Hafiz Hasan All Khan Bahadur were born of another mother.

The fifth son Abdu'l-Ghaffar Khan Bahadur and the sixth Muhammad Nasru'llah Khan Bahadur, the seventh Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bahadur, the eighth Muhammad Ismail Khan Bahadur, and the ninth Husayn Nawaz Khan Bahadur were born of different mothers.

The tenth son Muhammad Husayn Khan Bahadur, and the eleventh Abu-Turab Khan Bahadur were born of one mother.

The twelfth son Sarfaraz Khan Bahadur and the thirteenth Abdul-Hamld Khan Bahadur were born of one mother.

In the same manner the sixteen daughters were born of different mothers. Some of them were born along with brothers mentioned above, and some had none.

The praiseworthy virtues, the excellent habits, and the daily routine of Hazrat-i-Ala

By the grace of the Creator Who has no equal and by the kindness of the Protector Who is the Most High, our Ha?rat-i-Ala is endued with the balmy fragrance of praiseworthy virtues and endowed with excellent habits. He is generous like

THE DAILY ROUTINE OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

the cloud and bountiful like the sea; he is hospitable and polite. He is a person who displays mercy and grace and is the refuge of the helpless and the decrepit. His generosity knows no bounds, and in his acts of kindness he is peerless.

The daily routine of Hazrat-i-Ala

He got up at three in the morning, answered the calls of nature, performed his ablutions, and said the *after-mid-night-prayer*. Then he engaged himself in reading the Quran* After finishing the *early-morning-prayer* he immersed himself till sunrise in performing religious duties; he spoke to none during this interval. Then he had his breakfast. At about 6-45 in the morning, his presence shed splendour on the *tasblh khdna* where he repeated *darud* on the rosary, in an assembly of two hundred persons where no distinction between the servants and men of rank was observed. At about 7-30 A.M. he sat in the company of learned men and accomplished persons, his brothers and sons, his friends and relatives, discussing the problems pertaining to jurisprudence and discoursing on the various religious sects. Then from 9 A.M. to noon he held the general *darbar*, and busied himself in signing papers, and attending to the other affairs of the government. The *darbar* over, he took a nap till about 12-45 On waking up he attended to the calls of nature, performed ablutions and offered the *noon-day-prayer*. About 1-30 P.M. he engaged himself in the *daru'l-insha'* and in the *muham khana* and inquired after the welfare of his relations and the poor. About 4 P.M. he took his meal and after saying his *after-noon-prayer*, he sat in the company of the learned and the pious, discussing and meditating. In their company he said the *sun-set-prayer* and the *after-sun-set-prayer*. From 7 to 10 in the night he "engaged himself in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom and other routine duties. Then he retired to his sleeping apartment, and took rest.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

His good actions

In his worship of Allah he was not remiss even to the smallest extent, and he took on himself the observances of a devotee. That is, in addition to the daily five obligatory prayers, he was diligent in his prayers on the *jumh* and on the *id* days, in the *supererogatory prayers*, and in the prayers prescribed for the holy and blessed days of the year. In accordance with his good habits he would keep awake in the night, go to the mosque on foot, observe scrupulously both the *obligatory* and *supererogatory fasts*, do praiseworthy things and avoid blameworthy acts, forgive the faults of men and condone their base actions and misdeeds. These he observed always. He was diligent in repeating *darud* and immersed himself in thoughts of Allah. These were in his blood, and in this respect he resembled his father. His chief traits were to open inns, build mosques, found hospitals for the poor, build bridges, dig wells, improve gardens and rivers, both in his own country and elsewhere,—all these in the way of Allah. From the Carnatic to Gopamaw, the native home of his ancestors, he spread a common table with dainties for the enjoyment of his relations and all travellers. He strove to satisfy the physical needs of the needy, and set at rest the anxieties of the poor. Every year he despatched two ships *Safinatu'lldh* and *Safinatu'rrasul* laden with presents and money for the maintenance of the stalls for water-supply and serais and for the award of *nadhr* to the noble and the pious residing in Makka the Exalted, Madina the Illuminated, Najaf the Eminent, Karbala the High, and Mashhad the Glorious: May Allah increase their glory and fame. He renewed in his name, from the sultan of Rum, the hereditary rights to sweep and light the holy places in Makka and Madina. These facts have already been briefly related in the course of the history of Nawwab Haji Muhammad Anwartfd-Din Khan Bahadur. He assigned the *mahsul* of Mahmud bandar (Porto Novo) and other taluqs on the coast

THE GENEROSITY OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

of the roaring sea in the Carnatic to meet, the expenses of these charities which amounted to one lac of rupees. He supplied the pilgrims to Makka and to the holy shrine of the Prophet of Allih (may peace be on him) with provisions and permitted them to travel by the ships mentioned above. He appointed vakils in the two holy places to look after the indigent, to supply food, drink and other necessary things for pilgrims and visitors and provide camels free of charge to those helpless men whose feet had become sore with walking. He sent from this country stone implements like mill-stones, mortars, pestles, etc., said to be rare in Arabia. By sending these things for the comfort of the people of Arabia, he conferred on them favours to such an extent that they embroidered their head-dresses with the exalted name of Walajah Sultanu'l-Hind and surnamed him SultSnul-Hind. In the course of sermons delivered from the pulpit of their mosques, they mentioned his name next to that of the sultan of Rum and prayed for their long rule. In a narration of a tenth of his praiseworthy traits, the pen is prostrate, its tongue broken; in a description of one of the thousand acts of his generosity the pen has grown weak and confounded and stands motionless like the pupil of the eye in a painted picture.

His generosity

The spring showers were but a drizzle when compared with his shower of gems in charity; compared with the surging waves of his generosity the sea of TJman was but a drop. The empty pockets of men from far-off lands became filled (with gold); the shoulders and the backs of the learned from every part of the country were made heavy (with presents). A complete narration of it is as endless as his beneficence. Indeed, it is very long. But an account of his generosity increases the splendour of the narration, which encourages me to write a few words from the chapter of his munificence.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

It is reported that during the days when the Nawwab maintained the cavaliers of the 'regiment' which in the English language meant the troops of the special stable, two horses belonging to a merchant and costing two thousand rupees were purchased for the *sorkar* along with other horses from the merchants of various places. The clerks in the revenue office under Abdtfr-Rashid Khan Bahadur son of Muhammad Najib Khan Shahld, wrote a general order to the Nellore treasury for the payment of money to all the merchants. The one who sold his two horses for two thousand rupees also hurried to that place, and like a jaded horse returned empty-handed in a ruinous condition with his order for payment. He submitted to the Nawwab while going on a drive, a petition describing his sad state. As soon as Hazrat-i-Ala perused it he called the merchant to his presence and made inquiries. He submitted, "I come from Awrangabad; I am a helpless man without any work, and a stranger without any means. I am under the necessity of celebrating the marriage of my two daughters. So I took two horses from a merchant friend of mine. I travelled a long distance, reached this city and through the kindness of the wakeful luck I sold them to the bountiful *sarkdr* in the hope of getting profits which would enable me to celebrate the marriage of my daughters. With the order for payment of money I hastened to Nellore but I find that the collections there are not sufficient to pay me. Hence I returned helpless without achieving my object and have submitted a petition describing my plight in the hope that the mercy of the lord may help me in my distressed condition and enable me to achieve my object." Hazrat-i-Ala listened to his story and learnt his desire to get his daughters married, and the inability to find funds. He immediately sent for *badras* of money from the treasury and in his own presence caused them to be granted in the following manner:—

"Two thousand rupees towards the price of the horses, two thousand rupees towards the dowry of his daughters, two

THE GENEROSITY OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

thousand rupees towards the repayment of loan, two thousand rupees towards capital for business, two thousand rupees to meet the expenses of his journey from and to Awrangabad, the payment of duties and the expenditure for the maintenance of the horses, two thousand rupees towards the purchase of presents for his children."

Thus in all he granted twelve thousand rupees, besides a *khilat*, two horses for his use and a passport. The merchant was overjoyed with these unexpected favours and returned home. In this manner many *shaykhs*, great men, and needy travellers grew contented by means of his bounty and eased their minds of cares. For example Shah Abu-Said, of Bareili, his son Shah Abu al-Layth, and others. By means of his beneficence and favour many English *sardars* gained in a single *rnajlis* lacs of rupees as presents. Princes, and amirs of high family like Humayun Bakht and others, the descendants of the sultans of Hindustan, Yahya Khan the son of Murshid Qull Khani the *nazim* of Bengal, Khwaja Mawdud Khan, the grandson of Nawwab Mubariz Khans the *rais* of the Deccan, Hamidu'd-Dawla, the grandson of Nawwab Asaf Jah; Dilawar Khan the *arnir-i-khds* of Muhammad Shah Padshah and others who were ruined on account of reverses of fortune found refuge under

(1) Murshid Qull Shan, otherwise known as Ja'far Khan, was the son of a Brahman, converted to Islam by Haji Shafia Isfahan!. He was appointed as the *nazim* of Bengal by the Emperor 'Alamgir in A.D. 1704. He built the capital and called it Murshidabad after his own name. He died in the reign of the emperor Mufcammad Shah about the year A.D. 1726 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja'ud-Din, also called Shuja'u'd-Dawla. Beale and Keene, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894), p. 188.

(2) Nawwab Mubariz Ehan was a noble man who, in the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah of Delhi, was the *nazim* of Haydarabad. He was killed in a battle which he fought at the instigation of the emperor against Nigamu'l-Mulk on the 1st October, 1724, and his head was sent to the imperial court.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OP THE CARNATIC

the shade of his tender care and kindness and obtained greater comfort and solace than was available in their homes. In these days when the breaking of the heart of the poor is considered medicinal for the soul of the wealthy, the killing of the chicken-hearted is the elixir of prosperity, the destruction of the rights of the poor is the vindication of the powerful hand, the usurpation of the estates of the helpless is the exhibition of prowess, the hoarding of money-bags has preference over the safety of lives, the desire to cause damage to others has become a part of the tenets of the faith, the cry for help is considered to be the happy song of prosperity, the wakeful lamentation of those who seek justice is thought to be the song of great rejoicing—in these days, who is like our Hazrat-i-Ala to help the afflicted, to hasten to the cries of the tyrannised, and to raise up the oppressed and the down-trodden? He relieved the needy from the oppression of their wants, and made them masters of abundant wealth. He liberated the beggar from his base profession, and relieved him of the necessity of going from door to door. Those who cried for a morsel of food were enabled to eat in plenty. Thus, throughout his life he removed the hunger of the destitute by his liberal gifts. Those who were thirsting for a handful of water were enabled to drink from a fountain. Till the last moment of his life he continued to help the sufferers from the heat of the thirst of poverty to drink from the pure fountain of his benevolence. He was a granary from which all, from the *faqir* to the amir, got their supplies. He was a treasure that profited all alike from the beggar to the prince. He was a sun that shed lustre alike on the stone as well as on the gem; a cloud that rained alike on the shell as well as on the sea.

May the Munificent Lord Who in His world-nourishing wisdom has given power to bountiful men and Whose door of wealth is open for the consolation and benefit of the creation, permit the beneficence and generosity of this glorious and p*os-

THE BRAVERY OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

perous person to continue for, long years. May his glorious and mighty beneficence be made to shine from morn to eve on the heads of the people of the world even like the splendour of the sun, through the mediation of the Prophet, his family and his companions (may peace and blessing be upon them all).

His bravery

His natural bravery and innate intrepidity kept in check the haughty disposition of the disobedient and brought down the impudent from the summit of their arrogance to an ignominious position. The heads of those who opposed him in their conceit found severance before his sword, and became helpless. The opposing head held aloft with impunity could not but fall before his scimitar. In the *maydan* of bravery even Rustam cannot stand before him, but will, as a confession of weakness, take refuge in the skirt of his father Zal; in a chronicle of brave deeds Afrasiyab² will have his own name entered as a nonentity, one to be reckoned among the many that are no more. In the whole of the Carnatic not a piece of land could be found where the blood of the enemy had not been shed; not a ground whose dust, scattered by the hoofs of his high-blooded horse, had not been thrown into the eyes of the refractory enemy. When he found the battle-field was not sufficient for the exhibition of his bravery he sailed forth on the high seas and fought against the naval forces of the French. General Lawrence³, Mr. Give, later Lord Clive, Colonel

(1) Rustom the son of Zal, the most renowned hero among the Persians. For his other names see *Persian-English Dictionary*, F. Steingass.

(2) Afrasiyab (Z. franuhar-a-shya). Name of an ancient king celebrated in Persian poetry, sovereign of Turan, and a Scythian or Turk by birth.

(3) General Lawrence (1697 to 1775 A.D.) was a major of the garrison at Fort St. George in 1747; he commanded the troops at Fort St David in 1748, and was taken prisoner by the French in the course of his attack on Pondicherry, but was released after the restoration of Madras to

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Cbotel later Sir Eyre Coote, . . .² General Smith,³ General Preston⁴ and others—all well-versed in the art of warfare had occasions to witness him in battle-fields, admired his intrepidity, and confessed that he was their superior in courage. Any further narration descriptive or detailed becomes unduly long and tedious.

His modesty

His modesty was as remarkable as his generosity. In addition to his endeavours to please the minds of the people, he

the English. Later on he took Devikottah in Tanjore and rose to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in the East Indies.

(1) Coote, Sir Eyre, (1721-1783) came to India in 1754, and took part in the war against Siraju'd-Dawla. It was on his advice that Clive fought against the Nawwab at Plassey. He was appointed in January 1759 to command the troops at Madras; defeated M. Lally at Wandiwash, in November 1759, taking that town as well as Karunguzhi and Arcot. He besieged and subjugated Pondicherry in January 1761. He was once again appointed to command the troops in Madras in the year 1769 and later on became the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India. He fought in the Second Mysore War, raised the siege of Wandiwash in 1781 and defeated Saydar Ali decisively at Porto Novo. He died at Madras in 1783. (*Vide Wyllly: Life of Sir Eyre Coote.*)

(2) The author mentions another name *General KLYW* which is not to be identified.

(3) General Smith served in the Carnatic under Clive and was taken prisoner by the French in 1753. He commanded the garrison at Trinichinopoly in 1758 and also took part in the siege of Pondicherry (1760-61). He defeated the combined forces of Haydar and the Wazlr near Tiruvannamalai in September 1767. He became a colonel in 1768. He took Tanjore for Nawwab Walajah in 1773 and retired soon after.

(4) General Preston probably Captain Achilles Preston, who was in charge of the fort at Chingleput during M. Lally's siege of Madras, and caused great uneasiness to the French besiegers of the city of Madras by his movements. He suspected the perfidy of the Sepoy Captain, Yusuf Khan, against the Nawwab in 1762-63. At the early age of 30, he besieged Madura which was then in the possession of the rebel Yusuf Khan and was slain in the course of the operations against the city. (S. C. Hill, '*Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant*' 1914—pages 78 *et seq.*)

THE MERCY AND KINDNESS OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

invited men to the feast held on the occasion of saying *fatiha* to the departed souls of men great in religion; held *majlis* in honour of nobles and men in power, *faqtrs* and *mashayikhs*; observed the civilities and duties of a host, took upon himself the duties of attendants, assisted the guests in the washing of their hands, sought pardon for the trouble he gave them, and made them feel happy. All these were specially characteristic of him. Nay, to put in order the shoes left behind by those that attended the *darbdr* as well as the footwear of the crowd composed of the poor and the needy, formed his dominant trait in accordance with the following verse:—

"The goblet bends low when it empties its contents
The generous condescend in their acts of generosity."

Despite all these, the dread of him as a lordly person and a great man, and the awe which he inspired in the minds of servants, companions and sons was so overpowering that none dared to speak to him in person without a mediator.

His mercy and kindness

He was so tender-hearted that he never caused pain to any living being, nay he thought it improper to cut down even a tree. He had not the heart to look at the chastisement of a servant by his master or of a pupil by his teacher. Whenever he saw or heard a teacher punishing his students or reproving them, he softened with presents the heart of the teacher and granted a holiday to the boys. It has been well ascertained, he did not disturb the drowsy *chawkiddr* who kept watch in his bed chamber but placed his pillow under the latter's head, and did not wake him till morning.

It is reported that one day during his travels he saw a *farrash* sleeping in the tent near the throne because of the fatigue of the journey. So he did, not sit on the throne, took his seat elsewhere, held his general *darbar* and asked his men not to wake him from sleep. The killing of animals was not acceptable

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to this world-sustainer, so much so that at the time of religious sacrifices he formally placed his hand on the victim leaving the completion of the ceremony to other hands. Whenever any scorpion or snake came in his view he would have it caught alive and conveyed to the forest. He never trod even on an ant. Whenever he saw an ant in distress, he would have it conveyed to a safe place so that it might not be trampled upon.

His justice and impartiality

He was so impartial in the administration of justice that a gnat did not stand in fear of an elephant, and people forgot the name of Noshirwani. He looked with an equal eye on relations and strangers. Suffice it to quote a solitary instance which will, before any tribunal, bear testimony to his impartial justice.

It is reported that one day the young prince TJmdatul-Umara, the most beloved of his children, while playing with other boys, hit a mason's son on the forehead and a few drops of blood came out. Just then, Hazrat-i-Ala had come out from the court of justice and was on his way to the palace when he saw the boy weeping. He asked him why he was weeping and from the wound he surmised that he had been tyrannised over by his own son. He thought that his son's actions were opposed to the rules of God-fearing nature, and so without any regard for the parental feeling he brought him along with the other boy to the house of correction and made him stand in the place set apart for criminals and directed the judges to administer justice without the least consideration for parentage. Wizarat All Khan an Arab, who was the magistrate from the time of Nawwab Shahid (Anwaru'd-Din Khan Bahadur) along with other magistrates submitted to the Nawwab thus: "The two boys have not attained the age of discretion and hence are outside the pale of *shara'*." Hazrat-i-Ala said, "Though the law

(1) Noshirwan, Noshirwan, name of an ancient king of Persia.

DEVOTION TO HIS FATHER

does not allow it, yet the administration of justice demands it, for it would serve as a warning to others, and prevent them from transgression." Then he ordered the mason's son to give without any fear or consideration a blow on the forehead of his own son with the same severity with which his son struck. The mason's son obeyed. The land was stupified at this in amazement and every man engraved on the tablet of his own heart the impartial justice of the Nawwab; the disobedient and the haughty forgot their evil nature.

His intelligence and sagacity

His intelligence and sagacity are beyond the compass of narration and description. Can better evidence than the following be adduced to prove his wisdom? He managed with great ingenuity the affairs of the sagacious English. Many a problem which could not be solved by the governors of Chennapatan (Madras) was entrusted to him for a solution. When he spoke in the council chamber, the English sat dumb like pictures. The correspondence between Hazrat-i-Ala and the governors of Chennapatan and Bengal, which will be published in the second book, will reveal to the intelligent the nature of the problems discussed.

The devotion of Hazrat-i-A'la to his famous father, and the affection of the father towards his esteemed son

In view of the accounts already narrated, it is not necessary to detail facts illustrative of the devotion of Hazrat-i-Ala to his famous father, and of the affection of the father towards his son, a celebrated person of the age; yet the addition of something more about his virtues here may be deemed auspicious for the book. Just as every one believes "that the Creator is watchful over the affairs of this world and the hereafter, and just as it is essential for the followers of the Prophet (peace be on him) to give preference to his teachings, Hazrat-i-Ala,

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on account of his sincere faith in his father, kept him always in his mind's eye, whenever he did right or abstained from wrong. Even after the martyrdom of his father he never deviated a little from this habit. He believed that his father was watching him in all his actions, and so he did everything in a manner befitting his father's satisfaction. In obedience to the command of his father, Hazrat-i-Ala, while yet a child, had promised that he and his children would not smoke *huqqa*; he has kept this word till this day, *i.e.*, after the expiry of forty years since the martyrdom of his father. He deemed the *huqqa* one of the things forbidden by the religious law, and strictly enjoined his sons not to smoke. His brothers marshalled armies against him, yet he forgave their faults out of regard for the spirit of his noble father, and conferred favours on them. He bestowed on them rich *jagirs* worthy of amirs. Only one of his surviving brothers, Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan, with the title Shukohtf 1 Mulk has always been his boon companion and friend. Thus the affection between the father and the son was like that between a pair of lovers. The significance of this relationship may be best understood from a letter written by the Nawwab Shahid in his own hand, and despatched to Hazrat-i-Ala who after finishing his work with the palayagars, had returned to a place adjacent to Nattharnagar and was thinking of presenting himself before his father the next day.

The letter of the Nawwab Shahid

"I do not know if you have come,
How pleasing it will be if you come hither soon
Refreshing like the morning breeze over the plain!
The fragrance is fanned from the distant flower.
But O! flower! how pleasing it will be
If you out-distance your fragrance.
Write to me the time of your arrival.

FATHER'S AFFECTION TOWARDS THE SON

Tomorrow our city will be rich in sugar;

It is cheap now and will become cheaper still."

Hazrat-i-A'la anointed with the ink of this letter the pupil of his eyes which were suffering from the sickness of separation, folded the letter and laid it to his heart torn asunder by the hand of separation. Then he submitted an *hrzddsht* in reply. Next morning as soon as he rose up from his bed he hastened to the presence of his father. When his eyes were anointed with the collyrium of the dust of his father's court, they acquired the favour of seeing his father. He placed his head at the feet of his father, offered thanks for such a favour, and submitted *nadhr*. When Hazrat-i-Ala found his father reclining on a bed spread on the floor instead of on a cot, he thought that the bedstead of his father was not in repair. So he told the servant, "If the bedstead of the Nawwab be not in repair, take one of mine and spread it out for him." The servants submitted in reply: "The bedstead of the Nawwab is in good condition. It is possible to get ready such things; nor is it troublesome to attend to the necessary repairs without the least delay. But what can be done? The Nawwab himself has ceased to sleep on the cot for the last few days." When the Nawwab listened to this conversation, tears trickled down from his eyes, and he said "I took a vow not to sleep on a cot till the Real Preserver brings you back safe. Now I see you safe by His Grace. You will see that I sleep on the cot from this day/'

It is reported that Hazrat-i-Ala once fell ill, and the Nawwab Shahxd (peace be on him), despite his own indisposition, visited him and sat by his cot. He asked the *hakim* Ali Akbar who along with *hakim* Muhammad Amin and *hakim* Sikandar was attending on his son, about the state of his health. The *hakims* after submitting the state of his health, made respectful enquiries about his own health. Pointing towards his son, the Nawwab gave out the following verse in reply;

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My life is nothing;

My son is the life of my life.

He is the panacea for all my ills.

In brief, the Nawwab always loved him more than his life, and thought that the good health and strength of his son were the mainstay of his own. The narration of the love between these two who were like body and soul is beyond the compass of writing. From here the pen, that records truth, will begin to write the facts relating to the reign of that conqueror of the world, that amir, who is the embodiment of justice, viz., our Hazrat-i-Ala.

Hazrat-i-Ala hears the sorrowful news of the martyrdom of his exalted father, equips the army and strengthens the fort of Natthatnagar¹, writes an arzdasht to

(1) *Measures by which the Nawwab Walajah strengthened the fort of Trichinopoly:* Muhammad Ali Walajah fled quickly to Trichinopoly after the battle of Ambur. He got the immediate help of the English and proclaimed himself the Nawwab. The English were in some uncertainty about his claim and sent only 120 Europeans to join him at Trichinopoly and allowed Admiral Boscawen to return to England with his fleet and troops, though the latter had declared that he would remain if the Government of Madras requested his stay at this critical juncture (October, 1749). Muhammad Ali then appealed to Nasir Jang to march into the Carnatic and joined the latter at Valudavur with 6,000 horse and the detachment from Trichinopoly; he was joined after a few days by Major Lawrence with a body of 600 Europeans from Fort St. David (March, 1750). Muhammad AH was confirmed by Nasir Jang in the government of the Carnatic and in July, took the field with his own troops, helped by some English troops, against Tiruvati. Some differences between him and Captain Cope resulted in the withdrawal of the English troops that were with him and he was defeated at Tiruvati by the French in August, and escaped to Arcot with a few attendants. On the death of Nasir Jang, he fled from the camp and arrived at Trichinopoly (December). Early in the next year, he was joined by 280 Europeans and 30 sepoys at Trichinopoly. Soon after, he sent one of his brothers with a large force and 30 Europeans to Tinnevely; and another brother, Abdul.Wahhab and Captain Cope to attack Madura.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Ahmad Shah Padshah in Hindustan and a letter to Nawwab Nizamud-Dawla Bahadur Nasir Jang in the Deccan detailing the affairs of the Carnatic.

When Hazrat-i-A'la heard the events that led to the inevitable martyrdom of his father, the imprisonment of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur and other brothers and relatives at the hands of the wicked enemy, the march of Abdu'l Wahhab Khan Bahadur towards Haydarabad, the subjugation of Arcot and Nellore by Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan and his arrival at the port of Phulcheri with the idea of subduing Nattharnagai and Tanjore, and similar other vain ideas, he soon became alive to the details of the situation and did not lose the balance of his mind. He deputed *chawkidars* to blockade the roadsides and ways of Nattharnagar in such a manner that no news of the confused state of affairs might reach the residents. The special army of Hazrat-i-Ala deputed to go with Nawwab Shah id had returned with Muhammad Abrar Khan after the happening of the confusion and the news that had been kept secret came now to be talked about publicly by every one; yet, the residents of Nattharnagar, seeing the courage and the stability of mind of Hazrat-i-Ala, were not in the least disturbed or distressed. The Nawwab, the possessor of ever-increasing prosperity, had the innate pluck to get ready, in a short time, the implements of warfare, which could not possibly be collected in many years. Then he collected his own army and those of his followers and divided them in the following manner:

Seven thousand horse and fifteen thousand infantry, old and new, the choice troops of the Nawwab; two thousand horse and five thousand from Tinnevely; three thousand horse and five thousand infantry from Tanjore; five hundred

In April, he again asked reinforcements from the English whose forces took the fleet and were joined 6 weeks later by some of his men at Vriddhachalam and then by the main body of his troops at Valikandapuram in the Perambalur taluk. Orme—*History of Indostan* (183), Vol. I; Book III,

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horse and five thousand infantry from Ramnad; five hundred horse and five thousand infantry from Sivaganga; seven hundred horse and five thousand infantry from Maliwar (Malabar); five hundred horse and ten thousand infantry from the Tondaman; three hundred horse and four thousand infantry from the taluk of Tirur; four hundred horse and four thousand infantry from two taluks, Elayanur and Udayarpala; one hundred horse and two thousand infantry from Manaparai: in all, there were fifteen thousand horse and sixty thousand infantry which included swordsmen, bowmen and musketeers. Thus altogether there were seventy-five thousand men. Hazrat-i-Ala divided the entire army into five equal bodies of three thousand horse and twelve thousand infantry each. There were thus fifteen thousand men in every division.

He deputed the first division under the leadership of Sayyid All Khan Bahadur to guard the fort; the second and the third under Sayyid Nasir All Khan and Sayyid Makhdum All Khan to keep watch over the boundaries of the kingdom; the fourth and the fifth under Ghazanfar All Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan as reinforcements to other divisions in times of necessity. He then arranged for the repairs of the towers and walls, the deepening of the trench on the southern side, the erection of batteries wherever necessary, the gathering of powder and shot, and the placing of guns in order, and the deputation of intelligent men. As narrated above, he secured on payment of three lacs of rupees, the liberty of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur and others who were prisoners in the hands of the enemy; he sent an army to assist the zamindar of Tanjore and punished the contemptible and vile enemy in a fitting manner and quelled their pride. He then despatched an *arzdasht* to the Emperor and a letter to the Wazir.¹

(1) The language of the *arzdasht* and the letter being courtly, a literal and complete translation is not made; only the gist is given.

ARZDASHT OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA TO THE EMPEROR

Letter of Hazrat-i-Ald to the Nawwab Nasir Jang

Husayn Dost Khan and the *qiladars* of the Nait community rose in revolt with the support of the French, murdered my father Nawwab Siraju'd-Dawla Bahadur and attacked the fort of Tanjore which is as it were a key to Nattharnagar. The ruler of Tanjore seeking my assistance, I sent an army to his aid, and the enemy was driven back to Phulcheri; the Carnatic is now in a state of confusion on account of this incident, and if you could march to this place, things will clear up. Eagerly I look forward to your presence.

Arzdasht of Hazrat-i-A'la to the Emperor

The Carnatic is now passing through a troublous period. The rebels have joined together and created disturbance in this peaceful land. My father Nawwab Sirajtfid-Dawla Bahadur, who under the command of your imperial authority was entrusted with the sovereignty of this territory, attained the honour of his life in the field of battle. This humble servant prays that he may be permitted to execute the commands of Your Majesty with the same hereditary sincerity as long as his life lasts. In spite of the confusion and the mischief I continue to have a hold on Nattharnagar and am busy preparing for war. The rebels elated with the success they had over my father, attacked Tanjore an adjacent territory with the ultimate idea of subjugating Nattharnagar. I despatched an army thither for assistance, which succeeded in driving away the enemy in utter confusion.

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Nawwab Nizamu'd-Dawla Bahadur Nasir Jang sends a reply to Hazrat-i-Ala, marches from Awrangabad, and arrives at Haskota by easy stages. Hazrat-i-Ala sends Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur to receive him and seek the assistance of the advance guard of the army. The arrival of Mir Dayim Ali Khan¹ the sardar of the advance guard of the Deccan army, the death of Shisha, the commander of the enemy's forces, and the flight of Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan towards Phulcheri.

Nawwab Nizamu'd-Dawla Bahadur Nasir Jang was staying at Awrangabad when he learnt from various sources the martyrdom of Nawwab Sirajtd-Dawla Bahadur which got confirmation on receipt of letter from Hazrat-i-A'la. He shed tears of sorrow and was perturbed. He rubbed his hands in sadness and lost his patience. Then he caused the following reply to be written and despatched to Hazrat-i-Ala:—

The letter of Naivivdb Nizdmu'd-Dawla Bahadur to Hazrat-i-A'la

"After thanking the Eternal Sovereign, the King of kings and praising the great Leader of the prophets, it is made known to the languid soul, possessing intelligence, glorious and eminent among the amirs of high rank and of noble descent, the head of

(1) *Mir Dayim All Khan, sardar of the advance guard of the Deccan arwy.*—Nasir Jang had advanced into the South by 10th February, 1750, as far as Sirpi. He sent two emissaries to Chanda Sahib (Husayan Dost Khan) to treat for peace. But these emissaries were told by Dupleix that "though we (i.e., Dupleix, Chanda Sahib and Mugaffar Jang) had three bodies our life is one; peace cannot be made without me, that is, Dupleix and if the matter is to be settled satisfactorily, they must come here to Pondicherry." The two emissaries were Diwan Moropant and Qazi Ahmad, otherwise known Qazi Dayim or Dayim Ali Khan. Qazi Dayim was instructed to offer peace to Muzaffar Jang. For details about the coming of Nasir Jang into the Deccan see the series of articles by C. S. Srinivasachari on 'The Historical material in the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai' in *Journal of Indian History* Vol. IX, Part III.

NASIR JANG'S MARCH TO THE CARNATIC

the princes possessing great power, the ornament of the throne in the court of glory and fame, the molester of the malevolent treading the wrong path, the bright candle of the famous family, the rightful successor of Siraju'd-Dawla Muhammad Khan-i-Jahan Anwaru'd-Din Khan Bahadur Shahamat Jang (that the letter) reached me. The sincere and kind letter full of perturbing and sorrowful news, the confusion in the affairs of the land, the rashness and perversity of the misguided, the transgression of the wicked and the haughty, the iniquitous murder of Siraju'd-Dawla Bahadur has afflicted and vexed my mind, and the rust of anguish and langour has settled so much on the mirror of time that it cannot increase any further. By the power and strength of Allah, it is necessary to revenge the death of such a wise and brave amir, who had been loyal to the emperor at Delhi. Hence it is my desire to march to those parts in order to punish the transgressors and support that commander of the army possessing sincerity. It behoves those wounded in heart to regard the happenings in this ephemeral world as only a dream and fanciful like a mirage and thus submit to the will of Allah. They must be bold in attending to the administration of the affairs of the kingdom thinking that uprightness and justice are the essence of divine worship, and the best equipment for the next world. Thus they must attend to these duties with steadiness and composure of mind. In brief, you must endeavour to arrange the army and strengthen the fort of Nattharnagar. For my part, I shall cover the long distance and come to your help very soon; nay, I shall reach you along with this letter."

After sending this letter, Nawwab Nizamu'd-Dawla Bahadur Nasjr Jang set out without delay from Awrangabad on the 10th of Shawwal of the year 1162 A.H. with 2,00,000 horse with a view to settle the affairs of the Carnatic. He reached the shores of the river Manjara on the 14th of *Dhul-qa'da*. He crossed the river Krishna on the 17th of the Muharram of the

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

year 1163 A.H. When he hoisted his banner at Haskota after crossing the river Tungabhadra, Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, under instructions from Hazrat-i-Ala, marched with a large army, arms and accoutrements and the pompous banners of welcome. He met some of the companions of the Wazir near the camp, and felt happy and honoured when he attained the distinction of being presented to the Wazir. Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur received from the Wazir Nasir Jang words of consolation at the martyrdom of Nawwab Sirajtd-Dawla Bahadur (may Allah forgive him), was presented with a sword and a dagger and admitted to favour.

Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan Bahadur and Husayn Dost Khan were perplexed and distressed, had no money, dreaded that their army might desert them, and so plundered like marauding thieves the territory of the Carnatic from Arcot to Nellore and from Nellore to Tanjore, leaving Nattharnagar alone which they could not enter as it was under the control of Hazrat-i-Ala. Since Hazrat-i-Ala had written to the Wazir Nasir Jang about the desolation of the land and the high-handedness of the marauders and sought the assistance of the advance guard Mir Dayim Ali Khan, the *sardar* was ordered by the Wazir to march with thirty thousand select horse. He took in his company Raja Sampath Rai and Raja Kishandas, the employees of the Nawwab Sirajtd-Dawla Bahadur who were imprisoned on the martyrdom of their master, but released along with Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur. Under instructions from Hazrat-i-Ala they had accompanied Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur to receive the Wazir of the Deccan. Thus Mir Dayim Ali Khan and his companions marched with thirty thousand select horse, with the swiftness of an arrow shot from a bow, and rushed forward like a sword drawn from its sheath, against the two treacherous Khans engaged in excessive looting of the land. Learning that punishment was approaching, the two Khans busied themselves

BATTLE OF CHIDAMBARAM

in collecting their scattered forces and homeless subjects on the *maydan* of Silambari where they met with a sudden attack. In the meantime two bodies of troops despatched from Natthar-nagar under the leadership of Ghazanfar All Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan, also appeared on the field and joined the attacking forces. The war trumpets 'were blown and the enemy got worsted even in the first charge. Shisha Raw,² the *bakhshi* of Husayn Dost Khan was slain, and his head was trodden under the feet of horses. The two defeated Khans ran towards Phulcheri crestfallen.

(1) Silambar is Chidambaram with its great temple fortified to serve as a fortress. It is situated a few miles north of the Coleroon near its mouth.

(2) Sesba Rao is mentioned, in the *Diary of Ananda Rang a Pillai*, as a great *jamadar* of horse. He attempted to take possession of a portion of the Trichinopoly country during the advance of Chanda Sahib on Tanjore. The following is the account given by Ananda Ranga Pillai: "Before nine o'clock on 4th of March 1750, the Mahrattas under Murari Rao and other *sarddrs* surrounded the place with ten or twelve horse. A thousand of His Highness Chanda Sahib's horse were camped by Nagacheri, in Chidambaram, with Gopalanarayanappa Ayyan. When they were passing by Nandimangalam Mulamedukkuchevai on their way southwards to join their master at Mayavarara, the Mahrattas surrounded them, captured some of the horses, wounded Gopalanarayanappan in the hand, and carried him away with the elephant he was on. Some of the horsemen entered their bounds; and on this pretext, they plundered the town and caused disturbances. Thereupon His Highness Muhammad Khan Sahib fired all the guns in the fort. Then *harkars* came from Murari Rao and they bargained for a sum of 10,000 rupees. Soon after mid-day on Thursday, Sessa Rao and Shaykh Muhammad Sharif marched from Cholamandalam with 2,000 horse supported by a body of sepoys and crossed the Vallam ford. But the Mahrattas encountered and attacked them near the old Coleroon to the south of Chidambaram. Sessa Rao fought bravely but was shot dead" (*Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*: Vol. VI, p. 377).

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Nawwab Nizamu'd-Dawla Bahadur Nasir Jang arrives at Payanghat; Hazrat-i-Ala meets him at the qasba of Belpur; their march towards Phulcheri; the battle, the capture of Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan; the flight of Husayn Dost Khan and the French towards Phulcheri.

The Nawwab Wazir marched after the advance guard of the army sent under Mir Dayim Ali Khan, brought Arcot under the shadow of his victorious standards and thus exhibited his friendship towards Hazrat-i-A'la who, experienced in all arts of sword-fight and skilled in overthrowing the enemy, had sent two (out of five) divisions of his army for the help of Mir Dayim Ali Khan, now marched with the remaining three bodies of troops numbering forty-five thousand men, with guns and other implements of warfare, and joined the Wazir encamped in the *qasba* of Belpur (Villupuram). Nawwab Nizam'u'd-Dawla Bahadur Nasir Jang sent the *sardars* of his army to receive Hazrat-i-A'la. On his arrival the Wazir rose from his seat to honour him, embraced him, and seated him. After the customary condolences and professions of kindness and love, the Wazir took Hazrat-i-A'la in his company and marched off.

Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan and Husayn Dost Khan, after their flight from the presence of Mir Dayim Ali Khan, collected the scattered men from all parts, and with the secret support of *jagirdars* and others managed to present the semblance of an army composed of horse and infantry. Then they came out of Phulcheri with the French army and artillery and pitched tents for the miserable herd at a distance of six *kuroh*. Nawwab Nasir Jang and Hazrat-i-Ala reached very near the camp of the two Khans, lost no time in pitching tents, and began the attack. Thus on that day and night neither master nor servant, neither the rider nor the ridden had any rest. Without the use of the sword or the spear, and by the discharge

IMPRISONMENT OF H. M. KHAN

of the cannon balls alone by the forces of the Wazir and Amiru'1-Hind, the strength of the wicked enemy was exhausted and the battle came to an end. When Husayn Dost Khan and the commander of the French forces saw the firmness and boldness of the Wazir's army, they had not the courage to oppose them. They turned the reins away from the field of battle, ran to Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-DIn Khan, explained to him the situation, and suggested that some other time would be more suitable and a retreat to Phulcheri would be advisable in the circumstances. When they saw Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-DIn Khan struggling between shame and repentance, they abandoned their friendship as suited their ill nature, and ran towards Phulcheri leaving the commander of the army alone and thus broke the glass of covenant on the stone of faithlessness. Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-DIn Khan, anxious and friendless, grew sick and distressed and spent the whole night on the elephant's back. Next morning, on the 26th of Rabi'u'th-thani, Mir Muhammad, his *bakjishi*, reached the camp of Nasir Jang and interceded on his behalf with earnest entreaties of repentance and regret. Just then Shah Nawaz Khan¹ was ordered to bring Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-DIn Khan as a prisoner to the camp, and it was obeyed.

(1) *Shah Nawaz Khan securing the person of Muzaffar Jang.*—Shah Nawaz Khan was always ill disposed towards the family of Anwaru'd-DIn EJian and continued his enmity towards Nawwab Walajah. He sympathised with the French, but was not able to persuade his master Nasir Jang, who demanded the surrender of Chanda Sahib and declined to give him the *siiba* of Arcot. Shah Nawaz Khan and his *peshtar*, Ramdas Pandit, in fact secretly seem to have encouraged the French and suggested to them that they should make upon the Nizam's camp a night attack. The French attacked Nasir Jang's camp near Valudavur on the night of the 27th April, and killed and wounded nearly 1,000 men. Ananda Ranga Pillai says that Ramdas Pandit offered terms of peace by which Trichinopoly was to be given to Chanda Sahib and stated that Muhammad Ali had been promised Arcot. Shah Nawaz Khan, openly championed the cause of Chanda Sahib at the *darbar* or the Nigam when Muhammad Ali was present.

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Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan pursued Husayn Dost Khan who had run away with the French army in the darkness of the night, and hastened as far as Phulcheri in search of him, but they could not find him. They plundered the baggage of his army and won the ball of bravery on the *maydan* of battle. The rats of the Deccan reached his camp in great pomp and power. The jubilations of his victory reverberated throughout the land.

The arrival of a farmdn from Ahmad Shah Padshah in reply to the arzdasht of Hazrat-i-Ald with congratulations on his being entrusted with the kingdom of the Carnatic, and granting him mansabs and titles through the dignified Wazir.

Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan had been taken prisoner, and the powerful Wazir encamped in the field of victory. His army wearied by the continued fight of two days enjoyed rest. Next day, i.e., on the 27th of Rabi'u'th-thani of the year 1163 A.H., the *farmdn* of Ahmad Shah Padshah in a golden casket was brought by two camel-riders as a reply to the *arzdasht* of Hazrat-i-Ala, which bestowed on him eternal prosperity and great happiness. The Nawwab Wazir worthy of the beneficence of the Glorious Lord, prosperous with the kindness of the Almighty, the king of the open country, invited to his presence, our Hazrat-i-A'la, congratulated him and adorned his prosperous hands with the imperial *farmdn*. He then on behalf of the Padshah granted to Hazrat-i-A'la the country of the Carnatic with the title of Siraju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Din Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang (and the following distinctions): a *mansab* of 5,000 *dhat*, and of 5,000 horse (with the right to drive either) a pair-horse or three horses, *mahi* and *maratibi*,

(1) *Mahl-maratib* was one of the ensigns of distinction of the Mughal Empire and was so called as it resembled a fish in shape. We learn from *Siyaru'l-Mutaakhhirln* that it was made in the figure of a fish,

PADSHAH'S FARMAN TO HAZRAT-I-A'LA

nawbat, standards, the kettle-drum, palanquin with fringes, *khilht* out of Padshah's own wardrobe, a *jigha*, and a gilded *sarpech*. The Wazir adorned Hazrat-i-Ala with the robe in his own presence, presented on his own authority a *khil'at*, a sword, and a gilt handled dagger and issued the following order:—"Let the kettle-drum be sounded in our army-quarters for three days in succession, and then your drum will be sounded." Thus he doubled the glorious rank of Hazrat-i-A'la. In brief, Hazrat-i-Ala returned to his own camp joyfully and happily after obtaining the favours of the Padshah, enjoying the kindness of the Wazir, and receiving the congratulations of his relatives. Then he arranged for an entertainment, invited all the men in the camp, both high and low, and read aloud to the great satisfaction of all present the imperial *farman*¹ (which closed in the following words).

"It behoves that you feel thankful for these immense gifts and strive hard to attend to the administration of the *suba* entrusted to you, conciliate the *malgusdrs*, admonish or chastise the mischievous, and expel the rebels or bring them back to obedience. You should also endeavour to help the Padshah in the best manner possible, give tranquillity to the subjects, prohibit drinks and unlawful things, quell disturbances, suppress pretensions, and settle disputes in accordance with the laws. All these must be worked out in such a manner that people living

four feet in length, of copper gilt, and it was placed horizontally on the point of a spear. Besides the fish there were other things as well, for instance, balls, of the same material as the fish. These balls had a circle round them and rested on the tops of long poles. Both the fish and the balls were carried on an elephant. This dignity was granted to the highest nobles. (Khosla; *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*: p. 298.)

(1) The author gives the *farman* in extenso at the end of the chapter. As the language is courtly attempt is not made to translate the whole of it into English. As the part of the *farman* which mentions titles and distinctions is already included by the author in the course of this chapter, it is left untranslated and the concluding portion alone is done into English.

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in those parts may busy themselves with their work feeling safe and secure; that the weak may not be oppressed, and wrong may not be perpetrated. We lay great stress on these points."

Hazrat-i-Alfi pleased all the guests by affability and suitable presents. He submitted as *peshkash* to the Wazir some trays filled with *khilat* of high value and different kinds of gems, two Arab horses, two 'Iraqi 1 horses and two elephants with gold and silver trappings.

The desertion of the Afghan sarddrs and other commanders of the army owing to the incitement of Raja Ramdas, the peshkdr-bakhsln of the army; their secret alliance with Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan; the march of Nawwab Nasir Jang towards Arcot at the instigation of the conspirators', the troubles that beset the amirs of Asaf Jah and their march towards the Deccan. Hazrat-i-A'la seeks the help of the English from Devanampattan to put an end to the activities of the deceitful and the treacherous; the partition of the Carnatic among his brothers in accordance with the instructions of his father, {may Allah be merciful to him), calling them his representatives and securing for them titles and mansabs from the Wazir.

On the 4th day (of the victory) Nawwab Nasir Jang desired to attack and subjugate the fort of Phulcheri, and bring back his sister, the mother of the imprisoned Khan, and to expel the rebellious French from the Deccan, nay from the land of India itself. He kept the Khan under surveillance without any chastisement or punishment, in order that he might not aggrieve the mind of his sister and cut the tie of relationship. Though the

(1) 'Iraq. Babylonia; Chaldea (extending in length from Abbadan to Mosul and in breadth from Kadi sly a to Hulvvan). 'Iraq-i-'Ajam, Persian Irak or Media; 'Iraq-i-'Arab, Arabian Irak, Babylonia, Chaldea. 'Iraq was famous for a particular breed of horses.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST NASIR JANG

nobles of the Wazir established with clear proofs and decisive arguments that the existence of the Khan would augment mischief and ferment the humour of rebellion and that his destruction would be a prudent measure which would strengthen the hands of the *sarkdr*, yet Nasir Jang, out of pity and regard for his sister, not only condoned his treachery but also appointed servants to look to his comforts. Neither did he ever make an attempt on his life nor try to deprive his companions and counsellors of their possessions. But the enemies of Justice, namely, Himmat Bahadur Khan, the *jagirdar* of Cuddappah, Abdu'n-Nabi Khan, the *ndzim* of Kurnool, Bahiu'l-Khan, who was the son of Abdu'l-Majid Khan¹ and the *tahlluqddr* of Bankapur, without any regard to the blessings of kindness, or consideration for the benefits and favours, forgetting the chastisement of the Supreme Avenger, out of vain greed for power and riches, joined Raja Ramdas. This Raja Ramdas who was a servant receiving the wages of one *htm* in the government of Nawwab Shahid when he was the *nazim* at Chicacole, gradually rose to importance in the court of Asaf Jah. Later, by the kindness of Nawwab Nizamud-Dawla Bahadur Nasir Jang he was given the title of Raja and was promoted to the position of the *peshkar-bakhshi* of the army. These men conspired among themselves. Then they joined some other ungrateful men and engaged themselves in getting ready the things—that would cause their own defeat—for the purpose of improving and strengthening the position of the imprisoned Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan. They came to an understanding with the French that they would induce Nasir Jang, by some means or other, to go away to Arcot, to divert him from his thoughts of laying siege to Phulcheri, and thus gain time. For, they anticipated

(1) Abdu'l-Majid Khan was the Nawwab of Savanur and Bankapur. He accompanied Nasir Jang to the Carnatic. The Nawwabs of Savanur claimed descent from the Bahmani sultan Firozshah. Nothing is known of the son of Abdu'l-Majid Khan.

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that in the meanwhile the army would be distressed on account of the long journeys and become scattered, and that they could achieve the precious object of their endeavour.

The Wazir of the Deccan stayed in that victorious place merely for refreshing his army. On the fourth day he gave orders to march, intimating his idea of laying siege to Phulcheri. The conspirators then understood that the subjugation of Phulcheri and the destruction of the French were certain, and imagined that it would *go* against their vain and false hopes. Since their plans were frustrated, they became dejected, and proceeded to devise other plans. They said to the Wazir:

"Had Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan been in the enemy's camp it would not have mattered if your highness set out in person towards Phulcheri. But now he is your prisoner by the grace of the felicity that would crush foes. It is not becoming that your highness should march against the French who are merchants, and against Husayn Dost Khan, who is a servant, [it does not behove your dignity and power. In the circumstances it will be enough if you give the command to one of four servants who will execute it successfully, and it is *ad visibile* for your highness to fix the standard of the prosperous :avalcade at Arcot which is the station for rulers."

The Nawwab replied: "Though your observations bear testimony to your good faith, yet it is irreconcilable with the customary honour to leave our sister, namely, the mother of Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan, in the port of Phulcheri and in the territory of a people who are enemies. I will not retrace my steps unless I attain my desire."

On hearing this reply, the conspirators had no other alternative but to keep quiet and put the seal of silence on their lips. The whole day was spent in this discussion. On the approach of evening, the Wazir postponed the march of the army to the next morning. Immediately the conspirators deemed it to be a favourable opportunity and hastened to

CONSPIRACY AGAINST NASIR JANG

devise another plan. They instigated through spies Husayn Dost Khan and the French to march during the latter part of the night and attack the army of the Wazir Nasir Jang. The mean-minded and deceitful people marched accordingly out of the fort of Phulcheri with their army like thieves, and fell upon the forces of the Nawwab during the early hours of the morning. On one side they began the attack with vehemence, but ran away on the other side. The camp was very extensive, and so many were not aware of the incident. Further, there was no great damage. But the conspirators made out from this an argument in support of their suggestion, and again came forward with renewed vigour to submit the same suggestion which was not accepted before by the Wazir. They submitted: "Though the last night's attack by the mean-minded merchants was like the coming and going of a thief in secret, and though it was not known to the major part of the army and did not cause any damage, yet such acts were consistent with their short-sightedness, and proofs of their vain ideas. But their rash act will encourage others to imitate them. As a result, the bat will claim equality with the sun, and the *kuttan* will attempt to open the tongue of vanity and vie with the moonlight. However, it becomes your exalted authority to punish this impudence, yet this procedure is not suited to your rank. The consequence of your confronting them in person will be that they will feel themselves honoured, and further it will make them conceited. Supposing that during the siege these vile men resort to such indecent actions and allow the humours of deceit to flow, then it will not be graceful. Its publicity as far as Shajahanabad among your equals will not become the high and honourable name of your highness. Hence, the most appropriate course in the circumstances will be to camp at Arcot, and to appoint one of the servants like us for this work."

In brief, the Nawwab Wazir was deceived by these arguments, and he gave orders for the army to march towards Arcot. Sayyid Lashkar Ali Khani and other amirs of Asaf Jah understood the motive underlying these facts, and secretly informed the Wazir of the mischief of the conspirators and said: "In the circumstances nothing seems to be more advisable than to do one of the three following:—

(1) Your Highness should proceed in person to pull down and subdue the fort of Phulcheri. This great work should not be entrusted to this or that person. The enemy should not be considered as weak and helpless.

(2) If the design to march towards Arcot is resolved upon, it is better to set out directly towards the Deccan. At present, Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan who is a prisoner, may be nominated as the *nazim* of the Carnatic for the purpose of extinguishing the blaze of mischief. Further two well-known *sardars* with proper forces may be appointed for his help, and the rulers round about may be ordered to assist him.

(3) The order for the execution of the prisoner (Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan) may be passed so that the present mischief and confusion caused by the conspirators may come to an end.

(1) Sayyid Lashkar Khan was one of the four *diwans* of Nizamu'l-Mulk. He accompanied Nasir Jang to the Carnatic and took great interest in him; but the latter imprudently sent him back to the Deccan. He could have saved Nasir Jang from the catastrophe that overtook him, if he had not been sent to suppress some trouble at Awrangabad soon after the army retired from Pondichery to Arcot. He was at Awrangabad when Nawwab Salabat Jang and M. Bussy arrived there. He detested the dominance of the French at the *nizam's* court, but carefully concealed his opinions. Later on he thwarted M. Bussy and tried to wean Salabat Jang from his trust in the French, but was ultimately forced to cede them the Northern Circars (1753). He was dismissed from office in 1756 and replaced by Shah Nawaz Khan.

COUNTERWORK OF NASIR JANG'S FRIENDS

Whatever suits your exalted opinion may be done, either you may go out to the Deccan or stay at Arcot. It does not matter whichever is done to suit the occasion."

The Nawwab replied: "It is all the same whether I stay here or at Arcot. My presence in either of these places will be useful for the siege of Phulcheri. Whatever we intend may be done after we reach Arcot." On hearing this reply the well-wishers held their breath, and never again employed their tongues to say 'Yes' or 'No.' When the army of the Nawwab reached Arcot, and the wishes of the wicked men were fulfilled, contrary to the advice of the well-wishers, Sayyid L-shkar Khan, and the amirs of Asaf Jah had not the heart to witness the certain consequences of these affairs, and before any such thing happened they took leave of the Wazir to visit the two holy places Makk; and Madina. Thus they severed their connection with the army of the Wazir and travelled towards the Deccan for the purpose of bidding farewell to their families and relations. Hazrat-i-A'la also became aware of the possible consequences and according to the advice of his noble father, he invited from the adjoining Devanampattan the English whom he found to be bold and trustworthy. He permitted them to remain in his company. He got the *sardar* of the English forces the proud distinction of an interview with the Wazir of the mighty empire. Then he conveyed the request of the English *sardar* to the Wazir that the taluk of Poonamalle¹ be

(1) Muhammad AH had given the English the hope of the grant of the *jagir* of Poonamalle. Later, Nasir Jang was persuaded on one occasion to order Muhammad Ali to sever his relationship with the English. But Muhammad 'Ali managed to give a large bribe to Ram Das Pandit through Raja Sampat Rai and Raja Bashan Das and to persuade the Wazir to see that the order for the expulsion of the English was withdrawn. This was prior to the defeat of Muhammad Ali at the hands of the French at Tiruvati. Afterwards, the English appointed Major Lawrence and another, Foss Westcott, to be ambassadors to Nasir Jang with instructions to procure confirmation of Muhammad Ali's grants at Fort St. David and at Madras and also for a grant

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granted in return for the subjugation of Phulcheri. Then he permitted the English forces to encamp near his own. He divided the kingdom of the Carnatic among his brothers in accordance with the partition resolved upon by his father and appointed them as his representatives. The sGba of Arcot was entrusted to Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, the suba of Nellore to Abdul Wahhab Khan Bahadur, and some taluks to Muhammad Najibullah Khan Bahadur. He made his elder brother distinguished by the title of Shahamat Jang which he secured from the Nawwab Nasir Jang. He honoured his brother and Muhammad Najibullah Khan with the titles of Nusrat Jang and Bahadur respectively, both got from the Nawwab Nasir Jang.

The rebellion of Husayn Dost Khan and the French at the instigation of the deceitful traitors; their capture of the forts of Tiruvath and Chingleput with the connivance of the qilddrs who were of the Nait community; the fight with Saff Shikan Khan and his son and the defeat) the appointment of Tahmast Khan, the Turk, his victory and death.

The amirs, the boon companions of the Wazir, had left for the Deccan, their native home; thus the Wazir was left severely alone. Besides, he was wearied and worn with long

of the Poonamalle district. This was in April 1750. After some delay they did not agree to the plans suggested by Nasir Jang for an attack on Wandiwash and for an expedition to raise tribute in Tanjore. So, Lawrence and his troops marched back in May to Fort St. David.

(1) The pagoda of Tiruvati associated in tradition with Saint Appar and the revivalist Saivaite movement of the 7th century, lay about 15 miles to the west of Fort St. David, and served as a citadel to a large village. It made no resistance to the French attack, and the French troops (50 Europeans and 100 sepoys) were placed as a garrison in it. The capture of this fort established French authority south of the Pennar river. Muhammad Ali fearing that the French might make further inroads southwards, requested permission from Nasir Jang to take the field against

CAPTURE OF TIRUVATI AND CHINGLEPUT

travel The wicked and perfidious men thought this a favourable opportunity for the execution of their design. They proceeded to exhibit their acts of iniquity and rejoiced at their dastardly design. They instigated the *jagirdars* of the Nait community to supply the necessary things required by the French army, for the Naites who belonged to the same stock as Husayn Dost Khan were waiting long for such an opportunity. Since the word *ho* is sufficient to excite a madman, every one grasped the opportunity and was ready with animals, provisions and other implements to the extent of his ability. The French were strengthened by their assistance. According to their advice, the conspirators first attacked the fort of Tiruvati which was contiguous to Phulcheri and subdued it in two days. Then they got ready implements of warfare and provisions and descended on Chingleputi, the *jagir* of the son of Saff Shikan Khan. After devastating the neighbouring villages and townships they encamped underneath the shade of cypress trees on the hill adjoining the fort. When the sword fell on the head of

Tiruvati; but the Wazir was so angry with the English for having refused to accompany him to Arcot that it was some time before he permitted his vassal Muhammad Ali to ask their assistance, and even when he consented he would not allow even his own name to be used in requesting the English help. The English being assured by Muhammad Ali that he would defray all their expenses ordered a body of 400 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys to take the field. Then the Nawwab marched from Arcot with a numerous army. He encamped before Gingee and waited for the English troops to join him. Then the armies moved towards Fort St. David, and camped on the plain of Tiruvendipuram waiting for two cannons and military stores. As soon as these arrived, they marched towards the end of July against the French.

(1) Chingleput fell into the hands of the French who defeated and slew its *qutubdar* Durgadas Khan. Ananda Ranga Pillai tells us in his diary (Vol. VII, Entry for June 3, 1750) that Lala Veedichand, the *amil* of Chingleput, was a friend of his, and his father-in-law Seshadri Pillai was the *palayagar* of the place. Hence the capture of Chingleput by the French must have been comparatively easy. The French troops that had occupied Chingleput even threatened the safety of Conjeevaram.

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the *jagirdar*, lie woke up to the danger, sprang like a wounded beast, and brought the disgrace of a runaway on the honour of his house. On hearing the attack of the French and the flight of his son, Saff Shikan Khan hurried thither with the available troops, and in the darkness of the night pitched his tents near the camp of the French, who seized the opportunity, fell upon him and scattered his confounded forces. Saff Shikan Khan ran away as his son did. The French occupied the fort. The mind of the good Nawwab Wazir was confounded with the successive reverses, the loss of the two forts, and the defeat of the father and the son. The Nawwab desired to march in person for the purpose of shattering the vessel of pride of the enemy. But the conspirators were there again to prevent any good work, and they did not like the fulfilment of the Wazir's desire. They submitted: "This is not the proper time for your highness to march in person to punish the enemy; for,

(1) the army is not in good spirits owing to the long journey;

(2) the rainy season is fast approaching;

(3) the French have gained strength as they have received reinforcements from their different ports; and

(4) the bad repute of your highness meeting face to face these low men, will spread throughout the land and reach as far as Shajahanabad. The proper course becoming your power and dignity will be to depute two intelligent *sarddrs* at the head of a strong and experienced army to accomplish the work in the two places, which will easily settle the affair."

In brief, according to their advice, Tahmast Khan, the Turk, an able *sarddr* holding a *mansab* from the Padshah was despatched to Chingleput. Our Hazrat-i-Ala was chosen to settle the affairs of the fort of Tiruvati. Accordingly the two *sarddrs* marched with their forces to their respective places

CAPTURE OF TIRUVATI AND CHINGLEPUT

of action and girded up their loins to exhibit their faithfulness. As soon as the Turk, Tahmast Khan, reached Chingleput, he ascended the hill with his army, where the French had encamped, and exerted himself in scattering the leaves in the garden of the enemy's forces. Those of the French who escaped his sword, ran down the hill slope. The victorious Khan pursued them, striking them with his sword. Many heads were broken by the hoofs of the horses, swift as wind. In this excitement which resembled the resurrection day, one French soldier from among the scattered group was hiding himself in fear underneath a stone on the way. As the Khan passed by him, his eyes caught sight of that furious lion. Immediately he lost his senses in fear. The loaded gun which he used as a walking stick in his distressed condition slipped from his hand and exploded on striking against the earth, while the bullet struck the Khan. Thus the great commander of the forces was killed, and this incident furnished illustration of the proverb, "the jackal gets bold to pounce upon the lion, the raven to hunt the hawk."

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Hazrat-i-A'la lays siege to the fort of Tiruvati but postpones its subjugation on receipt of instructions from Nawwab Nasir Jang to drive away the community of the English from Devanampattan; Nasir Jang appoints Abdu'n-Nabi Khan and Himmat Bahadur Khan to destroy the place) the pain and grief of Hazrat-i-A'la who after great endeavours restrains the two Khans from executing the commands) the defeat of Saff Shikan Khan at the fort of Tiruvati, by the French, who in turn were put to rout by Hazrat-i-A'la.

Hazrat-i-A'la. attacked the fort of Tiruvati with his own army and that of the English. Owing to the severity of the siege and the firing of the guns by the English forces the besieged were reduced to such narrow straits that the fort was about to fall. On account of the severe cannonading the hour

(1) Captain Cope persuaded the Nawwab to march against Tiruvati, and the army appeared before the place on the first of August, and summoned the garrison which refused to surrender. He proposed to the Nawwab to order his troops to scale the walls and make a general assault, while the English should batter down the gates. The Nawwab's troops however refused to do so, and the army then marched towards the French encampment the next morning. There was cannonading between the two forces from noon till night. The English quitted their ground with the loss of 10 Europeans and 50 sepoys. The Nawwab lost 200 men and the French were secured behind the entrenchments and suffered much loss. Muhammad Ali felt very much depressed at this repulse and proposed to march towards the west; but Captain Cope had been instructed not to march beyond any of the French posts lest his communication with Fort St. David should be cut off. The Nawwab and Captain Cope could not agree, and Major Lawrence, who now commanded at Fort St. David, ordered the troops under Cope to leave the Nawwab and march back to the settlement. As soon as the English had begun to retreat, towards the close of August, Dupleix ordered the main body of the French troops at Valudavur to join the camp at Tiruvati. The whole force consisted of 1,800 Europeans, 2,500 sepoys and 1,000 horse, the last levied by

FRENCH INTRIGUE WITH THE CONSPIRATORS

of subjugation was thought to be at hand. On being informed of this situation, Husayn Dost Khan and Dupleix immediately wrote to the conspirators as follows: "It is certain that the fortress of Phulcheri will be reduced to narrow straits in case the fort of Tiruvati goes out of our hands on account of the brave attack of Nawwab Siraju'd-Dawla (Hazrat-i-A'la) and the intrepidity of the English. It is prudence to find a remedy before the calamity happens. Work out such a plan that will end the friendship of the English with Nawwab Siraju'd-Dawla."

The conspirators became vigilant at this suggestion. They recalled to their minds a former request of the English through Hazrat-i-A'la, seeking the grant of the *jagir* of Poonamalle in return for their undertaking to subjugate Phulcheri. Further they saw clearly the inevitable expulsion of the French and the destruction of their settlements. Hence they submitted to the Wazir the following arguments in such a manner as to deceive him.

"Siraju'd-Dawla Bahadur had secured the friendship of the English by giving them the hope of the grant of the *jagir* of Poonamalle. If the power and will of Husayn Dost Khan and HidayatMuhiyyu'd-DIn Khan had not invested the French with authority, all this mischief and anarchy proceeding from the injustice of the Christians would not have happened at all in

Chanda Sahib together with twelve field pieces. The disposition of Muhammad All's army has been noted above. On the first of September, the French advanced to attack Muhammad All's camp. There were cavalry on each wing and their artillery were in the front. They marched briskly up to the entrenchment which the Nawwab's troops immediately abandoned. The French entered the camp, brought up their artillery and began to fire upon the cavalry troops. The result was that horse and foot fled promiscuously, and many were pushed directly into the river. This victory was obtained by the French without the loss of a man, and none was wounded excepting those who suffered by the explosion of a tumbrel. (Orme, Vol. I, 4th Edn., pp. 150-1.)

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

this kingdom of your highness. At present the preference (of Hazrat-i-Ala) for the English and the promise of the grant of the taluk of Poonamalle (to them) do not appear to be untainted with deceit. What troubles it may give birth to and to what extent it may bring disappointments are not known. The removal of such evils (if allowed to grow) will become an arduous task; the remedy for these troubles is beyond our reason and intelligence."

In brief, the Nawwab's mind was agitated on listening to this. Immediately he resolved that the territory of the Deccan, nay the whole of India, should be freed from all *frang* merchants. Accordingly he issued a strict order to Hazrat-i-Ala requiring him to sever his relationship with the English and to drive them from their settlements. He appointed Abdu'n-Nabi Khani and Himmat Bahadur Khan², the *nazims* of Cuddapah and Kurnool to subjugate Devanampattan and Chennapattan. On this account the mind of Hazrat-i-Ala was wounded. On learning the mischief of these pernicious men and the plans of the conspirators,

(1) Abdu'n-Nabi Khan, succeeded to the Nawwabship of Cuddapah, which was an extensive power including Siddhout, Gandikotta, Cumbum, Gurramkonda and Punganoor. He also accompanied Nasir Jang on his expedition to the Carnatic and took a prominent part in the assassination of the Wazlr. He ruled Cuddapah from S. S. 1658 to S. S. 1659, and died in 1747. He was followed for brief periods by Alaf Khan and his brother Ranad Allah Kfcan and then by Alaf Khan's son, Himmat Bahadur who reigned twenty years, [p. VII of C. P. Brown's Extract from the Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Mohomadan Chronology in his *Ephetneris* (A.D. 1751 to 1850)—Madras (1850)].

(2) *Himmat Bahadur Khan, the nazim of Kurnool*; It was during the rule of Himmat that the Mahrattas invaded his territory. Himmat Bahadur Khan along with the other Pathan Nawwabs such as Abdu'n-Nabi Khan of Cuddapah, and the Nawwab of Bankapur secretly worked on the French side. After the assassination of Nasir Jang and of Mugaffar Jang, Kurnool was besieged and carried off by assault in March 1751 by the Wazir Salabat Jang and the French General M. Bussy.

HAZRATJ-A'LA'S HELP TO THE ENGLISH

fee feairai that, if the English be expelled, the strength of the French would certainly increase; Phulcheri would become the shelter **for** the enemies and it would be the perennial source for confusion. In these circumstances he recalled to his mind the advice of his father and firmly resolved to continue to befriend the English. In great anguish and sorrow he withdrew from the siege of Tiruvati and hastened to Arcot. He sent a large sum of money from the collection of the revenues of Arcot to Raja Ramdasi, the *bakhshi* of the Wazir's army, through Raja Sampat Rai, his *diwan*, and Rai Ganga Bashan who had been the treasurer since his father's time. This Rai Ganga Bashan², otherwise styled as Bashan Das, was an old friend of Raja Ramdas from the time of their office in Chicacole. Hazrat-i-Ala confided to Raja Ramdas his secret in the following manner: "Though I should leave off my friendship with the English in obedience to the command of the Wazir, I request your favour for allowing them to continue in their present position and save

(1) Raja Ram Das or Raghunath Das was a Brahmin, born in Chicacole and originally known as Ramdas Pandit. He was called by Grant Duff 'The traitor Ramdas.' He was in the confidence of Nasir Jang, but was secretly in favour of Muzaffar Jang's elevation. He communicated to Sayyid LashkarKhan and others of Muzaffar Jang's party all that passed with Nasir Jang. Mir Dayim'Ali Khan warned Nasir Jang against the intended treachery of the Pathan Nawwabs and the evil disposition of Raja Ramdas even on the very eve of the Wazir's assassination. Nasir Jang even gave an order for the killing of Muzaffar Jang, but Raja Ramdas bribed the executors and sought to delay them. It was after the elevation of Muzaffar Jang to the *nizamat* that Ramdas got the title of Raja Raghunath Das. Later on he became the *diwan* of Nawwab Salabat Jang, but was killed soon after by some Afghan soldiers of the army whose officer he had insulted. Raja Raghunath Das was greatly devoted to French interests. He was succeeded in office by Sayyid Lashkar Khan.

(2) Ganga Bashan *alias* Bashandas was in the service of Nawwab Anwarud-Din Shan, when the latter was in charge of Chicacole. His friendship with Raja Ramdas seems to have dated from that period.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

them from the calamity of expulsion. Else it will be proclaimed as far as Europe that such destruction befell that community because of my friendship." The Raja received the amount from the two mediators, who, with sweet words and with the familiarity of their long friendship, endeavoured to recommend (Hazrat-i-Ala's wishes) to his favour. Then the Raja listened to the message and agreed to the proposal.

Hazrat-i-Ala then appeared before the Wazir, in the company of Shah Nawaz Khan the *diwan*, and Mir Dayim Ali Khan, and when the Wazir was alone he represented thus: "The present rebellion of the French is directed mainly to disturb the peace of other *frang* merchants. Perhaps this may lead to their union also, which will not find appreciation at the hands of far-sighted statesmen, according to the wisdom contained in the verse:

'If ants unite among themselves, they will eat away the skin of the fierce lion.'

Thus he prevented the two *sardars* from marching against the settlements of the English. Then he took leave of the Wazir and reached Tiruvati. He comforted with overflowing words of encouragement the English whose friendship is based on fidelity, and who are sincere and loyal. He honoured and glorified their *sardar* with presents of *khilht* and a beautiful horse, and sent him to Devanampattan. After his departure Hazrat-i-Ala was distressed on account of great sorrow. He wished to withdraw from the siege of Tiruvati, but on account of the fear of the various kinds of suspicions (that might be cast on him) he did not abandon the work entrusted to him. Here the following event has to be narrated.

During the progress of the compilation of this book, when the narrative had proceeded thus far, the author according to

HAZRAT-I-A'LA'S EXHORTATION TO HIS SONS

custom read it out to Hazrat-i-Ala who listening to the portion which related to his going to Arcot from Tiruvati for the purpose of protecting the English, and to his conversations with Raja Ramdas and the Wazir, recalled to his mind the anxiety and exertions he underwent for the solution of such difficulties, and shed tears. Then he offered his thanks to the Almighty Lord, and said: "I have helped and protected the English whenever they were in trouble, not only of my own generosity, but also out of respect for the advice of my father who suffered martyrdom (may Allah be merciful to him). On all occasions I have helped them amply. I have brought my influence to bear on all their activities in such a way that in the whole of India none has the courage to oppose them now. The French with all their power drowned their proud army like Pharaoh in the river Nile and became annihilated/' Then he called both his exalted sons, narrated past events, and addressed them as follows:

"It is incumbent on you, my beloved and lovely sons, to be the friends and well-wishers of the English. You must bear in mind my patronage of the English and the advice of my father, and you should also make your posterity abide by this course. In the same manner it behoves every Englishman to be sincere in preserving the power and authority of my descendants as long as he continues to reside in India. If there be any deviation from this rule on the part of either, he will not be considered as a good member of his group."

I now resume the thread of my narration. In brief, for two months nothing could be done at Tiruvati which was about to fall. Eventually Saff Shikan Khan, in obedience to the order of the Wazir of the Deccan, marched from Arcot with an army to help the besiegers; and on reaching Tiruvati he descended on one side of the fort. The French who had already gained experience in the battle at Chingleput, here also suddenly sallied

HISTORY OF THE MAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

out from the fort at three o'clock in the evening and defeated the forces of Saff Shikan Khan¹.

The newcomers, namely, the army and the commander, who were unprepared for this sudden attack, did not sustain the fight even for a while, and were easily dispersed as in the previous battle. Our Hazrat-i-A'la hastened with his brave army for the help of the defeated Khan. But he did not find any trace of him, and hence he returned. In the meanwhile, the army of the night surrounded the whole world. The French found their opportunity to attack the empty battlements and devastated them. The wise Hazrat-i-A'la thought that fighting in the darkness of the night was opposed to the rules of nature and retired to the *maydan* of Tirkalur (Tirukoilur). Next morning as soon as he saw the French arraying their army for battle he hastened to attack them. The brave soldiers on both sides exhibited their bravery violently and furiously. Seeing the flashing of the swords and the consequent destruction of the enemy by Hazrat-i-A'la on that day, the ingenious in the modes of warfare, the brave fighters in the field, found themselves helpless. They became powerless out of confusion and stretched out their hands in prayer for victory and success. Just then *in* the heat of battle, a cannon ball fell so near the left leg of Hazrat-i-A'la that the horse on which he rode fell down and his foot was also injured. Though his foot was not blown away, yet the skin and the bone were scorched. Even after the wound was healed and the passing of many days pieces of bones could be felt by the touch of the hand. Yet Hazrat-i-A'la sits, moves about and walks as usual, nay, it is difficult for the swiftpaced men to keep pace with his normal walking for a distance of two or three *kurohs*. In short, after great endeavour, and excessive sword play the enemy was

(1) *French victories over the forces of Sf Shikan Khan*.—This refers to the cannonade on the 31st of July near Tiruvati directed by the French on the enemy.

BATTLE OF CHENJI

defeated and made to flee as usual. **Then** Hazrat-i-Ala **returned** victorious to the *maydan* at Chenji with heavy booty **taken from the** enemy. After the sick had been nursed, he wished to employ the same victorious army in laying siege to the fort of Tiruvati, and plaguing the besieged. But the Wazir, who was deceived by the conspirators suddenly recalled him to his presence. Thus once again the prey escaped the claw.

The fort of Chenji passes into the hands of the French ;¹ the march of the Nazivab Nasir Jang at the instigation of the conspirators; the night attack of the French, and the martyrdom of the Nawwah by means of bullets that proceeded from Himmat Bahadur Khan, the nazim of Kurnool.

As soon as Hazrat-i-Ala marched from Chen ji in obedience to the command of the Nawwab Wazir and reached Arcot, Husayn Dost Khan and the French found the battle-field empty of the fighters and quickly busied themselves again at the

(1) *The French capture of Gingee.*—A detachment of 250 Europeans and 1,200 sepoys and 4 field pieces under M. Bussy was sent in advance by M. Dupleix to attack the strong fortress of Gingee by surprise, while the main body of the French troops under D'Auteuil followed at a distance. About 5,000 of the fugitives from the Tiruvati had taken refuge in the pettah of Gingee and were encamped under the walls of the fort. They were protected by some pieces of artillery under the Europeans. M. Bussy **waited** for the main body of the French army to join him. He advanced and attacked the troops encamped outside the walls, took possession of the artillery and killed most of the Europeans. He then petarded one of the gates of the outer wall on the plain, got possession of it with very little loss of men, and **shortly before** nightfall **the** French entered the town and barricaded the streets; **but they were** exposed to a continual fire from the three rocks which served as citadels to the fort. They bombarded the forts with mortars and with artillery **fire until the** moonset. This was the signal to storm the fortifications on **the** hills **and** the Europeans attacked the three hills at **the** same time and **carried away all the redoubts and** by daybreak were in possession of **them having lost in all only 20 men in the different attacks.** M. Bussy himself **felt sure that he could not have succeeded in the attack if it had been in the daylight.** The great reputation of the strength of Gingee considerably raised the fame of

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

instigation of the conspirators. They subjugated the fort of Chenji and setwled for themselves a strong asylum. On learning this news the Wazir issued an order to Haizrat-i-Aia commanding him to send his army to lay siege to Chenji and to be actively engaged in preserving that district in such a way as to prevent any succour coming from the port of Phulcheri to the besieged. Accordingly Hazrat-i-Ala sent Muhammad Abrar Khan, his *bakhshi*, with a well-equipped army. The Khan obeyed the order, surrounded the fort of Chenji, and blockaded the entrances on all sides, so that it became impossible for the besieged to get anything, even a straw-blade. The Khan went ahead of the troops which conveyed provisions from the forts of Phulcheri and Tiruvati, and charged them; only very few ran away for their lives, leaving their beasts of burden to be looted, escaped the hands of death and reached Tiruvati. One of the companions of Muhammad Abrar Khan, by name Muzaffar, a Mughal of Turani origin, displayed his bravery in that battle; single-handed, he slew forty Frenchmen; thus the sharpness of his merciless sword came out of this test, and he himself attained the rank of a martyr. On learning this the instigators were perturbed and despaired of their stay at the fort of Chenji. So they devised a new plan. They caused in the mind of the Wazir a fear that the forces at Chingleput would attack the temple of Kanji which was like a fort, and constrained him to issue a strict order commanding the forces of Hazrat-i-Ala to protect Kanji, in spite of the fact that Ha?rat-i-Ala submitted with clear arguments his necessity for the army. Our helpless Hazrat-i-Ala recalled Muhammad Ahrar Khan from Chenji, and sent him to Kanji reinforced by his own forces. Hazrat-i-Ala was thus left alone with his own

he French, and the loss of this fortress awakened Nasir Jang at last to a reuse of the seriousness of the situation. For details of the exploits of the jafwe of this famous fortress, see Orme, Vol. I, pages 151-2; Malteson's *History of the French in India*, new edition and M. Martineau's *Dupleix et l'ade From caise*, Vol. III, pp. 134-8.

MARTYRDOM OF NASIR JANG

attendants. However much he attempted, he could not get the army to *his* side; and the *maydan* of jollity became secure for the French and the mischief-mongers; the hand of enmity was emboldened to plunder the land.

Nawwab Nasir Jang, according to the decree of fate which falls alike on high and low and overtakes amir and *faqir*, marched out of Arcot in heavy rain, as advised by his companions fermenting with deceit, and encamped on the *mayddn* of Chenji. There being heavy rain, rapid floods, and ups and downs, they encamped at different places. The whole army became divided into many groups, each camping at a raised place safe from the danger of the floods.

The intelligent and sagacious Hazrat-i-Ala submitted the following precaution:

"Because of the heavy downpour, the thick flood, and the nearness of the enemy's encampment, this place will serve as a means for treachery; hence the encampment at this place is opposed to loyal counsel. It is better to encamp on the *maydan* adjoining the *qasba* of Belpur (Villupuram), for it is very extensive, its level high, and the whole army could be gathered at one place." The Nawwab took the suggestion and fixed the next day for manoeuvre. But Khan Alami who was then present, said that * Wednesday was inauspicious and suggested the auspicious Thursday. The day after the next was fixed upon by the Wazir accordingly.

Mir Sayfullah, the agent of the ignoble traitors, had already gone to Husayn Dost Khan and the French to settle terms. He made sure of them by oath and covenant and returned by Thursday. MirDayim Ali Khan, the *sardar* of the advanced guard of the army, learnt what had happened; that very night he sheared before the Wazir, and presented for consideration all the facts in detail, from the beginning: the treachery of the accursed traitors, the wickedness of the Afghans, the evil disposition of the mean and ungrateful Raja

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIO

Ramdas, the union of these with Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Di Khan, the plot of the enemies through the mediation of Mi Sayfullah, and the impending treachery of the Afghans that very night. But fate had prepared the implements for the destruction of the Wazir. By reason of his faith in these ignoble men, namely, the Afghans, who found in his reign repose and affluence instead of the disgrace they had suffered during the days of Asaf Jah, the Wazir thought that the representations of Mir Dayim Ali Khan were due to wild fancy and fear, and did not approve of them. He observed: "What have I done to these people for which they behave treacherously towards me and join hands with others?" On listening to this reply the speaker sealed his lips, and in sorrow smote violently on his breast with his finger nails.

In short that very night about 3 o'clock the French came out of Chenji, gradually marched out cannonading without any opposition or molestation. The Nawwab Wazir who is to receive the honour of martyrdom, pulled off the cotton of negligence from the ear of wariness and realised the situation. Immediately he sent for Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan for the purpose of killing him. The latter was reading the Quran in pretence, while Raja Ramdas bribed the executors and sought to delay them. Since money overcomes all considerations and the greed of wealth tops all desires, the executors delayed their purpose. Other men who came after them were also bought off in the same manner. By that time the French had come near; the Wazir who had had ablutions, did them once again, and put on his turban. Contrary to his practice during the times of war, he did not wear any armour or coat of mail, but put on a close-fitting white dress and did not adorn his body with arms. Before he got on his elephant he stood before a mirror, and addressed his reflection three times with his baptised name "Oh Mir Ahmad! may God preserve you!" He took his seat in the *'imari*, and seated

MARTYRDOM OF NASIR JANG

his women also in it. Then he ordered the mahout to stand aside. Part of the army were unaware of the French attack or were hindered by the heavy floods; part were negligent or pretended ignorance; thus the whole army became scattered. There was none near or around the elephant on which the Wazir rode, except some *bandars* and torch bearers. The rebellious enemy was advancing gradually. In the meanwhile the day dawned and the Nawwab caught sight of two elephants on which rode Abdu'n-Nabi Khan and Himmat Bahadur Khan, the *nazims* of Cuddapah and of Kurnool. The Wazir directed his own elephant towards them, and contrary to practice raised his hands to his head and salamed them first. But they pretended to know him not and did not even turn their eyes to the side of the Nawwab. The latter thought that they did not recognise him. So he stood up, raised his hand, and salamed them in a loud voice for the second time. This time the shame of their being silent in the presence of the Wazir taught them the time-honoured rules of civilities. Then the¹ Wazir said: "It is incumbent on you and me, brothers of the same faith, to fight the stranger." In the course of this observation Himmat Bahadur Khan aimed at the Wazir with the musket, and the bullet pierced his innocent heart¹. Thus Himmat Bahadur Khan carried through his life on his shoulders the burden of everlasting contempt and perennial disgrace. The agitation among the retinue and family resembled that of judgment day. The destruction of the treasury, and the sacking of the tents seemed like the confusion "when the trumpets are blown on the day of judgment." Brother was separated from brother and mother from children.

(1) Dodwell and Orme say that the murder is generally ascribed to Abdun-Nabikhan;—See Note 3, p. 52, *Dupleix and Clive*; also the article by C. S. Srinivasachari on 'The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai' in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X, pp. 158-162.

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In brief, his martyrdom brought in the judgment day. The lamentations reached the skies. The river of his innocent blood appeared to water the tree that grows dangers. Its fruits taste bitter to the people of the world even to this day. The sea of heart-rending pain had brought forth a deluge which, even to this day, forms an impediment for the foundation of the power of Hindustan. Ere long the perpetrators of this crime suffered their retribution, and the conspirators received their recompense.

Hazrat-i-Ala comes forth safely from that dangerous place by the protection of the Real Protector) he starts alone towards Nattharnagar; the opposition on the way, of Mu'tabir Khan Tahir the jagirdar of Ranjangadh¹; Hazrat-i-Ala escapes from the treachery of Mu'tabir Khan owing to the bravery of Ghazanfar All Khan and arrives at the limits of Nattharnagar by the assistance of the Great Defender.

After the martyrdom of Nawwab Nizamud-Dawla Bahadur Nasir Jang which created the scene of the judgment day, the army became scattered. Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur Shahamat Jang, Muhammad Najibullah Khan

(1) Ranjangadh is Ranjangudi, eleven miles from Perambalur. Mu'tabir Khan Tahir its *jagirdar* was not well disposed towards Muhammad Ali. The fort of the place consisted of two parts, namely, a citadel on a rock and a *pettah* at its foot with mud walls. The place is well known for its weaving in cotton and woollen carpets and also for embroidery. The fort was the scene of a well-known battle between the English and Muhammad Ali on one side and Chanda Sahib and the French on the other, in 1751. The battle is usually known as the battle of Valkonda, after the village of Valikandapuram in the neighbourhood. But the action was not immediately beneath the walls of Ranjangudi. It was also at Ranjangudi that the French reinforcements under D'Auteuil surrendered to the English in May, 1752. The fort is in good condition even to this day. (See *The Gaseetteer of the Trichinopoly District* by F.R. Hemingway, pp. 303-5; and Orme, Vol. I; and *Memoir of Captain Dalton*, p. 104.)

THE ESCAPE OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

Bahadur and other amirs and nobles marched towards Haydarabad as they were helpless. In utmost secrecy our Hazrat-i-Ala came out of that place with Ghazanfar All Khan and a guide creating in the minds of others the belief that he would return soon, took a different route, and was soon on his way to Nattharnagar. Owing to the heavy rains, everywhere was one sheet of water; river or highway, well or pond, could not be distinguished; his horse swam the distance, and he reached the taluk of Tirnamal, (Tiruvannamalai) when a group of ten or twelve men from among his servants already stationed there joined their master. As soon as he arrived at Ranjangadh, Mu'tabir Khan Tahir, son of Muhammad Husayn Khan Tahir and *jagirdar* of that place came out of the fort with a large force under the pretext of receiving him. In spite of Hazrat-i-Ala's excuses the *jagirdar*, under the pretence* of hospitality, made pressing solicitations to come into the fort, and would not let him go. However much our master embellished his apologetic speech with excuses, yet the troublesome fellow turned a deaf ear. When our sagacious master saw that excuses were of no avail and the obstinate *jagirdar* was not allowing him to proceed, he got up from that place under the pretext of answering the calls of nature. He went aside and secretly informed Ghazanfar AH Khan of the vain intentions, the obstinacy and excessively pressing solicitations of the *jdglrddr*, and desired (from him) a plan of escape. The devoted Khan put the mind of Hazrat-i-Ala to rest, and left him free to ease himself. Then the Khan returned, and sat by the side of the *jagirdar* who had spread the ornamental covering of the saddle obstructing the way, and awaiting to fulfil his design against Hazrat-i-Ala. In the course of conversation the Khan led him out of his wits, suddenly sprang forward like an arrow, threw one hand round the waist of the *jagirdar*, while with the other, he drew out the dagger and pointed it at the stomach of the *jdglrddr*. Then the

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Khan rebuked the *jagirdar* for his obstruction, and threatened him thus: "If you give way to my master and enjoin strongly on your servants not to move from their respective places, you will escape my hand. Else, know for certain that by means of this dagger and the rapacious and well-tried arm, your blood will stain this place. Then I am prepared to meet any situation that may arise and I will not run away from it." The faithful Khan who was plump and fat and who possessed great strength and vigour, appeared to the on-lookers like a hawk clutching a sparrow in its claws, a lion holding a goat in its paw. In short, on account of this unexpected misfortune and deadly danger, the *jdgirdar* lost all his understanding and use of sense, threw to the winds patience and firmness and broke out in prayer *al-aman!* He ordered his servants to keep to their places; he exclaimed in a helpless tone to Hazrat-i-Ala: "There is no obstruction. By His grace let your feet be on the stirrup and may you hasten to your capital safely." But no sooner had Hazrat-i-Ala seen the ruin of the wall of barrier, than he left the place. When he reached Walkandahpur* in Nattharnagar situated at a distance of one *kuroh* from Ranjangadh, he despatched a letter written in his own hand to Ghazanfar AH Khan informing him of his safe arrival at the limits of Nattharnagar. On seeing the letter and the signature of Hazrat-i-Ala, the Khan released his hand from the waist of the *jagirdar*, removed the pointed dagger from his stomach, and said to the *jagirdar*, "If you permit me who have done the duty of a servant, to go (unmolested), I guarantee that you won't meet with any kind of maltreatment from my master. But if you behave treacherously towards me, who am a devoted servant, you cannot be free from the punishment of his sword." The *jagirdar*

(1) Walkandahpur is Valikandapuram or Valkonda. It is popularly supposed to have been the place where Ramachandra king of Ayodhya met Vali, the monkey-king, on his way to Lanka. It is eight miles to the north-east of Perambalur. It was till 1861 the headquarters of a taluk.

HAZRAT-I-A'LA PREPARES FOR WAR

spoke in a conciliatory tone, and permitted him to go for **the** purpose of securing pardon for his own daring mischief. Thus Ghazanfar Ali Khan got out safely from that place and rejoined his master. Then they marched quickly to Nattharnagar. The distance from the army quarters at ChenjI to his capital was generally covered in seven days. But they did it in a day and a night.

Hazrat-i-Ala's preparations for war to strike the enemy; his writing an arsdasht to Ahmad Shah Padshah and a letter to Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Sayyid Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang¹ the senior brother of Nawwdb Nasir Jang and the eldest son of Nawwab Asaf Jah, relating the events that happened to Nawivab Nasir Jang Shahid.

After reaching Nattharnagar Hazrat-i-Ala completed his arrangements relating to the army and the implements of war, sent for his junior brother Abdu'l Wahhab Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang at the *suba* of Nellore and Muhammad Abrar Khan in the district of Kanji; despatched *anhrqdashtto* Ahmad Shah Padshah submitting the events that happened in the Car-

(1) Nawwab Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Firoz Jang, the eldest son of the celebrated Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah, was elevated by the Emperor Muhammad Shah to the rank of Amiru'l-Umara in A. D. 1739, When the news of the murder of Nasir Jang in December 1750 reached Delhi in the middle of January, 1751, the Emperor nominated Ghaziu'd-Din Khan as the *subadar* of the Deccan with the title of Nizamu'l-Mulk. He proceeded to the Deccan but died on his way at Awrangabad. Ghaziu'd-Din Ehan was very reserved! and a god-fearing person. He spent his time in the company of theologians, kept night vigils and ordered his life after the manner of a puritan. These qualities he inherited from his mother who was a *sayyida*, the daughter of a pious *shaykh*. of Gulbarga. He married Zaybu'n-Nisa, known as Sultan Begam, the daughter of the Wazir Qamru'd-Din. After the death of Ghaziu'd-Din Khan the rank of Amiru'l-Umara was conferred on his son Shahabu'd-Din with the title of 'Imadu'l-Mulk.

Sir J.N. Sarkar: *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 446.

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natic Payanghat; sent a letter to Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Dln Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang the elder son of Nawwab Asaf Jah, the senior brother of Nawwab Nizamtd-Dawla Nasir Jang Bahadur Shahid, then the Wazlr at the imperial court. In that letter Hazrat-i-A'la, expressed sympathy with the martyrdom of Nawwab Nasir Jang, and advised Nawwab Ghaziu'd-Dln Khan to proceed towards theDeccan. Thus after settling his affairs, Hazrat-i-A'la got ready for war; while Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-DIn Khan with the help of the Afghan *sardars*, Raja Ramdas and other nobles who were not true to their salt, came out of his disgraceful internment and sat on the throne of the Deccan the next day after the martyrdom of Nawwab Nasir Jang, namely, on Wednesday the 16th of the holy Muharram of the year 1164 A.II. He brought under his control, the whole army, implements of warfare, cattle, treasury and other booty, stayed in that same place for three days, and on the fourth day, namely, on Sunday the 19th, reached Phulcheri with all his encampment. There he met Husayn Dost Khan and M. Dupleix and arranged a delightful *majlis* in all magnificence and grandeur. He bestowed on Husayan Dost Khan titles,¹ and *mansabs* and entrusted to him the *nizamat* of *Payanghat*; on M. Dupleix the title of Zafar Jang, and granted him the *jagir* of Chenji, Tiruvati and other places;

(1) The news of Nasir Jang's assassination and of the elevation of Musaffar Jang reached Pondicherry the same day and Chanda Sahib was so overjoyed that he ran through the streets to meet M. Dupleix and almost stifled him with his embraces. On December 26th Muzaffar Jang made his triumphal entry into Pondicherry; on the 31st, he held his first *darbar* and received the homages of M. Dupleix and the Mughal nobles. Eighteen chests of jewels and a crore of rupees besides bullion are said to have been carried to Pondicherry. A few days later, Muzaffar Jang set out to his capital, having appointed M. Dupleix to be his deputy in the countries south of the Krishna and granted him territories which were expected to produce a net revenue of three and a half lacs of rupees.

HIDAYAT MUHIYYU'D-DIN IN POWER

M. Las (Law) M. Padi (D'Auteuil) and other French *sardars*, **were** given suitable titles, *tnansabs*, and presents and were made to feel happy and grateful. Himmat Bahadur Khan was given the title of Rustam Jang and was granted the *jaglr* of Raychur, and Adhoni; Abdu'n-Nabi Khan got the *jagir* of Kanjikotta, (Gandikotta) Gooty, and Kuramgonda(Gurramkonda); Abdu'l-Karim Khan secured *thtjag'ir* of Sara; Januji theMahratta was honoured with the title of Maharaj Arjun Jaswant; Raja Ramdas with the title of Raja Raghunath Das; Muhammad Hasani with the title of Ahsanu'd-Dln Khan; Abdu'l-Rahman with the title of the Muzafkar Khan. Thus he proved the meaning of the saying: "Every depraved fellow is a boaster."

Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Dln Khan learnt the preparations and the firmness of Hazrat-i-A'la and thought that the war might become endless. Hence he wrote a friendly letter to Hazrat-i-A'la according to the plan and counsel of M. Dupleix and Januji the Mahratta and despatched it along with the letters from M. Dupleix and Januji which contained promises and agreements. Our Hazrat-i-A'la wrote a suitable reply to every letter. In reply to the letter of Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Dln Khan he wrote in the following manner: "Though it is necessary for the *nazim* of the Carnatic to obey the *rats* of the Deccan, yet it is impossible

(1) Muhammad Hasan known as Shaykh Hasan and his brother Abdu'l-Rahman were captains of sepoy troops who were first employed by the French in 1740 in Mahe. Early in 1742, Governor Dumas ordered three companies of them to serve on the Coromandal coast. Two companies were subsequently disbanded; but others were entertained in 1746 at the request of La Bourdonnais who had seen them in action at Mahe. M. Dupleix left the command of the sepoys entirely in Indian hands except when they were co-operating with European forces, whereas the English appointed European drill-sergeants and adjutants to command them. The brothers, Shaykh Hasan and Abdu'l-Rahman were employed by M. Dupleix during the siege of Madras. They rose to be the *jama'ddrs* of the French sepoys in Chanda Sahib's service, and later on to high favour in the service of the Nizam. (See H. Dodweli's note on p. 168; Vol. VII of the *Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai; Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X, pp. 19-20.)

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARMATIC

for me to obey you in view of the following facts: Your subjugation of the *nizamat* of the Deccan was through force and wickedness while my sway over the dominion of the Carnatic is hereditary, by the sanction of the imperial order; recognition of your authority is not possible without the arrival of imperial orders. In these circumstances your entrusting the *nizamat* of Arcot to Husayn Dost Khan, and granting to the French many taluks as *jagirs*, excite wonder. Certainly these will lead to many troubles and ugly things."

The reply to the letter of Dupleix contained Hadrat-i-A'la's detestation at Dupleix's infractions of treaty, the bad results of his undertakings; hints towards the punishment for the headstrong attitude of Dupleix; Hazrat-i-Ala's want of confidence in Dupleix's promises, and the faithlessness of his pledges ever after the treaty according to which Dupleix, during the time of war at Devnampattan, had undertaken not to play false. He wrote also a suitable reply to Januji the Mahratta.

The march of Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan Bahadur towards the Deccan; his murder midway; also of those who murdered Nawwdb Nasir Jang. Nawwab Salabat Jang Bahadur, the third son of Nawwab Asaf Jah, ascends the throne of the Deccan.

Hidayat Muhiyytfd-Dln Khan, arranged all important affairs, divided the spoils, gave away presents, bestowed *mansabs* and titles, granted *jagirs*, gave a splendid feast and started in great pomp from Phulcheri towards the Deccan taking in his company M. Dupleix¹ the French *sardar* and his army, along with his own forces numbering about two lacs of horse. Since the Afghans marched for pleasure through ports, rivers and other beautiful places, it was necessarily a slow march till they crossed the river

(1) Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan (Mungaffar Jang) was not accompanied by M. Dupleix but by M. Bussy with a contingent of 300 Europeans and 1,800 *sepoys*.

QUARREL NEAR DAMALCHERUVU

of Arcot. Hidayat Muhiyytfd-Din Khan was not feeling quite safe because of the knavery of some of the amirs of the army, and of the Afghans, especially of Himmat Bahadur Khan, who was the vain aspirant for the throne of the Deccan. So Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-DIn Khan was waiting for an opportunity to punish those headstrong people. Thus the two armies which possessed conflicting interests at heart, and had a disorderly march in scattered groups here and there with such preparations of the elements of mischief concentrated on both the sides, joined together at Damalcharu.i The Mughal sepoy stretched out

(1) The Pathan Nawwabs looked on with jealousy at the turn the affairs were taking. Pondicherry was now the pivot of the whole country; all things were in the hands of the French, who became rich by securing considerable accessions of territory. Consequently there was great discontentment which threatened to break out as soon as Muzaffar Jang departed from the Carnatic. When he was encamping at Rayachoti, in the dominion of the Nawwab of Cuddapah, 5 days' march from Arcot, the latter and the Nawwab of Kurnool complained that Muzaffar Jang had allowed the Mahrattas to plunder their country contrary to his promise; and they seized some French horse and stopped the French ammunition. The Afghan; Nawwabs had agreed to Dupleix that half the money found in Nasir Jang's treasury should be divided amongst them, while their dominions should be increased by some districts, which were however much less than what they *first* demanded; and they also agreed that all the jewels should be reserved for Muzaffar Jang. In the skirmish that ensued, the Nawwab of Cuddapah attacked the rear guard of Muzaffar Jang's troops which had escorted women; whereupon the Wazir ordered his whole army to halt and prepared to march against the Cuddapah troops. M Bussy who had received specific instructions to avoid all provocations into hostilities, now intervened and persuaded Muzaffar Jang to call upon the Nawwab to explain the reason for his conduct. Though the Nawwab defied Muzaffar Jang's message, yet he sent word to M. Bussy that he was ready to submit to the Wazir through French mediation. This behaviour stung Muzaffar Jang to the quick and drove him to instant action. The troops of all the three Pathan Nawwabs had already been drawn in battle array and Muzaffar Jang marched to attack the rebels without French assistance being impatient of the slow pace of their battalion. At first Muzaffar Jang's troops were repulsed; but the fire of the French artillery changed the fortunes of the day and forced the Nawwabs to retreat

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heir hands to plunder the properties of the Afghans and did not refrain from it in spite of Hidayat Muhiyytfd-Din Khan's orderi to the contrary. The Afghans, on account of **their** misunderstanding, thought that such perfidy was at the instigation of the commander of the army, and thus the wine of enmity became double distilled by the effervescence of mischief. On account of the intoxication they were deliberating to throw themselves into the well of punishment which they had dug time after ime in their lives for the retribution of their own wicked deeds. In the course of the march one day the Afghans looted on the way a fully loaded cart drawn by two camels that belonged to Muzaffar Khan the 'ilaqadar of the French forces. When the owner of the property made enquiries, they pretended ignorance and denied knowledge of it. Since then, the time had come to draw the swords of punishment from their sheaths. However much Abdu'n-NabI Khan tried to extinguish the fire by the water of compensation, yet Muzaffar Khan did not agree and drew out the sword for battle. The Afghan troops also loudly clamoured for war. The forces of Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan and the French were drawn up in array. Muzaffar Khan,

Muzaffar Jang, heedless of the advice of M. Bussy, pursued the fugitives, and again left behind him the French battalion which however endeavoured to keep in sight of him. The Nawwab of Savanur died on the field; while the Nawwab of Cuddapah was severely wounded and fled precipitately. In [his pursuit of the latter, Muzaffar Jang came up with the Nawwab of Kurnool and proceeded to attack him personally, when, having uplifted his sword to strike, he was pierced in the head by the javelin of his opponent. Both the Wazir and his troops were overpowered and cut to pieces. The death of Mugaffar Jang left the French in great consternation, because they had now no pretensions to interfere in the affairs. But M. Bussy did not lose his presence of mind, assembled the generals and ministers, and persuaded them to raise to the throne, \$alabat Jang, the third brother of Nasir Jang who had been kept in close confinement. The French arms had again been decisive. (*Despatch from Thomas Saunders, etc., to the Company. Fort St, David, February 24,1751.*)

ASCENSION OF SALABAT JANG

then, had his valour spurred. By the dexterity of trustworthy men, Abdu'l-Karim Khan perished, getting retribution for his crime. Mir Sayftfillah who was experienced in conveying treacherous messages received his recompense at the hands of the brave army of the Nawwab Shahid in the course of negotiations to settle the dispute amicably. Himmat Bahadur Khan who already bore the iniquity of killing Nawwab Nasir Jang, once again took upon his shoulders the burden of the blood of Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan. But vengeance fell on him for the blood of these two royal personages, by the well-directed contrivance of Nawwab Nizam Ali Khan, the fourth son of Nawwab Asaf Jah. His head was held up to public view on a spear and was thus disgraced and dishonoured. His stomach was torn out and filled with dirt and rubbish. This event happened within a period of sixty-one days after the murder of Nawwab Nasir Jang as a warning to people of intelligence and sagacity. The most surprising thing was that the murder¹ of the murderer (Himmat Bahadur Khan) coincided with the very date, namely, the 17th of the month of Rabi'u'l-awwal of the year 1164, when the body of the Nawwab Nasir Jang was interred in Awrangabad; that is to say that innocent martyr had not rented his body, until he had avenged his own blood.

In brief, Raja Ramdas and other *sardars* of the army seated on the throne of the Deccan Nawwab Salabat Jang Bahadur, the third son of Nawwab Asaf Jah. Then they marched forward, laid their hands on Cuddapah and plundered it. But Abdu'l-Majid Khan¹ who was the senior brother of Abdu'n-Nabi Khan and the *jagirdar* of that place paid three lacs of rupees to the commander of the forces and sought

(1) See *the Manual of the Cuddapah District* by Gripple, p. 91.

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peace. Then they attacked Kurnool', ruined its prosperity'and splendour, took captive the wife and children of Himmat Bahadur Khan, and reached Haydarabad. The importance of the French increased day by day, and the fire of their authority blazed throughout the Deccan,

(1) Himayat Khan (Himmat Bahadur Khan, the real assassin of Nasir Jang) succeeded his father Alif Khan in 1733 A.D. as the *nazim* of Kurnool.

When Nasir Jang called upon the *nazim* to furnish troops for the Carnatic expedition, he refused and the Wazir sent Himmat Khan with the order to vacate the fort of Kurnool. Himayat Khan opposed him and drove back his forces. Then Nasir Jang managed to conciliate the *nazim* by sending a messenger Sayfu'd-Din, and Himayat Khan joined the Wazir in his expedition to the South. But the friendship between the two was not well established. Sayf u'd-Din, who brought about the reconciliation between the Wazir and the *nazim* was aware of this, and began to create misunderstanding between them, because Nasir Jang did not comply with his request for the grant of the *jaqir* of Banganapalli. There were also other causes which fanned the flame of enmity.

After the assassination of Nasir Jang, Muzaffar Jang (Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan) became the Wazir of the Deccan. In the course of his march to Haydarabad, the *melee* occurred in the narrow pass of Lakkireddipalli in the Rayachoti taluk. In the skirmish Abdtfl-Karim Khan, the Nawwab of Savanur was cut to pieces; the Nawwab of Cuddapah was wounded and he fled desperately from the field. When Muzaffar Jang pursued him he encountered Himayat Khan, the *nazim* of Kurnool, and in the course of the fight Muzaffar Jang was killed.

Muzaffar Jang was succeeded by Salabat Jang as the Wazir of the Deccan. During his reign Himayat Khan was killed by the order of Nizam Ali and his head was fixed to a spear. The Wazir's army marched to Kurnool and subjugated the fort in 1751. There were 4,000 Pathans in the fort but they were driven into the citadel by the fire of the French troops under Kerjean, a nephew of M. Dupleix.

The wife of Himayat Khan and her two sons were taken as prisoners. The former was left in Kurnool under the protection of the *diwan* and the latter were taken to Haydarabad.

VICTORIES OF HUSAYN DOST KHAN

Husayn Dost Khan's march against Nattharnagar (Trichinopoly) to oppose Hazrat-i-Ald, and other events connected with it.

Husayn Dost Khan who had got from Hidayat Muhiyyifdin Khan brief authority over the *nizamat* of the Carnatic :hought he had no rival, and held high his haughty head, He marched from Phulcheri with his army and that of the French and reached Arcot. He made himself master of the territory through the friendship and encouragement of his own people and family and through the help of the zamindars and others. In the meanwhile he learnt about the illness of Hazrat-i-Ala and thought it a wonderful occasion for him to take possession of the Carnatic. So he dispatched 'Alam Khan, *alias* 'Alam Ali Khan,ⁱ with a well-equipped army to take possession of the remote areas in Nattharnagar and other places. Accordingly 'Alam Ali Khan marched in great haste with a single purpose. He subjugated Tinnevely, Madura and other places and made the *palayagars* in those environs as far as Tondaman, and the zamindar of Tanjore submit to him. Husayn Dost Khan marched from Arcot in the month of Jamadiu'l-awwal of the year 1164 with a force of 60,000 including horse and infantry, along with Yahya Khan and Zakariyya Khan, the *sardars* of his own army. In addition to these forces, there were two thousand *frangs*, ten thousand Negroes, ten thousand beasts of burden, and one hundred

(1) 'Alam Khan *alias* 'Alam Ali Khan, was, according to Orme, a soldier of fortune who had formerly been in the service of Chanda Sahib and of the King of Tanjore. He came to Madura, took the fort from one Abdu'l-Ah mad Khan, and observing the course of events, proclaimed his adherence to the cause of Chanda Sahib. He was in power at Madura in the beginning of 1751. 'Alam Khan defended Madura against Captain Cope and Abdu'l-Wahhab the brother of Nawwab Walajah. In 1752, he joined Chanda Sahib before Trichinopoly and was killed in the course of the operations. (J. Nelson, *The Madura Country, A Manual*, Part III, page 269; and Orme, Vol. I, pages 169, *et seq.*)

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French carmon under the command of M. Las (Law). All these marched together through Chetpet, Timiri, Pulur and halted at Tirnamal (Tiruvannamalai) from which place Husayn Dost Khan wrote a letter to Hazrat-i-Ala.

The letter of Husayn Dost Khan to Hazrat-i-Ala

"By the benedictions of the grace of the skilful Master, by the assistance of the strength of the Lord, the absolute authority over the kingdom of the Carnatic is entrusted to me by the mandate of the previous sovereign. The rightful image of mine having appeared, I have no partner in that authority; other semblances which claimed authority disappeared behind the curtain of falsehood. All that had happened to the ruler of the Deccan by means of my bloody sword is well known in these days. All that resulted to Nawwab Sirajtd-Dawla Bahadur from my bold attack is a warning to all prudent men. It is improper that your authority which is confined to a single fort at Nattharnagar and exercised over a limited number of people under your dependency, should claim equality with my absolute authority over the government, and the unrestricted power of my command. If you seek safety, better surrender the fort, so that no kind of molestation will happen to you, and the thorn of anxiety will not prick the inclinations of your clear mind. Else you will see what storm the inundation of my sword will excite; what things the lightning of my attack will pour on the threshing-floor of Nattharnagar. More after I receive your reply."

This letter of Husayn Dost Khan reached Hazrat-i-Ala at a time when great confusion was preying on the strength of the dominion, because of the climax of Hazrat-i-Ala's illness to the despair of the skilful physicians. Undoubtedly weakness was pervading the healthy limbs of the kingdom owing to the conquests of 'Alam AH Khan, the loss of the strength for want of the medicines of allied forces and the

KOBLES of HAZRAT-I-A'LA SEEK PEACE

breaking up of the health of Hazrat-i-Ala's own army. That is, all the *palayagars* broke their allegiance to Hazrat-i-Ala on account of the supremacy of the enemy, to whose fold two-thirds of Hazrat-i-Ala's own army deserted. To crown all, there was the illness of Hazrat-i-Ala and the consequent decline in his strength by degrees. Therefore, men intelligent in practical wisdom like Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, Sayyid Ali Khan, Khayru'd-Din Khan, Husayn Muhammad Khan, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Muhammad Abrar Khan, Sayyid Nasir Ali Khan, Sayyid Makhdum Ali Khan, and others, observing the delicacy of the circumstances of the faithless time, the sickness and the consequent weakness of their master either to speak or to listen, the arrival of the treacherous enemy in endless pomp and grandeur, the absolute authority of the French from Phulcheri as far as the shores of the Narbada, and the despair of getting help from any quarter, thought that the mixture of peace was the best prescription for curing the disease in the constitution of the kingdom. So they wrote a reply to the letter of Husayn Dost Khan accepting his proposals, asking for quarter, and intimating the absence of any obstruction either on the part of Hazrat-i-Ala or his servants. They sent this letter sealed with the seal of Hazrat-i-Ala. When Husayn Dost Khan fully informed himself of the contents of that letter, he wrote a reply in the form of a treaty bearing the contents that they could go wherever they chose without any fear of opposition. He sent this reply sealed with his own seal. This letter reached the Khans when they were in despair of the life of Hazrat-i-Ala; seated around his cot weeping and making lamentations, they looked like mourners. They were holding up a mirror to his nose to find out if there was breath. Since Hazrat-i-Ala had neither food nor drink for the last few days, *hakim* Sikandar, one of the attendant physicians, let fall into the royal mouth by means of a piece of cotton some drops of barley gruel mixed

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with newly prepared juice. The Nawwab opened his eyes after a minute. Once again the physician administered a little more of the same gruel and juice. In short, the Nawwab recovered his consciousness since then. The crisis had bred despair in the minds of those present who were tense with sorrow, and hope now overcame this despair just as health overpowers disease. In great enthusiasm they offered their congratulations and thanks to the Eternal Lord and proclaimed thus: "From death lie brings to life." When the physician trickled some more drops into his mouth, the Nawwab opened his kind mouth and said, "Turn me to a side," which command they obeyed. Then after a minute Hazrat-i-Ala asked, "What about Husayn Dost Khan? Where is he?" They replied, "The result of our plan agreed upon by us depends on your health. There should be no anxiety and let there be peace of mind." When the Nawwab put once again the same question, the well-wishers felt happy (at his recovery) and submitted as follows:

"Husayn Dost Khan had reached Tirnamal (Tiruvannamalai) with a large army and equipage in great pomp when he despatched from that place a letter addressed to your exalted name. Since your state of health was not then such as either to listen to its contents or reply to it, we conferred with one another and made bold to write a reply proper in the circumstances. We could not hit upon any other prudent measure. However our letter reached him, and produced some effect on his mind. His letter conveying the terms of the treaty according to the desire of the friends of your highness, has just now been delivered to us by two messengers riding on camels. As soon as you recover by the grace of Allah, we shall be travelling in your company either towards the Deccan or towards Shajahanabad. The thorn of opposition cannot stick to the skirt of our resolution." The Nawwab listened to their statements, asked for some more gruel and drank some spoonfuls. On **the** whole his health improved a little and from that moment

HAZRAT-I-A'LA'S REPLY TO H. D. KHAN

the temporary treaty of friendship (proposed to Husayn Dost Khan by the nobles of Hazrat-i-Ala) was broken by the strength of the Nawwab's courage, and the assistance of the courtiers sitting round about him. He collected his senses with the support of the nicety of his honour, sat erect with the help of pillows, and asked for the letter of agreement written by Husayn Dost Khan and the reply dispatched by the Khans. They were shown to the Nawwab who had them read out. He enquired about the condition of the territory of Nattharnagar and of his own army; he learnt about the subjugation by *Alam All Khan of the entire country except the fort of Nattharnagar, of the desertion of all the *palayagars*, and of the desertion by the two-thirds of his own army. He grew thoughtful for a time, and then ordered the following letter to be drafted in reply to Husayn Dost Khan's first letter which had reached the Nawwab at the critical time of his illness.

The reply of Hazrat-i-A'ld

"Thanks to the protection of the Great and Bountiful Lord Who by granting to mankind sound judgment made it favoured and dignified among all living beings, and Who, according to His perfect wisdom, put on the head of man the viceregal crown for the purpose of administering the important affairs of this world. By His eternal grace I have absolute authority over the hereditary dominion without any interference or opposition from anybody. That is to say: by the support of the everlasting *sanad* of the Padshah of Hind and the Wazir of the Deccan I have a hereditary right to the administration of this kingdom and I count this dominion and seal as mine. Your false claim is due merely to force and deceit. What a suggestion? Where is the dread for the heap of gunpowder of the French which is the resting place for those who forget the protection of the Lord and deserves to be destroyed by means of an ember of the divine anger? Why did you entrust the fort

of Natthamagar to Raghoji before? Now I have brought it under my possession with the strength of my good fortune. By what advice and counsel of a prudent enemy, you desire so? Don't you know that the notched parapets of the fort wall form the array of the soldiers standing in diligence? The sides of the walls are *maydans* to test the sword-play. To attack brave men is to place the neck on the edge of the sword; to oppose the straightforward is to point the arrow to the heart.

The desire for an impossible affair is far from safety; place your feet cautiously, for many wells are there in this way; do not be greedy for honey, for the danger of the sting is great; to run on this deadly *maydan* is to lose honour; to rely on the French is like seeking the assistance of a gourd in a shoreless sea. If you desire safety, retrace your steps; refrain from all your claims over this kingdom granted to me by the Almighty. Else the battlefield is very wide for the display of bravery; my brave hand will become cruel in destroying the enemy. What more can be written?"

The letter written in this manner was adorned with his seal and entrusted to the camel-riders in the presence of the Nawwab who presented each of them with one hundred rupees and a woollen shawl, and thus made them feel proud and thankful. Then he conveyed to them the news orally thus: "The previous reply to your letter was written by the administrators of my kingdom, without my knowledge when I was seriously ill. At present by the grace of that Matchless Physician, I have recovered from my illness. I am getting ready for the fight and expect your arrival." With these words he gave back the Khan's letter bearing the terms of the treaty, and sent them away. The ministers and the nobles of the court submitted the real situation, namely, the want of war equipments, the loss of his own authority outside the fort, the might of the enemy because of the powerful army, the subjugation by the enemy of the territories from the Narbada as far as Mallwai

HAZRAT-I-A'LA'S RESOLVE TO FIGHT

(Malabar) ; but however much they suggested to the Nawwab to seek peace and avoid war advancing forth clear arguments and evident proofs, the Nawwab replied, "Your observations based on the present circumstances, and your procedures born of caution and care are no doubt honourable to avoid war and dispute. But the King of kings, the Glorious and the Most High Lord had granted me this kingdom as a hereditary right; the Padshah of Hind was pleased to select me for the administration of the important affairs of this kingdom. I feel ashamed; and the sense of shame at the idea of entrusting this kingdom knowingly and before my very sight to another man, catches hold of the skirt. I wish that as far as possible I maintain my position in this territory. If I don't succeed in this affair, I shall quit the world on this account and win the ball of fame". After delivering this speech, he quoted some verses from the *Tlmur Nama*¹:

"O intelligent ones possessing pure hearts, it is not easy to throw away honour to the winds. Now if I flee from

(1) *Timur-nama* is a historical poem written by Mawlana Abdu'llah Hatifi of Kharjird in Khurasan, a nephew of the great Jami, who, according to the well-known story, tested his poetical talent before allowing him to write by bidding him compose a "parallel" to the verses in Firdaws's celebrated satire on Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna:

"A tree whereof the nature is bitter, even if thou plantest it in the Garden of Paradise,
And if, at the time of watering, thou pourest on its roots nectar and fine honey from the River of Paradise,
It will in the end give effect to its nature, and bring forth that same bitter fruit"

Hatifi produced the following "parallel" which his uncle Jami approved, except that he jocularly observed that the neophyte had "laid a great many eggs on the way."

"If thou should'st place an egg of the crow compounded of darkness under the Peacock of the Garden of Paradise,
And if at the time of nourishing that egg thou should'st give it grain from the Fig-tree of the Celestial Gardens,

fear, when shall I be able to attain eminence? If I sue for the privilege of mercy, my name will be deleted from the list of famous men. If I beg quarter from his arrow, of what avail is my quiver?"

Next day getting into his palanquin he went round the fort, inspected the provisions, lead, gunpowder, instruments, tools and other necessary things, and issued orders to get them ready. Then returning to the *dtwan-khdna*, he invited to his presence all the *risaladars* of the army and gave the following general order: "Whosoever desires to leave the service may do so without any fear or molestation; whoever wishes to stay he must make a confession taking an oath on the word of Allah, that as long as this work is not finished, he shall not disobey me." Accordingly those who wished to go went away, and those who desired to stay took such an oath. After taking these steps, he sent Abdtfl-Hadi Khan to the governor of Dewnampattan, then known as the captain of Dewnampattan, with a letter confirming his ancient rights and seeking help to repel the evil-hearted enemy. He also conveyed the following oral message: "There is no reason for the enmity of the French towards me. But in the past since I had helped the East India Company as they deserved it, saved Dewnampattan from being subjugated by the French, freed Chennappattan from their hands and restored it to the English, the French had chosen to form an alliance with my enemies. Again for the same reasons my father drank the cup of martyrdom. At the instigation of the

And should'st water it from the Fountain of Salsabil, and Gabriel
should breathe his breath into that egg,

In the end the crow's egg will become a crow, and vain will be the
trouble of the Peacock of Paradise."

Timur-nama comprises about 4,500 verses and forms a counterpart to *Sikandar-nama*, and Hatif I boasts that his poem was based on historical truth instead of on fables and legends.

E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV—*Modern Times*.

THE ENGLISH HELP TO TRICHINOPOLY

disloyal men, when Nawwab Nasir Jang Shahld sent back to Dewnampattan the English army which was then with me during the siege of Tiruvati, and appointed Abdtfn-Nabl Khan and Himmat Bahadur Khan, the *nazims* of Cuddapah and Kurnool, to devastate the towns of the English, and expel all the *frang* merchants from the land of the Carnatic, I went from Tiruvati to Arcot, with a view to help the English Company bearing in my mind the advice of my late father, and feeling the necessity for the continuance of their settlement in this land unmolested. I gave a large sum to Raja Ramdas the *bakhshi* of the army, submitted suitable arguments before Nawwab Nasir Jang and restrained the army appointed for the destruction of these towns. The Company did not have the opportunity to help my father during his lifetime on account of the deficiency in the number of men in the army and other necessary equipments. But at present I am confronted with the same difficulty, and it behoves the trustworthy that they help me at this hour. They may be informed that I undertake to meet the expenses of the army and other necessary expenditure. " The captain of Dewnampattan agreed to this request. Consequently a small company of English soldiers reached Nattharnagari and encamped outside the fort towards the

(1) When Chanda Sahib marched from Pondicherry, he took Chettupattu and Arni and received the submission of Murtaza Ali of Vellore. He then moved to Arcot and then towards Trichinopoly. On Chanda Sahib's leaving Pondicherry, 400 men under Captain Gingen marched cut of Fort St. David and camped at Tiruvendipuram and then at Tiruvati. Muhammad Ali was urged to join the English in the field. He agreed to pay all the field charges of the troops. The English then took Vriddhachalam and garrisoned it with 30 men and then joined Muhammad All's troops at Valikandapuram. The *qiladar* of that place refused to admit the troops into his fort and consequently the *pettah* was burnt and the *qiladar* was asked to surrender the fort. Meanwhile, with French help, the *qiladar* defeated the troops of the English and the Nawwab and this blow compelled Gingen to

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southern gate. On learning the strength of the relieving force which numbered in all forty soldiers under one *sardar*, the nobles of the court compared it to a straw obstructing a deluge, and a fly standing against a hurricane; some laughed at it and some frowned at it. The all-knowing Nawwab, the king possessing wisdom and power, observed, "Are you not aware that the entire honour of the English rests with this row of soldiers, and in the image of these persons is hidden an inestimable treasure?"

Husayn Dost Khan read the reply of Hazrat-i-Ala sent through the camel-riders and coiled himself like a snake. He enquired of the messengers, who conveyed that reply, all the facts relating to the health of Hazrat-i-Ala. He also learnt in detail his firmness and listened to the oral message. He struggled in the fire of envy and started from Tirnamal towards Nattharnagar.

retire to Uttatur, 20 miles near Trichinopoly. The enemy followed and encamped at a distance of five miles. After a few days, the English advance guard under Captain Dalton was attacked; but he drove back the enemy with considerable loss. Then the English army departed from Uttatur that night abandoning part of its baggage and crossed the Coleroon by boat and then the Kaveri. Gingin withdrew from his camp for fear of the enemy cutting off communications from Trichinopoly. (*Separate Despatch from Thomas Saunders, etc., to the Company. Fort St. David, August 15, 1751, in the Madras Despatches.*)

FARMAN AND LETTER TO HAZRAT-I-A'LA

The arrival of the farman from Ahmad Shah Padshah and of the letter from Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziid-Dln Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang in reply to Hazrat-i-Ald's; the farman contained the news of the grant of the title of Mulk, of the increase of mansabs, the confirmation of his authority over the kingdom of the Carnatic, with the additional appointment as the nayib to the Wazir of the Deccan; along with that farman came also the hukumnama of the imperial Sultan addressed to the ziladars, and qil'adars of the Payanghat and Balaghat, commanding them to support and obey Hazrai-i-Ala.

Hazrat-i-A'la had already dispatched, as narrated before, an *arzdasht* to the imperial Padshah and a letter to the Nawwab Wazir AsafuM-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Dln Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang. These reached Shajahanabad and the facts relating to the Carnatic Payanghat and the disaster that befell Nawwab Nasir Jang became apparent. Then the Imperial Court entrusted to the care of Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla all the *silbas* of the Deccan and delivered to him a *farman* and the usual written orders. The *farman* was addressed to Hazrat-i-A'la conveying the increase of the *mansabs*, and titles, the confirmation of his authority over the dominion of the Carnatic Payanghat, and his new appointment as the *nayib* to the Wazir of the Deccan. The details of these facts will appear in their proper places. The written orders were in the names of all the zamindars, *qiladars*, and *ziladars* of the Payanghat and the Balaghat, commanding them to support and obey Hazrat-i-Ala. The new Wazir of the Deccan, namely, Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Bahadur to whom the *farman* and orders were consigned, dispatched them along with his own letter from Shajahanabad. through two messengers mounted on camels. 'Since the way through

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Arcot was blockaded, the messengers reached Nattharnagar through Mysore.

Hazrat-i-Ala ordered the decoration of the *darbdr*, issued orders for the adornment of the city and the *bdzdr*, and with the utmost respect and veneration put in order the necessities for magnificence and grandeur, and received the imperial *farmdn* as the wealth for the expectant hand, and found it a source for the permanence of his power and authority. Then he gave order for a *darbar-i-'dm*, where he strung the pearls of the clear and polished contents of the *farman* on the thread of the hearing of every one. He caused music to be played in joy of the realisation of his hope. The *hukumnama* was dispatched to all the districts of Payanghat and Balaghat. On learning the contents all of them paid their allegiance again to Hazrat-i-Ala and were ready with their forces to help him as directed.

The farman of Ahmad Shah Padshah¹

Your *hrzdasht* reached us. The news of the death of Nizamu'd-Dawla Mir Ahmad Khan Bahadur Nasir Jang gave us deep sorrow. The wickedness of the rebels, the pretensions of the *frang* merchants, and the arrogance of the French have provoked indignation in our mind.

We have commanded Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur to take charge of the affairs of the Deccan, admonish or chastise the mischievous, and put down the rebels. He would come to those parts and render necessary assistance to you.

Orders are issued to all the *ziladars* and those who hold administrative positions in Hindustan that they should expel the *frangs* from their territories, especially the French who are the source of all mischief, in the manner that "thorn and grass are plucked off in a garden. You should also endeavour to carry out

(1) Summary is given as usual of the *farman* and the letter.

LETTER OF GHAZIU'D-DiN TO HAZRAT-I-A'LA

this order and expel the French from the Carnatic. We have also sent forth orders to all the zamindars, and *tarafdars*, high and low, that they should gird up their loins to obey and help you.

It is praiseworthy that out of consideration for our favour, you have stood firm in the midst of the rebellious and the impudent, and preserved the fort and the kingdom. In return for these services we bestow on you, the *mansab* of seven thousand *dhat* and seven thousand horse (with the right to drive) a pair-horse or three horses, *khilat-i-haft parcha* ornamented with jewels from the wardrobe of the Padshah, *jigha*, *sarpech* with pearls linked together, and the title of Umdatul Mulk. In addition to the hereditary right, already conferred on you to rule the Carnatic Payanghat, we now elevate you to the post of the *nd'ib* to the *nizamat* of the Deccan,

It behoves that you feel thankful for these immense gifts and govern the Carnatic as it should be governed and be careful till the arrival of the Nazim of the Deccan. The French should not be allowed to remain in the Deccan. You should know that we always bestow kindness on you.

The letter of Asafu'd Dawla Ghdsitfd-Din Khan Bahadur Firos Jang

Your kind letter conveying the news of the martyrdom of my brother Nawwab Nigamu'd-Dawla Bahadur Nasir Jang, the rebellion of the French with the help of some disloyal men, the ruinous condition of the Carnatic, the stability of your power in the fort of Nattharnagar in spite of agitation and confusion caused by the enemies, reached me along with the *arzasht* to the Padshah. The information has afflicted me. '

Nothing has permanence in this world; destruction is necessary for everything. Hence there is no alternative but to bear patiently all sorrows.

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In accordance with the imperial order, the *nizamat* of the Deccan is entrusted to me and the post of *na'ib* to you. The details about this and other gifts are set forth in the *farman*. It is certain that you would, in conformity with the order of the *Padshah*, attend to your duties, and give thanks to the Almighty. You should also endeavour to wipe out the French from the country, and attend to the affairs of the Deccan till my arrival.

God willing, the management of the affairs of the Carnatic and the Deccan will become agreeable to our friends by means of our joint efforts.

The march of the army of Hazrat-i-Ala under the leadership of his famous brother, Abdul-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, to blockade the way of Husayn Dost Khan; the fight between the two forces at the foot of the Ranjangadh hill; the flight of the enemy towards the fort of Ranjangadh and the perfidy of the fort-keeper.

After the arrival of the imperial *farman*, and the receipt of the letter from Asafu'd-Dawla, the new Wazir of the Deccan, and the return to submission of all the *ziladars* of the kingdom, Hazrat-i-Ala learnt the approach of Husayn Dost Khan. Immediately without waiting for any help from the *ziladars*, Hazrat-i-Ala, for the purpose of exhibiting his innate bravery, and displaying his inborn intrepidity, based on his own courage and sagacity and on the good will of his faithful nobles, sent an army under the leadership of Abdrfl-Wahhab Khan Bahadur Shukohu'l-Mulk and of Janji to blockade the way of the approaching enemy. The army comprised 1,200 horse, 2,000 match-lock men, both belonging to the Nawwab, 4,000 infantry from Tondaman, a dependency of Nattharnagar, thus making up in all a number of about six or seven thousand men inclusive of horse and infantry. Besides the force of the English that had already come to Nattharnagar under the leadership of

BATTLE OF RANJANGADH

Janjli five hundred more *frangs* (English) had arrived for the second time. All these forces reached Ranjangadh* and

(1) Janji is Captain Gingen. He captured Vriddhachalam, burnt the *pettah* of Valikandapuram, endeavoured in vain to rally his troops at that place, and finally retreated to Uttatur near which he was well nigh cut off by the enemy.

For details, see Orme, Vol. I, pp. 171-180.

(2) After the capture of Vriddhachalam the English continued their march and were joined by about 100 Europeans detached by Captain Cope from Trichinopoly and about 4,000 troops of Muhammad Ali, both cavalry and foot, commanded by Abdul Wahhab Khan, a younger brother of the Nawwab. The exact place where the meeting of the troops took place is not clear; according to Captain Dalton it was at Valikandapuram. Gingen was encamped in a grove about a mile and a half from the latter place, while Chanda Sahib's forces were posted about 4 miles to the north. The rockfort of Ranjangudi adjoining Valikandapuram village was in the possession of a Muslim *jagirdar*, who, though a relative of Muhammad Ali, was afraid to throw in his lot definitely on the side of his kinsman and refused to open his gates to the English. Gingen first captured and burnt the village or *pettah* of Valikandapuram, but he could not take the rockfort; while the *jagirdar* permitted the French troops to go over to him. An action took place on the dry bed of the river by the side of the fort, in which the English troops fled for no apparent reason, though the officers, including Clive who was then a lieutenant, did all they could to stop the dishonourable flight. This so-called battle of Volkondah (it was in reality the battle of Ranjangudi, June, 30) was considered a disgraceful affair by both Wilks and Malcolm. Orme says that Abdtfl Wahhab Khan's troops stood their ground, and it was only the English battalion that got so demoralised and broke up in panic. The troops of Muhammad Ali behaved in this action better than ever they did afterwards, and even in the field of battle reproached the English for their want of spirit, according to Clive, in the memorandum he gave to Orme in 1763. According to another version, the English were regarded as having lost all their courage in this engagement. The Diarist wrote that one of the letters declared that the English had a loss of 90 Europeans killed, including 2 officers besides the wounded, while in the detachment of Cope 110 persons had been either killed at Madura or died of sickness; but according to the English version they lost only one ensign and five or six men. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. X, Pages 173-4, 1931. For plan, see Charles Dalton's *Memoir of Captain Dalton*.

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encamped opposite to its fort as requested by the *qilbdar* Mu'tabir Khan Tahir, who agreed to render assistance at the time of the fight with the enemy. Since the allies were aware of his treachery and that of his father on previous occasions they were very vigilant and cautious. The enemy also arrived and encamped at a distance of two *kuroh* from the fort. After 9 o'clock in the night, the *qiladar*, in keeping with his hereditary faithlessness, began to cannonade the forces of the *sarkar*. But the latter were vigilant, immediately understood the treachery, and attacked the fort. The English soldiers cannonaded to such an extent, that the enemy was punished, and if only the opportunity had helped them they would have advanced forward with success and subjugated the fort. But suddenly the day dawned and the army of Husayn Dost Khan appeared. The brave soldiers of the *sarkar*, in spite of their fatigue due to wakefulness throughout the night, fought against the fresh enemy with brilliant courage. They kept the field brisk with fighting till 9 o'clock in the morning, defeated the French, and pushed back Husayn Dost Khan towards the fort. In that general commotion and in the uproar of holding the running enemy, the French fled from the *maydan*, and according to their deceitful ways, secretly hid themselves in the declivities of the ditch and began to fire. Besides the noise of the French firing, there was the roaring of the cannon from the fort. One of the cannon-balls from the tower of the fort fell on the neck of the horse of the commander, *i.e.* Shukohtfi-Mulk Bahadur, and it was killed. But the courageous and strong Bahadur got upon another horse, and did not slacken rein, till the flying enemy took refuge into the fort, when he thought it an useless endeavour to assault the fort wall. So, in his attempt to drag

The Memoranda by Clive on the battle tell us that the native troops behaved extremely well, and actually reproached the Europeans for **their** want of spirit. (See *Orme Collection* in the India Office by S. C Hill—Orme Mss. India, II-6).

H. D. KHAN CAMPS AT SAMAYAVARAM

the enemy on the *maydan*, he marched with his own army towards Untatur and stayed there for some days. In the meanwhile Hamid Ali Khan, one of the intimate friends of Hazrat-i-Ala, marched hastily during the night with 500 intelligent men and wrenched the fort of Virdhachal¹ from the hands of the enemy. Husayn Dost Khan marched out after the arrival of Ahsanu'd-Din Khan, the *fawjdar* of the French, who was at Chittor and for whose sake the former waited at the battle-field of Ranjangadh. Both marched forward and once again confronted the army of the *sarkar* near a tank known as the Nawwab Tank and gave battle. But Husayn Dost Khan did not find strength to continue the fight, turned his horse's reins from the field of battle and engaged himself to blockade the roads. Hazrat-i-Ala learnt that the horse of Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur fell at the battle of Ranjangadh struck by a cannon-ball, and sent for him. Husayn Dost Khan reached Samiwaram at a distance of four *kuroh* from Nattharnagar,

The arrival of Husayn Dost Khan at the fort of Nattharnagar and other facts relating to the fight day by day.*

Husayn Dost Khan had been routed at the battle of Ranjangadh; now he broke the cup of his honour on the *mayddn* of the Nawwab Tank adjoining Untatur. Then he hastened to Samiwaram and camped there. Hazrat-i-A'la ascended the

(1) Vriddhachalam was a large and strong pagoda garrisoned by 300 of Chanda Sahib's troops. It commanded the high road to Fort St. David and its capture was necessary for the English. The garrison was summoned by Muhammad Ali's officer to deliver up the place. They refused and manned the walls. The English troops under cover of the river bank, fired at them for some hours; but finding that this attack made little impression, they prepared towards evening to make a general assault, when the sight of the scaling ladders induced the governor to surrender. The English left a garrison of 20 Europeans and 50 Sepoys in the pagoda. (*Orme, p. 172.*)

(2) In March, 1751, Chanda Sahib and the French troops moved out from Pondicherry and proceeded, after reducing some forts, to Arcot;

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

hill of Tayman, and observed through a telescope the condition of the army of Husayn Dost Khan. In accordance with the far-sightedness of his penetrating wisdom, he remarked thus to those present: "If Husayn Dost Khan crosses these two rivers in three days, and attacks the fort, then success will be his; but if he stays there a day more, then there is no doubt that the success is ours." Husayn Dost Khan had to stay in that same place for a period of two months and twenty days, engaging himself in taking possession of the territory and entrusting it to *Tamils*. Thus eventually the opinion of Hazrat-i-Ala based on far-sightedness found its beautiful shape in the mirror of famous victory. People were astonished as to how he accomplished these things and with the aid of what knowledge, and what his skill was in discovering the future from the present. Ahsantfd-DIn Khan marched with a French army according to instructions from his master Husayn Dost Khan and brought under his control the temple of Srirang and jhamghir (Jambukesvaram) which was like a fort. The vapour of his breath, caused by the heat of his exertions to subdue the tract of land from the Kaveri

later, they spent some time more in receiving homage and tribute from the various *qiltodars* who joined them. Then they marched southwards to Trichinopoly towards the end of May. In the middle of June, there was the battle of Volkondah whose *qilaodar*, Mu'tabir Khan, admitted neither side into the fort, and thus led to the encounter. D'Auteuil was then laid up with illness and Chanda Sahib was hindered by the defection of one of his generals who was in command of 4,000 horse. After some dilatory action Chanda Sahib and the French crossed the river Coleroon on July 25th and took possession of Srirangam. They completed their occupation of the island by the capture of the mud fort at Koviladi at its eastern end, and crossed the Kaveri and encamped on the plain to the east of the town near a position now known as the French*-rock. The English having obtained no advantage even in the action round Uttatur and fearing they might be surrounded, marched to safer positions first to Bikshaadarkoil, then to the Srirangam temple and finally to Trichinopoly itself. See G. B. Malleson's *History of the French in India*, pp. 269 *et seq.*

PROLONGED WARFARE NEAR TRICHINOPOLY

as far as the hill of Dhobi-konda, went as far as the sky. Our Hazrat-i-Ala, the possessor of intelligence and courage, divided his army into four troops to meet the evil-minded enemy. One troop under the command of Abrar Khan and Cope was posted to the east, another under the leadership of D&nishmand Khan and Janji to the south, the third under the authority of Ghazanfar Ali Khan and other councillors to the west, the fourth under the command of Zafar Ali Khan known as Mir Malang and other experienced men to the north. Then he raised a number of batteries on all sides of the fort, and brought together countless cannon. He fenced them by posting soldiers with sharp swords, by cannon and by muskets, to such an extent, that the enemy bit in grief the back of his hand, because of his incapacity to get at the entrenchment and dig through it. But the French took their stand on the above hill, and opened fire. In short the tumult of war on both the sides continued from the 6th of Ramazan till the 9th of Dhu'l-qada.i In the

(1) From Friday the 30th of July 175 i to September 30th, 1751 (1164 A.H.) (Brown's *An Ephemeris from A.D. 1751 until 1850*, pages 4 and 5).

Pigot, one of the Councillors and Lieutenant Clive proceeded from Fort St. David with a detachment of 80 Europeans and 300 sepoys to the reinforcement of Trichinopoly towards the end of July. The convoy entered Vriddhachalam without any loss and from here Pigot sent the detachment through the Tanj ore country to reinforce the battalion at Trichinopoly, when the French had not yet crossed the Kaveri.

In the middle of July a Captain's commission was given to Clive who proceeded with a detachment into the country of Tanjore where he was joined by another from Devicotta under the command Captain Clarke, and the united forces consisting of 100 Europeans and 50 sepoys, met with a French body of 30 Europeans and 500 sepoys near the village of Condore situated 10 miles to the north of Tanjore. In the skirmish that followed the French officer was wounded, and his sepoys took to flight; the English arrived at Trichinopoly through a circuitous route. In spite of this reinforcement, the English at Trichinopoly did not exceed 600 men, whereas the French had 900, and the troops of Chanda Sahib far out-numbered those of the Nawwab. In the meanwhile, Clive proposed an expedition against Arcot, which had already been suggested by the Nawwab. Then came the siege

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course of this fight, a small fort Koiladi, situated between the two rivers and lying at a distance of five *kuroh* to the east of Natthamagar, was captured by the enemy after a week's fighting and the loss of many brave men, because of the heavy floods and the impossibility of sending reinforcements. After the floods subsided Husayn Dost Khan also came from Sami-waram and camped on the *maydan* of Dalwaymandaf which lay at a distance of one *kuroh* to the east of Natthamagar. He put up a fence for the safety of the army, and exerted himself to blow up the batteries. In spite of the tumult caused by the rebellious enemy, all the four doors of the fort were kept open like the ever watchful eye, for the coming in of provisions. Still there was scarcity of com on account of the protraction of the siege, the running of the enemy's forces to and fro, and the blockading of the roads; hence the distress of the men in the fort increased. A group of soldiers marched in all directions to break through siege, cleared the way of the obstructing enemy, brought provisions into the fort, and added the capital of strength to the endeavours of the brave fighting men.

of Arcot. In September, Chanda Sahib detached 4,000 of his troops, horse and foot, from Trichinopoly to the relief of Arcot; and these were joined by his son Raja Sahib with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry. During these three months the operations round Trichinopoly were not very severe* But the army of Nawwab Walajah exhausted the treasures; the revenues and supplies were greatly cut off.

HAZRAT-I-A'LA DEVISES TO DIVERT THE ENEMY

The consultation of Hazrat-i-Ala with the ministers of the court; the dispatch of Muhammad Madina Aft Khan and Clive (later on Lord Clive), the sardar of the English forces, with a victorious army to subdue the town of Arcot and its fort and the subjugation.

When weakness overtook the besieged at Nattharnagar, on account of the protraction of the siege and the stubbornness of the enemy, Hazrat-i-Ala contrived to divide the attention of the enemy and thus to remove the weariness of his own men and clear the roads for the coming in of provisions. Accordingly Hazrat-i-Ala dispatched Muhammad Madina Ali Khan,¹

(1) Captain Give on his return from Trichinopoly in the middle of August, represented the state of affairs to Governor Saunders and offered to attack the possessions of Chanda Sahib in the territory of Arcot so as to cause a diversion of his troops from Trichinopoly. The suggestion was accepted. Fort St. David and Madras were left with only 100 and 50 men respectively, and all the other available troops consisting of 300 sepoys and 200 Europeans equipped with three field-pieces marched on the 26th of August and arrived at Conjeevaram 3 days later. On the 31st of August Clive reached the neighbourhood of Arcot; a few hours after his arrival the garrison abandoned the fort in a movement of panic. Clive found a large quantity of gunpowder and eight pieces of cannon in the fort and collected provisions and materials in order to sustain a siege which he foresaw.

The credit for this diversion to Arcot should go in part to the Nawwab himself, as for some time past he had been proposing it. Captain Gingen was even told that he might leave a garrison in the Trichinopoly country and march with the remainder to Arcot. But, he was "too sluggish and denied the possibility of such a course". Possibly Muhammad Ali urged his Arcot plan on Clive, because the latter, immediately on his return from Trichinopoly, proposed to Saunders that he should be sent into the Arcot country with any troop that could be spared. Moreover, it should be remembered that Clive's important object then was to raise contributions for Muhammad Ali and to interfere with the collection of revenue for Chanda Sahib. (See *Country Correspondence* 1751, pp. 42 and 48 and *Dodwell's Duplex and Clive*, pp. 56 and 57.) In a letter, dated 17th Sep. 1751, from

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and Clive, later on Lord Clive for his meritorious services, the *sardar* of the English army with sepoys who bore the enemy hatred, to subdue the town and the fort of Arcot and thus exhibit their courage. The Khan marched with Clive through the frontiers of Tondaman, and Tanjore, reached Dewnampattan and (thence) Chennapattan, where they put in order their army and implements of war and then started for Arcot. On hearing this news, the elder brother of Husayn Dost Khan, by name Muhammad Ali Khan, the *na'ib* at Arcot, fled away with his baggage and equipage towards Vellore. So without any obstruction from any one, the invaders freely entered the fort of Arcot on 22nd of the respectable Shawwal of the year 1164 A.H. and hoisted the flags of the exalted ruler. As soon as the picture was formed on the silk of their desire, they set in order the towers and battlements of the fort, collected provisions and took a firm stand expecting battle.

George Pigot to Clive, transcribed on pp. 87-89 of the Volume No. 287, 24, in the Orme Mss. O.V. (see p. 216 of S. C. Hill's *European Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, Vol. II, Part I, Orme Collection), we learn that Pigot advised Clive to maintain himself at Arcot, rather than in Timiri to which place Clive had suggested to the Governor he should retire in case of attack by the enemy. This letter shows that Clive was not fully aware of the political value of his own exploit.

That the Nawwab himself had fully appreciated the consequence of a diversion to Arcot is seen in a letter (No. 43, 287 of Orme Mss. O.V.) in the above collection, from Governor Saunders to Clive, dated 26th Sep. 1751, enclosing copy of letter from Captain Cope at Trichinopoly and advising retention of Arcot. "The possession of Arcot is deemed of the utmost consequence. It does not appear. . . . whether you intend for Madras. It is my opinion that you should keep in motion in the Arcot districts, as your being at Madras will carry with it the air of a retreat and possibly damp those spirits that your taking possession of Arcot has raised." See the paper on *The Diversion to Arcot in 1751: its genesis* by C S. Srinivasachari in the *Proceedings of the All India Modern History Congress*, First session Poona 1935, part II, pp. 10-23.

SIEGE OF ARCOT

The arrival of Ripa Ali Khan (Raja Sahib), the son of Husayn Dost Khan, the siege of the fort at Arcot, the reaching of the reinforcements from Hazrat-i-Ala, the flight of Riza towards Vellore, the fight between the two for the second time on the maydan of Ami, the defeat of the enemy, the victory for Madina Ali Khan, and the capture of the fort of Timiri by the
- *grace of the Exalted Helper.*

Husayn Dost Khan heard the news of the capture of the fort at Arcot, and was greatly disturbed in his mind. He chose, as advised by his foolish councillors, his younger son Riza AH Khan for the purpose of recapturing it, called him to his presence and spoke to him in appealing tone his sorrows. In reply, he heard manly words from his son's lips, relating to his treacherous attack on Nawwab Anwaru'd-DIn Khan Shahid, and other boastful and vain bravery. Then Husayn Dost Khan dispatched his son, with an imposing army along with that of the French. Riza Ali Khan reached Timiri, while the *sardar* of the vanguard of the army marched forward, directly entered the town of Arcot in the pride of the strength of his army and tried to fight under the shelter of the houses. Madina Ali Khan and Clive came out of the fort, and destroyed by means of cannon, muskets and swords, a large number of men. The enemy gaining ground amidst walls and buildings, and Riza Ali Khan coming towards the fort, Madina Ali Khan and his party had to go inside the fort-walls wherefrom they laboured bravely to the best of their power to repel the attack of both the enemies (Riza AH Khan and *sardar* of the vanguard). Finally, owing to the great pressure of the enemy, the smallness of their own army*, the breaking down of a portion of the wall on one side of the fort, and the excessive cannonading by the wretched enemy, Madina Ali Khan and his party felt so weak that their

lives were at stake and resolved to surrender the fort and conclude peace. In the meanwhile the reinforcements from Nattharnagar had approached; for as soon as Hazrat-i-Ala heard the march of Riza All towards Arcot, he detached two thousand Mahratta horse belonging to Murari Rao,ⁱ from the forces of the allies who had joined him in obedience to the imperial *farman* and sent them under Yunus Khan from Nattharnagar towards Arcot for help. On hearing the approach of this army, and the name of Murari Rao, Riza All Khan was greatly frightened; for, as narrated before, Murari Rao had captured Husayn Dost Khan, the father of Riza All Khan, and entrusted the fort of Trichinopoly to the care of Raghoji and Fatah Singh who later on handed it over to Nawwab Asaf Jah Bahadur. Riza was much stupefied. But with the encouragement of the leader of the vanguard, the *sardar* of the French, he briskly attended to his work; with great vehemence he attacked the fort on all sides. The defenders of the fort also got information of the speedy approach of the relieving army. Their hearts were emboldened, and they attempted with great valour to repel the attack of the enemy. The vanguard was made to roll in a ditch of blood. The next morning, the army of the Mahrattas also appeared. Immediately the besiegers were greatly frightened, left their things and heavy cannon, took only such things they could carry and crept, like a mouse that had seen a cat, into the hole of the fort of Velio re. Madina All Khan and Clive came out of the fort and met Yunus Khan,

(1) Murari Rao lay for some time in his encampment at the foot of the Ghats about 30 miles from Arcot. He had been employed by the ruler of Mysore to assist Muhammad Ali; but he remained inactive on account of the depression in the fortunes of the English and of the Nawwab. Orme tells us that Clive sent a messenger to inform him of the situation and to request his help, and Murari Rao was said to have replied that he would not delay a moment to send a detachment for the reinforcement of troops like the defenders of Arcot who had fought so bravely and whose behaviour had convinced him that the English could fight

SUBJUGATION OF TIMIRI

the leader of the relieving army. Then they engaged themselves in strengthening the town and repairing the fort. In the meanwhile the dispersed enemy was augmented by the Vellore forces. So they hastened with renewed pride, intending to give battle on the *maydan* of Arni.¹ Madina AH Khan and Clive supported by the newly arrived army, advanced to meet the enemy, again defeated them and drove them towards ChenjI. Then the victorious army returned subduing on their way the fort of Timiri² which was under the possession of Husayn Dost Khan. They entered the town of Arcot and engaged themselves in arranging the affairs of the kingdom and the army.

The fight between Rizd All Khan and Clive in the middle of the way to Tirpatara; the arrival of Mir Madina All Khan and Yunus Khan to help Clive; the flight of Riza All Khan towards Phulcheri; the opening of the door of the fort-walls of Kanjl and Kavcripak by the brave hands of the friends of the Government.

On hearing the happy news of the subjugation of the fort of Timiri, Hazrat-i-Ala offered his thanks to Allah. Then he wrote two letters: one to Mir Madina Ali Khan conveying appreciation and praise of his services, and instructing him to recoup the army, to subjugate other forts and take possession of the districts under Arcot; another letter to the governor of Chennapattan, asking him to help the Mir with an army and necessary equipments. Then he appointed some of his devoted

(1) Arni is a strong fort with a town 20 miles south of Arcot.

(2) Dive's first movement was against Timiri where the English marched out to meet the fugitive Arcot garrison of 600 horse and 500 troops and forced them to retreat to the hills in their rear. M. Dupleix urged Raja Sahib to proceed immediately to Arcot to avoid trouble. Meanwhile Give's troops sallied out from Arcot on Timiri on the 17th of September, and secured its surrender on the 9th of November.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

servants as *ziladars* and *qiladars* and made them join the Mir along with an army of one thousand horse, detached from the forces of his ally Karachuri Nand Raj.ⁱ After the arrival of the army and the receipt of the order from the Nawwab, Mir Madlna Ali Khan, dispatched Clive to Chennapattan to get ready another army and necessary war equipments, while he engaged himself in repairing the forts of Arcot and Timiri, Then he stationed Yunus Khan with all the relieving forces, outside the town on the shores of the river for the purpose of guarding the districts and conveying necessary provisions to the two newly subjugated forts; he appointed the English *sardar* by name Vakil Padar (Kilpatrick?) who was the *na'ib* of Clive, as the *qiladar* of Arcot, and busied himself in gathering the ryots and peopling the town. At that time a *subadar* who had control over one hundred musketeers was under the command of the *sardar* and had charge of the two towers of the fort. This *subad&r* who had close friendship with Riza Ali Khan took bribe, and secretly covenanted with him, for the handing

(1) Karachuri Nand Raj was the younger brother of Deva Raja, the Dalavayi of Mysore and surnamed Karachuri (that is, a word and a thrust with the dagger). He was a truculent person and contributed in a great measure to the eclipse of the ruling dynasty and the rise of Qaydar Ali After a successful expedition into the Coimbatore country, he gave his daughter in marriage to the nominal Raja, as a first step to his ambitious projects. Haydar first came under his notice in 1749, during the siege of Dcvana-halli. He agreed, against the wishes of his elder brother, Deva Raja, the Dalavayi, to assist Muhammad Ali, and led an army of 5,000 and 10,000 infantry from Srirangapatam to Trichinopoly, about the time of Clive's siege and subsequent defence of Arcot His activities round Trichinopoly lasted till 1755 when he returned to Mysore on the summons of his brother, in orde to repel an invasion of Salabat Jang and M. Bussy. Deva Raja retired from the government in 1757, disgusted with the cruelty practised by Nanja Raja towards the men who had attempted to throw off the supremacy of the two brothers. Nanja Raja was responsible for the usurpation of Haydar A] who got him imprisoned in 1767. See *The Mysore Gasetteer*, Revised edition Vol. II, Part IV, pp. 2466, *et seq.*

ENCAMPMENT AT KAVERIPAK

over of the fort. Relying on that *subadar* Riza Ali Khan marched from Chenji with his evil intention to attack the fort. When he reached the shores of the river Arcot, Mir Madina Ali Khan got news of what had happened and informed the *qiladar* who gibbeted the traitor. Then with the aid of the cannon of the fort, they presented a series of cannon-balls to the wicked enemy who had come with vain notions. Riza Ali Khan disengaged himself from that work feeling his own want of war equipments and seeing that the Muslim and *frang* (English) *sardar* were informed of his deceitful ideas. Then he camped at Kaveripak situated at a distance of two *kuroh* from Arcot, leaving there the French army as a precaution against the march of the army of the *sarkar*. Madina Ali Khan, with the idea of capturing Kaveripaki wrote to

(1) After the repulse by the besiegers of Arcot, on the 25th November, Raja Sahib was driven from Ami to Chettupattu and Clive marched on Conjeevaram which had been in the meanwhile taken by the French, reduced it and compelled the garrison to flee to Chingleput. As soon as the English troops had gone into garrison, the French marched along the coast, plundered Poonamalli and St. Thomas Mount and re-occupied Conjeevaram in January. Give hastily raised a new force and took the field with a small number of men inferior in infantry and completely lacking in cavalry. The enemy had entrenched themselves at Vandalur, but on Olive's approach retreated towards Arcot, in the hope of surprising it. Clive hastened after them, first towards Conjeevaram whither he supposed them to have gone, and then towards Arcot. He came upon them suddenly at Kaveripak as dusk was falling and his first warning of their presence was their artillery opening fire from 250 yards on his advanced guard. Give ordered his troops into a deep water-course on the left of the road, whence by the light of the moon the action was continued. Finding by the report of a sergeant whom he sent to reconnoitre, that the enemy's rear was unguarded he detached half his force to attack them, and himself accompanied the detachment part of the way. On returning to the men he had left behind, he found them quitting the water-course, and could scarcely bring them back to the position they had deserted. After a tedious interval of an hour, the sound of musketry in the rear was heard. The detachment had reached unobserved a position only 50 yards in rear of the French, whence they had poured in a

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dive informing him of the past events and his own view, and invited him. On hearing the news, Clive immediately marched with an army from Chennapattan. He reached Kanji, brought under his power the walls of its temple, deputed a company of men to guard that place, and then attacked Tirpatur. Riza AH Khan with the aid of the French and his own horse, blockaded the ways. There was thick fight from 3 o'clock in the afternoon till sunset, and it was not possible to declare the conqueror or the conquered. At this juncture Mir Madina Ali Khan who guessed the nature of the fight on hearing the roar of the cannon, marched from the shores of the river of Arcot with his own army and the relieving force. He started at 4 o'clock and marched so quickly that he reached the battle-field at 9 o'clock in the night just when Clive was in despair of the issue, considering the strength and the pomp of the enemy and the smallness of his own army. Thus Madina Ali Khan suddenly arrived at the battle-field and attacked the enemy from behind. The forces of the enemy had not the strength to withstand the attacks from both sides and so cut asunder the rope of resistance. Owing to the darkness of the night Riza Ali Khan could not discern his army which was running *risala* after *risala* and troop after troop. Imagining that they were all firm, he was also steady in the field. It was only when the allied forces drove the enemy, and became victorious the eyes of Riza Ali Khan were opened. On realising the situation, he grew impatient and restless and fled away alone to Phulcheri. His baggage and other things fell into the hands of the victorious army on the 24th of Rabi'uth-tham of the year 1165 A.H. After the sight of success Madina Ali Khan and Clive met and congratulated each other and sent a letter convey-

general volley, which did great execution and struck the enemy with panic. They fled, abandoning everything. (pp. 59-60, *Dupleix and Clive*, by H. Dodwell.)

ing the news of success to Hazrat-i-Ala. Next day they firmly resolved to subdue the fort of Kaveripak. They exhibited their intrepidity, captured that fort also and entrusted it to the *thana-dars*. Then they appointed four trustworthy men for the post of *ziladars* in each of the four places situated in four directions, i.e., Arcot, Timiri, Kaveripak and Kanji. After these arrangements Give took his way to Chennapattan while Madlna Ali Khan returned to Arcot, to get ready war equipments and then subdue the fort of Vellore and other forts and districts under Arcot.

Husayn Dost Khan learns the flight of his son towards Phulcheri as a result of the fight against the army of the sarkar, conceals the above news, attacks the fort of Natthamagar, and returns from that fort.

As a matter of policy required in the then circumstances, Husayn Dost Khan not only concealed from the knowledge of men, the sad news of the flight of his own son but also got up a function to celebrate his success and to gloat over the defeat of the English which was contrary to facts. However it may be, a woman with the accoutrements of a soldier does not become a lieutenant, an old man by cutting his beard does not become a youth. The fact became trumpeted throughout the town and the *bazar*, among high and low, and in all places. Old and experienced men, and those tried by the times represented thus to Husayn Dost Khan: "From the day of the beginning of the war, success was the lot of Muhammad Ali Khan in every fight and on every *maydan*, while inevitable defeat was the share of our well-wishing forces. The reliance on the French in the affairs of war was like the participation of *Iblisi* in a good

(1) *Iblis* (the devil) is believed to be descended from *Jinn*, the progenitor of the evil genii. He is said to have been named AzazII, and to **have** possessed authority over the animal and spirit kingdom. But when God created Adam, the devil refused to prostrate before him, and he **was**

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work. To oppose a man who has divine help is like the tearing of one's own collar of prosperity. In the trustworthy opinion of the council of sagacious men the defeat of Riza Ali Khan, the son of the exalted authority, was an augury for ruin of the affairs of the *sarkar*. It behoves the intelligent to calculate the end of anything from the very beginning. Since the *nizamat* of the *sarkar* has not the support of *sanad*, none of the zamindars of this land has any faith in the false authority. It is evident that nothing is gained by our unceasing endeavours during this period of war for nine months. It is therefore necessary that we attack the fort of Nattharnagar and try the strength of our luck. Perhaps we may, by following such a course, open the door of success and make up for the disgrace caused by the flight of Riza Ali Khan." Husayn Dost Khan listened to these discourses, looked around in anger, and said, "Though Riza Ali Khan lost the affair out of foolishness and gained the name of a runaway as a reward for his cowardice, yet, I, with (the help of) my courage, bold army, and strength, believe it certain that in a very short time, I will raise my head with authority over this kingdom. The preservation of this kingdom depends upon our subjugation of the single fort of Nattharnagar. The exertion and labour in other places will have no effect; I can, nay, I will finish my work here easily; immediately I will hasten to the Deccan, thence I will urge my

therefore expelled from Eden. The sentence of death was then pronounced upon *Iblis*; but upon seeking a respite, he obtained it until the Day of Judgment when he will be destroyed. *Vide* Quran, *Sura VII*. According to Quran, the devil was created of fire, whilst Adam was created of clay. There are two words used in the Quran to denote this great spirit of evil. (1) *Shavian*, an Arabic word derived from *shatn* (Opposition). (2) *Iblis*, devil from *balas* a wicked person. The former expression occurs in the Quran fifty-two times and the latter only nine, while in some verses, *Sura ii*, the two words *Shaytan* and *Iblis* refer to the same personality. According to *Majma'ul Babr*, *Shaytan* denotes one who is far from truth, and *Iblis* one who is without hope.

H. D. KHAN ATTACKS TRICHINOPOLY

high-blooded horse against Hindustan. Thus it will **become** possible for me to roll the ball of my power from Bengal as far as Sind." After this foolish speech, he attacked the fort of Nattharnagari on the eastern side and kindled the fire of the artillery of the French. Our Hazrat-i-Ala informed himself of all these facts; laughed at the useless activities of the enemy, drew the sword from the sheath, and made the cannon of the fort shed lightnings on the cotton field of the forces of the wicked enemy. When the wall of the fort began to blaze on account of the different kinds of fire-raining implements and the ditch became full to overflowing with the blood of the French, the enemy returned in regret for the loss caused by his mean act, and great disgrace and ignominy of disappointment. But without any shame, they girt their loins next day. Thus not a day passed without useless action, nor did they remain idle without seeking fight.

(1) We have information from Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary regarding the operations round Trichinopoly from about October. Hasanud-Din Khan, and his troops attacked towards the close of November, the battlements built by Cope outside the fort-gate and Cope and Gingen were not pulling on well. There was a battle between the English and Hasanud-Din Khan towards the end of December in which the Khan was repulsed after severe fight but was rescued by M. Law, and 'Alam Khan. It seems that Hasanud-Din was lured into an ambush and many of his men were cut off; though Chanda Sahib, 'Alam Khan and M. Law advanced to his help yet they were forced to abandon a battery which they had occupied. The French had established themselves at Sarkarpalayam, that is, the Chuklypalayam of Orme, on the southern bank of the Kaveri about 2i miles to the east of the town and their principal battery was raised a little to the south of the north-east angle of the fort. They also mounted guns on the French-rock and in the Srirangam Island and on the rock of Emmbeswaram. Chanda Sahib's cavalry fared badly in the engagements in December. See Orme, Vol. I, pp. 200, *etseq.*

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The coming of Karachuri Nand Raj, the Raja of Mysore, and Murari Rao the tarafdars at Gooty, for the purpose of helping the Nawwab, in obedience to the order of the imperial Padshah; Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur advances to receive them; their fight on their return way against M. Kalir; Cope gets wounded; they reach the presence of Hazrat-i-Ala with success; a brief account of the early history of Haydar Ali Khan.

In obedience to the orders of the Emperor and the Nawwab Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur, which had already been communicated to all the zamindars and others, Karachuri Nand Raj, the *ziladar* of Mysore, and Murari Rao, the *ziladar* of Gooty, were the first to send their forces under the command of Yunus Khan and others. An account of their participation in the engagements of Mir Madina Ali Khan has already been detailed in the previous pages. The above tarafdars, then marched in person with a large army and countless equipments, and reached the vicinity of Salem adjoining the boundary of Nattharnagar where they camped on account of the blockading of the roads by the enemy's forces. They sent a letter to Hazrat-i-Ala, waited for a reply and hoped for a reception by Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur in keeping with their respect and honour. Seeing the disturbance caused by the enemy Hazrat-i-Ala out of his brotherly love did not desire to send his brother. But in spite of Hazrat-i-Ala's unwillingness, the Bahadur obtained permission with great endeavour, and started with an army befitting the *sarkar* and that of the English, taking in his company Cope. He left Nattharnagar in the darkness of the night, proclaiming that they intended to attack the enemy's forces in the night, while they concealed their real object. He reached his destination before morning, welcomed Karachuri Nand Raj and Murari Rao, met them in private,

BATTLE OF KRISHNAPUR

became the gainer of their services and thus achieved all his heart's desires. After attending to their comforts he took them in his company and returned with them to Hazrat-i-Ala. In the middle of the way at the small fort with mud walls in Krishnapur under Nattharnagar, Cope saw the French forces ready for action, and according to the sense of honour of his community, he was impelled to subjugate that fort. Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur the commander of the army, pointed out to him the undesirability of the delay on the way, the unseasonable strain for the sepoys, the useless endeavour in a profitless work, the necessity to reach the destination and dissuaded him; yet, he was obstinate and finally the troops were arranged to the right and the left, to the front and to the back; *sardars* brave as Rustam were appointed and thus inevitably they had to gird up their loins for war. M. Kallr, the guard of that place also came out of the fort with his army, gathered his cannon to oppose the enemy, and attempted to charge violently. Thus the fire of battle was kindled. When the bellowing of the cannon on both the sides gave a portion of the world to the wind of destruction, and heaps of dead bodies like mountains fell as heavy loads on the jungle, the enemy turned his face from the battle-field and took refuge in the fort. Cope was wounded by a cannon-ball. The leader of the army did not care to subdue

(1) Krishnapur or Krishna varam was situated 30 miles to the west of Trichinopoly on the high road to Mysore. It was seized by a strong party of the French and Chanda Sahib's sepoys who threatened to attack the Mysoreans on the frontier of Karur about the beginning of December. Lieutenant Truster was sent over to dislodge the enemy from Krishnapur; but he found them in a much stronger position than he expected. Cope was then sent with a stronger party to attack the French posts. But both were repulsed and killed in the attack. The fort of Krishnavaram was surrounded by a *mud* wall flanked by round towers. The northern side was close to the bank of the Kaveri, the other sides were surrounded by a deep morass. To the west, the French had built an entrenchment. The Mysore army consisting of 12,000 horse and 3,000 foot, proceeded by a different route to Trichinopoly, and the enemies' attention was diverted by a false attack by Captain Dalton.

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the fort. He stayed in that place for a day and **on the next day he marched** with his victorious army, seeking the presence of Hazrat-i-Ala. Karachuri Nand Raj and Murari Rao had the honour of meeting Hazrat-i-Ala. On the day of arrival at Nattharnagar Cope who was staying with the army in his wounded condition completed his life in this world.

The mention of a fact in parenthesis here

Haydar Ali Khani known as Haydar Nayak was the son of Fatah Nayak; he was brought up in the house of Abbas

(1) Haydar was the great-grandson of Muhammad Buhlul an emigrant from the Pan jab who 'settled down as a religious man in the district of Gulbarga. His two sons, Muhammad Ali and Muhammad Wali, married at Gulbarga and then came to Sera where they obtained employment as Customs peons. They then removed to Kolar. Muhammad Wali turned out the widow and son of his brother who had died. They were taken in by a Nayak among the peons of Kolar. When Fatah Muhammad, the son, was old enough the Nayak made him a peon. At the siege of Gandikottah Fatah Muhammad distinguished himself and he was made a Nayak. He tried to raise his fortunes at Arcot and later entered the service of the *fawjdar* of Chittor. After sometime, Fatah Muhammad known as Fatah Nayak returned to Mysore. He was appointed as *fawjdar* of Kolar with the title of Fatah Muhammad Khan, and was given the *Jagir* of Budikota, Haydar and Shahbaz were the two sons of Fatah Muhammad by a third wife. Fatah Muhammad was killed in 1729 in a battle between the *subadar* of Sera and the *fawjdar* of Chittor in 1729. Haydar and his brother Shahbaz were ill-treated for a time and later on found shelter with their maternal uncle Ibrahim Sahib. In 1741 when Nanja Raja was besieging Devanahalli, Haydar accompanied his elder brother Shahbaz who then commanded a small horse and foot. It was during the nine months' siege of Devanahalli that Haydar attracted the notice of Nanja Raja by his coolness and courage and was given the command of 50 horse and 200 foot and also orders to increase his corps. He was also appointed at the same time to be in charge of one of the gates of Devanahalli. Haydar accompanied Nanja Raja from Srirangapatam and it is said that the only regular troops in the whole of the Mysore forces were the small body in the corps of Haydar Ali. See the biography of Haydar Ali by Wilks; Bourring; Michandj Kirmani (translated by Miles).

AN ACCOUNT OF HAYDAR ALI KHAN

Quli Khani the *qiladar* of Sera. Owing to a theft in his master's house, Haydar ran away fearing punishment and became an attendant of Karachurl Nand Raj who appointed him as '*uhdadar*' over a party of twenty foot-soldiers. Haydar sought recommendation from Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur when the latter went to receive Karachurl Nand Raj and obtained the post of a *sardar* over one hundred foot-soldiers. After the Bahadur reached the presence of Hazrat-i-Ala with Nand Raj and others, Haydar was not admitted to the presence of the Nawwab, yet he thought it a gratuitous honour for himself to roam about the royal palace and to have intimacy with the attendants there². With the approval of Abdtfl-Wahhab Khan Bahadur he submitted his request to Hazrat-i-Ala and obtained an order from him according to which Haydar secured from his master the rank of a *sardar* over one thousand foot-soldiers. On the day when General Lawrence reached the presence of Hazrat-i-Ala, he demonstrated his skill in drawing up the soldiers in file and according to the order of Hazrat-i-Ala he obtained the command over 200 horses in addition to his previous *mansab* over one thousand foot-soldiers, and raised his head in pride and honour. Thus after a time he became powerful by the favour of fortune and his hand which he drew out from his powerful sleeve was stretched to rob the power of his two masters old and new. He denuded his first masters Quli

(1) Abdu'l-Rasul-Ehan of Dhodballapur was the *subadar* of Sera in 1729 when Haydar's father Fatah Muhammad fell in battle. Abdtfl-Rasul-Khan also died in the same battle. His son Abbas Quli Khan plundered the families placed in his power and tortured Shahbaz and his brother ffaydar who were then young children for payment of a pretended balance due from their father. They were then allowed to depart to Bangalore.

(2) The enmity between Saydar and Mufcaramad Ali is the motive for this disparagement by the author.

(3) Haydar sought his revenge after 32 years with all the virulence belonging to the memory of a recent injury. Abbas Quli Shan fled to Madras leaving his family to its fate. Haydar however treated his victim's mother with distinction and generosity; but the terror of Abbas Quli Khan was

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Khan of power and kingdom. The Khan sought refuge under Hazrat-i-Ala who fixed a monthly allowance of five thousand rupees and honoured him as one of the intimate companions. His second master Nand Raji was imprisoned for life at Srirangapattan where he died. The details of his rebellion, atrocities and disturbances at the time of writing this book had made a hurly-burly like that of death in the whole kingdom of Arcot under Payanghat. These facts are slightly touched in the introduction to this book. The details relating to the imprisonment of Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and his release from his distress—all these accounts from beginning to end may be noticed in the second book.

Hazrat-i-A'la summons Yunus Khan and Clive to his presence; their march with an army through Deivnam-pattan; their meeting with General Lawrence, and the joint arrival of these two forces to a place adjoining Nattharnagar.

When the rivers of auxiliary forces, swollen by the heavy rains bestowed by the Eternal Fortune boiled like a sea, the billowing of the daily fight drowned the peace-boat in the water of inimical sword. Considering the protraction of the siege and the long duration of the fight, Hazrat-i-Ala desired to repel the enemy and remove the dust of mischief from his sight. In the meanwhile he heard the firm resolve of Mir Madina Ali Khan and Clive to subdue the fort of Vellore. So he wrote letters to the Khan and the governor of Chennapattan with

so great that when Haydar invaded the Carnatic in 1769 and presented himself at the gates of Madras, Abbas Quli embarked in a crazy vessel and would not land till he heard that IJaydar had departed into the interior.

(1) Nanja Raja was, in the course of the first Mysore war, discovered by Haydar to be negotiating with the Mahrattas and the *nizam*. Uaydar induced the Raja by a false oath of security to come to Srirangapatam on the **plea that** his advice was needed in the critical state of the country; then he made him a prisoner and forced him to live on the barest necessities of life.

MARCH OF THE ALLIES

regard to the suspension of war **in Vellore**, the **postponement of it to a future** date, and the necessity to send the forces from that place to his presence. These letters were dispatched. Considering the limitations during times of siege, the practice of sending letters in those days was as follows according to the unanimous opinion of wise men : Letters were written on silken paper and concealed in wax made into a pill which they entrusted to the messenger along with a purgative pill. • When the messenger happened to go by or come near the forces of the enemy he swallowed the pill which contained the letter. After he safely passed by, he gulped down the purgative pill which inevitably acted on his bowels and brought out the pill containing the letter. The messenger of Hazrat-i-Ala also followed the same course and delivered the letters to the two addressees. According to the letter Mir Madlna Ali Khan dispatched Yunus Khan with a suitable army to Nattharnagar. This Yunus Khan the *'ilaqadar* of Murari Rao, had formerly been to Arcot, in obedience to the orders of Hazrat-i-Ala, at the time of battle against Riza Ali Khan. The Governor of Chennapattan sent Clive—who had been to subjugate Arcot along with Mir Madlna Ali Khan—with a well-equipped army to the presence of the Nawwab. These *sardars* reached Dew-nampattan where, for the help of Hazrat-i-A'la, they took in their company General Lawrence (then Major) as well as a contingent recently arrived from England, and all marchedi

(1) Yunus Khan or Innis Khan was the principal officer of Murari Rao. He arrived in December at Trichinopoly with five hundred Mahrattas, struck out a plan to draw the enemy into an ambush and contrived to charge them successfully. He was elated at this victory and even dreamt of the glory of finishing the war himself. In April, 1752, he accompanied Give to Samayavaram.

Lawrence landed at Fort St. David in the middle of March and thence marched to Trichinopoly with 400 Europeans and 130 sepoys whom Clive had just brought from Arcot through the Tanjore country. They were escorting

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out through Tanjore and Palaya-Tondaman,* to have the honour of meeting Hazrat-i-Ala and exhibit the pearl of their valour,

Husayn Dost Khan and the French along with their army hinder the way of Yunus Khan and General Lawrence; Hazrat-i-Ala comes out of the fort² with his own army and allied forces to render them help. The two sarddrs have the honour of meeting the Nawwab; the fight, the victory for the glorious army of the sarkar, and the flight of the accursed enemy.

When Yunus Khan and Clive in company with General Lawrence reached a place at a distance of two *kuroh* from the fort of Nattharnagar, they could not proceed on their way owing to the obstruction of Husayn Dost Khan and the French;

a huge quantity of military stores and 8 field-pieces. When they approached Trichinopoly, the enemies came out to meet them but were forced to retire.

(1) This may perhaps refer to Palayavanam Zamindari in the Tanjore District, connected with the Tondaman.

(2) Towards the middle of April, as mentioned in the previous note, there was severe cannonading near Koviladi between the French who were posted at that place with a strong artillery and the English forces. Then Lawrence advanced to within ten miles of Trichinopoly; Captain Dalton and some European troops and sepoys were ordered to join the reinforcements. At Elumisaram (Erumbesvaram) near the present Tiruverumbur railway station, is a small hill with a fortified pagoda upon which the French had mounted cannon. The French army were drawn up between the French-rock and Elumisaram while other troops were arrayed from the hill as far as the village of Sarkarpalayam. At noon Captain Dalton, with some troops of Mysore and of the Nawwab, joined Lawrence between Elumisaram and the Sugarloaf rock. There was an engagement in the afternoon when the enemy contented themselves with cannonading while their battalion advanced. The cannonading was very fierce; the French battalion began to waver; but Chanda Sahib's cavalry kept its ground for some time and sustained the cannonade "with much more firmness than had ever been observed in the troops of India"; they were animated by the example of their commander, 'Alam Shan, whose head was at last blown off by a cannon ball. On seeing the death of 'Alam Khan the cavalry gave way and retreated,

HAZRAT-I-A'LA JOINS THE ALLIES

so they encamped on the bank of a tank and sent a messenger to inform the Nawwab of their arrival. As soon as Hazrat-i-Ala heard the news, he divided the whole force (his own army and the auxiliary forces) into two well-equipped groups, and started for their rescue while the *gawi-zamin* began to tremble because it had not enough strength to bear the heavy weight of his army. Hazrat-i-Ala stood on the bank of the river named *arsh-kalwah*,¹ which branches off from the Kaveri, towards the western side of the fort and flows to the south; he noticed Husayn Dost Khan marching with his army opposite the fort to obstruct the reinforcements of the *sarktir*. Weighing the position by his steady judgment and comprehension, he saw the image of success in the mirror of the mode of Husayn Dost Khan's army. Then he addressed those present thus: "By the grace of the Great Conqueror, success will be ours without any doubt." To be brief, the army of the Nawwab, and the forces of those who longed to achieve the happiness of meeting Hazrat-i-Ala marched off outstripping each other and joined together. Considering the situation, they divided the whole army into two groups; they

Captains Give and Dalton pursued the French into a great watercourse near the French-rock and would have effected a havoc among them had not Major Lawrence ordered them to stop the pursuit. The French lost about 30 men; 300 of Chanda Sahib's troops with 285 horses and an elephant lay dead on the field. The success on this day might have been much greater, had the confederate troops acted together in union instead of remaining at a distance as idle spectators; nor could they be prevailed upon to make a single charge, even when the enemy's cavalry retreated. This inaction proceeded not from want of bravery, but from the treachery of Murari Rao, who being at this time in treaty with Chanda Sahib, was unwilling to bring his Mah-rattas into action and the opinion entertained of their courage was such that the rest of the allies would not venture to fight without them.

Major Lawrence arrived at Trichinopoly, on the evening of 30th of April and the next day conferred with the Nawwab and other generals on the plan of future operations. (*Vide Qrme*, Vol. I, pp. 216-17.)

(1) For a plan of the country of Trichinopoly, see the *Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District* by F. R. Hemingway, pp. 330—1 (1907).

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arranged and stationed at suitable places cannon, foot-soldiers and horse, and marched forward keeping in view the plans and regulations of warfare. The enemy also arranged his own army and that of the wicked French and started out with the fire of envy which was like the flame ready to quench itself for ever. The attempts on both the sides were exhibited to such an extent that the visible world presented the spectacle of the next world, and the living ear heard the sound 'Death awaits every one.' Alam Ali Khan who was the life of the brave men and the strength of the valiant army of HusaynDost Khan, on that judgment day when there was no intercession, rode his horse, posted himself before the elephant of his master and was busily engaged in chopping down the heads of his enemies. However much his master called him to issue an order, the voice was drowned in the booming of the cannon, and he could not hear. Hence *hakim* Abdu'r-Razzaq Ali Khan who, before getting this title from Hazrat-i-A'la, was known by his original name of Ghulam Ali and Was engaged in the service of Husayn Dost Khan, drove forward and informed 'Alam Ali Khan of the call of the master. As soon as 3.1am Ali Khan turned his face towards Ghulam Ali, the cannon ball shot by the army of General Lawrence carried off his head from his body. Thus the horse and its rider fled from the battle-field. The vehemence of the heat of the sun on that day seemed to hold the banner of the day of resurrection. On account of the excessive melting none could distinguish wax from Stone. A brief account of the heat on that day from the Nawwab's own tongue, inflamed with the blaze of the following speech, enriched the hearing, while the wick of imagination blazed up the lamp of bewilderment, *viz.,* on account of the helplessness due to the tyranny of the heat, the coat of mail hid itself in the skin of the body; the wet towel placed on the neck and the shoulder, to allay the heat, burnt like a torch on account of the excessive heat of the body. In

SIEGE OF SRIRANGAM

this condition Hazrat-i-Ala with the support of the strength of the God-given bravery, overcame the enemy with whom he had no chance of meeting from the beginning of the siege till that time, drove them in great disgrace with the misfortune of losing Alam Ali Khan, and raised the banner of victory. Hazrat-i-Ala favoured General Lawrence with the presents of an elephant, cash, and precious stones, and honoured Clive by the grant of a horse, cash and *khilat*.

Husayn Dost Khan takes shelter in the temples of Srirang and Jhamgir;¹ Hazrat-i-Ald lays siege to them commissioning his army destined to conquer the fort.

Husayn Dost Khan felt aggrieved and helpless on account of the death of Alam Ali Khan the leader of his army. Since Husayn Dost Khan considered it to be imprudent to stay near the fort of Nattharnagar, he assembled together his advisers, and councillors of war, and placed before them his weakness to fight on the *maydan*, his inability to spread out, the death of the brave and resolute companions, the destruction of a great portion of his army, the successive defeats in spite of great zeal, treasures, and wealth; he put forward the advisability of quitting the battle-field and taking shelter in the temple of Srirang. Then he consigned to flames ponderous articles, and during the night fled towards the temple of Jhamgir and Srirang, situated between the two rivers, LheKaveri and Kurdam (the Coleroon). He left his companions in the first temple while he himself ran alone and chose the second temple, which had seven solid compounds and was strong, for safe retreat in his deranged condition. A day later, the army of the *sarkdr* laid siege to the two temples and pressed hard the runaway by blockading the roads on all sides. By dispatching horses they shut out the

(1) The temple at Jambukeswaram, in the island of Srirangam to the east of the great Vishnu temple.

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ways and prevented provisions coming from the districts. Finally with the seizure of the salt, the strength of body and soul of the enemies was shattered.

Husayn Dost Khan writes a letter to M. Dupleix, the governor of Phulcheri, for an army and provisions; M. Dupleix sends M. Datil along with necessary equipments required by the Khan,

Husayn Dost Khan became frightened at the loss of his treasure, the ruin of his army, and his being shut up in the temple of Srirang and Jhamglr. So he wrote a letter to the governor of Phulcheri indicating his helplessness, heart-rending sorrow, with details regarding his miserable condition, his confinement in the temple of Srirang, entreating for provisions and reinforcements and praying compliance with his request. So M. Datil (D'Auteuil),¹ the skilful *sardar* of the French, marched forth covering hastily *manzil* after *manzil* with an army, implements of war, and provisions for the relief of Husayn Dost Khan. On reaching Ranjangadh, the French General wished to alight at its fort, but the *qiladar* of that place who knew the victory of Hazrat-i-Ala, did not permit him fearing the consequences and sent word that he could go to and halt at Walkandahpur situated at a distance of only one *kuroh*. So M. Datil marched with his army to Walkandahpur and encamped there.

(1) D'Auteuil had taken part in the battle of Ambur, in the operations against Nasir Jang and also in M. Bussy's capture of Gingec. He commanded the French troops along with Chanda Sahib in the fight at Volkondah. He marched with reinforcement for the French troops under M. Law and engaged Dalton's party near Uttatur on the 20th of May, 1752.

CLIVE MADE A PRISONER

Ahsanu'd-Din Khan and M. Las attack during night the army of the sarkar at Samiwaram; the capture and release of Clive; the defeat of the Khan, the imprisonment of the French.

After Husayn Dost Khan was hemmed in, the armies of the *sarkar* with famous *sardars*, stationed themselves (at various places) to blockade the ways round about the temples of Srirang and Jhamglr. One big division of the army under Muhammad Abrar Khan, the intimate friend of Hazrat-i-Ala, Yunus Khan the employee of Murari Rao, and Manaji Raol the chieftain of Tanjore, fixed the banners at Samiwaram situated at a distance of three *kuroh* from the temple and on the way through which reinforcements should pass to the besieged. Of these companions Clive alone halted at a small temple with his soldiers while the labourers were at the door way and at a little distance from it. Under instructions from Husayn Dost Khan, Ahsantfd-Din Khan issued forth with M. Las and experienced men to clear the way of obstruction for M. Datil about whose arrival to Walkandahpur Husayn Dost Khan had information. When Clive got out of the temple unsuspectingly and went to answer calls of nature the enemies made a night assault. When Clive became a prisoner² he

(1) Manaji was a General of the Raja of Tanjore and joined Muhammad AH with 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot in the beginning of 1752. He took Koviladi from the enemy in the beginning of May and encamped at Chakkili. palayam, that is, Sarkarpalayam. He got for his master from Muhammad Ali a release of *peshkash* alleged to be outstanding for ten years and the grant of Koviladi and Yalangadu taken from the enemy by Manaji. (Orme, Vol. I, p. 208, and Venkaswami Rao's *The Tanjore Manual*, p. 788.)

(2) Two days after Lawrence's arrival at Trichinopoly, an attempt was made to attack Chanda Sahib's camp by night. This attempt, though not successful, increased the nervousness of M. Law, the French conuaander, who, had already fallen into a state of indecision and was afraid of being beaten. He insisted upon retreating to the island of Srirangam so that he might have the Kaveri between him and the

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fought that the position was entirely hopeless. But he spoke in French, gave out that he was a Frenchman kept as

enemy. Clive proposed that Lawrence should be in charge of a part of the army south of the Kaveri, while he himself should take a post north of the Coieroon. This decision was taken on April 15, 1752. Clive set out on the same day with 400 Europeans, 1,200 sepoy and 3,000 horse and established himself at Samayavaram. He captured from the French the fort of Lalgudi which contained a large quantity of grain and the loss of which seriously affected the position of M. Law. But Clive was in danger of an attack by M. Law from Srirangam and by the force coming from Pondicherry under D'Auteuil. Lawrence did not send him additional reinforcements across the river; but Clive heard that the French party was conveying 7 lacs of rupees and had reached Uttatur. He made a sudden march on the night of April 26; but as the French had withdrawn having heard of his coming, he returned hot-foot to Samayavaram lest M. Law should attack and occupy it in his absence. While Clive was supposed to be absent from his camp, M. Law arranged to surprise it. He however made the attempt with a very small party of about 80 Europeans, half of whom were English deserters. They reached Samayavaram after Clive had returned to it and pretended that they had been sent by Lawrence to reinforce Clive. Having thus deceived the sentinels, they continued their march through a part of the Mahratta camp and were only challenged near a choultry to the north of the pagoda. In this choultry Clive lay asleep. The enemy put a volley of fire in each place and immediately entered the pagoda. Clive started out of his sleep, and ran to the upper pagoda where the greater number of his Europeans were quartered. He ordered them to arm themselves, returned to the choultry and found the sepoy firing at random. He mistook the enemy troops for his own, ordered them to cease firing and went alone amongst them. When he was discovered, he told the French soldiers with great presence of mind that he had come to make terms with them and if any resistance was made, they would be put to the sword by his whole army which surrounded the pagoda. This made such an impression that Clive secured easily the submission of the French. He however took the precaution to storm the pagoda, because he suspected that the enemy must have been hiding there in large numbers. The next morning, 27th April, Clive himself narrowly escaped the shot aimed at him by an officer, one of the English deserters in the ranks of the enemy. The ball missed Clive by a little margin but went through the bodies of the sergeants on whom he was, leaning, and they were mortally wounded. The enemy contrived to escape from the camp as easily as they had entered it, but

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a prisoner in the English army, that Clive was sleeping soundly inside the temple and thus saved himself from the hand of destruction. Immediately the party of the French, put faith in his deceitful speech, set him free and rushed into the temple in search of him whom they had allowed to fly away from their hands. Finding the arrow of his plan on the target of his object, Clive suddenly closed the door of the temple. Then by the beat of drums, he got his soldiers and other men armed for war and surrounded the walls of the temple. The enemies understood his deceit and attacked the besieging force in order to liberate their own army which was duped and confined inside the temple. Since Clive had only a small army, he found it difficult to hold his own and was stupefied to repel the vagabond enemy. At this juncture Muhammad Abrar Khan along with other *sardars* drew up the forces in array, marched out from Samiwaram and attacked the enemy from behind. Throughout night the fight was hot, and just at dawn they noticed that the garment of darkness of the opposition of the wicked enemy was torn by means of the hand of the radiant sun of their victory. That is, they made their army triumphant while they slaughtered the forces of Ahsanu'd-Din Khan, made them run away and took possession of their implements. Of the army of M. Las some became prisoners of Clive in the temple of Samiwaram while some fled in confusion towards Srirang following the way of their *sardar*.

they were pursued by Yunus Khan and the Mahratta troops who fired and injured many of them. The escape of Clive from being shot in the early morning is held to be unbelievable. See *Or me*, Vol. I, pp. 222-6; Sir John Malcolm; *Life of Clive*, Vol. I, p. 116 and Hill's *Orme Collection*, India Office, page 273.

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The arrival of M. Datil to Walkandahpur; Hazrat-i-Aid dispatches the army which gained victory on the maydan of Samiwaram to punish him; the imprisonment of M. Datili and the seizure of all the equipments.

H'azrat-i-Ala learnt through the letters of the chroniclers, the night attack of Ahsanu'd-Din Khan and M. Las upon the army of the *sarkar* at Samiwaram, the defeat of the enemies on account of the sword play of the victorious army, the success of the glorious Muhammad Abrar Khan, the imprisonment of

(1) After the incident at Samayavaram, Give urged Lawrence to move his troops into the island of Srirangam, so that he could come to his assistance, should M. Law cross the Coleroon. But Lawrence refused to leave his position saying that M. Law would cross the Kaveri from the island and escape unchecked to Karikal. He however detached a party under Dalton to attack D'Auteuil who had retreated to Uttatur. Dalton encountered the French near Uttatur and attacked them with such vigour that the latter abandoned the fort; Dalton took immediate possession of it. Lawrence then recalled Dalton; but as the Coleroon was in floods, Dalton left his troops under the command of Give for the siege of Bikshandarkoil which was then the only post held by the French on the northern bank of the Coleroon. Give took Bikshandarkoil on May 20th, and for this service Muhammad Ali bestowed on him the title of Thabit Jang Bahadur. Bikshandarkoil was a fortified pagoda on the northern bank of the Coleroon, one mile to the east of Srirangam. After it was captured, Give left a strong garrison and set out on the 27th of May to meet D'Auteuil's force. He also took precautions to conceal his plan from M. Law. Give hid himself for some time within the fort of Uttatur, hoping that D'Auteuil would come unsuspectingly near that place. D'Auteuil marched from Volkondah and reached as far as the 7th mile from Uttatur. But on account of some rumour or suspicion, he returned in great haste to Volkondah. Give set out in pursuit of him and ordered the Mahrattas to harass him; but D'Auteuil retreated forming his men in a column and with two field-pieces in front. When he drew up his forces between the mud wall of the *pettah* and the river Vellar he was attacked by a large body of English sepoys and the Mahrattas. D'Auteuil retired into the *pettah*, but its governor who had been won over to the English side shut up the gates. In spite of this, the French contrived to get into the fort in an unguarded part, when the governor threatened to fire. In these circumstances D'Auteuil agreed to

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a group of the **French** in the fort of the temple mentioned above owing to the plans of Givé, He then sent orders in succession directing Muhammad Abrar Khan, Clive and other *sardars* to march with their victorious army towards Walkandahpur to punish and devastate the army of the French under the command of M. Datil, to plunder his implements, to avert the confusion and dispersion of the subjects of the kingdom caused by his arrival, and to send with great care to his presence the prisoners captured at Samiwaram. In obedience to the order they sent the prisoners to Nattharnagar and hastened to drive away the enemy who had encamped at a distance of twelve *kuroh*. As becoming their bravery they tried with such vehemence and sword play that they overcame the enemy. That is, M. Datil did not find strength to be firm and took refuge in the fort of Ranjangadh situated at a distance of not more than one *kuroh*. Finally on account of the pursuit of the victorious army which continued to attack, the forces of the enemy were either afflicted with death or captured or became scattered and consequently M. Datil tore his garment of steadiness. He lost his power and strength. He was imprisoned with his one thousand and two hundred soldiers, the remnant after slaughter or dispersion. Provisions, cannon and other implements of war fell into the hands of the army of the *sarkar*. In that bustle and conflict the fort of Ranjangadh also was subjugated by the friends of Hazrat-i-Ala. The keeper of that fort agreed to submit cash, expressed his weakness, and thus sought pardon for his wrongs. Considering the delicate circumstances Hazrat-i-Ala thought it advisable to excuse him for his fault and in his great liberality allowed him to continue as a keeper of the fort and enjoy his *jagir*. Then he ordered that

surrender with his force of 100 Europeans, 400 sepoys and 340 horse. The treasure was mostly hidden away and only a small part of it was taken possession of by the English.

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M. Datil along with other prisoners should be brought to his presence tinder strict vigilance.

The siege and the capture of the temple of Pach&nd&r-kudi (Bikshandarkoil) situated on the bank of the river Coleroon.

After victory in the battle-fields of Walkandahpur and Ranjangadh, and after M. Datil and other prisoners and looted implements were dispatched to Nattharnagar in obedience to the orders of the Nawwab, the army bearing victorious banners returned to its previous encampment.

Hazrat-i-Ala, the king with prudence and the sovereign of an enlightened mind, issued a command to that army as follows: "What is the use of remaining idle at Samiwaram at present? Counting this as a fortunate circumstance, it is necessary to be employed at this juncture. That is, efforts should be made to subjugate the fort of Pachandarkudi situated on the way to Phulcheri, at a distance of not more than the width of the river Coleroon from Srirang, the halting place of the enemy, and well-equipped with provisions and implements of war. After subjugating Pachandarkudi the army may return to Samiwaram."

Accordingly the sea of the army with victorious waves rolled forth against the solid and strong temple which was like a small fort. They stormed it by the discharge of cannon. On the third day by the grace of the Omnipotent Conqueror, their work was finished to such an extent that the door was opened by the key of victory. The equipments and the treasures stored there were conveyed to Nattharnagar. The enemy and his supporters despaired of their purpose, and the hope of help from Phulcheri became vain.

M. LAW SEEKS QUARTER

The straitened condition of the besieged at Srirang on account of the severity of the siege; Hazrat-i-Ala plants the banner of mercy in his own camp; the arrival of the men from the army of the besieged; M. Las seeks quarter at the instance of Husayn Dost Khan; the refusal; the Khan goes to Manaji Rao, the chief of Tanjore, and seeks refuge.

The temple of Pachandarkudi was subjugated by the brave soldiers; the condition of the besieged at Srirang was rendered greatly miserable, because of the blocking up of the roads through which provisions could come, and of their being made the target for the cannon balls from the temple. The lamentations of the hungered reached the heavens. Hazrat-i-Ala took pity on them and passed the divine decree that the banner of peace be hoisted in the victorious camp and a proclamation be issued as follows:

"Whosoever comes forth from the fort of Srirang with any amount of goods under the banner will find safety from all dangers. Implements of war, it is understood, belong to the *sarkar*."

This piece of good news brought fresh life into the world, and people in all calmness of mind hastened under the protecting shade of the powerful king. Considering the diminution of his army in which one in hundred remained, and conjecturing the state of the remaining forces which presented the appearance of an autumn season, Husayn Dost Khan grew thoughtful, and then caused a letter seeking quarter to be written by M. Las to Hazrat-i-Ala and anxiously looked forward for a reply.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

The petition of M. Las¹ to Hazrat-i-A'la

"We have been, till now, fighting against fate, on account of misunderstanding and mistaken notions. In fact we were trying to measure the pride of our fist by useless endeavours and futile labours. Now keeping aside all the cannon, other implements of war, and the whole baggage and valuables scattered in the two temples of Jhamgir and Srirang, setting aside the work on our hands and abandoning all tumultuous and useless ideas from our minds, we hope for kindness from one possessing compassion and mercy, generosity and benevolence; we await permission that there will be security, and no kind of opposition on our way or impediment for our rejoining the banner of the French. We shall go out of the fort with our friends and companions and take our way to Phulcheri. In future we shall not trespass on other grounds beyond the field of trade, and shall maintain the relationship of subjects to the *sarktir*."

The reply from Hazrat-i-A'la

"Your letter reached me and the contents are clear. The desire for release is out of place after all these dishonest deeds. In fact every one from the *sardar* down to the sepoy is in

(1) After the capture of Bikshandarkoil by Clive and Koviladi by Lawrence, M. Law was completely shut in. But curiously enough, he made no attempt to cross the Kaveri, and to prevent Clive and Dalton coming to the rescue; but he distrusted Chanda Sahib's troops and also seemed to have lost all energy and will. Many of Chanda Sahib's sepoys deserted him after D'Auteuil's surrender at Volkondah. Thus M. Law was brought to the last stage of desperation. He offered to give up half his heavy guns and march off to Pondicherry; but Muhammad Ali insisted that he must surrender at discretion. On June 13, M. Law had obtained an interview with Lawrence who promised to release the officers with their arms and baggage on parole; next morning an English detachment marched into the pagoda and the French laid down their arms. The surrender of M. Law was of great importance.

our fetters. In these circumstances remove from your head the idea to pull down the banner, to continue the mischiefs of the men of depraved thoughts and to reach your seditious town; voluntarily entrust yourselves as prisoners. Else inevitable slaughter will overtake you all, and those who escape it will be forcibly and compulsorily put in confinement."

When this fitting reply safely readied the enemy, Husayn Dost Khan grew desperate inasmuch as he had neither the opportunity to take rest nor the strength to run away. He found it hard either to be confined in the temple in a distressed condition or to come out. He summoned his well-wishing nobles and his loyal ministers and placed before them with a palpitating heart the following facts in the hope of getting relief:

"The enemy is superior, I am weak. Neither have I the strength to hold this fort nor the courage to march out with the army and vigorously fight the enemy face to face. My brain is all in a whirl as regards plans and expediency. So find out a way that I may reach Phulcheri; I shall then have no anxiety. On the other hand I shall have the means to attack Trichinopoly with a large army. Therefore it strikes my mind that I should get out of this fort changing my manner and dress and take the way to Karikal a town belonging to Phulcheri. Since the passage for it lies through the boundary of Tanjore I shall seek help from Manaji Raol the ruler of that kingdom."

(1) Wilks wrote that M. Law was "justified by the fairest considerations of the natural interests committed to his charge, in recommending Chanda Sahib to incur any risk, rather than surrender to the English; and he unhappily trusted to the desperate faith of a Mahratta". According to Orme, Chanda Sahib knew that the Tanjore general Manaji was at open variance with the prime minister to the king of Tanjore and that Manaji might be inclined to safeguard him, following only his personal interests. Manaji received the overture with so much interest and seeming compliance, that both M. Law and Chanda Sahib thought that they had gained him over to their side. When M. Law demanded a hostage, the Tanjorean

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Ahsanu'd-Din-Khan did not approve of this view. He observed: "It is a useless plan, nothing will come out of it, for the Raja of Tanjore had suffered greatly at our hands, while he found much kindness from our enemy. No hope can be entertained, for he is among our enemies. The proper procedure would be not to give any form of expression to grief at the dispersal of the army and its reaching the banner of the enemy. The army which is present here and on which reliance could be placed, and the French forces must be drawn up in array, cannon must be placed in front of them. Then we must boldly come out of this temple and march to Karikal repelling opposition."

M. Las who was one of those present did not like this procedure. He put forward the following plan :¹

answered that a hostage would be no real check on intended treachery, and that by giving one, the secret would be divulged and the escape rendered impracticable. Then he took an oath on his sabre and poniard, that he would send away Chanda Sahib with an escort of horse to Karikal. As soon as the victim entered his quarters, Manaji had him imprisoned in a tent. The next morning, 12th June, there was a conference in Major Lawrence's tent between the Major, Muhammad AH, Manaji and the Mysore general, when the proposal that the English should have the custody of the prisoner, was violently opposed by the other three parties. Then they broke up without coming to any resolution. On the morning when M. Law surrendered at Srirangam, he had a conference with Lawrence that convinced him that the English were resolved not to interfere any further in the dispute. Manaji saw no method of saving the situation except by putting an end to the life of his prisoner. (*Orme*, - Vol. I, pages 236-42.)

Some writers are of the opinion that Lawrence had it in his power to save Chanda Sahib but did connive at the death of the unfortunate man, See Malleison, *History of the French in India*, p. 328,

(1) M. Law advised Chanda Sahib to submit to the Tanjore general. The details are given in a declaration by M. Law and forwarded by DupUix to the English. Dodwell says that this narrative is true, as it is suonorted by subsequent happenings.

H. D. KHAN PLANS TO ESCAPE

"When we encamped on the *tnaydan* with a body of sound and healthy men, we found ourselves unable to oppose the enemy and took refuge in the fort. Comparing our present state with the then condition we are powerless. How can we engage ourselves in the field of battle? My thoughts point out this way, that is, however much the zamindar of Tanjore has been aggrieved by us, still he has relationship with the French because his frontier meets that of the French. Most probably he may show kindness towards us. It is proper that we keep with him Husayn Dost Khan as a security on behalf of the French, and let him send the Khan to Phulcheri by whatever means he thinks best/

When AhsanuYl-Din Khan saw that his counsel was not agreeable to the members of the council, he concluded his speech with the following observation: "The skirt of fate is undefiled by the dust of deliberation."

One Rajput, Hari Singh by name, and one of the trustworthy friends of Husayn Dost Khan shrugged his shoulders at the acceptance of the suggestions of M. Las and addressed his master thus: "Do not at all entertain any hope of generosity from the zamindar of Tan j ore who is in league with your enemy. If you seek relief, extricate your head from this snare of destruction in the following manner: Take some of my trusted men, and get upon my swift-paced horse, which, fleet as the wind, can cover a distance of fifty *kuroh* in a day; then you can reach Karikal in one night."

When this suggestion also did not find its approval from any one, one of the leaders of the highway robbers known as Kallars, a rude community, who boasted himself as second to none among those besieged, interfered unnecessarily in **the** deliberations of the councillors, and spoke in the following manner: "By means of my boat I can cross the river Coleroon in one night and convey you safely to your destination."

HISTORY OR THE KAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

But there was ready the retribution for the oath taken on the praiseworthy and the holy Quran, in the course of his dealings with the Rani of Trichinopoly; the retaliation for the blood, unjustly shed, of Nawwab Siraju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Din Khan Bahadur, the amir of the Carnatic, and for the murder of Nawwab Nasir Jang Shahid, the wazir and the *nazim* of the Deccan (may Allah's mercy be on them). Hence the polish of any plan failed to remove the rust in the mirror of forgetfulness.

Finally, Husayn Dost Khan preferred the advice of M. Las and sent his vakils, Gobinath the Hindu and Dawud Khan the Afghan, to Manaji Rao. He listened to the oral news apparently with great concern, and gave an affirmative reply. When the vakils returned and informed Husayn Dost Khan, he hastened with them towards Manaji Rao during night time accompanied by M. Las, and Ahsanrfd-Din Khan. Manaji Rao came out of the encampment to receive them. He met them, and to all appearances consoled them in all ways. M. Las placed the hand of Husayn Dost Khan on that of Manaji Rao and said, "Know that Husayn Dost Khan is the security for the French. Convey him with great care to Phulcheri." Manaji Rao consented and caused the guest to alight at the *saray* of Dalway-mandaf where Husayn Dost Khan had formerly taken an oath on the word of Allah in the presence of the Rani of Trichinopoly. Manaji Rao kept secret guard over him.

HAZRT-IA'LA SEEKS TO POSSESS THE PRISONER

Hozrat-i-A'ld demands Husayn Dost Khan from Manaji Rao; his acceptance to do so; his refusal to yield to the desire of Karachuri Nand Raj and Murari Rao in respect of the Khan, and their readiness to fight; Manaji Rao murders Husayn Dost Khan and flees towards Tanjore.

Those who are prisoners of the army of calamity of time and are kept in confinement by the army of the misfortune of the faithless will sell away their faith in exchange for the cash of false motives and useless desires, without considering the consequences. They try to ravage others in seeking their own profit. They do not understand that the Just and the Perfect Lord is powerful, and is watching (them) and that the digger of wells on the road will himself find wells on his own way. They do not discern that with the passing of time the sword of retribution for their deeds is over their heads. It behoves the intelligent that they have before them thoughts of the Creator in their dealings with His creations; so that they may not be caught in the net of punishment. In the confusion and uproar of this world he must discard for others whatever he does not like for himself, so that he may not suffer the torment of repentance. He must bear in mind the punishment for treachery and the reward for trustworthiness are lying in wait for the appointed time, nay, he must know that they are ever present. Every work has its recompense, and every action its requital. The face of this image and the explanation of this discourse is as follows:

Manaji Rao took Husayn Dost Khan under his protection and proclaimed next morning that the Khan was flying towards Phulcheri, and that he made him a prisoner. As soon as Hazrat-i-Ala heard this news, he rejoiced over it and offered thanks to the Helper of his prosperity. Then he got into his palanquin and started towards the camp of Manaji Rao to get possession of the prisoner. On hearing that the Nawwab himself was

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

coming, Manaji Rao got out of his camp and went forward to receive him. He had the honour of meeting the Nawwab on the bank of the river Kaveri near the fort of Nattharnagar. The Nawwab caused the palanquin to be set down, spread on the ground the ordinary small carpet which was with him and asked Manaji Rao to sit on it while he himself sat in the palanquin itself. Then he granted the honour of conveying to Manaji Rao the gracious idea in his mind. In return for this service the Nawwab ennobled him with the grant of the *jagir* of Koiladi under Nattharnagar in accordance with the long-timed request of Manaji Rao, and the reduction of the annual *peshkash* due from Tanjorc. The prosperous and powerful Nawwab -returned then to the fort. Desiring to get possession of Husayn Dost Khan, both Karachuri Nand Raj and Murari Rao drew up their forces in array and were ready for war. Manaji Rao was greatly worried on this account and resolved to murder the prisoner.

Husayn Dost Khan had remained three nights and two days as the guest of Manaji Rao. On Wednesday the first of the month of Sha'ban the honoured of the year 1165 A.H. he had his shave and bath and sent for food. He contented himself with two or three morsels and observed that he did not relish the taste. At noon Manaji Rao called out one of his sepoys, a *sayyid*, Mir Mugaffar All by name and whispered into his ear the command to kill the prisoner. He replied in a louder tone as follows: "Though it is not possible for me during the time of war to disobey the commands of my master to cut the head of my son or brother, yet to kill one who has taken refuge is nothing but injustice and sheer cruelty. I will not draw my sword*" After this two other men one Ashur Beg by name, and another a Rajput went with the order of Manaji Rao to the *saray* and found the prisoner alone. Ashur Beg exclaimed in the tone of 'Izra'il, Nawwab sahib! Pronounce the *kalima tayyib*. We

MURDER OF H. D. KHAN

come seeking your head, get ready by the pleasure of Allah." Immediately on listening to this call, Husayn Dost Khan drew out his dagger and ran on him. While he caught 'Ashur Beg, the Rajput thrust his dagger from one side and laid open his flank. The prisoner rolled on the ground with a loud noise, immediately 'Ashur Beg wounded him with the dagger and cut off his head with a sharp poniard. Thus he marked his face with the blood and became notorious as the murderer.

When the head was brought before Manaji Rao he entrusted it to a camel-rider with the command to carry it to Hazrat-i-Ala. The camel-rider excused himself saying, "How could I take it without its being bound in a towel." One of the *faqirs* who used to stay with the army, gave his towel and the camel-rider placed the head on it. As soon as he carried it off another *faqir* addressed thus "O thou the Generous! your head, dead or alive, is ever held high." The camel-rider took the head to the fort, while Manaji Rao with his army turned his face towards Tanjore. In brief, the head was hung at the gate of the fort according to the command of Hazrat-i-A'la. Then they took it to Karachitrl Nand Raj and Murari Rao. The *pirs* of the *Imamiyya* sect furnished and shrouded the body in a fitting manner and in accordance with the manner of the *shihs*, and temporarily interred it in the *dargah* of Hazrat Natthar Wall (may Allah purify his resting place) till the head, which was sent by Nand Raj as far as Delhi, was brought back. On its arrival they opened the grave and the coffin but did not find any trace of the body. So, being helpless they buried the head without the body. Wise men untie the knot of this secret by means of the nail of conjecture. That is, since he had love for the family of the Prophet of Allah (may Allah's peace be on him) and since an unbeliever made him a martyr by means of his deceitful sword it was no wonder that his body had migrated in conformity with the beliefs of the *Imaniyya* sect. It was probable that his head also might

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

have joined his body .¹ Knowledge of these facts lies with Allah.

Abdul Hadi who had gone from the court of the Nawwab to Dewnampattan for the purpose of bringing the English forces, gave out on that day the following verses extempore, out of happiness.

"Anwaru'd-Din Khan did not sheathe his sword smeared with blood till two years after the battle that took place during the time of Nasir Jang."

In short, after these events the temples of Srirang and Jhamgir were captured. The *sardars* of the army, the nobles and members of the Nait community were made prisoners; the implements looted from the enemy were divided among the army of the *sarkar*. The French were kept in confinement in the fort of Nattharnagar. Of the other prisoners some were kept as servants while others were set free according to their desire.

Hazrat-i-Ala dispatches an arzdasht and nadhr to Ahmad Shah Padshah and a letter to Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang; arranges an assembly of councillors to consider the subjugation of the hereditary kingdom and other forts, to expel the French from the kingdom of the Carnatic and to devise plans to capture the fort of Phulcheri.

After putting an end to the disturbance caused by Husayn Dost Khan, and capturing the temples of Srirang and Jhamgir along with the goods and the implements of the slain which were divided among the *sardars* of the victorious army, and after taking as prisoners M.Las, nobles of the Nait community

(1) Wilks says "It is a fact of public notoriety that Chanda Sahib's head was immediately sent to that personage, (Muhammad Ali) and after being subjected to unmanly insult, was delivered to Nunjeraj and by him sent to Seringapatam; where it was suspended in a *cheenka* (open net of small rope, Tamil over the southern or Mysore gate, to be gazed at by the multitude during three days as a public trophy of the victories in which the

HAZRT-I-A'LA ADDRESSES THE NOBLES

and others, Hazrat-i-Ala sent along with a *nadhr* of 1121 *osh rafi* an 'arzdasht to Ahamad Shah Padshah, and a congratulatory letter to Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang who had been appointed by the Sultan as the Nazim of the Deccan and had come to Awrangabad. Then he assembled the nobles and ministers of the kingdom in a council and opened his mouth which exuded like the spring cloud and filled with shining pearls the shell of the ears of those anxious to profit by it.

"Riza Ali Khan, the son of Husayn Dost Khan, who is in Phulcheri under the protection of the French is looking forward for an opportunity to cause disturbance. He is kindling the fire of malice in the grate of his heart. Salabat Jang is entertaining the idea of fighting his senior brother, Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur, with the assistance of the French. So it is incumbent on me that I, according to the order of the Emperor, render help to the Nazim of the Deccan in the field of battle. As long as the town of Phulcheri, the source of all mischief, exists, mischief will remain in the land of the Carnatic. Nay, the poison of the snake will infect all the limbs of the kingdom of the Deccan. Hence I have firmly resolved to subdue it, so that all the confusion in the land may be wiped out immediately like a thorn from the foot of the kingdom. On account of this I shall verily assist the Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla."

The members present unanimously approved the correctness of his views, prostrated on the ground and paid their respects for the sound and valuable opinion. Then the Nawwab issued strict orders to equip the army and arrange the things necessary for travel. He dispatched General

troops of Mysore had certainly as yet borne no very distinguished part". (Vol. I, p. 177.)

Orme says that the head of Chanda Sahib was never carried out of the Carnatic.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Lawrence to Giennapatian to bring the English army, cannon, *karndl* and other implements of warfare, and to get ready warships for preventing help and provisions reaching Phukheri by sea.

Hazrat-i-A'la arrays his forces for the second time with the idea of subjugating the town of Phulcheri; M. Dupleix writes a letter to Hazrat-i-A'la who refuses to comply with his requests.

After dispatching the 'arzdasht to the Padshah and the letter to the Wazir, Hazrat-i-Ala attended to the repairs of the fort of Nattharnagar; he, then, arranged the things for the journey, put in order the necessaries for war, collected large stock of provisions, and encouraged the sepoys by increasing their pay according to their desire. Then he detached from his own army 6,000 men, and put them under the leadership of Sayyid Ali Khan, Khayru'd-Din Khan, and Sayyid Nasir Ali Khan and others to guard the fort along with the English forces. He conciliated Karachuri Nandraji and Murari Rao by settling the

(1) The Dalavayi Devaraja was unwilling to help Muhammad Ali, but Nanja Raja, his younger brother, was tempted to support his cause by the extravagant promise of the Nawwab to cede Trichinopoly and all its possessions down to Cape Comorin. A party of 70 horsemen arrived at Trichinopoly from Srirangapatam in the beginning of October. The army of Mysore with 4,000 Mahrattas assembled on the frontier of Karur, in the last weeks of December 1751. After the fight at Krishnavaram, the Mysore army numbering, as stated by Orme, 12,000 horse and 8,000 foot including the Mahrattas, reached the plain of Trichinopoly. They had borne only a very small part in the activities which ended with the defeat and death of Chanda Sahib. The head of Chanda Sahib was sent as a trophy to Srirangapatam and hung up over the Mysore gate. Then Nanja Raja claimed Trichinopoly under the secret treaty. Muhammad Ali who could not conceal from the English the secret agreement confessed to them that he had never intended to fulfil the promise and evaded Nanja Raja. As the English had not been consulted in the negotiations, they were not morally bound to secure the fulfilment of the promise.

Major Lawrence and Clive both reported about the dispute that had arisen between Muhammad Ali and Mysoreans; as the Nawwab would not **give**

HAZRAT-I-A'LA AT RANJANGADH

amount fixed as compensation for the help rendered by them, promised to pay it through Sayyid Makhdum Ali Khan and presented them with two elephants along with gold and silver equipments and four Arab horses with saddles, gold and silver trappings, *padak* and *bhujband* set with jewels. He also granted *khilat* to other *sardars* under them and gave them permission to return to their respective homes. After these arrangements Hazrat-i-Ala started with a well-equipped army on the 25th of the respectable *Sha'ban* of the year 1165 A.H., and marched slowly *via* Samlwaram expecting the arrival of General Lawrence. When Hazrat-i-Ala reached Ranjangadh, its *qiladar* Mu'tabir Khan Tahir received him with great hospitality. Howevermuch Abdul Wahhab Khan Bahadur induced Hazrat-i-Ala to change the *jagirdar* and confiscate the fort in possession of Mu'tabir Khan, by revealing his treachery during the period of struggle with Husayn Dost Khan, yet the Nawwab did not lend his ear to the allegations of his brother in view of the supplications and solicitations of the *qiladar*. Then he left that place and covering *manzil* after *manzil* fixed the prosperous banners at Belpur. On learning the raging of this sea M. Dupleix, in great fear sank within him-

up Trichinopoly and its dependencies to Nanja Raja as the price for his help. The Mysoreans and the Mahrattas refused to march out from the encampment and the Nawwab could not join Lawrence in the proposed expedition to reduce Gingee, Chettupat, Chingleput and Vellore. The Madras Council resolved on the 29th June, that the English should not commit themselves to any precipitate action in the dispute which was "an affair of the utmost consequence", but should request the Dalavayi to send his *vakil* to Madras to negotiate for a settlement. Captain Dalton reported subsequently that Srirangam was, by agreement, delivered to the Mysoreans who were outwardly reconciled to the Nawwab; that Murari Rao was not definitely on the English side, as he had a *vakil* at Pondicherry and frequently received letters from there, and that one of his captains had secretly offered to desert to the English side, the moment his master joined the French.

For further details, see *Madras Council Minutes of 20th June and 13th July*.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

self like a wave. **He** dispatched an *arzasht* to Hazrat-i-Ala conveying apology for his faults and seeking a fresh peace.

The arzasht of M. Dupleix to Hazrat-i-Ala,

"In perfect humility and submission and firm in the edifice of obedience and servitude I submit: May it please your majesty, the powerful and glorious lord, that in the course of one hundred years, the period of our stay for trading in this peaceful land, if any affair was in opposition to the regulations of the authority of the *sarkar* it did not happen because of the French community. A stray incident which happened during these days was due to our union with the unfortunate rebels and it is the cause for our repentance. Considering my solicitations and repentance and hearing the lamentation for quarter which proceeds from my heart, if the exalted master could pardon me for my past sins, and bestow mercy in accordance with the favours of generosity and kindness, I take afresh an oath on the religion of our Prophet, *'Isa* (peace be on him) and *Injil* our holy book, that, in future, I will not associate myself with any mischief-maker in this land. I will be friends with the English and become one with them as brother with brother. I entertain the hope that just as the affairs of the English are made to increase in splendour day by day with the grant of *jagirs*, aids, and great favours from the *sarkar*—powerful to subdue the kingdom—the community of the French also would, if they be granted the *jagir* of Chenji¹ bestowed on them by the *Nazim* of

(1) M. Dupleix was aware of the critical situation of the French after the surrender of M. Law and the death of Chanda Sahib. Even before these calamities had occurred, he had written to Governor Saunders that he was authorised by Salabat Jang to settle the affairs of the Carnatic by giving Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali. Saunders replied that it might be done as Chanda Sahib was dead, but M. Dupleix demanded the release of all the prisoners as a preliminary to negotiations. This was declined because the release of the French prisoners would have restored M. Dupleix to his former military strength. In the meanwhile M. Dupleix was stiffened in his attitude

HAZRAT-I-A'LA REJECTS OVERTURES TO PEACE

the Deccan, attain distinction under the generous attention and lordly protection. I hand over other *jagirs* to the *sarkar*. Hereafter I will never deviate from the path of humility which is the feature of traders. I belong to the community of *frangs* and I will never go back on my promise. The rules of courtesy do not embolden me to be long-winded; humility does not permit me to be lengthy."

After the contents became evident Hazrat-i-Ala said: "Though the acceptance of peace is befitting and agreeable to end the dispute, yet generosity to the treacherous is like enmity towards the trustworthy. 'To do good to the wicked is doing harm to the good.' Besides this, other points demand reflection and need thought,

(1) Riza Ali Khan under Duplex' protection is lying in wait with the claim of authority over the Carnatic.

(?) We have friendly relations with Nawwab Asfu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur and our acceptance of the request of the French would create a suspicion that we are in league with Salabat Jang. This will cause disturbance in the building of confidence.

(3) It will become evident that we are going against the command of the Sultan enjoining on us to expel the French.

(4) The covenant of M. Duplex cannot be relied upon, for on a former occasion he wrote a peace treaty seeking reconciliation, but later he joined with Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan and broke the promise.

(5) He claims equality with the English who are our old friends. He also hopes to *get* the grant of the *jagir* of the taluk of Chenji just like the grant of *jagirs* to the English. But my father had enjoined on me to help the English, to promote their interest and to exterminate the French. In these

by the knowledge that he was to receive reinforcements from Europe ; towards the end of July two ships conveying 503 soldiers reached Pondi cherry.

HISTORY OF THE WAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

circumstances how could the requests of the wicked people be accepted ? how could wisdom and intelligence be lost relying on his duplicity?"

Then Hazrat-i-Ala called the writer and dictated the following reply.

The farman of Hazrat-i-A'ld to M. Dupleix

" Praise be to the Lord in whose court of authority, the refractory Frenchman doffs his hat and brings it to his armpit out of (reverence) to the resplendent sun. All round His *bdsdr* the Trader with the goods of the world is the Master of the loss and damage on account of the cheapness of the goods of life and dearness of the cash of death. Undoubtedly He showed us the right path and enabled us to reach our destination, while He caused wicked men to roam about in the streets of error as a punishment for their crooked ways.

The letter dispatched by you conveyed impossible demands, and the knowledge of useless ideas put my mind to wonder. When the conditions of the peace treaty concluded after the battle of Dewnampatlan were broken between us on account of your faithlessness, how will men of experience find it possible to agree to a fresh treaty and strengthen the bonds of friendship ? With such perfidy the desire for equality with the trustworthy English has no meaning; with such falsehood performance of oath by religion and the holy book cannot attest to your sincerity. Now I have come out from Nattharnagar with this firm resolve and I have arrived on this *maydan* with a definite purpose, that is, until I bring the community of the French under my sword I will not turn my back; until I scatter to the winds the walls of Phulcheri I will not keep back my hand from my activities. This reply will suffice your question."

On learning these contents M. Dupleix was perplexed. Helplessly he tried to prepare for war.

THE FRENCH MARCH UNDER KERJEAN

The battle between M. Karjam(Kerjean)and the English of Dewnampattan; the English major gets wounded the retreat of his army towards Dewnampattan Mutyammad Abrur Khan joins the fight; the defeat o, the French and their flight towards Bakram (Vikravandi) their camping place.

M. Dupleix, the governor of Phulcheri, lost hope of peace, collected an army which comprised Indians, Abyssinians and *frangs* under the leadership of M. Karjarn by name, a *sarddr* possessing intelligence and wisdom, and sent them to

(1) Muhammad Ali left Trichinopoly in charge of his brother-in-law, Khayrutt-Din Khan, and some English troops under Dalton, and started secretly to join Lawrence. When Lawrence proceeded to Madras, Major Kinneer who wanted to emulate the feats of Dive, resolved to besiege Gingee with the approval of Saunders, but against the advice of Lawrence. Kinneer started with about 200 Europeans and some sepoy, found the assault impossible, suffered severe loss at the hands of a body of French and retreated in haste. This defeat of the English at Vikravandi and the Nawwab's flight to Tiruvannamalai roused the spirit of M. Dupleix. Lawrence wanted to redeem this misfortune; but Nawwab Mubammad Ali was in a very bad situation. The sepoy were troubling him for their pay, the English would not advance him sufficient money, and the Mysore agent, Birky Venka Rao, pressed him for the cession of Trichinopoly to his master. In addition to all these there was a misunderstanding between the Nawwab and his junior brother. In August, two nobles of Muhammad Ali came to Pondicherry with the consent of the English to negotiate with M. Dupleix. But M. Dupleix refused to talk of peace until the French prisoners were released. Then Lawrence marched against the French on August 28th, but they retired to Pondicherry and contented themselves with guarding their forts at Valudavur and Gingee. He then fell back on Bahur. Kerjean, the French Commander, followed him. When he came too close to the English on the morning of September 6th, Lawrence fell upon the French camp and captured the commander. Muhammad Ali was elated by this victory which reduced the French to military inactivity for the next six months. Bat he wrote another letter to M. Dupleix in smooth words requesting his friendship. M. Dupleix replied pressing his original demand for the release of the prisoners. But Mubammad Ali would not. Only Kerjean who was badly wounded was allowed to return to Pondicherry.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Bakram. On learning this the governor of Dewnampattan raised the banner with the idea to oppose him. He wrote an *arzdast* to Hazrat-i-Ala seeking help from him. After Muhammad Abrar Khan arrived from Belpur (Villupuram) with his horse, according to the order of the Nawwab, the English also under the leadership of a brave major marched from Dewnampattan. The parties opposed each other and in the course of battle which lasted from dawn till 9 o'clock in the morning, when each was to the other like the target of the arrow and the axe of enmity, the major was wounded in the left thigh by a gun shot. He was brought out of the battle-field in a palanquin with the support of his friends, while his army retraced their steps from that danger and marched towards the fort of Dewnampattan, their station. On seeing the superiority of the French, Muhammad Abrar Khan attacked them with his horse, linked himself with the enemy's forces and displayed such a skill of sword play that M. Karjam left many of his men to be slain, and trodden under the foot of the brave soldiers of the *sarkdr*, deserted his cannon and heavy implements and ran away towards Phulcheri with his remaining forces. The Khan pursued them as far as Bakram, devastated that place and then returned victoriously to Belpur before the Nawwab; he attained the great glory of meeting the Nawwab and won from him high praise.

The letter from Nawwab Asafud-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang in reply to the letter sent by Ha'zrat-i-Ala; another congratulatory letter from Salabat Jang,

Hazrat-i-Ala encamped with his victorious army at Belpur so long in expectation of the arrival of General Lawrence, that in the meanwhile a letter written by Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla in reply to that of Hazrat-i-Ala which was dispatched along with the '*arzdast*' sent to the Emperor containing the happy news of

LETTERS TO HAZRAT -LA' LA FROM THE DECCAN

the destruction of the enemy, reached with the following contents and bestowed happiness.

The letter of Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla to Hazrat-i-Ala¹

"Your letter was received. I am glad to learn your arrangements to put down the enemies. I am encouraged to believe that the Deccan will be purified of mischief that is prevalent now. In these days Salabat Jang, without any regard for brotherhood, got ready to subjugate the Deccan by destroying it on account of the inducement by evil-minded people and of his association with the French. I wish to come very soon to those parts and put down the mischief with your help. You have already subdued rebels in those parts especially those like Husayn Dost Khan in spite of his power and influence. I request you to punish the French and destroy the port of Phulcheri, which is the source of all mischief and trouble. Thus peace will reign not only in all places of the Deccan but also in the whole of Hindustan."

Before Hazrat-i-Ala recovered from the joy he experienced after the receipt of this letter, the following one from Salabat Jang arrived.

The letter of Salabat Jang to Hazrat-i-Ala

"The glad news of your continuous success reached me. Husayn Dost Khan, in spite of his influence and power is killed and the family of *nawdyat* who claimed the *nisamat* is also disconcerted. You have put to shame M. Dupleix in all his fights by defeating him, and done great service to Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Bahadur. We congratulate you on your success."

Though Nawwab Salabat Jang Bahadur wrote this formal letter in laudatory terms, yet Hazrat-i-Ala knew that he was

(1) The language of the original Persian being courtly the summary of these letters is given.

HISTORY OF THE MWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

a friend of the French. Hazrat-i-Ala was allied to Nawwab Asaf u'd-Dawla by orders of the Emperor. In these circumstances he did not send an immediate reply to the letter of Nawwab Salabat Jang Bahadur and postponed it to some other time.

General Lawrence reaches Hazrat-i-Ala from Chennapattan; Hazrat-i-Ala marches from Belpur towards Phulcheri; the fight; the victorious army captures M. Karjam along with his forces.

After Muhammad Abrar Khan achieved the victory over M. Karjam, and after the arrival of letters from the Deccan, Hazrat-i-Ala busied himself at Belpur with the sports of the field and with the plans for the war, expecting the arrival of General Lawrence. When the latter reached his presence from Chennapattan with an army and implements Hazrat-i-Ala started with his victorious army from Belpur and reached Adyakupam.ⁱ From there he attacked with ferocity and valour M. Karjam who started out from Phulcheri for the second time with a large army of the French, Aliman, Zangbar, and Indian soldiers, and had his ill-starred camp at Bakram. On the morning of the 26th of Shawwal the honoured of the year 1165 A.H. Hazrat-i-Ala drew up his army in battle array and began the fight. In spite of the heavy discharge of the guns by a large section of the French forces and of the vehemence and violence of assault from such a proud enemy, Hazrat-i-Ala, because of his experience in war, severe chase in the field of battle, courageous sword play of his soldiers, and his own immediate presence, saw in a period of three hours happy success for himself and disgrace for the wicked enemy. In the heat of battle M. Karjam was wounded by a musket and could not maintain himself in the field. His army were slain, imprisoned, wounded or made to flee. Unlike other *sarddrs* who

(1) Ariyankuppam in the environs of Pondicherry.

PREPARATIONS TO SUBJUGATE THE FRENCH

were captured and imprisoned, M. Karjam, who lay in a miserable condition on account of the wound, found his liberty on the recommendation of General Lawrence and the order of Hazrat-i-Ala, and returned to Phulcheri. On account of this, he is, till now, grateful and thankful to Hazrat-i-Ala possessing generosity and kindness. The Indian sepoy who were in his company were set at liberty by the order of Hazrat-i-Ala after they gave in writing their consent to separate from the French community. The looted goods and implements were divided among the victorious army. Then Hazrat-i-Ala set out with his whole army to subdue the forts under the control of the French and in the power of the Nawayat, the helpers of the French, and the near relations of Husayn Dost Khan.

The subjugation of the forts belonging to the French, and their allies) the settlement of the affairs of the qil'adar of Wandwasi.

When Karjam the *sardar* of the army at Bakram was wounded, and his army imprisoned or dispersed, M. Dupleix was frightened. He was unable to pursue his crooked ways, and so entered the hole of his fort, like a crab at sight of a jackal, and shut himself up within it. Hazrat-i-Ala reviewed his own situation, did not engage himself in laying siege to the above fort, but turned his attention to subdue other forts in the possession of the enemy and his allies. He dispatched Clive and his army, and Mir Mansur Ali Khan commander of his own forces, to subjugate the forts situated on the coast of the sea. He sent an order to Mir Madlna 'Ali Khan, the *na'ib* of the *suba* of Arcot, to send provisions and other requisites of the army, and help Mir Mansur Ali Khan and Clive, to get ready a proper army with necessary equipments to subdue the *suba* of Nellore which was under the control of Muhammad Kamal, whose account, if God willing, will be detailed in the forthcoming pages, to collect and send

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

to his presence the *peshkash*, which was in arrears for years owing to the disorder in the land, from the zamindars and the *malgmars*, like the *palayagars* of Kalastri, Venkatagiri, Bamraj (Bommaraj), Macharla, and others, and (finally) to keep in view the subjugation of Satgadh and other forts and districts. After dispatching the army and the orders Hazrat-i-Ala marched with his own detachments towards Chenji and closed the doors of comfort against those besieged in that fort. Mir Mansur Ali Khan and Clive exerted themselves in the work appointed to them and by the grace of the One Great Opener they opened, that is, they brought under the control of the Nawwab, one after another Sa'adatbandari, Chingleputs and other places which had been under the authority of the French and their allies. The good endeavours of Mir Madina Ali Khan, the *na'ib* of the *suba* of Arcot, brightened the mirror of administration with the polish of success and subjugation of all the districts and places, and the collection of *peshkash*. Thus he won the ball of bravery of his times. The *sardars* commanding the detachment

(1) Covelong known as Saadatbandar was situated about 20 miles south of Madras. It was built by Anwarud-Din Khan near a fort that belonged to the Ostend Company. The fort had no ditch, but was protected by a strong wall flanked by round towers on which were mounted 30 pieces of cannon. It was garrisoned by 50 Europeans and 300 sepoys. The French got possession of it in the beginning of 1750 by a trick.

There was hard fighting at Covelong from the 16th to 19th of September, 1752. In the first attack the garrison at Covelong opened fire upon the troops of Clive and forced them to flee beyond the back-water, and they had to be brought back by Clive. After hard fighting for four days the fort came into the possession of the English while St. Germain who had advanced from Chingleput not knowing that the fort had surrendered to the English, came close to it and was fired upon and forced to fly. For details regarding Clive's attack of Chingleput, see the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. VIII and Sir George Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. I, pp. 214-215.

(2) Chingleput was reputed to be a very strong fort which was surrounded by a continuous swamp of rice fields and a large lake. The garrison consisted of 40 Europeans and 500 sepoys and the fort had 15 pieces of cannon. The French took possession of it in 1751.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE QILADAR OF WANDEWASH

of Hazrat-i-Ala raised aloft the banner of valour to subjugate the adjoining forts like Karangal (Karunguzhi?) and others. The powerful and glorious Nawwab first opened the door of the fort of ChenjI with the key of eternal success; then he turned his attention to subjugate the fort of Wandwasi. Muhammad Taqi AH Khan, its *qiladar*, the brother-in-law of the Nawwab Safdar Ali Khan Shahid, had many wives and children. The chronicler of these events will open the tongue of the pen to narrate the history of that *qiladar* as follows:

An account of Muhammad Taqi All Khan, the qila'dar of Wandwasl, his numerous wives and children.

Nawwab Safdar Ali Khan Shahid who could not eat more than two or four morsels of food was on the look-out for a remedy for his poor appetite; while Taqi Ali Khan was making enquiries from every one about the medicine for increasing his virility which was almost extinct. So Nawwab Safdar All Khan was searching after the *bayragis* whom he had heard of as the curers of this disease, and he used to treat them with great courtesy and kindness. One day he happened to meet one of them whom he importuned to help him to realise his object. The *bayragi* gave him two kinds of ash-coloured elixir, one for increasing the appetite, the other for virility, folded in two separate pieces of paper, on each of which he wrote their property, along with directions for use, as well as cautions to be observed. Safdar Ali Khan Shahid kept those powders under the pillow even as he had received them. Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan happened to call on him the very day. Since he had intimacy with Nawwab Safdar Ali Khan gijahld, he slept, according to his habit, in the Nawwab's cot. When he woke up he saw underneath the pillow the two powders with descriptions. From the name on the paper, he at once recognised, the medicine he needed. However much he sought it from Nawwab Safdar Ali Khan Shahid,

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he did not get it. On account of their relationship, there was great dispute between the two. The relatives present then, decided that Nawwab Safdar Ali Khan should take the elixir for appetite and Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan the elixir for virility in accordance with their respective needs. Thus the dispute between the two was settled. Both were pleased with the decision, and began to use their respective medicines. The effect was that Nawwab Safdar Ali Khan Shahid began to eat daily five seers of *paldw*, two seers of bread, roasted flesh of one goat, besides fruits and thick soup of one goat every night. His death was caused by the mixing of poison with that soup. Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan was ill for a year after taking his powder, since Safdar Ali Khan failed to give full directions for use. On his recovery, European and Indian doctors advised that as far as possible he should have his head covered with a steel cap during his bath so that no water may get in. In brief, he had many wives, nearly one thousand women collected from every community. He had also many children, more than two hundred daughters and sons.

In brief, Hazrat-i-Ala arranged his army and started with the idea of subjugating the fort of Wandwasi. On reaching its border he wrote the following letter to the *qil'adar* demanding obedience and the usual *peshkash*. He addressed it personally and dispatched it so that there should be no room for any future complaint.

The farmdn of Hazrat-i-Ala to Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan, the qiladar of Wandwdsli.

"By the grace of God, from the beginning of our authority over this land, and fee control over the *nizamat*, it is clear to every eye, and also to you, that those who chose to be on terms of friendship with us, raised aloft their heads in pride and distinc-

(1) Summary is given as usual of the letter and the reply.

QILADAR'S REPLY TO HAZRAT-I-A'LA

tion, while the disobedient found disgrace. As for your affection and sincerity there is no doubt. Still for apparent reasons it is necessary that you should pay the usual *peshkash* and follow the straight path so that the tongues of men be closed outwardly, and false ideas entertained by the public may be removed. Else it is not known what troubles are in store and what dangers may happen. It is the duty of friendship to give no room for complaint."

On seeing this letter sent by Hazrat-i-Ala, Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan wrote the following reply :

The 'arzasht of the Khan in reply to the farman of Hazrat-i-Ala.

" After fulfilling the necessary obeisance due to the master I submit my petition in great obedience. Your Majesty's order which was full of kindness reached this obedient servant. This place has reached the rank of heaven by the arrival of your army. It is impossible to express my thanks for this favour* The payment of *peshkash* is necessarily a mark of obedience, and the deviation of Husayn Dost Khan from this path did not bring him to the *manzil* of his object; the French were made to roam about in the *maydan* of disgrace. But this obedient servant is always used to obey the *nazims* of the Carnatic in all points, from the very beginning of his gaining control over this area, but till now he has never paid any *peshkash*. My sense of honour does not permit me to choose a new line of conduct. If you condescend to bestow honour on this servant, kindly accept the hospitality I can afford. If you desire money, turn your attention towards other treasures. I have not got the strength to gird up loins against the army of the *sarkar*, but I am compelled to do so."

Hazrat-i-Ala understood from the contents of his letter the source of enmity, commissioned his victorious army to lay

HISTORY OF THE MAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

siege to Wandwasi,¹ the fort of Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan and reduced him to such straits that he reflected on the consequence of his independence, sent through *ulamds* money as a penalty for his disobedience, and sought pardon, Hazrat-i-Ala took pity on him, excused him and permitted him to continue in his position. Thus Hazrat-i-Ala, for the time being, protected him from the drawn sword, which was about to fall on his head, and put it on the throat of the guards at the fort of Tiruwati;² it was subjugated by the force of bravery and the strength of the powerful hand. The fort keepers, who were French men and were exhibiting great pride on account of excessive implements of war and the strength of the fort, were slain. Those who escaped the sword, were made to suffer the hardships of imprisonment. Since Hazrat-i-Ala found the climate of that place suitable to his gracious health, he fixed his glorious and powerful banner with a view to give rest to his army. Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan whose fate was to suffer, delayed to pay the three-fourths of the covenanted sum, forgetting the might of the life-giver, and again began to exhibit enmity and follow evil ways. Next year he was expelled from his *jagir* and the fort as a punishment for his misbehaviour. He was made a prisoner and sent to jail at Nattharnagar.

(1) Muhammad Ali had planned to march to Arcot after making another attempt on Gingee and demanding from Taqi Sahib of Wandewash arrears of tribute. In October 1752 the fort was attacked by Major Lawrence and the Nawwab's troops and could have been easily reduced, but the Nawwab was badly in need of money; he accepted the offer of Taqi Sahib to pay a ransom. A small accident produced brisk firing for some time between the English and the garrison in the fort. But the mistake was explained, the troops were recalled, and Taqi Sahib paid down three lacs of rupees the same day.

(2) Major Lawrence returned from Wandewash to Tiruwati about the 10th of November; but the troops could not be cantoned there on account of the heavy monsoon, and had to retire from that place to Fort St. David.

SALABAT JANG PLANS TO KILL HIS BROTHEM

The rebellion of Karachilri Nandraj and Murari Rao at the instigation of the French, and their union with Riza Ali Khan and M. Dupleix, the Governor of Phulcheri.

With his appointment as the *nazim* of the Deccan, Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang started from Shajahanabad and reached Awrangabad¹ in glory. All the nobles of the Deccan, without any exception, paid him homage. Salabat Jang, his younger brother, occupied the throne of the Deccan with the help of the French. Deceived by the attachment for a wicked and ill-bred woman, a mean widow, an abominable creature full of tricks, the murderer of a son and destroyer of the husband, and tempted by the wicked and faithless world full of fraud, Salabat Jang resolved to kill his brother who was as dear to him as his life. He sent his own mother to Awrangabad under the pretext of welcoming him, entrusting to her the burden entertained in his sinful mind. This deceitful woman reached that place, and gave out to the Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla that her separation from her own son (Salabat Jang) was caused by

(1) Ghaziu'd-Din Khan reached Burhanpur towards the end of August 1752 accompanied by Malhar Rao Holkar and a few Mahratta *sardars*. He reached Awrangabad, having received the support of the bulk of the Mughal nobility of Awrangabad and Burhanpur, while Nizam Ali Khan, a younger brother of Salabat Jang, was wavering in his attitude. The Peshwa, who met Ghaziu'd-Din at Awrangabad and Sayyid Lashkar Khan both offered to give Salabat Jang the province of Berar, but the latter declined the offer and declared his resolve to fight. He stationed M. Bussy and the French troops at Haydarabad and, after strengthening it, marched towards Bidar. Ghaziu'd-Din Shan also marched ten stages from Awrangabad. On the 10th of November, news was received at Pondicherry that the Nawwab had been poisoned on 16th October 1752 at the instigation of Salabat Jang. Kasi Das Bulckanji's *gumashta* sent word to Cuddalore that the Nawwab fell sick on tasting the food and died on the third day. Kincaid and Parasnis say (*A History of the Maratha People* Vol. III, p. 16) that it was the mother of Nizam Ali that poisoned Ghaziu'd-Din who died on the 16th October.

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indignation, besides other pleasing stories. The Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur in accordance with his innate humanity and generosity, and his inherent honesty and sincerity showed her great reverence and respect, honour and politeness; treated her as his own mother and never neglected the smallest detail in observing the formalities of obedience and in comforting her. To all outward appearance, her motherly love found expression in all ways; "verily, the machinations of women are great."

She tended him with an affection shown to her own son and the Nawwab took her to be sincere. He never hesitated to partake of dishes cooked by her. One day, during the hot weather, he remembered a favourite drink of Nawwab Asaf J ah, his noble father, used by him to alleviate the heat, and ordered for it. It was to be prepared with butter-milk and thin pieces of cucumber, along with salt and spices to make it savoury. She who was on the look-out for an opportunity, spoke of her own skill and offered sincerely and gladly to prepare the drink for him. The Nawwab who had faith in her kindness and sincerity, was ignorant of her deceit and treachery, and agreed. As soon as she brought to him the drink mixed with poison, he drank it unhesitatingly, and on account of the infection of the poison, he hastened to the permanent world. The smoke of sighs at this grief which came out of the breast of the times, confused the brain of the administration of the kingdom.

Great commotion happened in the government at Shah-jahanabad also on account of the domination of ungrateful amirs. That is Ahmad Shah Padshah was blinded¹ and thrown

(1) The reign of Ahmad Shah Padshah marks the rapid decline of the Empire. After a series of disasters the Emperor was finally deposed and sent to prison by 'Imadu'l-Mulk in June 1754. He was succeeded by 'Alamgir II, the youngest son of Jahandar Shah. See J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Chapters viii & ix.

DUPLEIX INSTIGATES NANDRAJ

in prison, and some other from among that family came to the throne. Thus the Padshah was helpless in the hands of the amirs, who agreed among themselves and seated on the throne whomsoever they liked. Thus every day they brought one prince from Sallmgadh, which was the prison-house for the princes, seated him on the throne and carried back his predecessor. In these circumstances every one of the neighbouring rulers, bound the waist of his independence, and Hindustan was thus broken up among the kings of the provinces into which as empire it had been divided. The Mahrattas who were no better than zamindars found themselves rulers over great tracts of the kingdom. In like manner Salabat Jang, after attaining the authority over the Deccan, beat the drum of his fame and held authority without any hindrance. The French attained strength to do what they liked.

After these events M. Dupleix suddenly joined the other zamindars who according to the orders of the Emperor and the Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Bahadur, the Wazir, had followed and helped Hazrat-i-A'la. M. Dupleix took the opportunity, and instigated Karachurl Nandraj to ask for the grant of the fort of Trichinopolyi, i.e., Nattharnagar in return for the troubles he took in helping Hazrat-i-Ala, to hand it over to Murari Rao its former possessor, and advised him that the refusal might be made the cause for war. In accordance with this advice of M. Dupleix, Karachurl

(1) M. Dupleix was secretly negotiating with Nanja Raja and Murari Rao. Captain Dalton suspected this and wrote about the behaviour of Nanja Raja to Madras. The discontentment of the Mysore troops with Muhammad Ali also was fomented by M. Dupleix. The Mysoreans conspired with some of the Nawwab's captains and made a surprise attack on Trichinopoly in December when there were already 700 of their own men in the garrison of the fort But they retired soon when their camp was attacked in the night by Dalton. The English and the Nawwab turned out the 700 Mysoreans who were in the Trichinopoly fort and detained as a hostage Gopal Raj, the junior brother of Nanja Raja, who commanded the troops,

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Nandraj sent to Hazrat-i-Ala who was then encamping at Tiruvati a messenger with the following message concerning the facts narrated above.

The message of Nandraj to Hazrat-i-Ala

"I maintain with his majesty, the relationship of a skive and servant. I understand that obedience to his exalted highness will be the cause of happiness. When the *sarkar* was engaged in war, I toiled hard and emptied the treasury in the hope that my labours will be appreciated and that I would be favoured with the gift of the fort of Nattharnagar. Formerly Rakhoji the Mahratta entrusted the fort to me and Murari Rao was representing me there. It becomes your bountiful heart and exalted will to favour me with it again, in consideration of my services. In the sweat of my brow I kept a firm footing in this undertaking; I broke the seals of ancestral treasures to realise my ambition. I have for my associates the French and the Mahrattas who are inseparable. My army and that of my allies are as numerous as the sands of a desert. It is not advisable for his majesty to oppose the servants who form a world of enemies. It is plain that though the French army be made to perish many a time by the sword of the brave soldiers of the *sarkar*, yet they present themselves like devils, in numbers that equal the drops of blood shed on previous battle-fields."

gazrat-i-Ala was greatly irritated at the message and broke the cup of his hope with the stone of the following reply.

The reply of Hazrat-i-Ala,

"You know that from the beginning of the growth of my prosperity, bestowed on me by God, how many rebels claimed equality with me and finally stained themselves with disgrace. This you have seen and known, and yet if you happen to have an itching head, it is evident that it requires a blow to break it. To achieve your goal, it behoves you not to **rely** on the **French**

NANDRAJ LAYS SIEGE TO TRICHINOPOLY

and Murari Rao. Be on your guard; do not be deceived by knaves and walk in a wrong way. Think it necessary to feel thankful for your condition with the good presents acknowledged already, just as other allies are, and retreat safely from this seditious way. Else it is not known, in which chain of calamity the consequences of this madness will draw you; and in the wound of which lance the effect of the ebullition of this sinful blood will involve you."

When the vakils returned without achieving the object and brought an unfavourable reply to his letter, Nandraj found a way to exhibit the wickedness of the heart, and an opportunity to display his vain desire. He besieged the fort of Nattharnagari with the help of the French, while Murari Rao, in accordance with his order, marched with his own horse, infantry and the French forces to attack the army of the *sarkdr* at Tirwatis and thus threw dust on his head because of bad time; for the army of the *sarkar* deemed that it would do to encamp at a place situated between the fort of Tiruvati and the river. Owing to the prolongation of the siege for a year,

(1) See Malleeson's *History of the French in India*, pp. 388-390.

(2) The French came to an agreement with Murari Rao in December, 1752, by which M. Dupleix agreed to pay the Mahratta chief a very large sum per month.

M. Dupleix asked Murari Rao to attack Mu'tabir Khan, the *qiladar* of Ranjangudi who had betrayed the French, giving him the promise of fifty per cent, of the booty that might be got out of the engagement. Murari Rao reached Pondicherry by the middle of January with a body of 4,000 men and thence marched together with 500 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys to attack Tiruvati where Lawrence and the Nawwab had encamped. The French and Murari Rao assailed Muhammad All's army, and besieged the small party left in Tiruvati fort. Lawrence had to retreat with 100 slain. This skirmish on 20th of January was, according to Martineau (*Dupleix et l' Inde Francaise*, Vol. III, p. 317) neither a victory nor a defeat for either party. There were two engagements on the 8th and 16th of February. Throughout the month of March the French operations round Tiruvati were dull. But Murari Rao went on to capture Tiruvendipuram, three miles west of Tiruppapuliyur towards the end of the month.

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the perpetual fight, the blockading of the ways on all sides, and the dispersion of the French soldiers, there were endless difficulties in getting provisions. Hazrat-i-Ala grew thoughtful at this, and with the idea to evacuate the enemy from the battle-field, he started towards Dewnampattan situated not far off.

The fight of Murari Rao; the death of Bhujang Rao, his brother; the flight of Murari Rao; the French slain and made to flee towards Phitlcheri.

According to the plan related above, Hazrat-i-Ala came out of his encampment like a sword drawn from the sheath, with the idea to go to Dewnampattan belonging to the English company and thus to ward off the enemy. Murari Rao and the French pursued him with the idea of obstructing his way and wherever they overtook him, they put up a tough fight; but they were never able to achieve anything beyond getting wounded and beating a retreat. In brief Hazrat-i-A'la reached Dewnampattan safely routing the enemy with the aid of his sword. Next day he took provisions as much as he could carry and thence hastened back to Tiruvati. On the way he did not find any trace of the enemy's forces, and so his army were marching at leisure without any fear. They had scarcely covered half the distance when the fiend got out of its ambush, threw arrows and cannon balls, and destroyed the army of the *sarkar* to such an extent that troop after troop, took refuge under the declivity of a river bank that was on the way, having no courage to come out in the open. Observing this dispersion and agitation Hazrat-i-Ala with great serenity, gave order to raise the prosperous banners and pitch the tents. Then he collected and arranged the remaining soldiers, and displayed the hand of skill in cannonading and archery. The forces of Murari Rao and the French had joined the fight on both the

DEATH OF BHUJANG RAO

sides. That is, Bhujang Rao a brave *Sardar*,ⁱ the brother of Murari Rao, attacked the army of the *sarkar* from one side with six thousand valiant horse; he gave such a severe battle, that the evil eye was about to fall on the victorious army. But suddenly by the grace of the True Helper, the bird of his head flew away from the branch of his neck because of a sling-like cannon ball. His army flew like feathers in the air and got dispersed. During this excitement Muhammad Abrar Khan spurred his swift horse and sharply pursued the runaways. On account of the death of an experienced *sardar* like Bhujang Rao all the Mahrattas fled in fear all on a sudden leaving their implements of war and threw the dust of disgrace on the heads. In this bustle the French² also left their cannon and other implements to be looted; some were wounded and some were killed; and the survivors reached Phulcheri in great alarm, confusion and sorrow.

(1) Bhujanga Rao is the brother of Murari Rao. He came to give assistance at the siege of Arcot. His death took place in the fight on 1st of April. Orrae calls him as the nephew of Murari Rao.

(2) This was not true though Orme says that the day of battle ended with Lawrence's assaulting the French near Tiruyati. Of course the French troops retreated as Ananda Ranga Pillat remarks in his *Diary*, but the Mahrattas fought gloriously. "They showed two or three times as much courage as they usually do and our people disappointed them." See page 294 of Vol. VIII of the *Diary*.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Hazrat-i-Ala marches towards the fort of Nattharnagar known as Trichinopoly with the idea of fighting against Nandraj; appoints his brothers 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur as the na'ib to the nizamat of Muhammadpur (Arcot), and Muhammad Najlbullah Khan Bahadur as nd'ib to the suba of Nellore, and gives them leave to depart.

After the death of Bhujang Rao and the flight of Murari Rao and the French, Hazrat-i-Ala reached Tiruvati with his victorious army. In the meanwhile a messenger brought the news of the siege of Trichinopoly by Karachuri Nandraj and the French, and the consequent straitened circumstances, the dispersion of the inhabitants as well as the soldiers in the fort of Nattharnagar, the paucity of sepoys, the want of provisions, the difficulty of getting corn, and the certainty of losing Nattharnagar in case reinforcement and provisions were not sent.

As soon as Hazrat-i-Ala heard the news, he stored the fort of Tiruvati with provisions and strengthened it with Indian and English soldiers. Of his beloved brothers he chose Abdtfl-Wahhab Khan Bahadur as the *nd'ib* to the *nizamat* of Arcot. He was pleased to appoint as the *na'ib* to the *suba* of Nellore another brother Muhammad Najlbullah Khan Bahadur who was living at Haydarabad along with Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, the senior brother, and who after receiving letters of invitation from Hazrat-i-Ala, reached his presence in spite of the fact that his senior brother was alone at Haydarabad. He issued orders to the two brothers and gave them plenty of advice so that they might be careful in the administration of the *subas* entrusted to them.

"We have been repulsed in our battles and engagements with our enemies; and we must be helped in all ways. Especially there must never be any delay in successive *irsal* of money. You must be cautious, provident, and careful in

BROTHERS OF HAZRAT-I-A'LA

your respective places on account of the great confusion that is happening at Shajahanabad and the union of the French with Salabat Jang."

Then he sent them to their respective *subas*. For a period of three years Hazrat-i-Ala was busy fighting continuously many powerful enemies, patiently suffering all sorts of difficulties, and during this period both the brothers, in the pride of their independence, lost their regard for the labours of Hazrat-i-Ala, and never helped him either with a straw or the least farthing. They thought that the *subas* belonged to them, and spent away all the revenues. However many letters full of maxims and advice were sent from this side of the *sarkar*, they never created the least impression on them. Therefore Hazrat-i-Ala after he settled the affairs with Nandraj, deprived the two brothers of their offices.

Although Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, his own brother, did not draw up his forces in a hostile manner, yet on various occasions and in many instances, he had distressed the mind of Hazrat-i-Ala.

Muhammad Najibullah Khan Bahadur, on the other hand, drew up the army in battle array, but he was besieged in the fort of Nellore, dismissed from the post of *na'ib* to the *nizamat*, and imprisoned. Later, he was released, and was honoured as one of the intimate companions of Hazrat-i-Ala.

In the same manner, Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahaduri came from Haydarabad during the days of the siege of the fort of Phulcheri, and when he was entrusted with the

(1) Muhammad Ali sent an expedition in 1755 to Madura and Tinnevely with a view to bring them under his control. Colonel Heron was in chief command. Mahfuz Khan Bahadur was in command of 1,000 horse of the Nawwab, and Muhammad Yusuf Shan of 2,000 sepoys. Mahfuz Khan was indifferent throughout. For details about his doings in the South, see Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely*, pp. 92-116; and Nelson's *Madura Manual*, Part III, pp. 273-281.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

taluks of Madura and Thinevelly he gave himself airs. So Hazrat-i-A'la appointed in his place Muhammad Yusuf Khani the *risaladar* of the army and dismissed his brother whom he caused to be imprisoned and brought to his presence. Considering that he was his own brother and also senior in age, Hazrat-i-A'la pardoned him, and as usual showed him respect. Again for the second time he took leave of Hazrat-i-A'la under the pretext of making a pilgrimage to Makka (may Allah increase its fame and glory), went to Haydarabad and brought to the Carnatic Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asaf Jah II and Haydar Ali Khan, the ruler of Mysore, with a large army and implements of war. After many a battle Muhammad Mahfuz Khan became a captive in the hands of Muhammad Abrar Khan near Madura and suffered the disgrace of imprisonment in the fort of Nattharnagar. Again he was pardoned merely by the innate disposition and dutiful nature of Hazrat-i-A'la, was provided with comforts and ease; he became one of the loyal and intimate companions of the Nawwab. By the grace of Allah these details will be written in the second book in the course of the account about his brothers.

In brief, after hearing the news from the messenger, the Nawwab fortified the fort of Tiruvati, and gave leave to the two brothers to depart to their respective *sub as*. He then started via Salambar (Chidambaram) and Tajawar (Tanjore) intending to reach Nattharnagar, and arrived at Kundur adjacent to the fort of Tanjore. Pratap Singh, the zamindar of that

(1) Yusuf Khan was perhaps the ablest of the Indian soldiers who fought in the early wars between the English and the French. He was employed in the first instance as commander of the company's native troops, and in the year 1754 was given a regular commission as the commander of all the company sepoys on the recommendation of Lawrence. He took part in the campaigns of Trichinopoly in 1752-54 and in the siege of Madras 1758-59. He was the Governor of Madura in the years 1760-61. He is said to be the same type of adventurer as Haydar Ali. See S. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant*.

place, paid his respects, welcomed him, showed him hospitality, and in eagerness to attain the good will of Hazrat-i-Ala sent along with him army and provisions.

Murari Rao who had recovered from mourning for the death of his brother, attacked the walls of the fort of Tiruvati many a time without success, and suffered disgrace. So he started, following the victorious army, and reached the company of his friends. In short, Nandraj, Murari Rao and the French commissioned their entire forces to blockade the roads on all sides and raised their heads with pride.

The powerful and victorious master (Hazrat-i-Ala) saw the superiority of the enemy everywhere and as a matter of policy chose to camp for two days at Tirukkattuppalli situated at a distance of six *kuroh* from Nattharnagar. With all his endeavours he could not advance even a step further. By chance heavy rains set in and he saw some relaxation in the jealous blockading of the way. Just then he found the opportunity and marched forward through the forest situated on the frontier of Tondaman. When he appeared on the *mayd&n* of Nattharnagar from the side of Fatahpaharl, the army of the enemies surrounded him on all sides and attacked him in such a manner that the bridle of authority was about to slip from his hands to the wastage of so much labour.¹ But the protection of the Powerful Protector was diligently engaged in managing the prosperity of Hazrat-i-Ala. Notwithstanding the noise of the greedy who ran in all directions like furious

(1) Muhammad Ali went from Tiruvati to Trichinopoly on the 17th of May. Hostilities commenced on the 21st when Lawrence made a daring attempt to drive the French who had occupied Srirangam. The battle lasted for 20 hours. Astruc, the French Commander, who had been dispatched by M. Dupleix with reinforcements, came to the rescue. The English were forced to retreat to Trichinopoly Fort by the cannonading of the French. Lawrence despaired of driving out the French from Srirangam, marched into the plain and encamped at Faqir's tope, with a view to collect provisions and stand a siege.

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lions, the devastation of baggage and provisions, the wounding, slaughter and flight of a large number of sepoys, Hazrat-i-Ali. entered Nattharnagar alone with a limited number of men, and light baggage, with his horse and whip and fighting with the sword. The armies of the French and Nandraj lost their courage to fight in vain, and stayed at Srirang and Jhamgir in disgrace, while the army of Murari Rao camped on the bank of the Kaveri.

Nandraj erects an earthen rampart on the sides of the hill of Bhangdrkunda to store it with guns, gunpowder, and other implements of war; he besieges the ramparts of the fort and reduces the besieged to narrow straits by blockading the ways of communication; Hazrat-i-Ala, in a state of despondency, attacks during night the enemy's forces; the immense success by the grace of the Lord of men and genii.

The strong castle of power is preserved for the glorious monarch. Though the wall of calamity of the impudence of the enemy is all iron, and the hill of the store of mischievous things is on the skirt, yet they will be scattered like dust by the attack of brave men in his zealous service. There is the blessing of the abundance of riches in his majestic and fortunate hand which gets allowance of provision from the table of unlimited bounties of God. If at any time it complains of shortage of even a morsel, on account of worldly calamity, all the affluence of the seven heavens, become the fountain for its enjoyment by the command of the Great Distributor of the lots of men and genii.

When pajprat-i-Ala entered the fort of Nattharnagar like the sun in the sign Aries, he found its shortage in provisions; the provisions he was bringing with him had already been looted. Yet he strongly defended the fort by means of his **management**

ENEMIES BLOCKADE THE ROADS

and self-possession. Every day he devised fresh means to bring in provisions.

Nandraj grew haughty and proud in the strength and power of his own army and that of his association with Murari Rao, the French and others. With a view to intensify the siege from his encampment at Srirang and Jhamgir, he stationed an army to the north of the fort towards Dhobibanda, another to the east of the fort, a third to the west, while he posted himself to the south with his army to prevent men who carried provisions during night time from the territory of the zamindar of Tondaman. Round about the hill of Bhangarkunda he erected a mud and stone rampart for storing it with cannon, gunpowder, other implements and provisions and surrounded it with his own accursed army. The French forces were stationed opposite to Bhangarkunda on a hill which came to be known from that day as Fatahpahari. On Ratimala situated to the west, and also on the eight sides of the fort, he posted well-equipped contingents in due military order so that no provision or reinforcement could reach the fort and that the fort might thus be reduced to subjugation of its own will.

On account of the assault and the plunder day and night by the Kallars and the Mahratta horse on all sides of the fort even birds did not fly; and because of the blockade of the roads of communication to Tondaman, and of the want of grains and other necessary things, great anxiety overtook the army of the *sarkar* and other inmates of the fort. So much so Hazrat-i-Ala despaired of success, assembled all the nobles, ministers, General Lawrence and other *sardars* of the English army and deliberated with them (addressing as follows) :

"During the days of war with Husayn Dost Khan, we surpassed others because of our treasure, glorious army, and the support of our friends in Hindustan and the Deccan. At present, considering the hopelessness of help from any one, the

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influence of the French in the Deccan, the partition of the Empire of Hind among the amirs, the want of money, the deficiency in the army, we may however sue for peace; but reflecting on the claims of Riza Ali Khan, who, under the protection of the French is waiting for an opportunity to get possession of the *nizamat* of Arcot, and on the hope of Nandraj to attain authority over Trichinopoly and entrust it to the enjoyment of Murari Rao as it was during the days of Asaf Jah, we do not understand that the consequence will be any thing but the loss of the kingdom of the Carnatic. We do not think that we will get even Arcot or Trichinopoly. It does not behove our reputation that we, in preference to the preservation of our borrowed life, lose the vast inherited kingdom for the sake of which in reality my father shed his blood. In this troubled state, I seek counsel from you, my trustworthy companions/'

All unanimously gave the reply. "In these delicate times we do not find any way but to risk our lives according to your command."

The Nawwab replied, "The same is our counsel. As long as our breath remains we, in your company, will hold in our hands the sword and try according to the maxim, 'The sword is the best of stratagems.' Since victory is from the side of Allah, it is possible we may achieve success against our enemies. By the grace of Allah we will be saved from reproach. We will enjoy tranquillity in return for these toils; or, the cash of life, which is worthy of sacrifice for honour, may be spent in purchasing the goods reputed brave."

AH those present again submitted, "We hear and obey. At the time of action we will exhibit our devotion in obedience to the commands of our lord. We will fulfil the duty of our devotion."

After this Hazrat-i-Ala pointed out to the soldiers the empty granary where there were not provisions even for one

HAZRAT-I-A'LA CONSOLIDATES HIS FORCES

meal; then he brought to their notice the burden of starvation they had to bear, the hardship of imprisonment they had to suffer at the hands of the enemy, and the destruction of family and property. Then he informed them thus:

"To-morrow is the day for the exhibition of bravery, the occasion to display courage on the *maydan* of intrepidity, the opportunity for the performance of sword-play; it is the market to purchase honour and reputation. So whoever has regard for our friendship and agrees to share with us sorrow and distress may remain; whosoever desires to part from us may go to any place he chooses."

Consequently many of the soldiers agreed to stay with him; only a few went away under the pretext of sickness and other excuses. When the available army hastened to the parade, Hazrat-i-Ala found one thousand and one hundred horse, two thousand foot soldiers, belonging to himself and his allies from Tanjore and Tondaman; five hundred *frangs* one thousand and five hundred armed soldiers—in all two thousand men—from the side of the English, and six cannon. On the other hand the enemy's forces were numerous. There were thirty thousand horse, fifty thousand infantry, belonging to Nandraj, and Murari Rao, twelve thousand armed men, three thousand soldiers, one hundred cannon belonging to tire French. Thus the strength of the forces on both the sides may be compared to a straw and a mountain on a pair of scales; a single man facing a big multitude.

Then Hazrat-i-Ala went inside the *mahalsardy*, and took leave of them all; he spread the whole area with gunpowder and addressed Khayru'd-Din Khan his brother-in-law and *na'ib*, as follows:

"Witness from the tower of the fort the *tamasha* of our army to-morrow. Since we do not intend to return with our lives, without achieving our object, it is necessary in such circumstances, that you set fire to this genpowder; so that none

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

of the ladies may remain (alive) and suffer disgrace at the hands of the enemy."

Then he instructed Sayyid Ali Khan, the maternal uncle of the Nawwab Begam, as follows:

"Take care of my three sons, namely, Umdatul-Umara, Amlru'l-Umara and Sayfu'l-Mulk. If their stay at Natthar-nagar be not possible then convey them to one of the two towns of the English either to Chennapattan or Dewnampattan, and as far as possible attempts must be made with the help of the English, to get back the kingdom. In case of attack by the French, which seems to be certain, my sons must be sent therefrom towards Hindustan underneath the glorious shade of the Emperor, notwithstanding the fact that the affairs in that place are in great confusion. I have full hope that the Padshah may have regard for them, show them favour and consideration and probably send them back to this kingdom."

The details of such commands at that time were long and extensive. The space is not sufficient here, and hence they are postponed to the second book.

In brief, after attending to necessary arrangements at the *mahal* and issuing mandates concerning all important affairs, he detached a necessary portion of the army which was collected as described above and entrusted to it the guardianship of the fort. Then he set in order the remaining forces, armed them with implements of war and started out of the southern gate early in the night with General Lawrence and his intimate companions. He reached the place adjoining the tomb of Hazrat Faridu'd-Din Sahib Shahid (may God purify his resting place)—and expecting dawn he halted there for battle.

The French army which was lying in wait at Fatah-pahari, saw by some imagination, the appearance of the army in the darkness of the night, and cautiously began to open **fire**

BATTLE OF FATAHPAHARI

tardily. One cannon ball fell very near the seat of Hazrat-i-Ala, However much his companions persuaded him to vacate his seat, Hazrat-i-Ala replied, "At the time of the display of bravery, the guarding of one's life is opposed to the honour of a soldier." In this conversation three-fourths of the night was spent. When it was three o'clock in the morning Hazrat-i-Ala issued order to arrange his army. General Lawrence submitted :

"The army of the exalted Nawwab is only one hundredth of the enemy's forces. To-day the image of successful engagement is hidden from the view of understanding. It is impossible to save one's life with victory. We have firmly resolved that we will not come back with defeat, and we will not return without routing the enemy. It is advisable for your majesty to stay at the fort, take your seat in the tower and watch from there the *tamasha* of the bravery of your devoted servants. If, by His strength and power, we overcome the enemy we shall become worthy of your congratulation. Considering the nature of the times, because of the great number of enemies, we think that the hope of return is as impossible as the return of life which is lost, and the getting back of the years which are spent. If the worst happen, whatever plan seems suitable may be pursued. Since the French community, out of zeal for the short-lived friendship, have given shelter to Riza Ali Khan at Phulcheri after the death of Husayn Dost Khan, and are endeavouring for his success and welfare, your devoted servant knows for certain that your majesty can stay either here in this strong fort, or if it is not possible may go either to Dewnampattan or Chennapattan. In any case, the governors of these two places will help you with army and other things to the extent of their strength and power; they will necessarily take upon themselves the duty of obeying you in all possible ways; for to show regard and consideration to your majesty is

HISTORY OF TAB NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

necessary for the high purpose and enterprise of the honourable company and our Padshah."

gajjrat-i-Ala smilingly replied, "We have also the same hope from the trustworthy English; we have faith in their eternal fidelity. Although you displayed the duty of your friendship and trustworthiness and have expressed what we thought it to be certain, yet it behoves that the *sardar* in the battle remains behind the valiant fighters. It should not be like the saying 'In the play of cards, confusion happens without the chief.'

In short Hazrat-i-Ala got his army ready for night attack. He designed Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan to the right and left respectively, the army of Tanjore and Tondaman to the back and marched forward in great order. General Lawrence¹ the *sardar* of the English forces, who was in the advance guard of the army of the *sarkdr*, reached near Fatahpahari when the *chawklldr* posted outside the encampment asked from him the password in the French language. The *chawkidar* was about to repeat the question for the third time according to practice among all the *frangs* and he was about to point his gun at the General's head in the absence of a reply. But the English General was too quick. Before the *chawkidar* raised his voice for the third time General Lawrence brought out the brains of the *chawkidar*

(1) As the French remained south of the Kaveri and hampered the coming in of supplies, Lawrence made a sudden and brilliant assault on Faqir's Rock at 4 A.M., and captured it at once. The French troops fled to their main camp near the Golden Rock, and the panic spread to the Mysore and Mahratta troops who joined in the retreat.

The English marched against the unprotected west flank of the enemy, where there were no entrenchments and attacked them as the day began to dawn. The French were defeated and driven across the river—Battle of the Sugar-Loaf Rock—See J. I. H. Article on The Historical Material in the *Diary* of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol. XII, pp. 109-110 and *Orme*, Vol. I, Book IV, pp. 291-32.

BATTLE OF BtANGARKUNDA

from his head by shooting him with a pistol. Before the French heard the noise of the pistol shot, woke up and collected their forces to oppose, the General attacked the hill, and the enemy's forces encamped at that place were routed. From that day the hill was named Fatahpahar and became well known by that name since. Hazrat-i-Ala ascended the hill bowed twice to the ground in prayer and offered his thanks to the Omnipotent Lord. Haydar Nayak, whose account was given before, was at that time reconnoitering its environs. He heard the noise of the report of a gun and reached (the spot) with a party of horsemen; but he found that it was too late and was helpless to achieve anything. The horsemen of the *sarkar*, who were at the foot of the hill with drawn swords, opposed and defeated him. Hazrat-i-Ala pursued him with his army, and reached Bhangarkunda along with General Lawrence and other nobles. The whole army of the enemy camping there got ready and opposed the forces of the *sarkar*. Both sides tried their utmost. Since the eye which was to distinguish the smallness or the largeness of the army was of no avail on account of the darkness of the night, the English troops, in spite of their small numbers, predominated by their excessive intrepidity and suddenly got possession of the arsenal of the French. At this the French army let the guns slip from their hands imagining they were attacked by a large army, sustained great loss of life, while those who escaped slaughter ran away. In this condition, when every one was slaughtered on that spacious *maydan* and every group was drowning in the ocean of blood, Hazrat-i-A'la separated himself from General Lawrence, who was contending with the French, and from his own army which was attacking the forces of Nandraj, and put to test the sharpness of his own sword. He enquired of the condition of the army of General Lawrence from Muhammad I'tibar Khan Bahadur Babar Jang, who in those days was one of the attendants of Hazrat-i-Ala, was known by his original name of Muhammad

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Sadl, was without any rank and title and was the horse-groom of his master. Straining his eyes the Khan was able to recognise the General fighting hard sword in hand at a short distance from the place. Then he submitted to Hazrat-i-Ala the situation in which General Lawrence was close by. The English General had captured the French and made them inactive because of the intoxication of their negligence, his own bravery and skill in all branches of warfare, the darkness of the night, and the veil of imagination of the largeness of the army of the *sarkar*; he had also pinned the French by placing two fully loaded cannon on either side and instilling in their minds great dread of imprisonment. When Ha?rat-i-A1a called out to him in a loud voice, the English General with a wave of his hand signalled to him not to call aloud pointing out at the same time that all those seated between the two cannon, were the French, who had, by their indiscretion, become his prisoners. "God forbid, let them not recognise you by your voice that you are the Nawwab and thus come to know the limited strength of our army; it is probable they may turn against us and get to action, for it is well known that 'a strong game can sometimes tear the net.' So it is necessary that these captives are led in this darkness, in all haste, by the army of the *sarkar* to the fort of Nattharnagar." Accordingly that very moment half of the army of the *sarkar* under the command of Muhammad Abrar Khan led the French with great care, to the jail in the fort.

In the meanwhile the army of Murari Rao and others who were fast asleep at the temple of Srirang woke up at the noise of the gun shots, and reached the battle-field in the early dawn. They took the defeat of the French to be the defeat of their own brave sword and got dispersed. The newly built rampart at Bhangarkunda with all implements, cannon, gun-powder and various kinds of stores, came into the possession of the friends of power testifying to the saying 'How

HAZRAT-I-A'LA ATTACKS WAYKCNDAN

many a small party overcame large parties with the help of Allah?' Kati Gopal, the younger brother of Nandraj was captured along with 2000 men, and all were shut up in the prison of the fort along with other prisoners.

By a general order of Hazrat-i-Ala one and all, high and low, had a share of the spoils at Bhangarkunda and every house had its heap of corn and provisions. The good fortune of the just king and his success obtained by a crushing defeat over the enemy, put an end to the famine and brought immense wealth. Hazrat-i-Ala offered his thanks to the glorious Lord for his great success. He congratulated General Lawrence and presented him with an elephant. All the *sarddrs* of the army were honoured according to their ranks with presents of horses, *khilut*, and promotions to higher rank. The brave men in the army were presented with gold and precious stones.

Hasrat-i-A'la attacks in person Waykundan a small fort', the imprisonment of Wall Bahadur, its qiludar along woith four hundred men and their internment in the fort of Daru'n-nasr Nattharnagar (Trichinopoly).

The assistance of God, exalted be His name, becomes a surety for the servant whom He selects from the generality of mankind for the improvement of the serious affairs of His creatures, and solves His difficulties.

Nandraj, a coward like Murari Rao and the French, ran away from the battle-field of Bhangarkunda towards Srirangand Jhamgir with the remaining army which escaped imprisonment; Hazrat-i-Ala sent to Daru'n-nasr the excess provisions, and spoils from the rampart built by Nandraj. Then with the idea of opening the highways on all sides, he first turned the reins of the horse of his conquering will, along with his army, towards the fort of Waykundan, situated to the west of Nattharnagar,

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and defended by Wall Bahadur who, not true to the salt he had eaten of the previous *sarkar*, attached himself to Mysore, became a traitor, and was lying in ambush with four hundred men from the army of the three enemies to prevent the passage of provisions from Tondaman. Hazrat-i-Ala attacked that forti in person with great bravery, subjugated it and levelled it to the ground. The troops garrisoned there, were made life-prisoners, and led to Dartfn-nasr.

When Hazrat-i-Ala by the grace of God found success in subjugating the fort and in opening the highways on all sides, he learnt that the forces of the three enemies were camping at the temple of Srirang and Jhamgir, between the two rivers, seeking an opportunity to attack the fort of Natthar-nagar. His army was but small, yet he deemed it prudent to exhibit its strength, power, and dignity. So, he resolved to march through a way where there is no necessity to cross the Kaveri and attack the enemy in the night. He started with his victorious army from Daru'n-nasr and reached Koyiladi² situated to the east of the fort at a distance of five *kuroh*. On account of the setting in of heavy and continuous rains for forty days, the consequent overflowing of the rivers, and the excess of slush it was impossible for men to proceed without the fear of getting drowned; so he found it necessary to halt there for a long time. He considered it difficult to execute his plan of night assault on account of the impossibility of moving the wheels of the cannon. In the meanwhile the infantry of Nandraj according to their wont, laid violent hands on travel-

(1) The French had a small force in the Uyyakondan battery, adjoining a channel of the same name, to the west of the Trichinopoly town. Lawrence attacked it, and took about 400 of the enemy prisoners.

(2) Lawrence resolved to pass the rainy season in cantonment on the border of Tanjore and moved to Koiladi accompanied by the Nawwab. 400 sepoys and a body of 150 Europeans were sent to Trichinopoly to strengthen its garrison.

THE FRENCH ATTEMPT TO ESCALADE

lers and peasants, They cut the noses and the ears of twenty men, Hazrat-i-A'la grew indignant at this news, and perforated the ears of Nandraj with the following:

"Restrain your men from such odious acts; else know for certain that you have to bear in your mind the sorrow of the loss of the noses and the ears of your brother Kati Gopal and of the two thousand prisoners of war captured at Bhangarkunda and other places".

Nandraj was terrified at this news, and prohibited his men cutting noses and ears, and engaged himself in storing large quantity of provisions.

The French get by ladder into the fort of Nattharnagar owing to the treachery of the subadar in the service of the sarkar; their entry into the first enclosure, and thence to the second enclosure; their imprisonment, loss of life, and flight owing to the discovery and the arrival of Khayru'd-Din Khan,

Those who obtain eternal power depend only upon the protection of the Real Protector; they think themselves nowhere and consider Him alone as the Omnipresent and Eternal Witness. Their affairs, irrespective of personal presence or absence, can neither be shaken nor destroyed by the deceit of the wicked. If, for a time, the rebels who indulge in revolution, place the mischievous ladder in the fort during the darkness of rebellion, it is no wonder that the superintendence of the Watchful Protector defeats the object.

The powerful and fortunate king came out of the fort with his victorious army to attack the wicked forces during night and stayed at Koyiladi during the severe rains waiting for an opportunity. Khayru'd-Din Khan the *na'ib* at the fort of Dartfn-nasr, Sayyid Ali Khan the *qiladar*, Sayyid Nasir Ali Khan the *ziladar*, and the English troop were strongly guarding the fort. The *sardar*sof the French army, Karachuri

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Nandraj and Murari Rao were perplexed on account of the breaking up of their own siege, notwithstanding their large army, great strength, pomp, plentiful implements of war and other things. On careful consideration of the facts, they agreed to bribe the *subadar*, an employee of the *sarkar*, a trustworthy person in all the affairs of the fort, through his brother who was employed in their own army. In accordance with a spurious plan they engaged themselves to prepare ladders and implements for assault, and waited for a signal from the *subadar* who secured one day a passport from Khayru'd-Din Khan to go to one of the districts outside the limits of the fort, under the pretext of attending a marriage of one of his relations, and had his family got out of the fort. Then he informed the enemy of the suitability of the night of that day. The deceitful French along with the armies of Nandraj and Murari Rao, cannon and other implements for assault, crossed the river Kaveri during night by means of boats which they were prudent enough to keep ready for the occasion. The French with their own army placed ladders¹ against the wall on the side of the tower which was protected by the tomb of Shah Fatahrillah Sahib (may Allah sanctify his resting place), and nearly five hundred *frangs* with guns on their shoulders entered the first enclosure. Since the ladders were short, they felt helpless to *get* into the second enclosure whose walls were higher than

(1) M. Dupleix had superseded M. Massin by Mainville, sent new reinforcements and ordered a night escalade of the fort. The imprisoned Astruc had arranged with the sentries at the fort-gate to pay them a large bribe, if, after making a show of resistance they should open the gates to the assaulting party. The assault was made without the knowledge of Nanja Raja or Murari Rao who were informed only later. The French entered the gates, but failed to post troops there, and overturned the guns on the rampart into the ditch. The English contrived to shut the gate, seized the powder and shot of the French party and fired against the men on the ramparts. About 400 men fell into English hands, including nine officers. This reverse greatly dispirited M. Dupleix.

THE FRENCH PUT TO THE WORSE

those of the first. So they joined the ladders in twos length-wise, bound them with ropes, and entered the tower of the second enclosure. Nandraj and Murari Rao with all their forces fully armed, anxiously waited, and were all ears in order to enter the fort as soon as the French went in and opened its door. In the meanwhile KhayruM-DIn Khan caught sight of the form of Shah Fatahtflah Sahib (may his soul rest in peace) who directed him thus: "Ah! my son, why are you asleep? Catch hold of the enemy who has entered the fort." He arose in great fear from the stupor of his sleep, sent orders to the *sardar* of the English troops and other *sardars* of the army of *sarkar* to get ready for action, while he himself marched with the available men towards the tower whose identifying marks he had seen in the dream and got up the rampart. In the meanwhile eighty-five French soldiers had reached the tower in the second enclosure by means of ladders, and had taken possession of the cannon there. Others also were trying to climb up. Suddenly the Khan with great alertness and dexterity fell upon them like a divine mandate and imprisoned about eighty men who were in the tower. The armies of the *sarkar* and the English marched through the central gate of the fort and suddenly came between the two enclosures. They opened fire as well as the door of the fort of death for those who were collected there. Those who chose to escape from that danger fell a prey to the alligators in the ditch. The well-wishers of the *sarkar* cleared the fort of the enemy; then with the aid of lights they were able to find many horsemen and foot-soldiers moving about in utter confusion and deputed an army to punish them. They also opened the mouths of the cannon from above the towers of the fort to blow the trumpet of destruction for these wicked men. Thus by dawn they made the earth assume a vermilion colour and the river Kaveri turn into a river of blood by means of their brave hands. By the time when the light of dawn mixed with the **red glow** of

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sunrise, they drew on the paper of time, a picture of happy day for friends and sorrowful night for the foes. The lamentations of four hundred and seventy-two *frangs* served as the musical instrument for their happy rejoicing. Hazrat-i-Ala in his camp at Koyiladi heard the report of guns and was greatly agitated throughout the night. Next morning on the receipt of an 'arzdasht from Khayru'd-Din Khan, which contained details of the treacherous events of the previous night and of success, Hazrat-i-Ala offered his thanks to the Real Victor. Immediately he started and at evening-time he cast on the heads of the inhabitants of Nattharnagar his shadow like a *huma*. He met his friends and honoured the sepoys with his favours in return for their bravery. He arranged to make offerings with prayers at the shrines of pious men especially of the *dargah* of Shah Fatahu'llah Sahib. He conferred on Khayru'd-Din Khan the title of Bahadur and made him feel glorified with increase in *mansabs*.

The French conclude peace with Hazrat-i-A'la; the flight of Nandraj and Murari Rao towards their home.

The success in these conflicts is worthy of the prestige of the magnificent king. The refractory enemy camps on the other side of the rapid river; yet, the waves of the sword lash furiously blotting out enmity; consequently the enemy runs the boat of hand imploring for peace.

Though the whole world is bent on mischief, it is not possible to see any distressed soul under the canopy of peace.

Though Nandraj and Murari Rao were disheartened on account of the trials of successive defeats and the prolongation of war and siege, and were inclined to turn their faces towards their own home, yet outwardly they raised the banner of war because of the French encouragement, while inwardly with all their feelings benumbed, they were on the look out for a pretext to **run** away.

PEACE CONCLUDED WITH THE FRENCH

When the news of wars in various parts of the Carnatic, the exaltation of the banner of success of the glorious and powerful Hazrat-i-A'la, the subjugation of all forts, the capture of all districts and other places, the removal of the intoxicating wine of pride of the ill-fated French on account of the glass of mischief and deceit being broken and the consequent inversion of the cup of every plan and war, the imprisonment of the French in the fort of the victorious Hazrat-i-Ala—when these news reached Frangistan (Europe), the king of France woke up from the sleep of forgetfulness. He thought that this profitless war against the powerful and brave English in this land was due to his own fault. So he concluded peace with the Padshah of the English in England. Then the orders from the two Padshahs, conveying the news of peace between them, reached the governors of the Indian ports.

M. Godeheu one of the intimate companions of the French iPadshah, started from his home with presents and peace treaty addressed to Hazrat-i-Ala and reached Phulcheri. He concluded peace with the *sardars* of the English ports and sought peace from Hazrat-i-Ala as well as the honour of interview, submitting presents and letter sent by his Padshah.i The powerful Nawwab did not agree for peace. Then the English *sardars* informed him that their own Padshah had concluded peace, and recommended that the approval of his policy in peace and war is conducive to the increase of mutual amity and friendship. On hearing this the Nawwab agreed for peace, and accepted the presents and letter. Then he gave an interview to M. Godeheu and addressed him thus:

(1) M. Godeheu who landed at Pondicherry in August 1754, negotiated for a three months' truce which was accepted by the English and the truce was proclaimed in October. Then two English deputies visited Pondicherry, and a provisional treaty was signed at the end of December, M; Godeheu did not meet the Nawwab.

Dodwell says that negotiations took place at Sadras in January 1754 between the English and the French. See *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 72-74.

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"We had no idea of peace but to expel your deceitful community from this land; yet out of regard for the treaty concluded by the Padshah of the English, our brother dear as life, and the recommendation of our sincere and devoted General Lawrence we consent to conclude treaty on the following conditions:

(1) the French should not deviate from the path of obedience as in the past;

(2) they should be friendly with our friends and inimical towards our enemies;

(3) they should not shelter in their town Riza Ali Khan the son of Husayn Dost Khan; nor should they have any kind of relationship with Nandraj or Murari Rao;

(4) they should pay compensation for the loss in the collection of revenue during the period of the troubles caused by them;

(5) they should recoup the expenses of war and agree to pay twice the usual *peshkash* as a penalty for all their misdeeds."

M. Godeheu agreed to be inimical to the enemies of Hazrat-i-Ala and friendly to his friends, to pay the usual *pishkash*, to commit no mischief in future, to give no shelter in their town to Riza Ali Khan and to have no dealings with Nandraj and Murari Rao. But as regards compensation for the loss of revenue, the meeting of the expenses of war, and the payment of double the amount of the usual *peshkash* as a penalty for misdeeds, he requested immunity from Hazrat-i-Ala through the recommendation of General Lawrence, the nobles of the court, and by additional gifts, presents, and rare articles.

After ratifying the conditions of treaty, and accepting the letter of the French Padshah, the translation of which will be included, God willing, along with other letters from sultans and other men, in the course of details in the second book, Hazrat-i-Ala set free the French prisoners and entrusted them to M. Godeheu to whom he presented a horse, *khilat*, and gave leave to proceed to Phulcheri.

PEACE CONCLUDED WITH THE FRENCH

M. Godeheu blamed M. Dupleix for creating profitless trouble in the land of the Carnatic and sent him home. In his place he appointed M. Lirils, a *sarddr*, as the governor of Phulcheri. Then M. Godeheu stayed for some time and left India for his native home.

On the day when peace was established with the French, Nandraj and Murari Rao were overcome with exceeding dread and got paralysed, and stole away during the night in great confusion.

Thus after a long period of war, peace was established in the land by the command of God. The peasants and the merchants who were scattered, returned to their respective homes and resumed their work. Travellers by sea and land began to come and go without any fear.

Hazrat-i-Ald reaches Chennapattan with the idea of subjugating Nellore; the governor of Chennapattan requests the removal of M. Bussy from the services of Nawwab Salabat Jang; Hazrat-i-A'ld writes to M. Liri the governor of Phulcheri, receives his reply, and then dispatches a letter to Nawwab Salabat Jang; M. Bussy leaves the services of the Nawwab; the murder of Haydar Jang, his ilaqadar, according to the plan of the Nawwab Nizam Ali Khan; Hazrat-i-Ala sends Clive with men and money to help the English factory at Calcutta.

After erecting the structure of peace and achieving tranquillity by quieting the mischief of the enemies, Hazrat-i-Ala honoured his servants in return for all their hard labour, with different kinds of ranks, high and low, and with

(1) For Godeheu's attitude towards Dupleix, see *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. IX, pp. 32 *it seq.*

(2) De Leyrit, Directeur de Bengal, assumed the governorship of Ppndicherry in March 1755.

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presents of gold, *khilat*, horse, *jagir*, *mansab*, and perpetual pensions. He relieved the *Mashayikh*, the *sayyids*, the learned and the pious from their indigence by granting them villages as 'inams, and fixed perpetual daily allowances so that they might always be engaged in pious works and in praying for the permanence of his power and for the destruction of his enemy. Then he engaged himself to repair the breaches in the fort of Nattharnagar and store it with provisions necessary for the defence as well as for the comfort of its residents who had suffered owing to the prolongation of siege. He showed great consideration to all the subjects and those nobles who had been obedient during the time of war.

He made preparations for a journey, started from Nattharnagar in an auspicious hour to put in order the affairs of the provinces of his hereditary kingdom, and marched hastily *manzil* after *mansil*. One day when he was on his march from Salambar, the governor of Dewnampattan belonging to the English welcomed him, submitted as presents choice articles, various kinds of silken garments, diverse sorts of *banat*, *alwan*, brocade, and other kinds in abundance, and conveyed his thanks for the Nawwab's arrival. He then submitted with great respect, his request, the stay of the Nawwab for the day, which was accepted. Hazrat-i-Ala was kind to the governor, partook of his hospitality, and on the next day presented him with a horse along with trappings of gold, and a scimitar studded with gems, which made him feel happy and contented. Other *sardars* and councillors were also presented with horses, *khilat*, and other gifts suitable to every man. He granted them personal distinctions also. Then he proceeded towards another *manzil* and shed his splendour there. Since Phulcheri was on the way, the governor of that place, went forward with other *sardars*, submitted as usual curios, and precious articles available in their town, along with the request that they had faith in their hopes that he would bestow on them the honour of halting at that

HAZRAT-I-A'LA IN ARCOT

place. Hazrat-i-Ala accepted the *peshkash* submitted by **them**, **and** excused himself from staying there. After presenting **the** governor and others with horse and *khilat*, the Nawwab continued his march. In this manner, at every *manzil* and halt, **he** bestowed honour and glory on those who expected the happy splendour of his presence. Eventually he cast his glorious shade on the land of Arcot, and exalted Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur the *nazim* of that place, with dignities of favour and kindness in return for his fulfilling the requirements of welcome and obedience. During this sojourn, he attended to the needy, comforted the ryots, nobles and other residents of that place, and thus shed his splendour.

Thence he turned the reins of his prosperous horse towards Chennapattan. George Becketi, the governor, went forward as far as Franglkunda (St. Thomas' Mount) to receive him, and as usual submitted choice articles as presents and spread the cloth of hospitality. Hazrat-i-Ala presented him and General Lawrence each with an Arab horse along with gold accoutrements, a scimitar studded with gems, and a pair of splendid *khilats*. He also favoured the members of the Council and other *sardars* with presents according to their ranks. He stayed at Franglkunda for a month and ten days.

Thence he returned to Arcot where he resided for some days engaging himself in settling the affairs of the country. Sending a victorious army he subjugated some of the rebellions *palayagars*² like Bamraj, Tarchlni and others, brought them to obedience, and made them pay tribute. He granted Abdu'l-

(1) Governor Pigot, afterwards Lord Pigot.

(2) Bommaraj or Bommarajapalayara, i.e., Karvetu. Tarchlni is perhaps Yachama. The Nawwab agreed to accept Rs. 2,40,000 from Yachama Nayak of Venkatagiri, two lacs from the Damarla *palayagar* of Kalahasti and li lacs from the Raja of Karvetu or Bommarajapalayam. After getting the submission of Venkatagiri (Yachama Naik's domais), the Nawwab's army marched to Bommarajapalayam where they stayed for a considerable length of time.

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Wahhub Khan Bahadur, his brother dear to him as life, the *jagir* of Chittoor and other prosperous places and thus honoured him and made him feel proud. He released Mir Asadtflah Khan, the *dlwan* of the Nawwab Safdar Ali Khan Shahid, from the fort of Vellore where he had been imprisoned by Ghulam Murtaza Khan, and appointed him as the *na'ib* to the *mzamat* of Arcot.

Then he returned again to Chennapattan and desired that he should engage himself to settle the affairs of Nellore, and inquire after Muhammad Najibtfllah Khan Bahadur his beloved brother, the pearl of sincerity, who became disobedient with his obtaining authority over Nellore by repulsing the rebellious Muhammad. Kamal, and who never came forward to help Hazrat-i-Ala during the time of war, trouble and anxiety. Though a brief account relating to his going to Nellore as *nazim* has already been given in the previous pages and a detailed one will follow in the second book in the course of the history of the brothers, yet at this stage, owing to the suitability of the occasion some facts may be noted down thus:

After the martyrdom of the Nawwab Nasir Jang Shahid, Muhammad Najibrfllah Khan Bahadur, as narrated before, accompanied by Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, the senior brother, left the Carnatic to reside at Haydarabad. When the war with Husayn Dost Khan was over, Hazrat-i-Ala wrote letters of congratulation to the *nazims* in all places and sent for his two brothers at Haydarabad. While Hazrat-i-A'la camped at Belpur expecting the arrival of General Lawrence from Chennapattan and was ready to fight against M. Karjam who under instructions from M. Dupleix had reached Bakram with a large army, Muhammad Najibtfllah Khan came from Haydarabad leaving alone at that place Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, his senior brother, and attained distinction by meeting Hazrat-i-Ala and accompanied him in all his travels. When

AN ACCOUNT OF MUHAMMAD KAMAL

he marched with his army from Tiruvati towards Nattharnagar, to punish Karachuri Nandraj, Hazrat-i-Ala, as described in the previous pages, appointed Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur to the *nizamat* of Arcot, Muhammad Najibu'llah Khan Bahadur to the governorship of Nellore, and gave them leave to proceed to their respective places. According to the order of Hazrat-i-Ala, Muhammad Najibu'llah Khan reached Nellore, saw Muhammad Kamal, the previous *nazim*¹ of the place, proud and powerful, and wrote an *'arzasht* to Hazrat-i-Ala describing the refractoriness of Muhammad Kamal and his own inability to interfere. According to the order of Hazrat-i-Ala reinforcements from Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, and the *palayagars* of Venkatagiri, Kalastri, and other places reached Muhammad Najibu'llah Khan Bahadur; he became strong and established his authority over Nellore after fighting Muhammad Kamal. Kamal who feared punishment for his disobedience and rebellion, and revenge for his disloyalty and wickedness, did not find courage and ran as far as Tirupati. But he was imprisoned by the brave soldiers who pursued him, and was slaughtered by the hand of Muhammad Najibu'llah Khan Bahadur like an animal in a slaughter house; his skull was broken, and his heart plucked out. Thus he lost his head without success, and left his woeful story as a warning in the ear of times. "Woe be to the small man, if he fights a big man".

An account of Muhammad Kamal

Muhammad Kamal was one of the children of a slave in the house of the Nawwab Siraju'd-Dawla Muhammad Khan-i-jahan Anwaru'd-Din Khan Bahadur Shahamat Jang. When the Nawwab resided at Gopamaw, Mu'min, a weaver in

(1) Muhammad Kamal commanded a body of horse and was one of the notable adventurers in the Arcot province. He captured Nellore from Najibu'llah who fled to Arcot. After a year of undisturbed possession this adventurer prepared to attack Tirupati. In a battle near that shrine, he was captured by the English and Najibu'llah.

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straitened circumstances, entrusted his daughter to Nawwaf Shahid who happened to be an acquaintance of his. Since the Nawwab was by nature merciful,—a leading trait in his family,—he brought up the girl, and married her to one of his servants. She gave birth to a child named Muhammad Kamal and died; this was all that was left of her. After a time her husband also went the same way. The child grew in the royal household. On his reaching boyhood, his education was entrusted to the care of Muhammad Najib Khan Shahid. When the boy came of age, and when Nawwab Sirajtd-Dawla Anwarfd-DIn Khan Shahid undertook a journey to Shajahanabad, he borrowed a large sum of money, through the recommendation of Muhammad Najib Khan, for business purposes, and undertook to pay back to the *sarkar* after the lapse of an appointed time along with half of the income gained. After he obtained that sum, he went to Bengal to do business. Thence he visited the markets in the Deccan, and came to Sikakitl (Chicacole). He prospered in his business, but neglected his promise to the *sarkar*. He did not pay back the amount, because he had neither the sense of duty nor gratitude, the absence of which is a trait of the base-born. When Nawwab Shahid started from Shajahanabad in the company of Nawwab Asaf Jah as described in previous pages, and the latter appointed him to the *nizamats* of Chicacole, Rajbandar and Machlibandar and other places, Muhammad Kamal reached his presence. There he submitted to the Nawwab Shahid choice articles of the ports and other kinds of presents through Muhammad Najib Khan, confessed his own fault in delaying the payment of the money long over-due, sought pardon and agreed to pay every pie of the capital with the profit. After some time, he again went from Chicacole under the pretext of business, reached the Carnatic Payanghat, and took his residence at the port of Myiapore (San Thome) which, in those days, was one of the well-known ports where merchants from every land gathered. By erecting magnificent

buildings, and by proclaiming that he was the son of the Nawwab Shahld, his master, he found amity and honour among the merchants, subjects and nobles. Nay, he advertised himself in the same manner even in neighbouring islands and places as well, and found fame and glory. For some years he acted contrary to his promise and was slow in payments. After the unexpected demise of Khwaja Abdullah Khan, Nawwab Siraju'd-Dawla received from Nawwab Asaf Jah, the *khilht* of *nizamat* of the *suba* of Arcot, and started for that place. Muhammad Kamal heard the news, and fearing on account of the default of payment of the money he got for his business, and the failure to keep to the promise as a loyal servant should, he advanced quickly, and went as far as the bank of the river Krishna to welcome the Nawwab. Through Muhammad Najib Khan, he again attained the honour of meeting him, submitted *nadhr* and secured pardon for his fault; he reached Arcot in his company, attained the favours of the benevolent master, obtained the office of the *tahsildar* of the *peshkash* in Phulcheri and came back. When the French wandered about Mylapore with the idea of subjugating Chennapattan he joined Ahsanu'd-DIn Khan, the *fawjdar* of the French and gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus he fell away from the high rank of admission to the presence of his Piaster. When Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-DIn Khan established himself on the throne of the Deccan through the treachery of the French and the Afghans, Muhammad Kamal obtained the *nizamat* of Nellore through the recommendation of Ahsanu'd. Din Khan, his son-in-law, and he held his authority over that place till Muhammad Najibu'llah Khan Bahadur subdued him.

In short Muhammad Najibullah Khan Bahadur *meted* out he punishment for Kamal's treachery and found himself the eal *nazim* of the *suba* of Nellore without opposition. He concluded falsely that he had achieved the exclusive authority over e place by right of heredity without the partnership of any he, and completely shut his eyes of negligence, not even send-

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

ing a grain to Hazrat-i-Ala during the days of his anxiety and his wars with enemies, which made him aggrieved.

After Hazrat-i-Ala reached Arcot he wrote letters of advice fraught with maxims and sent Afzalu'd-Din Khan and Abdu'r-Rahim Khan who were the respected men of his family to advise him and put him in the right path. When Hazrat-i-Ala found this of no avail, he resolved to go to Nellore in person and remove the anxiety from his mind.

While he was starting for Nellore, the governor of Chennapattan submitted to Hazrat-i-Ala: "The existence of M. Bussy with the French army in the Deccan along with Salabat Jang is a hindrance to many ideas we have in our minds. Hence some plan may be devised to expel him from that place/1 Though the facts relating to the entry of M. Bussy into the Deccan have already been related, yet a brief account of him is given below, the occasion fitting it.

When Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan sat upon the *masnad* of the Deccan after the martyrdom of the Nawwab Nasir Jang, he feared that the Afghans who were treacherous against the Nawwab might behave—God forbid—in the same manner towards him as well, and that the servants of the Nawwab might avenge the blood of their master. So he took in his company M. Bussy with the French army, Mir Muzaffar and Ibrahim Khan with their armed men employed by the French, in order to guard himself and started from Phulcheri towards the Deccan. When he reached, as described above, Damalcharu, the hand of punishment came out from the sleeve of fate. Immediately the murderers of the Nawwab and the supporters of Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan caused to flow the blood of retaliation for the unjustifiable murder of the Nawwab Nasir Jang. Nawwab Salabat Jang adorned the throne and reached Haydarabad. He was so good-natured that he endured the domination of servants

HAYDAR JANG

over him. Matters reached such an extent that Haydar Jangi, the '*ilaqadarof* M. Bussy, in the strength of his position, dominated all the amirs of the Deccan and brought them under his power. He left to Salabat Jang nothing but the name and proudly beat the drum proclaiming, 'I amPharoah,' so much so he never tolerated any one in the palace to open his mouth in opposition to his wishes. The amirs and the nobles who had grown grey in the services of Nawwabs Asaf Jah, Nasir Jang and Ghaziud-Din Khan and who did not care for him were, one after another, either killed, blinded or imprisoned. For example, Shah Nawaz Khaitf, the old *diwan* of Nawwab Asaf Jah and Nawwab Nasir Jang, was imprisoned along with his son Samsamrfd-Dawla Bahadur and finally murdered. He desired to murder the three brothers' of Salabat Jang who were prisoners in the army quarters, to do away with Salabat Jang and to establish himself on the throne of the Deccan. Thus he aimed at his prosperity through impossible channels.

(1) haydar Jang is Abdur-Rahman, one of the two sepoy-captains originally employed by the French. He accompanied M. Bussy to the Deccan and rose to be his *diwan* and right-hand man.

(2) Shah Nawaz Khan was born of a very noble family in 1700 A.D. He served as the *diwan* of Berar under Nizamul Mulk and Nasir Jang. He was given the title of Samsamu'd-Dawia and the rank of 7,000 horse by Salabat Jang. He managed to get the dismissal of M. Bussy in 1756, though only for a time, and also enhanced the authority of Nizam Ali, the younger brother of Salabat Jang. Shah Nawaz Khan was imprisoned at Dawlatabad which was seized by M. Bussy in 1758. M. Bussy's *diwan* was murdered on a visit to Nisam Ali who pretended submission. In the conflict that ensued Shah Nawaz was slain (1758). Nizam Ali fled from the scene of confusion with a party of horse and later secured the deposition and imprisonment of his brother.

Shah Nawaz Kkan was the author of the work Ma'athiru'l-Umar-d-i-Timuriyya, containing the memoirs of the nobles who served in Hindustan and the Deccan under the house of Timur. It was left unfinished; later on was supplemented by one Mir Ghulam Ali Azad, and completed by his own son in 1779, The son was also given the title of Samsamu'd-Dawla.

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In the meanwhile, according to the decree of fate, one day Salabat Jang wept on account of separation from his brothers and did not take food for a day and a night. He requested Haydar Jang to enable him to see his brothers and dine with them. Haydar Jang brought them; the Nawwab met and dined with them; then he made another request that his brothers be given charge of taluks and given permission to go over there. Since Haydar Jang was planning to separate them, he agreed. With a view to disunite the brothers by specifying and entrusting to them different offices, and to accomplish his ultimate idea by dealing with them separately one by one, he appointed them to different provinces and gave them leave to depart. Of these brothers Nizam Ali Khan (later on Asaf Jah II), who was remarkable for his bravery, generosity and intelligence, and worthy to be an administrator, and a courageous ruler, sought excuse through Salabat Jang for delaying his journey under the pretext of submitting to him some important affairs. One day, during the month of the holy Ramazan, Nizam Ali Khani sent the following message to Haydar Jang:

"It is necessary to meet you to discuss an affair. Either I may go over to you or you go over to me. Either way, it is but to strengthen our friendship. An indication may be given whether you will go over to me or I may go over to you."

Fate had put its hands on his collar and made him come under the sword thirsting for his blood. According to the invitation, Haydar Jang went along with a frank mind. Nizam Ali Khan observed the then current formalities of the meeting, and just at the time of beginning the conversation *in private*, he, under the pretext of answering calls of nature, rushed out in a hurry, as is but natural for any one so circumstanced. The men who were already instructed

(1) For details about Nizam Ali's usurpation, see Orme, Vol. II, Book XI, pp. 475-76.

NIZAM ALI USURPS POWER

by Nizam Ali Khan caught the signal and murdered Haydar Jang; they shrouded his body in a carpet and threw it aside. Nizam Ali Khan came out of the tent in confusion, took his horse, and hastened towards Januji the Mahratta who had encamped close by with a big army. M. Bussy learnt what had happened, coiled himself like a snake **and** ordered Ibrahim Khan to get ready his army for punishing them. Since the bullocks that used to drag the cannon had gone to the grazing ground, the work had to be postponed for the next day. In the meanwhile, Nizam Ali Khan, according to the advice of Januji, went towards Berar and other places, brought back and gathered together the amirs, nobles and other employees of Asaf Jah and Nasir Jang who held in contempt Haydar Jang and thus gained strength and power in a few days. Then Nizam Ali Khan went forth walking with a jaunty air on the *may dan* with the idea of opposing M. Bussy. Since M. Bussy thought that war was not proper in the circumstances he left the company of the Nawwab Salabat Jang and reached Haydarabad. Out of fraternal love, Nawwab Salabat Jang joined his brother Nizam Ali Khan and gave him the office of a *diwan*. After his authority was received with favour, he extended it to all the affairs of the Deccan. He drove M. Bussy even from Haydarabad, set aside his own brother (Salabat Jang), and seated himself firmly on the throne. M. Bussy reached Chicacole, and stayed there. When M. Lally came out of Phuicheri, captured the fort of Dewnampattan, and laid siege to Chennapattah with the idea of capturing it, M. Bussy started from Chicacole with the Deccan army and with the *frangs*, joined the army of M. Lally, and became **his** companion in the wars of his community.

(1) Januji Bhonsle was the second Raja of Berar, who succeeded Raghuji. He ruled from 1749-1772.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Now to return to my narration: According to the request of George Becketa letter was written by Hazrat-i-Ala to M. Liri the governor of Phulcheri as follows:

"The foundation of peace between us was strengthened by this condition, namely, there must be friendship with our friends and enmity to our enemies. This agreement of ours was in conformity with the pleasure of the Padshah. Nawwab Salabat Jang, contrary to the pleasure of the Padshah, poisoned the senior brother of Nawwab Nasir Jang, namely, Nawwab Asafu'd-Dawla Ghaziu'd-Din Khan Bahadur, who had arrived from Delhi from the court of Sultan, with the appointment as the *nazim* of the Deccan, and thus earned the displeasure of the Padshah. Hence your association with Nawwab Salabat Jang is not in conformity with our peace treaty. It behoves that you sever your relation with the Deccan and recall M. Bussy to Phulcheri."

M. Liri wrote in reply:

"At present M. Bussy is not dependent on us. He is a servant there on his own account. In these circumstances, I submit that the employee of the ruler of the Deccan will not obey the commands of the governor at Phulcheri."

After seeing this reply Hazrat-i-Ala wrote thus to Salabai Jang:

"It is learnt from the letter of M. Liri that M. Bussy is an employee in the government of the Deccan and has attained the position of a trustworthy servant. It will not be liked by the Delhi Padshah to entertain members of that community in service, for they murdered your noble brother Nawwab Nasir Jang Shahid; it is not in keeping with your loyalty to select them as your companions, it is incongruous with your brotherly devotion, and it is incumbent on you to avoid mixing up with these people."

Nawwab Salabar Jang informed Haydar Jang and M. Bussy of the contents of this letter and did not reply. On

CLIVE SENT TO CALCUTTA

the contrary he deemed it proper on the advice of the abo¹ councillors to write a letter conveying friendship wii Siraju'd-Dawla Bahadur, the *nazim* of Bengal, in respe of the English factory at Calcutta and dispatched it wit presents. Siraju'd-Dawla on account of his short-sightednes sowed the seed of enmity in the field of prosperity of th times. That is, he suddenly attacked the factory of th English, under the pretext of his claim over a Gujrati money lender who on account of great exaction had taken refug there. In the course of the tumult, bustle and plunde the factory was pulled down; thus he was ungenerou towards the English. Since the English did not possess in those days the strength of an army, George Becket, the governoi of Chennapattan sought from Hazrat-i-Ala, the army trainee after the European manner, for the help which was imperative then. Hazrat-i-Ala sent by ship that force along with his own army under the command of Clive. During times of necessity for the English and especially on this occasion when help was necessary, Hazrat-i-Ala obliged them with men and money in consideration of friendship. He had not good sleep until the termination of those affairs pertaining to the factory at Calcutta; so much so he left his home and chose Chennapattan for his residence. He called his wives, his sons and relatives from Nattharnagar to Frangikunda. On account of these events, he postponed the important affairs pertaining to Nellore. Thus haste ended in delay.

During the time of his stay at Frangikunda, by the grace of the Most Gracious Lord, the Exalted Protector, the fourth son was born to Hazrat-i-Ala by the Nawwab Begam on Sunday the 26th of respectable Muharram of the year 1171 A.H. at 7-30 P.M. He was named Ghulam Hasan with the title of Husamtu'l-Mulk I'timadu'd-Dawla Muhammad Abdu'llah Khan Bahadur Hizabr Jang.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

When Haasrat-i-A'la was resting during that night on account of high fever, Khayru'd-Din Khan Bahadur his own brother-itt-law, contrary to practice hastened into the house at about 12 o'clock in the night with a drawn sword in his hand. The women in the house were frightened; they collected themselves, shut the door, and informed Hazrat-i-A'la of the fact. Hazrat-i-A'la took in his hand the scimitar which was kept under the pillow and got out the other way tearing the *saracha*. He called out to the *chawkidar* and took him from the *chawki-Khana* into the palace along with some other sepoys, pointed out the direction where Khayra'd-Din Khan stood, and ordered them that he must be brought without any injury. In the meanwhile the Khan reached the sleeping apartment of the Nawwab and enquired in a loud tone: "Where is Nawwab Begum? Where does Hazrat-i-A'la sleep?" Immediately the men sent by Hazrat-i-Ala reached that spot, took away the sword from his hand, and kept him in confinement in a separate tent. Hearing that event, George Becket reached the presence of Hazrat-i-Ala the next day, and learning the details in person, submitted that according to the rules of English administration, such culprits ought to be gibbeted, and sought permission to hang him and thus punish him for his act. Hazrat-i-Ala said that it was his duty to forgive him because of his being the brother-in-law and out of regard for the feelings of his sister. In short, the Khan was set free afterwards.

DUPLEIX' PETITION TO HIS KING

King of France builds castles in the air after his conversation with M. Dupleix about Hindustan; he appoints M. Lally to subjugate it, and dispatches M. Kandistan, his nephew, in the company of M. Lally to sit on the throne of Hind.

When M. Dupleix started from Phulcheri under the pressure of M. Godeheu and reached home by ship, he spent one full year in humiliation¹ and in a forlorn condition on account of the displeasure, and reproach of the Padshah, and the prohibition to enter the *darbar*. Finally he wrote a petition describing in detail the following: his great deeds; his valour in subjugating the kingdom of Hind and the Deccan, conquering the fort of Chennapattan, and defeating Muhammad Mahfug Khan Bahadur when he had come to help the English in obedience to the command of his father Nawwab Siraju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Din Khan Bahadur, the *nazim* of Arcot; his strengthening of the fortifications of Phulcheri during the war with Hazrat-i-Ala who helped the English; his association with Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan; his labouring hard to bring about the death of Nawwab Siraju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Din Khan Bahadur, the malicious supporter of the English, and weaken the English community by means of the strength of his fist; his labours in subjugating the kingdom of the Carnatic, murdering Nasir Jang, the wazir of Hind, who had come to help Hazrat-i-Ala, installing Hidayat Muhiyyu'd-Din Khan on the throne of the Deccan, and sending a select army in his company so that he might join the French; his bringing under his own control the distant parts of the kingdom of the Deccan; the establishment of the authority of the French from Phulcheri to the shores of the Narbada; and other endeavours for the advantage of the Padshah and the credit of his own race,

(1) For details about M. Dupleix's reception in France and his subsequent life, see G. B. Malleeson, *History, of the French in India*, pp. 430-31,

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

besides his own lamentation, misery, and troubles instead of approbation and demonstrations of love. Such a petition was written in detail and submitted to his own Padshah. The latter invited his nobles, councillors, and ministers, and regretted in their presence what had happened, pardoned M. Dupleix, and admitted him to his *darbar*. Once again the Padshah ascertained the real facts from the mouth of M. Dupleix who narrated as follows :

"The whole country of Hindustan with its abundant wealth and property is without a ruler or a governor, a wazir or a sultan. It is a house where booty is deposited, and it will be ours without any doubt or difficulty provided there is a little but firm endeavour on our part. On that empty *maydan* who has the power to oppose us? The Mahrattas with their vast territory and sepoys who run about incessantly like winged insects and reptiles, may be likened to jackals in a forest devoid of tiger, and one cannon-ball from our flaming cannon is sufficient to disperse their entire army. But in the Carnatic, N-awwab Muhammad AH Khan (Hazrat-i-Ala) is a blood-shedding sword; he is a storm on every battle-field and *maydan* creating a scene of the judgment day; he is a fire that will quickly catch the heap of the enemy's army. In opposition to him there is neither a place to stand on the battle-field nor a way to flee from it. If we are to lose life it must be by opposing him; if we are to become weak, it will be by fighting against him. But this would have been so if we had no influence in the administration of the kingdom of the Deccan. At present the knot of this task can be untied without any endeavour or trouble since that kingdom and its ruler are under our control."

On listening to this varnished account of the deceitful devil the French Padshah broke the thread of his patience and dignity. His mouth began to water on account of the greed for the sweets of the kingdom of Hind and thus he poured the dust of calamity on the healthy head of his own cowimimky.

M LALLY STARTS FOR HINDUSTAN

That is, he girded up his loins to break the treaty without considering the consequences of his action, and dashed the enamel of wisdom against the stone of such wrong-thinking. He dispatched to Phulcheri a leader of brave *sardars*, M. Lally by name, with promises to increase his *mansabs* (useless ones!) giving him command over a well-organised army composed of *zangs* and *frangs* and equipped them with necessary implements of war, for the purpose of destroying the foundation of his own stability. He also sent along with him his nephew M. Kandistan¹, one of the well-known nobles, so that he might occupy the throne of Hind after its subjugation, and carry on the administration of the country as his representative. When this noble reached the country of Hindustan in the company of M. Lally, he elected, in a short while, to administer the kingdom of bondage and chain.

M. Lally starts with M. Kandistan from home, their arrival at the port Maskarin, and halt at that place to collect provisions and army; M. Sapir², a sardar, was appointed as commander of an army and sent in advance to Phulcheri to break the peace; he arrives at the port, breaks the peace, marches against the fort of Chettupat, and subjugates it.

M. Lally in obedience to the commands of his sovereign started with a large army, implements of war, and provisions in the company of M. Kandistan, the nephew of the Padshah, with the vain idea of seating him on the throne of Hindustan, and

(1) Kandistan may be identified with Count d' Estaing who along with other nobles accompanied M. Lally. One of the ancestors of d' Estaing saved the life of Philip Augustus in 1214 A.D.

(2) M. Soupire was sent from France with about 1,000 men of the regiment de Lorraine. Soon after his arrival at Pondicherry in September, 1757, he did not take advantage of his position; but merely waited for the arrival of M. Lally in April, 1758.

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readied the well-known port Maskarln (Mascareigne). There he anchored for the purpose of collecting other forces, implements, provisions, cannon and other things necessary for war. He selected M. Sapir, an ingenious and intelligent *sardar*, backed him with a brave army, and dispatched him to Phulcheri at the time when Hazrat-i-Ala, according to the facts related in the previous pages, was firm in his resolve to help the English at any cost on account of the declaration of war by the ruler of Bengal, and had dispatched by ship to Calcutta Givé, with all the forces kept in various forts and other places of the Carnatic, along with his own body of troops except that which was necessary to guard the fort of Natthar-nagar. The English also, on account of that important happening mentioned above, had nothing more than the army necessary for the defence of the fort of Chennapattan. M. Sapir reached Phulcheri, and declared war. On the appearance of this unexpected danger in the absence of the army, there arose rebellious enemies on all sides; Muhammad Najlbu'llah Khan Bahadur had joined the French with the army of the *subaoi* Nellore; Ghulam Murlaza Khan the *qil'adar* of Vellore, the brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband) of Husayn Dost Khan and the father-in-law of Riza Ali Khan and every one of the nobles of the Nait community who possessed *jagirs and* forts came out with his army, troop after troop, from every nook and corner, like fire from ash, and serpent from slough, and reached Phulcheri dancing and jumping; Haydar Ali Khan known as Haydar Nayak—an account of him has been briefly given in the course of narration about Nandraj whose position he had usurped and who captured the territory of Murari Rao,—shot forth from another side; the zamindars and palayagars in the kingdom of the Carnatic rebelled against the *sarkar*, and joined Riza Ali Khan with their forces; the orders of Salabat Jang also arrived supporting the French; M. Bussy marched from Chicacole with his large army and joined M. Lally; Riza Ali Khan with his

M. SOUPIRE SUBJUGATES CHETTUPAT

mad claim of hereditary right to the government of the Camatic, tore off the collar of discretion; about these things Hazrat-i-Ala became thoughtful.¹

At the instigation of Riza Ali Khan and Ghulam Murtaza Khan and in the hope of obtaining the vast amount of wealth believed to be stored in the fort of Chettupat from remote times, M. Saplr, drew up his army, attacked, and cannonaded it², because its *jagirdar*, Mir Asadu'llah Khan, unlike other *jagirdars*, had joined Hazrat-i-Ala. The latter broke his finger nails in untying this knot, yet he was helpless on account of the deficiency of forces. According to the plan and support of his friends, M. Saplr quickly attacked the fort, subdued it and spared not even a child of the besieged. After the visitation of this calamity, and the enmity of the Naits, the *qil'adar*—formerly *diwan* of the Nawwab Safdar All Khan Shahid, put in prison by Ghulam Murtaza Khan, released by Hazrat-i-Ala and appointed as his *na'ib* of the *suba* of Arcot—thought it inadvisable to stay at Arcot, joined the company of Hazrat-i-Ala at Franglkunda and stayed there comfortably. But his property comprising cash, gold, silver and precious stones treasured for years, passed into the hands of the French. It was divided equally into three portions: one portion was given to the *sardaroi* the army, one to the sepoys, and one to Riza Ali Khan. In short, during that period marked with change of circumstances on account of the superiority of the French, the smallness of the army, the mischief of the people of

(1) M. Bussy was recalled from the north in July and actually joined M. Lally two months later. Before April, Kamal of Nellore had thrown off his allegiance to Muframmad Ali. The French had occupied Elavanasur held by an adventurer known as Mir Sahib, formerly Abdu'r-Rahman, an ex-commandant of French sepoys. The French made a surprise attempt on Trichinopoly in June, 1757 and subsequently M. Soupire occupied Chettupat.

(2) Fort of Chettupat was captured by M. Soupire soon after he landed in 1757.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Islam, and the anxiety of the English, there became manifest to the eyes of that age, an unique condition, and the knot of difficulties broke the skilful nails of every prudent man.

M. Sapir and Riza Ali Khan return to Phulcheri after the subjugation of the fort of Chettupat; M. Lally and M. Kandlstan start from Maskarlh with a big army and abundant provisions and reach the port of Phulcheri; they march with the idea of subduing Dewnapattan; its subjugation and devastation.

After the fort of Chettupat was subdued, M. Sapir entrusted it to Riza Ali Khan and turned his face towards Phulcheri. M. Lally accompanied by M. Kandlstan arrived at Phulcheri with abundant implements and large army. He talked enthusiastically with all the inhabitants, congratulated M. Sapir on his accomplishing great deeds, and gave Riza Ali Khan the promise of the *nizamat* of the Carnatic. Then he called a council of M. Liri the governor of Phulcheri, M. Sapir the commander of the army, and other nobles and addressed them as follows:

"Though I can straightaway strike at the door of Chennapattan with these implements and army I have brought with me, and though I consider it as the most imperative of all important affairs occupying the foremost place in my mind, yet I think it advisable to engage myself round about Chennapattan in view of the fact of the residence of Hazrat-i-Ala in that place which I learnt after my arrival here and the fear I have in my mind on hearing from the mouth of M. Dupleix and other *sardars*, about his bravery, innate sagacity, thoughtfulness and success in his undertakings. I deem it proper to engage myself round about Chennapattan till the arrival of M. Bussy with his Deccan army and the coming of Haydar Ali Khan and our other allies. After the gathering of all these *sardars* and forces, I will turn my face in that direction. At

present I shall subjugate Dewnampattan which is adjacent to Phulcheri and at a distance of two *manzils* from Chennapattan."

This suggestion was agreeable to all and they nodded their assent. Next day he inarched forth with the armies of the French, Aliman, Zangbar, and other allies, and encamped with that contemptible army at Aryakupam adjoining Dewnampattan. Then he laid siege to the fort¹ which was nothing more than a brick building, cannonaded it, and thus created commotion. The captain of the place, namely, the fort keeper, was frightened at the visitation of this merciless calamity and applied for speedy help to George Becket, the governor of Chennapattan, who read the letter and deliberated with the members of the council. He felt it impossible to render succour to Dewnampattan because of the smallness of the army and the absence of the major portion of it in Bengal. So he presented himself before Hazrat-i-Ala with General Lawrence and other intelligent *sardars*, for the untying of this perplexing knot, delivered the letter of the captain of Dewnampattan, and submitted:

"In former days the fort was preserved from the attack of the French owing to the help of the *sarkar*, and the enemy turned away in disgrace. At present, we, the devoted servants, without your lordly support, feel it impossible to repel this calamity by our endeavour."

In reply to their request, the cloud of spring, namely, the generous and kind tongue, showered the rain of gems as follows:

"In the past we had a large army and the support of the *ra'is* of the Deccan. At present the whole army of the Deccan is sent to set right the mischief at Calcutta. The French have

(1) The subjugation of Fort St. David produced a great impression upon the minds of the country powers and upon the English who now prepared for the inevitable siege of Madras. Fort St. David fell on 2nd June, 1758. See *Dupleix and Clive*: Dodwell, pp. 162-164 and Orme, Vol. IT, pp. 306-14.

HISTORY OF THE MWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

become the real *ra'is* of the Deccan. Salabat Jang has nothing but the name, and he sits on the throne with their support. Therefore there can be no comparison between the past and the present. I am ready to help you in all ways; merely for this purpose, I have come a long distance from home and chosen my residence in this place. I have given preference to your work over the adjustment of my affairs, to such an extent that in view of the settlement of the affairs of the factory at Calcutta, I have postponed my arrangements in the *suba* of Nellore. Though I have done all this, yet it behoves us to do the work befitting the circumstances, prudently, not by force. In my opinion it seems proper for us to vacate all the forts, and concentrate our strength as far as possible on the two forts of Chennapattan and Nattharnatgar. Ere long our army will return from Calcutta and we will by His Grace attain our strength and power. It is certain that M. Bussy with the Deccan army and Haydar Ali Khan will join M. Lally. Muhammad Najib-ud-daulah Khan and *qiladars* like Ghulam Murtaza Khan and other zamindars from the Carnatic will gird up their loins in union with the French. In these circumstances we must understand that the preservation of the two forts is a blessing. At present a reply conveying the news of the hope of arrival of help from home and Calcutta and the offer of such help that is available here may be sent to console the captain of Dewnampattan."

George Becket, the members of the council, and General Lawrence valued greatly this suggestion, wrote accordingly the following letter to the captain of Dewnampattan and dispatched it:

"It is long since the English ships started from home towards these parts and the delay in their arrival is probably due to the failure of winds. News had also reached us about the return of forces from Calcutta. In former days the fort of Dewnampattan was preserved by the help of Hazrat-i-

ALLIES ON THE DEFENSIVE

Ala when the French pressed it hard, though at that time Chennapattan also had gone into the hands of the French. Of all the amirs of Hind and the Deccan, Hazrat-i-Ala is the only helper and supporter of our community. Formerly he had the open help of the *ra'is* of the Deccan and the hearty support of the Sultan, because he has the hereditary right to the *nizamai* of Arcot, which is supported by the *sanad* of Sultan. Hence the power of the enemies did not succeed. Even now we are to be a little firm till help comes forth from various sides. In these circumstances it is necessary to be cool and collected and attempt to be firm in defending the fort. How long could the affairs of the French be strong, with the assistance of Riza Ali Khan, an imposter supported by no *sanad*? However they are very proud on account of their union with unsteady authority; but they will very soon find disgrace after the arrival of our army."

After dispatching this letter they vacated all the forts according to the advice of Hazrat-i-Ala. Some forts were filled with gunpowder, set fire to, and blown up. Then they exerted themselves to strengthen the forts of Chennapattan and Nattharnagar. Of the English forces which numbered in all two thousand soldiers, one thousand *five* hundred men were commissioned under the command of General Lawrence to protect Chennapattan, while five hundred men under Major Prishtan were sent to the fort of Nattharnagar. Of the forces of the *sarkar* two-thirds were appointed to defend Chennapattan, under the command of Abrar Khan, and Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the *bakhshis* of the army and Sayyid Fatah, Ali Khan, Mir Asadu'llah Khan and other intimate, intelligent, and skilful companions of the Nawwab, while the remaining one-third under Sayyid Makhdum Ali Khan. Sayyid Ali Khan, Sayyid Nasir Ali Khan and others were deputed to guard Nattharnagar.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

On receiving the letter and learning the contents which inspired hope as well as despair, the captain of Dewnampattan was perplexed. But according to the verse, 'In times of necessity which offer you no opportunity to run away, take up a sharp sword in your hand/ the captain girded up his loins for war. The flame of the siege of the besiegers, and the exertions of the besieged were manifest everywhere in the fort. In the meanwhile the ships that started from England conveying reinforcements for Dewnampattan and Chennampattan, at the same time when M. Lally left his own shores, were delayed owing to mishaps on the sea. Of these only six were able to come ahead of other ships and reach the harbour of Dewnampattan. On seeing them the captain felt relief but soon was distressed when the real facts about them (*i.e.*, that there was no army except two *sarddrs*) became clear. Thus he found no other alternative but to fight for his life. As far as possible he laboured hard to destroy the enemy. Meanwhile, a ball from a catapult fell into the pool of drinking water which was, according to the proverb, 'the eye of life for the people in the fort/ In spite of the drying up of the pool, the falling down of the fort-walls on one side to a distance of one hundred and seventy yards, the destruction of the two towers on another side, and the accumulation of the dead bodies belonging to both the parties, every one of the besieged marched forward bravely with the zeal of valour. By chance, one of the two new *sardars*, the pivot of strength for the people in the fort and the inspiration to the besieged, lost his life on account of being hit by a cannon-ball, and the strength of the fort was shaken.ⁱ Finally the doors of the fort were opened by the key of victory of the enemy. The captain of the fort

(i) M. Lally threw shells into the fort from a mortar battery with a few random shots and contrived to open a breach on May, 26.

M. LALLY'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

handed over the keys to the enemy. After the subjugation and devastation of that place, the French in their false pride held up their heads to heaven.

M. Lolly reaches Phulcheri after the victory at Dewnam-pattan; he then marches out to attack Tanjore on the advice of his councillors, plunders and besieges the vicinity of the fort of Tanjore; the helplessness of the ruler of that place; the coming of help from Nattharnagar according to the orders of Hazrat-i-A7,a, and the flight of M. Lally towards Phulcheri

After subjugating the fort of Dewnam-pattan, M. Lally reached joyfully Phulcheri like a serpent to its hole dancing and jumping, and threw up his cap of proud deeds in the presence of his countrymen. M. Lirl, the governor became more intoxicated with pride than his companions, welcomed him, adored him, extolled him, and arranged merry parties. Next day M. Lally assembled a council consisting of all nobles, members of the military and civil departments and placed before them his ideas as follows:

"Of the two difficult knots, only one was untied by the skill of my experienced and resolute finger-nails. The second knot relates to Chennapattan. It has the association of the strong support of the Nawwab Muhammad All Khan; hence it is a more intricate knot. Will not the expectation of the Deccan army bring trouble on account of the lack of money? If I turn my face towards Arcot, possibly it may be subjugated. But there are no means to get money from that quarter and such endeavour has no advantage. In these circumstances a kingdom or a fort may be chosen so that money may be obtained by its subjugation, for money is the key to Open the door of every desire and the strength of the fist to prove bravery."

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All unanimously pointed out to the treasure in Tanjore. They declared that there was the possibility to acquire money either in case of establishment of peace or in the subjugation of the fort. They also added another hope that in undertaking such an important task, Nattharnagar, situated adjacent to it and devoid of any protector, might possibly be subjugated, and its subjugation meant the opening of one of the two doors of Hindustan. Through these victories, the sign of further success will become visible.

After fixing up this plan, M. Lally arranged the army afresh, got ready the implements of war and first laid his tyrannical hand on the town of Nagorei with his designs on Tanjore. By plundering the lamps, quilts, carpets, and other things of decoration from the shrine of his holiness Hazrat Sayyid Abdtu'-Qadir Sahib Naguri (may Allah purify his glorious resting place) and committing all kinds of sacrilegious acts in that holy place, he lost the strength of success from his hand.

Since mention has been made here of Hazrat Qadir Wali, it is necessary to carry the wealth of happiness to the ears of readers, and benefit them with a brief account of his story and miracles.

A brief account of his holiness Sayyid Abdu'l-Qadir Sahib Naguri (may Allah purify his resting place) and his miracles.

His holiness Sayyid Abdul-Qadir Sahib Naguri (may Allah purify his resting place) was a resident of Hindustan. With the permission of Sayyid Muhammad Ghawth of Gwalior, his Pir, the most glorious saint of the day (may Allah purify his resting place) he reached the kingdom of the Deccan,

(1) M. Lally marched through Devikottah and Karikal early in July 1758, and got powder from the Dutch in Negapatam and the Danes in Tranquebar. He plundered then Nagore, and sold the spoils for two lacs of rupees.

M. LALLY ATTACKS TANJORE

where he met the Shaykh of that time, and at his suggestion, he travelled to the Carnatic Payanghat desiring to pay his respects to his holiness Sayyid Natthar Wall, may Allah sanctify his resting place. When he came to the *qasba* of Ontatur in Nattharnagar after marching a long distance, he removed, as a mark of respect, his turban and foot-wear. Thus bare-headed and barefooted and pronouncing the phrase, 'O! the son of the Prophet of Allah' he made his way to the holy tomb of the saint. He paid his respects to the saint and abstained from food or sleep for three days and three nights, and thus achieved the esoteric favour. According to the direction of that holy personage, he went and resided at Nagore situated on the coast of the sea. He had a large heart and the zamindar of that place was drawn towards him and felt thankful; for, the barren minds of men grew so rich with the shower of his miracles that they became the envy of the rose-gardens.ⁱ

In brief, the army of M. Lally laid its hands on things belonging to the *dargah*, and immediately got punishment; as soon as two or three men from among the plunderers placed their feet into the interior of the *dargah*, they began to vomit blood and died there. On seeing this strange incident others refrained from plundering, returned the looted things, came out of that holy place in great confusion, and took their way to Tanjore.²

Pratap Singh, the zamindar, who was distressed on account of the visitation of this calamity, wrote about his own helplessness and the strength of the wicked enemy to Hazrat-i-Ala who was then encamping with his army at Franglkunda. Then

(1) A few miracles recorded by the author are omitted from the translation, as they have no historical interest.

(2) M. Lally appeared before Tanjore on the 18th July; but his siege operations were slow for want of battering guns and because of dilatory negotiations for money. He effected a breach when news of an English naval victory off Karikal and their threatened advance on Pondicherry made him beat a retreat to the coast on the 18th of August.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

the zamindar sent an army to encounter the enemy. This army which remained in its encampment at a distance of one cannon-shot from the enemy, ran about helplessly and gave the impression of a slaughtered animal in its movements. So the two armies came near the fort of Tanjore one pursuing the other like a wolf after a goat and camped in their respective places. To be brief, the enemy exerted his power in a siege, and effected a hole in the bank of the ditch by successive cannonading. They pulled down by shots in a short time eighty yards of the fort wall which lifted its head towards the sky being based on solid foundations. Pratap Singh on account of great terror was about to sue for peace and thus preserve his life and his belongings.

In the meanwhile Sayyid Makhdum Ali Khan and Major Prishtan according to the orders of Hazrat-i-A'la started in the night with the army of the *sarkar* and that of the English, cannon, lead, gunpowder and abundant provisions having been collected by Sayyid Ali Khan the *nazim* of Nattharnagar. They reached next day in the darkness of the night, like a soul in a lifeless body, and made themselves a balm for the wounded mind. On repairing the towers and the battlements of the fort and arranging afresh cannon and other things after the manner of warfare, the ambitious plans of the enemy were destroyed, and the oppressing hand was bound up. Pratap Singh offered thanks to Hazrat-i-Ala in thousand ways for his kindness. On the arrival of the army of Nattharnagar and the English troops, the messengers of cannon-balls that emit fire and burn the enemy, conveyed incessantly to the besieging army and the proud M. Lally the news of the arrival of strength to the fort and at once extinguished the fire of vain ideas of the enemy. Till evening on that day it rained continuously balls from
• cannon and catapults on the army of the enemy in such a manner that they destroyed the two intrenchments which had

M. LALLY BEATS A RETREAT

reached up to the bank of the ditch. Then night set in and Sayyid Makhdum Ali Khan and Major Prishtan came out of the fort intent on night assault, and attacked the enemy's forces from one side, and deprived them of any opportunity to strike or run. M. Lally was fighting against the army of the *sarkar*. The Tanjore army attacked from another side and the picture of existence of many was destroyed by the sharpness of the sword. In this confusion, the Kallars of Tanjore who were great experts in the art of stealing during night time fell upon the encampment of the enemy like innumerable ants and locusts, under the orders of the zamindar, and devastated the whole army world; they carried away many implements of war and other things, wounded, disfigured or mutilated more than half of the bulls and horses employed to drag cannon. Thus they created such a great confusion that the commander and his army were perplexed and did not find any remedy but to save their own lives. They left cannon and tents helplessly and in great confusion slunk away to Phulcheri. Sayyid Makhdum Ali Khan and Major Prishtan pursued¹ them a little while, slaughtered some, wounded some, imprisoned some, and then returned. The looted things of those who had run away were divided among the sepoys of the victorious army, while the cannon and implements of war were handed over to the *sarkar*. Pratap Singh praised them for their bravery and made them feel elated with great presents; he gave them an '*arzaasht*' addressed to Hazrat-i-Ala conveying joy on the success, and thanks for the help rendered by the Nawwab, along with *nadhr*. Then they took leave and made their way to Nattharnagar.

(1) M. Lally repulsed a sally made on the morning of his retreat and wrote that he retreated "without victuals, money, ammunitions, barefooted and half-naked, worn out with fatigue and in despair at having been engaged in so wild an adventure."

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

After the Aefstat in the battle of Tanjore, M. Ltilly and Kandlston come oat once again from Phulcheri, intending to subjugate Chennapattan and the whole territory of Arcot, and install Riza All Khan on the throne of Arcot.

When M. Lally reached Phulcheri from Tanjore in a rotten condition losing all the implements of war and equipage and entered it sneakingly with his horse deprived of saddle and crupper, ashamed of his own pride, his heart sank within him. With the restoration of penitent sense, and the gathering of disturbed feelings, he engaged himself after some time, to collect more things with the idea of compensating for the ignominy of all damages. On account of his weakness due to lack of money he dispatched orders to the *sarddrs* in all tracts to find means for money and to collect an army.

Of these M. Bussy, after leaving the company of Salabat Jang as related before, was then besieged at the fort of Golkonda by the army of the Nawwab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asaf J ah I I . When M. Bussy did not find in himself strength to stay there, he got out of that place with great labour and exertion and reached, after great troubles, Chicacole which was then a French *jagir*. After improving his condition, he joined the army of M. Lally with his own forces which contained 1,000 soldiers, 5,000 armed men, 2,000 Indian horse, making in all a total of 8,000 men. In the same manner M. Marsini came from Machlibandar with 200 *frangs*, and 800 armed men. M. Sabin², from the island of Murs (Mauritius) with 1,000 *hangs*. M. Lira, M. Dalars⁴, M. Pallr⁵, M. Kalire, M. Datil⁷,

(1) Moracinc

(2) Saubinct.

(3) de Leyrlt.

(4) Guillard?

(5) Pouly.

(6) Crillon, Chevalier de.

(7) d'Auteuil.

M. LALLY'S MILITARY SUCCESS

M. Palawal, M. Tapll, M. Lanblri, M. Dabril², M. Kardll, M. Batus and others came separately from various ports, places, and factories in India and Iran with their forces big and small and implements of war according to the extent of their ability, like rows of ants from a hundred holes, and joined the army of M. Lally, Thus the army of M. Lally approximately consisted of 12,000 *frangs*, 5,000 Zangs, 4,000 Allmam, 30,000 armed men, 7,000 Indian horse, besides numerous cannon and implements of war. Of the Muslim and Hindu rulers of the country Muhammad Najibtfllah Khan Bahadur reached Phulcheri with the Nellore army. Though Sayyid Ghulam Murtaza Khan, the father-in-law of Riza All Khan, and the *qil'adar* of Vellore, did not enter Phulcheri and join in person the army of M. Lally yet he tried to help him with army and provisions. In the beginning of the war, some of the zamindars, all the *qil'adars* of the Nait community, Haydar Ali Khan, the ruler in the place of Karachuri Nandraj, and Murari Rao were as indecisive as the proverbial cat on the wall, as the spectators of contending parties and as the pointer of a balance which does not steady itself till the weight on both sides become equal. Finally seeing the more weighty scale-pan of the French, they joined them.

In brief, M. Lally arranged his own army and other forces that came to his help from various places. The number of the forces of the allies was inconceivable and the capacity of the *maydan* of the Carnatic became narrow. Starting from Phulcheri with a mistaken idea M. Lally first reached the fort of Warangals. Then Wandwasi and Other forts, which, except Chennapattan and Nattharnagar, lay, as related above, on the way to Arcot and had been either

(1) Landivisian?

(?) Duvelaer?

(Other names are not to be identified),

(3) Warangal? Perhaps it is a mistake for Karunguzira.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

vacated or blown up by gunpowder, were subjugated without opposition and entrusted to Riza Ali Khan¹. Riza was seated on the throne of Arcot and the ministers of the court submitted to him the *nadhr* joyfully. Muhammad Najibu'lliah Khan Bahadur who joined the French hoping to get Arcot, the paternal heritage, did not like the turn of events and returned to Nellore. M. Lally after staying at Arcot for some days, and disposing of certain important affairs connected with it, took his way to Chennapattan. He subjugated the fort of Timiri and Kaveripak situated on the way and brought them under the authority of Riza Ali Khan. When he reached the camp at Kanji, rainy season set in and he was compelled to stay and thus the feet that were to have marched forward, sank in the mud.

At that time the wave of mischief divided the kingdom of the Carnatic among four rulers:

(1) The *suba* of Arcot under the control of Riza Ali Khan;

(2) Nattharnagar under the authority of Hazrat-i-Ala;

(3) Nellore, a dependency of Arcot under the power of Muhammad Najibullah Khan Bahadur; and

(4) Tanjore, a dependency of Nattharnagar was administered by Pratap Singh, the zamindar of that place.

While M. Lally stayed at Arcot, George Becket desired, according to the advice of his councillors, to commission a portion of the available army equipping them with cannon and necessary implements to go to Franglkunda and fight against the enemy; he thought it a prudent measure to save Chennapattan. But considering the smallness of the army, the necessity to preserve and guard the fort of Chennapattan, and the uselessness of wasting the energy on a place which is not a fort,

(1) M. Lally took in his company Riza Ali Khan, son of Husayn Dost Khan, with the hope that he would be able to raise contributions from among the palaygars.

SIEGE OF CHENNAPATTAN

Hazrat-i-Ala, out of his experience, did not like the plan, and advised him to make a stand in Chingleput¹, for it was strong and solid and would be beneficial during times of war. Becket and other *sardars* regarded this as a good plan, and accordingly sent a small army consisting of 150 *frangs*, 350 armed men under an English *sardar*, and 500 men from the army of the *sarkar* under the command of Muhammad Murad to Chingleput during night time and strengthened it with necessary provisions. Then George Becket and other *sardars* engaged themselves in repairing the fort and deepening the ditch of Chennapattan.

M. Lally reaches Chennapattan and lays siege to it; the coming of the English army; the battle-array on the may dan; M. Kandlsidn becomes a prisoner in the hands of the English.

After the rains had subsided M. Lally came out of Kanji; when he had marched a distance of one *mansil*, Hazrat-i-A'la departed from Frangikunda and took up his residence at Mylapore, situated at a distance of about two *kurdhs* from Chennapattan, where he lived in a building built by Muhammad Kamal an account of whom has already been related in the previous pages. When M. Lally had fixed his accursed encampment at Frangikunda², he divided the whole available army into a number of groups and entrusted them to *sarddrs* and marched forward; General Lawrence with a small English force, and Muhammad Abrar Khan with the army of the *sarkar* blocked

(1) Chingleput was not subjugated by M. Lally on his march from Pondicherry, as he could not spare men and time to besiege it. It was garrisoned by a body of one hundred English soldiers and 1,200 *sepoys* under Captain Preston.

(2) As M. Lally advanced to St. Thomas Mount, Lawrence fell back before him on the plain to the west of Madras. M. Lally entered the Black Town (George Town) unopposed on the 14th of December; the English confined their defence to Fort St. George and three fortified posts in Black Town.

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the way of M. Lally with a view to give time to the inhabitants to vacate the town and reach more safe retreats. In the meanwhile, Hazrat-i-Ala, came out of Mylapore, and took up his residence in the garden of the company (the present Government House) situated between Chennapattan and Mylapore and nearer the fort. The forces of the *sarkar* and the English which were engaged in blocking the way of the enemy encamped near the garden after the inhabitants of the town reached safe retreats. M. Lally took up his residence in Mylapore. Next day M. Lally divided afresh his whole army into four groups. One troop he kept under his command, while he entrusted the other three groups to M. Kandistan, M. Bussy and M. Sabina respectively. Then they all started for the four sides of the fort. Hazrat-i-Ala left the company's garden and took up his residence with his family in the fort of Chennapattan.

On that day there was very great anxiety on account of the fact that Muhammad Anwar with the title of Sayftfl-Mulk, the third son of Nawwab Begam, became separated from the nurses who were careless. After careful search and great anxiety the description of which is beyond the power of tongue or pen, by the grace of God one man got the child from a Hindu woman and brought him back to Hazrat-i-Ala, who with Nawwab Begam rendered thanks to Allah, presented the man and the woman with a large sum of money, and distributed presents gladdening the hearts of the needy and the *faqirs*, the minds of the poor and the despised.

In short M. Lally along with M. Kandistan shut himself up for a while in the garden of the company like an owl, and his whole army surrounded the sides of the fort-wall. On the second day Hazrat-i-Ala admitted to his presence, George Bedket, General Lawrence and other English *sardars* and addressed them as follows:

"To keep the wicked enemy disengaged is to give him opportunity to dig a mine and construct intrenchments which

BATTLE OF CHINA-BAZAR

may become the cause of subduing the **fort**. It behoves **that the** people of the fort exhibit a threatening attitude which will terrify the enemy, for any kind of opprobrium, namely, digging a mine or erecting intrenchments, never happened at Nattharnagar in spite of sieges for many years. It is necessary we arrange and bring an army outside the fort and thus strike the mind of the enemy with the impregnability of the fort; and beat against the chest of the enemy's design with the brave hand."

The skilful *sardars* approved of the plan and brought out of the fort an army consisting of 5,000 men which included horse, infantry and artillery force. That is, 500 *frangs*, 200 cannoneers, 2,300 armed men, under the leadership of General Lawrence, Colonel Da rib, Major Palir, and Captain Maskul; and 2,000 horse of the *sarkar* under the command of Ghazanfar All Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan. From various sides M. Bussy, M. Sablna, and others with horse, armed men and *frangs*, a hundredfold more than the army of the other party, met in battle on the *maydan* which is now known as Chini-bazar.ⁱ Both the parties did justice to their bravery and intrepidity. Especially the English with their small army fought with such vehemence that they exhausted the use of all the implements of war and put their hands on the collar of the enemy, and bit with their teeth, the neck, ear and nose of the opponents. Sitting on the summit of the tower Hazrat-i-Ala witnessed the fight through a telescope and praised the

(1) The English under Draper and Brereton decided on a sally which led to confused street fighting on the present China bazar Road. The English lost 200 men and 2 guns, but made good their retreat. The French lost 130 men killed and wounded; D'Estaing was captured in the beginning of the action, and Saubinet was mortally wounded. Major Poller was fatally hurt, besides several other English captains. (See R.O. Cambridge, *War on the Coast of Coramandel*, pp. 143-5 and D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, pp. 540-1.)

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bravery of the soldiers. The French army did entertain neither fear nor deficiency in numbers, because of the substitution in the place of fallen soldiers. The English in spite of the clear decline of the feeble strength of the little army and the difficulty of resistance, faced the enemy with the remaining forces, simply out of fear of disgrace of retreat, and fought in such a manner that they marched back cannonading so dreadfully that the enemy lost ten men for every single man on their own side.

Hearing the march of the English forces and the blaze of the fire of fighting, M. Lally and M. Kandlstan set out from their encampment in the company's garden, with great haste and joined the army. In proud dress and a gilded cap M. Kandlstan rode a fleet horse, with a golden bridle. On account of his inexperience he entered the tumult of the battle. He advanced and approached the English ranks out of the pride of his large army and the idea of the weakness and smallness of the English forces. Seeing his shining splendid uniform and the gilded cap, a beater of the drums thought him to be a big *sardar* of the enemy; he caught hold of the bridle of his horse and dragged it towards his own group. M. Kandlstan raised his hand which held a sharp sword, with the idea of punishing him. Immediately another man exhibited his agility by taking away the sword from the hand of M. Kandlstan while the army surrounded him and marched fast towards the fort. On seeing this condition M. Lally raged with anger and fell upon the English with his whole army like moths on a lamp and attacked them on all sides. At this juncture Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan displayed their alertness and smartness. They came with their horse, between the two armies and let their brave swords fall on the head of the enemy and separated the two batches of soldiers who came hand'to hand with each other. Thus they met with eloquent praise for their bravery and commendation for their unqualified valour and erased the name

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of Rustam and Afrasiyab from the memory of the people of the world. Observing this condition, Hazrat-i-Ala spoke thus to George Becket who was present at the tower.

"Most probably it seems that a chief *sardar* of the French has become a prisoner. On account of that M. Lally has girded up his loins with such tightness. It is necessary that at this juncture we send reinforcements to the army fighting outside, and also assist them by opening fire on the enemy with the cannon placed at the fort-towers, in order our army may reach us safely and victoriously."

According to the orders of the Nawwab they sent another troop and cannonaded from the fort. In brief, the French army was defeated on account of the help and support of the two brave Khans. Notwithstanding the death of Major Palir, 200 English soldiers, and 300 horse of the *sarkdr*, the imprisonment of fifty English men and the wound to captain Maskul, the English reached the fort victoriously, and triumphantly capturing M. Kandistan who desired eagerly to sit on the throne of Hindustan. On the side of the French more than 1,000 men were killed and 200 became prisoners. M. Sabina was wounded. He reached Phulcheri in that condition and died there.

After achieving the desired victory, cannon was fired in joy from all ramparts. Musical instruments in the *nawbat-khana* of Hazrat-i-Ala resounded and also songs broke out from joyful assemblies. In return for the desire evinced by the drum-beater for the dress, arms, gilded cap and the horse of M. Kandistan, which were his due for the bravery he exhibited, the drum-beater secured instead three thousand *hun*, their price, fixed by himself, in addition to four thousand *hun* from the boundless munificence of Hazrat-i-Ala* The horse, dress, and arms were restored to the owner. M. Kandistan was treated as a guest out of sympathy for his position. From the sepoy to the *sipah-dar* every one

HISTORY OF The nAWWABS OF THE CAHNATIC

reaped benefits according to his desire from the bounty of the Nawwab, the nourisher of the sepoys.

On account of the perishing of his army, the imprisonment of M. Kandlstan, and the death of M. Sabina, M. Lally coiled himself like a serpent. Next day with the pride of his great army, with perfect arrangement and great heart-burning he besieged the fort. He gave the fighters in the towers and the besieged in the fort neither breathing time nor moving space, by his continuous discharge of cannon and catapults from morning till evening and from evening till morning.

M. Lally reduces Chennapattan to difficulties, pulls down the two towers of the fort; fills up the ditch on one side of the fori; the anxiety of the besieged on account of the discharge of guns night and day. Hazrat-i-Ala starts towards Nattharnagar by sea intending to return with army and implements according to the request and supplication of George Becket.

Next day M. Lally surrounded the fort with a flaming mind and with rage and contortion on account of the death of useful men in his army and able *sardars* like M. Sabina and others, and the capture of some well known and powerful men like M. Kandlstan. He gave the besieged and those who were opposing him from the towers of the fort neither breathing time nor moving space by continuous discharge of cannon and catapults all the twenty-four hours. On account of the earthquake caused by the loud thundering noise of the excessive cannonading on both sides, the water in the ditch of the fort which was saltish like sea water, became sweet, and relieved, by the grace of the Creator of water and clay, the thirst of men in the fort who found it impossible to get water from outside owing to the siege by the enemy, and had to use for two or three days, the water stored in the fort. In brief the calamities due to the cannon in the day, and the noise of

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catapults in the night presented the scene of judgment day. Men were dying in great numbers. Heaps of dead bodies were accumulating in the brief time taken for the removal of one corpse, and the fort was stinking on account of a large number of dead bodies. They used the corpses, in place of bricks wherever the towers and the walls had been destroyed, along with *banat*, *makhmal*, and bundles of blue cloth pieces. During the night they were engaged in repairing the walls and the towers for the purpose of placing cannon over them and be ready for the war in day time. In this confusion Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the eldest son of Hazrat-i-Ala, born to a wife other than the Nawwab Begam, was hit by a stone from a catapult and lost his precious life. Notwithstanding the abundance of lead, gun-powder and provisions in the fort, weakness overtook the courage of the people in the fort merely on account of the shortage of fighting men and the severity of the enemy. George Becket, in agreement with the members of the council, sought the aid of Hazrat-i-Ala to unloosen the knot. He submitted:

"Whenever our community, namely, the English, were rendered helpless they were enabled to attain their object by your help in the shape of men and money, advice and suggestion. Thanks are due for your help when the fort of Chennapattan went out of our hands on account of the superiority of the enemy; and at the time when there was weakness in the strong hand of the English, the fort of Dewnampattan was preserved by the strength of your support. This should be on the lips of the English till the hour of the judgment day. In this land where there are multitudes of enemies, we do not have, during period of anxiety, any protection or refuge except the compassionate skirt of your highness. Now we are in fear of the impregnability of Chennapattan, for there is no hope of the arrival of ships from Bengal or reinforcements from home, on which we had relied; considering the weakness of **the**

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towers and mud walls of the fort, the infirmity and deficiency of the soldiers, the rudeness, and wickedness of the enemy, we feel like one who is bitten by a snake in India and waits for an antidote from 'Iraq. The fortune of battle depends upon the assistance of the Protector; the care of the arrangements on the field stands upon the grace of the Possessor of the world. In these circumstances a plan may be devised to improve the condition of the army and lighten the difficulties."

Hazrat-i-Ala replied:

"From the beginning of our arrival to the *silt* of the Carnatic, we took an interest in you; the declaration of hostility by my famous father against the French, the sacrifice of his precious life, my hereditary friendship with all of you in every difficult affair, and ungrudging help with men and money, especially my association in this war full of anxieties, notwithstanding the disregard for innumerable difficulties, the loss of life of my beloved son, the anxiety for other children and family—what else could these point to but my regard and friendship for the English community? In future, as long as I live, I have resolved to unite with the English and help them in all possible ways. According to my direction, my children also will have regard for the ways of their father and grandfather. At this juncture, had we been at Nattharnagar, we would, as far as possible, have certainly helped you with our army and provisions and those of the *ziladars* in different districts. As we are helpless to go over there at present, we remain here with family and children and thus give proof of the manner of our friendship."

Becket submitted: "Your devoted servants take the responsibility of conveying you by sea from here to Negapatam, Thence it is in your power to reach Nattharnagar."

He replied: "We have no experience of a sea voyage. The sea air may not suit our health. Besides, it is to be considered that the ships of the mischievous enemy

HAZRAT-I-A'LA SAILS FOR NEGAPATAM

are at present moving about on the sea. Hence in this journey the coast of safety does not appear in view. But I do not grudge to give up my life for the sake of your affairs, and out of consideration for your friendship, I entrust my life to fate."

After this conversation, two thousand horse under the command of Muhammad Abrar Khan, and Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and a body of infantry along with its *sardars* and other servants high and low, were left in charge of George Becket for the defence of the fort; then Hazrat-i-Ala said: "Those who are useful may be kept in service, the rest be allowed to go at liberty wherever they chose, and none but soldiers be permitted to remain inside the fort." After issuing these instructions, he fixed a time for his own departure¹.

George Becket felt highly thankful and grateful to the Nawwab for the acceptance of his suggestion. Considering that French ships were coming from Phulcheri and other places to Chennapattan, Becket thought that sailing in an English ship would cause the kindling of the fire of mischief. As an expedient he hired a Walendez (Dutch) trade ship, emptied quickly its goods into the sea, without the knowledge of any one, and requested Hazrat-i-Ala to board it. Leaving his companions, the whole army, retinue, and things, as narrated above, Hazrat-i-Ala started alone with a limited number of servants, wives, sons and daughter,—namely, 'Umdatul-Umara Bahadur, Amiru'l-Umara Bahadur, Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahadur, Husamu'l-Mulk Bahadur, Sultanu'n-Nisa Begam known as Budhi Begam—got into a boat placing his reliance on Allah and reached the ship.

(1) Governor Pigot resolved to send the Nawwab by sea to Negapatam, with a view to protect his person and also to get rid of his attendants. The Nawwab embarked on the 20th of December, while his cavalry escort was ordered to make its way to Chinglapet and join Preston.

HISTORY OF THE NAWVAB'S OF THE CARNATIC

Owing to the storm and the agitation of the sea there appeared such a commotion in the waters that some of the boats conveying male and female servants and attendants of the Nawwab could not reach the ship on account of the unfavourable wind. When day dawned these boats touched the same coast; they disembarked and under the supervision of the guards of the fort they entered it. Next day men and women came out of the fort, scattered themselves disguised as *faqirs* bound for Nattharnagar, and reached the French camp where they were preserved from cruel mischief by the blessings of the dress of *faqirs*. They rested in the French camp for three days and on the fourth day they started towards Velio re and Arcot. After covering a long distance, they reached Vellore. Ghulani Murtaza Khan, the *qiladar* of that place, learnt their condition, fed them for three days, supplied them with clothes, and fulfilled the duties of a host. Then he dispatched them to Nattharnagar with travelling provisions and equipage.

Hazrat-i-A'la waited the whole night for the boats which conveyed his attendants and servants and at the coming of the light of morn, he put the boat of reliance on the mercy of the Lord, the Creator of the Universe, with a view to repel the disturbance that prevailed on land, and set sail in spite of the raging of the sea, and the dashing of the waves. During that stormy night a daughter was born to him. After three days, French ships bound for Chennapattan came in view at a distance and caused great anxiety. Hazrat-i-A'la addressed his servants who were not more than three or four, *i.e.*, Mulla Fasihu'd-Din Khan the teacher, Muhammad 'Inayatu'llah his foster brother, Muhiyyurfd-Din Ali Khan the tutor to his sons, and a fourth man, also of the same profession, as follows":

"From the signals of flags, the French ships appear to be warships. Our ship is only a trading vessel and unfit for purposes of war, and without doubt it will be captured. Our honour demands that we should not become captives of the

THE ENCOUNTER WITH FRENCH SHIPS

French, and allow ourselves to be imprisoned by them. In case such an event happens we have resolved to kill first the women with the sword of honour and consign them to the waters of the sea, and then throw ourselves into the sea. It behoves you to regard our sons as your sons, liberate them from the hands of the enemy by whatever means, and entrust them to Sayyid Ali Khan the maternal uncle of the Nawwab Begam and the *na'ib* at the fort of Nattharnagar. Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, our brother, must be understood as the *na'ib* of 'Umdatul-Umara till he attains the age of discretion, and strives together as far as possible to help the English."

In this manner he spoke about other matters also he had in his mind; he wrote a letter, sealed it and entrusted it to the captain who belonged to the community of Walendez, asking him to deliver it to George Becket and thus relieve himself of the responsibility of the burden of trust. In the meanwhile the French ships had come nearer, and made enquiries from the Walendez captain about him and the purpose of his journey. The captain replied that his was a trade vessel; he had reached Chennapattan *via* Ishaqpattan (Vizagapatam) and Machlibandar; on seeing there the tumult of war he understood it impossible to sell his goods there, and so out of helplessness, he was bound for Phuicheri, a French port and trade centre for the world, with the hope of deriving profit. On learning this reply, the *sardar* of the French ship gave order to anchor his own ship so that some men might be sent to purchase necessary things for the army, and give the Walendez captain passport enabling him to go wherever he chose. At that time Hazrat-i-Ala entrusted himself entirely to the mercy of the Supreme Lord, and took refuge in Him. Suddenly by the commands of the Commander of *kaf* and *nun*, and the might of the Almighty about whose existence there is no doubt, a cloud arose as if it were a curtain before the eyes of the wicked, and screened the sight of one from the other, confounding the eye of dis-

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crimination. By the grace of God, the wind blew violently and conveyed the ship of the Nawwab to the coast of Negapatam covering a distance of three days and nights in three hours. Hazrat-i-Ala offered his humble thanks to the great Almighty for the escape from such deadly danger, and relief from that unexpected calamity.

The *sardar* of the Walendez community who was the governor at Negapatam, hastily went forward and paid his obeisance by decorating the town and spreading the carpet of a vassal and the table-cloth of a warm host; he gladdened the heart of the Nawwab by distributing special *khilats* and furnishing provisions. There he stayed for three days on account of the necessity to recoup the health of the Nawwab Begam, who had given birth to a child, and to better his own health which had been affected by the change of climate, and thus rewarded the governor of that place for his profound devotion.

There also arrived from Pratap Singh, the zamindar of Tanjore equipments for *toshak-khana*, *farrash-khana*, *bawarchikhana*, and retinue and tents. At the time of departure, the Nawwab presented a *parwana* for a lac of rupees on the *pish-kash* of Tanjore. When the victorious banner brought under its shade the track adjoining Tanjore, Pratap Singh advanced to receive him and submitted to Hazrat-i-Ala and Nawwab Begam a large amount as *nadhr*. However much he importuned the Nawwab to come into the fort and shed splendour by his stay, and thereby desired to increase his own glory, yet Hazrat-i-Ala did not consent because of the necessity to send help to Chennapattan. But in return for all his services, and on the recommendation of the Nawwab Begam, he issued an order to build a dam, *i.e.*, an *anient* to store the water which used to flow from Kaveri to Coleroon, because the insufficient supply of water created great hardship in the territory of Tanjore. Then he marched forward.

HAZRAT-I-A-LA SENDS YUSUF KHAN

When he approached the border of Nattharnagar, Sayyid AH Khan welcomed him with the army and the servants of the Nawwab. The Nawwab cheered him, and honoured him, took him in his company and reached the happy Nattharnagar safely by the protection of the Eternal Lord.

The arrival of Hasrat-i-Ald at Nattharnagar, his illness, the dispatch of the army under the leadership of Muhammad Yusuf Khan; Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan meets him at Chittoor, assumes the command of the army according to the order of Hazrat-i-Ala, their march to Chennapattan.

After reaching Nattharnagar Hazrat-i-Ala fell ill on account of the change of climate he experienced on land and sea and the fatigues of the journey. His illness had made him too weak to bear the toils and exertions of leading an army and continuous journey. He arranged his own army, as well as the troops of Tirnawlli known as Anwarnagar (Tinnevelly), Madhra (Madura), Tajawar known as Qadirnagar (Tanjore),- Ramnath known as Wallnagar, Shiwganga known as Husayn Nagar, Mali war, Tirur, Karur, Pudukotah, Alyanur, Wadyarpala (Udayardalayam) and other places, five hundred *frangs* stationed at the fort of Nattharnagar under the command of Major Prishton, his own cavalry and auxiliary forces numbering about four thousand under the leadership of Sayyid Makhdum All Khan, seven hundred armed men, the employees of the *sark&r*, under Sayyid Nasir Ali Khan, cannon and other kinds of implements, a troop of select men, a large number of artillery men,, three thousand *bildars* under Amln Beg Khan, foot soldiers of the Carnatic under the employment of the Nawwab as well as his allies numbering about sixteen thousand men under the command of Muhammad Beg Khan. All these forces were equipped with provisions, tents and other necessary things for the campaign and entrusted to the command of Murrammad

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Yusuf Khan,¹ with the following order, that he must reach the taluk of Chittoor, the *jagir* of Abdu'i-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, take htm in his company, hasten towards Chennapattan, exhibit bravery to the satisfaction of the Nawwab and attempt to stand high in his estimation. Then the Nawwab sent him with the following letter addressed to the Bahadur:

"On account of indisposition we find it impossible at present to exert ourselves and bear the hardships of a journey. We have delegated to you the command of the army equipped with all implements, abundant gunpowder, and cannon under the supervision of Muhammad Yusuf Khan. We have appointed you in our place and so it is necessary that, without the delay of even a day, you should march with the army to defend Chennapattan and punish the French; arrangements must be made to block the roads so that not even a grain of corn should reach the enemy and thus reduce the besiegers to the position of the besieged, and make them feel distressed on account of the resistance of the English, as well as the whip of your chastisement. You must understand that I will be there immediately after recouping my health."

Further encouraging and refreshing letters were addressed to George Becket, General Lawrence, and other *sarddrs* of the English, to Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Muhammad Abrar

(1) Yusuf Khan reached Trichinopoly from Madura in June, 1758. He was asked to Join Preston, with 2,000 sepoys and other troops from Tanjore and Pudukottah. He captured Elavanasur and Tirukoilur, cut off M. Lally's communication with Pondicherry and finally joined Preston at Chingleput. Yusuf Khan's name, according to Sir John Malcolm, occurs 'as often in the pages of the English historian (Orme) as that of Lawrence or Clive'. He was the ablest of the Indian soldiers who fought in the early wars between the English and the French. He rendered very valuable service in the operations round Trichinopoly in 1752-54. He helped the English during M. Lally's siege of Madras. He established peace and security during his governorship over Madura and Tinnevely.

See S. C. Hill: *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant* (1914).

YUSUF KHAN AT ST. THOMAS' MOUNT

Khan, Sayyid Fatah Ali Khan, and other servants of the Nawwab, and were entrusted to Muhammad Yusuf Khan, who, in obedience to the command of the Nawwab, started with the victorious array, covered *manzils* and reached Chittoor. He delivered the kind letter to Abdul-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and marched in his company towards Chennapattan. On reaching Chinglput, he left behind him his equipage, went alone to Frangkunda¹ with his horse and his sword, stayed in the garden of the Nawwab, and deputed the valiant army to surround the besiegers and block the ways through which supplies could come. Consequently, not even a straw could reach the enemy, whose impudence vanished on account of great weakness. On the other hand, the affairs of Chennapattan grew strong. The bridle of courage slipped from the hands of M. Lally. With the increase of power on this side, Riza Ali Khan lost his in all the *subas* of Arcot. The imaginary belief of the zamindars in the supremacy of the enemy, proved to be a fancied certainty; the ryots were unconcerned because they were able to hold their tenancy in peace, and the traders were equally so because of the facility in transit.

(1) Yusuf Khan and Preston arrived at St. Thomas Mount, where they were very nearly surprised by a force under Soupire; but the latter found the defence stronger than he had anticipated, and retreated to San Thome on the 30th December, 1758. This annoyed M. Lally so much that he postponed the opening of some fresh batteries for the siege.

See Orme, *History of Indostan*, Volume II, page 401; and Love's *Vestiges of OH Madras*, Vol, II, p. 545.

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M. Lally gives battle to 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and Muhammad Yusuf Khan Bahadur at Frangkunda; his defeat owing to the oppression of Major Prishtan in the battle-field; M. Lally retreats towards Chennapattan on learning the destruction of the two intrenchments extending to the edge of the ditch, by the attack of the people in the fort; the withdrawal of M. Lally from the fight at Franglkunda. The reconstruction of the ruined intrenchment; the night attack of Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahddur, and Major Prishtan against the army of M. Lally encamped by the bungalow of Dawud Khdn and its dispersal; the unsuccessful attempt of M. Lally, against Chennapattan and his departure towards Kanjl on seeing the ships from Bengal.

On account of the blocking of the roads of communication, the distressed condition of the army, and the consuming by the army of many bulls used for drawing cannon, M. Lally felt exhausted in his campaign. His repeated attempts to open the roads were in vain. The army of the *sarkdr* did not encamp in a particular place, but was ever on the move encircling the accursed enemy who, therefore, got no opportunity to meet them face to face. Notwithstanding two or three small engagements, he did not get success. M. Bussy also attacked treacherously the victorious army during night time. But the commander of the army, who was on the alert, had emptied the tents and stood on one side with the army and the implements of war, waiting for an opportunity to crush the enemy. When that worthless man fell rashly upon the encampment, the commander of the Nawwab's army found his prey, immediately came out of his ambush like a panther, and bound the striving hand of the enemy; he cut off the heads of many men, playing havoc like a lion among a herd. Thus the enemy found the inevitable defeat, left his cannon and

BATTLE AT ST. THOMAS' MOUNT

boxes of gun powder, and took away nothing but woeful hands and flying feet.

M. Lally found himself in a contortion of envy and malevolence, because of the valour of the army of the *sarkar*, the defeat of his own army—marked for destruction—the despair of success at the fort of Chennapattan, and the disgrace of M. Bussy. He engaged spies to report to him the favourable opportunity to fall upon the army of the *sarkar*.

Abdtfl-Wahhab Khan Bahadur who had gained experience in his action against M. Bussy, intended to assault the army of M. Lally during night and sent Major Prishtan to Chingleput to bring implements of war. The Major returned after a time with necessary things, five hundred soldiers, cannon, etc., and reached Frangiktinda, while Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur himself came there in accordance with his plan, took up his residence in the garden of General Lawrence—purchased later by the *sarkar*—encamping his army at the foot of the hill mentioned above. Major Prishtan halted in the same garden to the north of the residence of the Bahadur.

M. Lally learnt through spies that the army of the *sarkar* was camping in one place, and thought it a favourable opportunity to execute his defective plan. He deputed one portion of his army—destined for destruction—commanded by trustworthy *sardars* to engage themselves with the intrenchment and the siege of Chennapattan. Then he gathered the remaining two-thirds comprising a select group of French cavaliers and artillery men, and marched out to Frangiktinda for a night attack. In the latter part of the early night, he slaughtered the army of the *sarkar*, plundered the equipage, and caused devastation. At dawn, M. Lally reached the *maydan*,—at present the race ground,—opposite the garden of General Lawrence where Abdul Wahhab Khan Bahadur had halted, opened fire and pulled down one of the walls. Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur saw Muhammad Yusuf Khan

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standing ready with his army for action, and gave the order for attack to his own cavalry which numbered more than two thousand, while he himself began to open fire vehemently, thus assisting them in their fight. The French cavalry bent down over their horses, left the reins to the winds, and engaged themselves with naked swords. They had not reached the army of the *sarkar* before Major Prishtan who was lying in wait on the northern side of the garden stretched out his hand to pull the trigger of the gun, aiming at those destined for destruction. Thus when he found the enemy within his reach, he came out of the garden wall, his lurking-place, and opened the destructive fire on the right wing of the enemy, the powder-magazine being ready at hand, and burnt them like rubbish. Muhammad Yusuf Khan also opened fire on the cotton of the chest of the enemy. On account of the thundering of the cannon on both their flanks the very existence of the whole of the first line of the army, most of the second and a portion of the third—who were fighting foolishly and vainly—was blown to the wind of destruction. When the remaining forces of the enemy, which escaped slaughter, retreated, the combined forces of the Major and the Khan directed their attention to repel the accursed enemy from the battle-field as a retribution for the destruction of the broad-based wall of the garden, and advanced. M. Lally, with all his loss in the morning, merely out of ignorance, was steady in the battle-field till evening to exhaust his strength.¹

In the meanwhile when Becket, the governor of Chennapattan, a living symbol of the brave days of old, the creator of confusion in the ranks of deceitful enemy, saw M. Lally marching with two-thirds of his army to attack the forces of his ally, he considered those accursed besiegers,

(1) This was Caillaud's engagement with the French at the Mount on 9th February, 1759. For an account of the battle, see Love's *Vestiges of Madras*, Vol. II, pp. 555-558.

BATTLE AT ST. THOMAS' MOUNT

sitting like mice in their holes, as nothing before the weight of his own courage, and ordered the armed forces of the English, and intelligent *sardars*, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and Abrar Khan, great men of valour and distinction, to march out of the fort. In accordance with the command of Becket, the forces, with all the available assistance from the cannon on the bastions of the fort, put forth their strength to the utmost, exhibiting their bravery to the enemy who was pouring fire, and fighting valiantly; the English displayed great zeal, and there were also the manly intrepidity and the great valour of Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan. Each of these two who were the foremost of the valiant soldiers on the *may dan* of battle, stretched out his hand quickly to cut down the enemy and stepped forth to destroy him. Muhammad Abrar Khan especially gave positive proof of his bravery by his continuous musketry and his skill in the use of the spear. His walking abroad on the battle-field increased courage in the minds of others, and opened the tongues of enemy as well as friend in praise and appreciation of his skill. He destroyed the two intrenchments adjoining the ditch, pulled down the encampment of the enemy destined for destruction, broke up the union of bad characters, and then returned.

On learning this, M. Lally withdrew from the battle-field at Franglkunda and ran towards Chennapattan in great confusion and anxiety. With great endeavour he rebuilt the destroyed intrenchments with fresh materials. By the flash of the lightning of the clouds of cannon, he poured the fire of jealousy on the fort; the defenders in the fort also were outstripping them in cannonading, so that the cannon-balls proceeding from both sides collided with one another and each served as the target for the other. In short, on account of the raining of cannon-balls and stones from catapults, the buildings outside the fort were destroyed. The crisis of the fort reached

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such an extent that it seemed as though it would be subjugated by the French in a day or two and taken out of the possession of the English. In the meanwhile Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and Muhammad Yusuf Khan—who after the withdrawal of M. Lally from the battle-field at Frangkunda and his march towards Chennapattan on hearing the devastation of intrenchments, had offered their thanks to the Almighty Fattah, and out of necessity to leave the wounded and give rest to them, and to get ready some implements, gone to Chingleput, —returned with Major Prishtan during the night, attacked a body of the enemy which was sleeping with some implements, at a place adjoining the bungalow of the Nawwab Dawud Khan, and plundered cannon, guns, gun-powder and other equipment. On account of these successive losses, the people in the army of the enemy experienced great suffering for want of provisions*. Especially this was unbearable on the following day to every one in the accursed army. The English army had plenty of provisions, and did not have the least anxiety on that account, in spite of the severe attack by the French and their own exertions by day and night.

M. Lally assembled the intelligent councillors and opened before them the book of his heart:

" I took leave of our Padshah with the promise of subjugating Hind and thus reached this country. My first blow was at Dewnampattan and I attained my wish on its subjugation. But however much I poured the sweat of my endeavours and the blood of my affectionate companions in the course of the attempt and exertion to subjugate Chennapattan, yet I have to lag behind because of the firmness of the people of the fort, the stubbornness and briskness of the army of Nattharnagar and

(1) M. Lally was always afraid of the skirmishes of Yusuf Khan whose men were "like the flies, no sooner beat off from one part, but they came to another."

M. LALLY TAKES COUNSEL

the blocking of the roads of communication, and the consequent distressed condition of the army. Advise me, so that I may achieve success; show me a way so that I may proceed to find a remedy."

Considering his bad temper all kept silence, deliberating a suitable reply. But M. Bussy raised his absurd voice to give a foolish reply to that impossible question.

"In this highly distressed condition, namely, the destruction of the army and the famous soldiers, the poverty, the certain failure, spiritlessness, the starvation of the sepoys, and the appearance of the countenance of destruction, it is fit to abandon the vain idea of besieging and subjugating the fort of Chennapattan. On account of various reasons, it is difficult at present to subdue that single fort. After the subjugation of the kingdom of the Deccan, which will soon become ours with a little endeavour, it will not take long for us to subjugate Chennapattan."

M. Lally replied,

"I am afraid of the connection of Muhammad Ali in this affair, for I have seen and measured his sagacity and courage which is more than I imagined from the description of M. Dupleix. Again, he is a dear ally of the English, and possesses a sincere understanding with them. As long as these two strong enemies are there, they will never allow us to execute our idea against the Deccan. We shall achieve nothing but disgrace. It is also certain that under these conditions they will uproot the fort of Phulcheri—the foundation of mischief,—and then it will become impossible for us to take possession of it. It is necessary that we first turn our attention to repel these two enemies."

Thus after building castles in the air and seeing the weakness of the army, M. Lally loaded during the night in strict Secrecy, all his weighty implements in boats, and sent them to Phulcheri. In the belief that two towers and one wall on the

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side of the fort were demolished, he gave order for assault during that night¹, so intensely dark that it did not permit the eye to recognise any one. On account of the ignorance of those foolish besiegers, the intelligent defenders in the fort, under the protection of the debris of destroyed walls, piled up the dead bodies of brave men, collected bricks and clay, strengthened the wall and the tower to a considerable extent, and mounted cannon over them. As soon as the enemy began the attack, they exhibited bravery to such an extent by the discharge of cannon and muskets and the play of swords and spear-heads, that the story inspires till this day reverence in the mind of the valorous enemy and boldness in the minds of brave friends. They were so overpowered with zeal that they did not feel the smallness of their own numbers, and the superiority of the enemy's army; they thought that the filling up of the ditch with the slain was opposed to their self-respect, and considered it contrary to the verity of their intrepidity. They believed it was useless to take refuge within the fort, and considered it a shameful violation of the principles of war to arrange the defending forces within the fort. So they pushed back the enemy and advanced. Till 9 o'clock in the day, it was so dark owing to the mist, that they thought it was night, and never gave rest to hand or sword. So engrossed were they with the idea to dash forward and repel the enemy, that they never allowed even the normal rest to the feet.

In short M. Lally was disappointed and discomfited in his attempt because of the disgrace of losing the implements of war, the loss of honour in the death of many men of the army and intelligent *sardars*, the low spirits and the hunger of sepoys, the shame of failure, loss and destruction. On the same day and in the midst of such confusion he spied three ships approaching and by means

(1) This refers to the sally made by M. Lally on the morning of 14th February when he set *Art* to Chepattk.

COLONEL COOTE SAILS FROM ENGLAND

of a telescope he recognised them to be English ships* He understood that it was impossible to stay there further; he left his heavy equipage, lost his senses, and ran towards KanjL Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and Muhammad Yusuf Khan Bahadur, were ready with swords and the army of the *sartor* to loot the fugitive. In the meanwhile, Becket sent the following message: "Suspend your hostilities for awhile, I shall send you an army, so that you may strike at the root" So the Khans deemed it advisable to suspend the pursuit of the enemy.

The particulars about the ships; the enemy turns his face towards Kanji; Colonel Coote lands with the army; Abdtfl-Wahhab Khan gets ready necessary things, his own army and that of the English, and starts in pursuit of the running enemy.

For a long time it had been the custom in the countries of the hostile nations, the English and the French, that when one of the two contending parties set sail with its war ships in any direction, the other party also sent out its own ships of war for the protection of its own ports. According to this practice when M. Lally took leave of his Padshah and set sail with an army towards Phulcheri, intent on war, Colonel Coote, the English *sardar*, started from England with an army, to protect Chennapattan and other ports in Hind, belonging to the English.

Long after this mischief came to an end Colonel Coote again arrived in this land from Bengal with the title of General Sir Eyre Coote, got from his Padshah, and with the commission to fight against Haydar Ali Khan.

Colonel Coote who started from England lagged behind being hindered by unfavourable winds and other impediments which confronted him in different places, while M. Lally had reached Phulcheri nine months earlier and as described above he

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subjugated and devastated at the first blow Dewnatnpattan, and hastened to Tanjore, but found the disgrace of defeat and reached Arcot. Then he laid siege to Chennapattan and created great confusion. But on the arrival of the army of the sarkar, the fortunes were reversed. On account of the Scarcity of provisions and desertion of a large number of men, M. Lally potared the dust of shame and despair on the head of his hopes. Just when the cord of Ms desire was broken owing to his attack on the fort and the failure, three ships arrived from Bengali. On seeing them M. Lally left his heavy equipage and ran away towards Kanji in great confusion. After this the besieged in the fort of Chennapattan found their salvation from the calamity of the siege, opened the doors of the fort and congratulated one another.

Colonel Coote reached the fort as soon as his ships had anchored. Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and Muhammad Yusuf Khan Bahadur received George Becket and Colonel Coote with great joy. The army in the ship landed and collected outside the fort. Then, according to the suggestion of George Becket, Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur wrote an 'arzdasht to Hazrat-i-Ala.

Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, in accordance with the desire of Becket, got ready, with great quickness, bulls to drag cannon, beasts of burden, tents and other necessary things, from every quarter, by his own alertness and vigour. Then a big well-equipped army started under the command of Colotte! Coote accompanied by the armies of by Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan

(1) On the evening of February 16th, six sails were descried to the northward which anchored at 8 P.M. The French abandoned their camp at San Thome and ordered their outposts to join at the Powder Mill with a view to retreat the next morning. M. Lally, had, in reality, taken the resolve to retreat, two days before the ships appeared. Their opportune arrival hastened the retreat and doubtless saved the Black Town from destruction (*Love-Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 551). M. Lally retreated to Conjeevasam and Arcot where he arranged for the provisioning of the y.

BATTLE AT KANJI

Bahādur, Muhammad Yūsuf Khān, Ghazanfar Ali Khān, and Muhammad Abrār Khān. They reached Kanji and fixed their standards opposite the temple of Kanji where M. Lally had encamped with his army. Small engagements between the two forces took place now and then, but they were indecisive. This state of affairs continued till one day Muzaffar Khan—formerly a servant in the government of Hazrat-i-Ala for a long time, who had risen from a low position to the dignity of the title of Khan and then run away, joined the French on account of his past acquaintance with them, obtained from them the post of *faujdar* of Indian horse, and was extremely proud of his position—brought large provisions escorted by sepoys. On hearing this news, Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur sent on one side Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan with a select body of horse, and on the other side Muhammad Yusuf Khan with a strong army, and thus hemmed him round. When M. Lally set out to rescue Muzaffar after receiving information of his helplessness and weakness, Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur himself shot forth with the army of General Coote to assist the khans. The severity of the light created such a commotion that the English and the French troops met each other, horse against horse, group against group and fought unaided by others. In the course of the fight throughout the day the hand did not find rest from striking and slaughtering and the feet did not abstain from advancing. [During this commotion, Muzaffar Khan was slaughtered along with many of his companions by the swords of Abrar Khan and the courageous soldiers of the victorious army. Provisions which were in abundance came into the hands of the brave soldiers. On the whole some Muslim warriors were killed and wounded; Balton, and some brave and devoted English soldiers died. When the heavens drew on their forehead the blood of the wounded day, in the shape of evening twilight, and the sword of sun was put to

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rest in the sheath of the sword, victory and triumph **were the** companions of the *sarkar*, and defeat and distress caused the flight of the worthless enemy. That is, with all the wail over the slaughter and the wound to many *sarddrs* of the army M. Lally hastened to Kanji to take refuge where also he did not find courage. So he ran away to Arcot, while the resounding of the musical instruments played by the victorious army conveyed to the ears of the universe the news of happiness.

M. Lally dispatches M. Bussy to seek the help of Basdlat Jang; M. Bussy brings him from Adhoni; Basdlat Jang retires after the receipt of letter from Hazrat-i-Ald, yet sends Dhul-Faqar Jang along with M. Bussy. Both these join the army of M. Lally; Arshad Beg Khan comes with the army to help Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur; the capture and subjugation of the fort of Wandwdsi and other forts and districts of Arcot.

After the flight of M. Lally towards Arcot, Abdul-Wahhab Khan Bahadur occupied the temple at Kanji. On seeing the walls in a dilapidated condition, he carried out necessary repairs and thus strengthened them. He deputed for its defence an army under an experienced *sardar* of the *sarkar* and an English troop with lead, gunpowder, and other necessary provisions in abundance. He appointed as *qiladhr*, Abdu'l-Hayy Khan by name, the sister's son of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, whose genealogy had already been recorded, commanding him to collect money, gather provisions and send cattle for the purpose of food to the soldiers of the Padshah.

Leaving at Kanji superfluous equipage, Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur hastened towards Arcot with Colonel Coote

(1) For details of M. Lally's flight, see Orme, *History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p.452

ATTEMPTS TO WIN BASALAT JANG

pursuing M. Lally like a lion after its prey and pitched his Victorious tents on this side of the river, facing the enemy. M. Lally reached Arcot earlier and posted his army to strengthen the flanks. In view of the increasing strength of the *sarkar* day by day and the decline of his own splendour, he called for a council and sought the opinion of his wise and prudent councillors. M. Bussy, who spoke last, suggested that he would seek an interview with Basalat Jang and apply for his help; thus he put a plaster to the wound of M. Lally, who approved of it.

M. Bussy started with letter and presents. He met Basalat Jfangi at Adhoni, his *jagir*, and submitted the letter and presents. With the art of winning the hearts of friends and blowing the incantation of Satan he opened the tongue of solicitation to excite temptation and greediness. Basalat Jang was deceived. He got ready to help the French, came out of Adhoni with his army, and marched towards Arcot. Hazrat-i-Ala got information of this fact and wrote a letter of advice embellished with various reflections. He entrusted that letter to a messenger with strict instructions and kind and generous admonitions.

*Letter of Hazrat-i-Ala to Basalat Jang.**

The chain of goodwill should increase day by day and not be spoiled by the intrigue of enemies. It is necessary for us to enquire diligently and investigate carefully every affair.

I have taken vengeance on Husayn Dost Khan for the murder of my father. Now with the idea of exacting retribution for the murder of the Nawwab Nasir Jang I have put to death many brave French soldiers. I have no other aim but to repel these pernicious French and pull down their fort. In

(1) Basalat Jang was the younger brother of Salabat Jang who granted him the *jagir* of Adhoni. Basalat Jang died in 1782.

(2) Summary of the letter and the reply is given

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these circumstances I think it will be ruinous for you to come to the Carnatic depending upon the French If N i z a m Ali Khan Asaf Jah II had considered their friendship useful he would not have engaged himself to expel them from the country. Hence you should consider well before you act. Abo you should not believe the promises made by the French.

Basalat Jang read this letter carefully going deep into every word. He described to those present the wisdom and bravery of Hazrat-i-Ala and felt thankful for the knowledge he gained of the real state of affairs and wrote a reply expressing his thankfulness for Hazrat-i-Ala. Then he sent away the messenger presenting him with cash and *khilat* and himself returned to Adhoni.

Reply of Basalat Jang.

I am very happy and thankful for your kind letter. You are experienced in the art of administration and well acquainted with every affair. I deem advisable whatever you think proper. I have not acceded to the request of the French. I hope you will be sending me such kind letters.

When Basalat Jang returned to Adhoni he reconsidered the request of M. Bussy, made a sign to Dhu'l-faqar Jang to assist and accompany M. Bussy with six or seven thousand horse, belonging to himself and to the Mahratta *jagirdar* in the area of Adhoni, and proclaimed that Dhu'l-faqar, out of regard for his past friendship with the French, had started out to assist them on his own account without the permission of Basalat Jang.

After the arrival of M. Bussy and Dhu'l-faqar Jang, M. Lally became conceited, set out with his army from the fort and posted himself on the bank of the river, opposite the encampment of the *sarkar*, the intermediate space being the width of the river. On hearing of the arrival of Dhu'l-faqar Jang, Hazrat-i-Ala sent Arshad Beg Khan, his trustworthy servant,

BATTLE AT WANDWASI

with an army composed of horse, infantry and artillery. Further he strengthened and prepared the army of Abdul-Wahhab Khan Bahadur. In brief, when the two armies met, they sometimes fired cannon, sometimes embroiled with each other, sometimes engaged themselves in sword fight, and sometimes struck against each other during the time of reconnoitering at night, and waited for an opportunity to come off with success. Eventually the exalted Nawwab Hazrat-i-Ala got information of these affairs and despatched letters to George Becket, the Governor of Chennapattan, Colonel Coote, the *sardar* of the English army, Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, and other *sardars* of the *sarkar* with the following contents:—

"To leave the enemy to liis own condition, and permit him to enjoy leisure during the period of war, will mean that he will try to collect forces from distant places, and replenish himself with arms, and implements and thus acquire fresh strength.; it will prolong the war, cause heavy expense to the *sarkar*, bring about loss and affliction to the subjects and will rata the affairs of the kingdom. In these circumstances it is preferable to act as quickly as possible."

The *sardars* of the army in obedience to the command of Hayrat-i-Ala, and also on receipt of letter from the Governor of Chennapattan who conveyed the order of Hazrat-i-Ala, deliberated together, marched out at midnight, attacked the fort of WandwasI, which was on the way to Phulcheri, an asylum for the sick and the wounded and the storehouse of abundant implements belonging to the French. They Gannonaded to breach one side of the fort wall. Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan the brother-in-law of Husayn Dost Khan, the *jagirdar*, and a well-wisher of the French, was busily engaged along with the French army in guarding the demolished wall. In the meanwhile, Muhammad Abrar Khan and Arshad Beg Mian climbed by means of ladders the wall on the other side where there was not the least suspicion in the people of the fort because of its

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strength and height that reached the sky. By the grace of the Great Opener they subjugated it. The *jagirdar*, the French forces, and others inside the fort became prisoners. The victorious army then attacked the fort of Karnagaland captured it from the French. Thence they turned towards Timiri, Kaveripaki and Chettpattu and cleared those forts of the thorn and rubbish of the mischief of the enemies. Then they chose the good *maydan* of Kanji and rested there in comfort.

M. Lally attacks the fort of Wandwasi; Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and Colonel Coote fight against him; the imprisonment of M. Bussy; the death of Dhiil-faqdr Jang; the flight of M. Lally to Phulcheri via Chenji.

As the forts and the districts on all sides were subdued by Hazrat-i-Ala and every place was strongly garrisoned by the *sarkar* and the English, M. Lally understood that the way of hope was closed. He felt wounded in his heart and assembled a council of his ministers. Every one gave his opinion according to his sagacity to get back the portion that had gone out of hands. M. Bussy spoke thus:

"The fort of Wandwasi² lies between Phulcheri and the army, and is comparatively more important than all the other forts; to allow it to remain in the possession of the enemy will be detrimental in various ways. It must be our prime motive to keep it in our hands for the purpose of keeping the roads clear. Muhammad Taqi Ali Khan, its *qil'adar*, our well-wisher, is in the hands of the enemy as a prisoner; as we are helpless at present to liberate him, it befits our good name and prestige to put his son in his stead as *qiladar* and thus give

(1) Karunguzhi and other places were also captured soon, and Kaveripak was taken by the English even in July.

(2) For details about the battle of Wandewash, see Orme, Vol. II, pp. 577, Murland's *Baillie ki Paltan* (1930), pp. 8, *et seq.*

SIEGE OF WANBWASI

proof of our trustworthiness and humanity. Consider it the best opportunity to expedite this affair at present; for it is our good luck that the enemy is far away taking rest at Kanji, It will be the best policy to attack the fort during night, for by the time the enemy comes to know of it and girds up his loins, we can subjugate it."

On the approval of all the other councillors, M. Lally also agreed to this as a suitable plan. Then, with this useless idea, he started during night from Arcot with his whole army and laid siege to the fort. Imagining that he was skilful in his work and desiring eagerly to bring his score to equality with the *sarkar's*, he opened lire vigorously and exerted himself uselessly in a way that fails description. But Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and Colonel Coote had stored there every kind of provision necessary for the army, and had deputed experienced men, both English and Indian, in view of their own absence and the certainty of treachery of the French. These men, namely the servants of the *sarkar* and the English, took a firm stand, rained fire, and scattered the bodies of impudent men as ashes to the wind of destruction. Thus the calculations of M. Lally went wrong. After a series of attacks he achieved nothing but sorrow at the loss of his army. However much this helpless man put forth the strength of his labours to run against the intrenchment, he did not achieve anything but the disgrace of failure. Immediately after hearing this news Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan-Bahadur, and Colonel Coote, marched out with their army, stationed themselves at the foot of the hill of Wandwasi, and divided it into many troops: one troop, composed only of the soldiers of the Padshah, was commanded by Colonel Coote; another, the soldiers of the company under the English *sardars*; the third, Indian sepoy under Muhammad Yusuf Khan; the fourth and fifth consisted of horse of the *sarkar*, under Ghazamiar Ali Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan. These were appointed to fight against the enemy and were equipped with cannon and

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other implements. **The** sixth troop which consisted of the infantry of the Carnatic, under Arshad Beg Khan was left behind with some cannon, to guard the camp at the foot of the hill. Then all marched forward. When the *sipahdar* of the day with golden rays (*i.e.* sun) had marched some distance from the eastern horizon towards the *maydan* of the sky, beautifying the glorious army, they halted opposite the enemy's forces, at a distance where the standards of each other might be recognised. Then Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur posted the first and second troops which consisted of the soldiers of the Padshah and the company, to the right and left of the Indian sepoy's under Muhammad Yusuf Khan, and the two troops of horse under Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Abrar Khan to the right and left of these three troops, according to the regulations of war; while a body of two hundred or more were placed, as usual, with two or three cannon in the rear, as reserve. Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, a sword in his hand that would open the heart of the enemy, rode a horse swift as wind, in the company of Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

M. Lally ordered those who were deputed to be at the intrenchment to engage themselves in pulling down the fort, while he himself with a vast army of cavalry, infantry and artillery hastened forward in battle array to meet the army of the *sarkar*. Thus from seven in the morning the cannon on both sides began to speak. Advancing steadily forward, they stood face to face in the middle of the *maydan* where the cannon balls had been falling. The cannonading was so heavy and continuous that they had no space to breathe but the breath of the flames. In brief, the flaming tongues in hell sought shelter elsewhere being inflamed **by** these tongues of flame; the devils raised a lamentation, the water of sword passed through their heads, and the boat **of life** was destroyed by the dashing of waves of calamity; **the eyes of the world never witnessed such an overflow of blood,**

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the ears never heard such a fight with scenes of distress as on the resurrection day. The French who had plenty of fighting men were replacing the fallen soldiers now and then with fresh people. The English could not do so, because they were few in number; but they maintained themselves on the battlefield simply out of their sense of honour. Finally, on account of the close approach of the enemy, they had no use for their cannon and muskets and fought hand-to-hand with one another, *i.e.*, cavalry men, armed infantry men and *frangs* on both sides fought hand-to-hand, each choosing his opponent. In brief, the decline of the world of life continued till the setting of the sun, and the world was caught between the jaws of death. On account of the superiority in number, and the frequent refilling of ranks, there was alertness in the French army, while weariness appeared in the ranks of the English because of the paucity of men and continuous exertion. Those who watched the manner of battle were struck with the fear of defeat for the army of the *sarkar*. At this juncture, the face of success which was wrapt in divine mystery appeared by the help of the All-Bestowing Lord Who is always present watching the activities of Hazrat-i-A'la. That is, the two or three hundred men, who, as mentioned previously, were their reserve strength observed the hand-to-hand fight on both sides and cannonaded. As fate would have it, one of the cannon balls, fell on the powder-magazine of the enemy. The flame of its fire spread confusion in the ranks of the enemy. Colonel Coote, who led the soldiers of the Padshah, took this good opportunity and with great alertness, without any hesitation and in the twinkling of an eye, destroyed the heart of the enemy's forces. Muhammad Yusuf Khan also acted briskly and cannonaded from another side. When the fire was lit up as needed in the circumstances, it burnt alike the dead as well as the living. M. Bussy became a prisoner along with many of his countrymen; Dhu'l-Faqar Jang was slain in that

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sweeping eaiamity. The number of the slain and the prisoners among the *frangs* and the Indians on the side of the enemy was beyond neckoiwag. On seeing this dangerous situation, *great trouble*, and commotion, as on *the* Judgment Day, M. Laily in fear and confitsion, in great distress and agitation, hid himself from *the* view of the victorious men, and ran towards Chenji¹, with a handful of men, leaving behind him big cannon, tents and all the equipage, from the beasts of burden down to straw, to be plundered. At Chenji also he did not find shelter. So he ran away to Phulcheri. The soldiers at the intreuchment were so much deeply absorbed in cannonading that they were not aware of the defeat of their army till the arrival of the English soldiers to capture them. Abdtfl-Wahhab Khan Bahadur gave orders to imprison the captives, to dress the wounded, and bury the dead on both the sides. He demolished the intrenchment and left no sign of it and opened the doors of the fort. The Khan and Colonel Coote dispatched letters conveying the happy news of success to Hazrat-i-Ala and Becket. On that day they stayed where the French army had encamped. Next day they marched out with their army against the fort of Parmukal² which was in possession of the French. In spite of the fact that it was situated on a hill and was further garrisoned by a French army, *it* was subjugated in a week with the aid of a downpour of balls from cannon and stones from catapults; and the French were made prisoners. Then they turned the reing of their high-blooded horse, fleet-footed enough to cover kingdoms, towards Wardawur (Valudavur) and subjugated *it* after a siege of four or five days and imprisoned the French garrisoa.there.

(1) M. Lally, after the defeat at Waodwasj, fell back on Chetpet and retreated to Gitogee and thence to Valudavur, fifteen miles from Pondicherry.

(2) Perumukkal in theTiarfivsmam taiug.

HAZRAT-I-A'LA'S ORDERS TO GENERALS

Abdül-Wahhāb Khān Bahādūr starts for Chandragiri; Colonel Coote stays with his army in Wardawūr to collect provisions for the subjugation of Phulcheri; the appointment of Mīr Asadullāh Khān to the post of nā'ib to the nizāmat of the shūba of Arcot according to the orders of Hazrat-i-A'lā; the defeat of the army under Sayyid Ibrāhīm Alī Khān at the battle of Tiyyākgadh (Tyagadug).

After a perusal of the *arzdasht* containing details of the flight of M. Lally towards Phukheri, the imprisonment of M. Bussy, the death of Dhtfl-Faqar Jang, and the subjugation of the forts Parmukal, and Wardawuri, Hazrat-i-Ala sent replies individually:—

(1) to Abdtfl-Wahhab Khan Bahadur directing him to go to Chandragiri, to strengthen and defend it as it happened to be the residence of his noble mother and his exalted sister, it was contiguous to the boundary of Mysore, and there was a rumour of the mischief of its *tarafdār* who had friendship with the accursed French;

(2) to Colonel Coote instructing him to stay at Wardawur and collect unstintingly all the necessary things for subjugating the town of Phulcheri;

(3) to Mir Asadrillāh Khan who resided at Chennapat-tan reappointing him *nu'ib* of the *suba* of Arcot;

(4) to Arshad Beg Khan directing him to accompany Mir Asadu'llah Khan, to collect *peshkash* from *palayogtirs*, remove the mischief of robbers, and protect the boundary from the mischief of the enemies;

(5) to Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan commanding them to associate with the Colonel; and

(1) M. Lally was forced to retreat from Valudavur to the limits of Pondicherry (April 1760).

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(6) to Muhammad Yusuf Khan permitting him to attain happiness by an interview.

All these attended to their work in obedience to the orders. When the Great Giver subjugated for the Nawwab half of the kingdom of Arcot from the shores of the river Krishna to Wardawur, Hazrat-i-Ala deemed it prudent to settle the affairs of the other half of the kingdom, and sent from Nattharnagar Sayyid Ibrahim Ali Khan, the eldest son of Sayyid Makhdum Ali Khan along with Danishmand Khan, Muhammad Tajifd-Dln Khan and Kishan Rao, along with a well-equipped army of the *sarkar*, two hundred soldiers and one English *sarddr* to subdue the fort of Tiyakgadh¹. Accordingly the Khan covered *manzil* after *manzil* and reached near that fort. He had not got down from his horse, and was thinking to encamp his army, when the French rushed out like a cannon ball from their waiting place below to attack him. The Khan who had no time to draw out his army for the battle, began to fire instantaneously. As the enemy also was cannon-ading, he had to order his army to stand at a distance where the cannon shot could not reach them, so that they might save their lives and be useful for the work of the *sarkar*. Finally on account of the advance of the enemy, great confusion happened in the army of the *sarkar*. Nobody obeyed the orders of the commander; every one liberated himself from the bond of scruples of service in the face of this calamity, and took the way to preserve his own life. As the infantry, the cavalry, and the *sardar* went in different directions the belongings of the army were looted by the enemy. The wicked French then became victorious, and on that day stayed at the same place. Next day they marched stage after stage

(1) At Tyagadug M. Lally assembled a body of 900 Europeans to march out to Trichinopoly (October 1759).

HAZRAT-I-A'LA COLLECTS AN ARMY

without any opposition or hindrance, plundering and pursuing those who were running from the battlefield, and entered the temple of Srirang adjoining Nattharnagar.

Hazrat-i-Ala was at the fort of the prosperous Nattharnagar; his whole force was divided into many troops and stationed in different districts; yet he was not alarmed or agitated, merely because of his inborn courage; he closed the doors of the fort, and strengthened the defence as far as possible with available men. He assembled the inhabitants of the town and gave them arms and horse. He was able to get together 700 horse including his nobles and his prosperous sons; he made up for armed men and infantry from among the ryots, professional men and others. Thus he collected in all three thousand men equipped with cannon and implements of war, under the leadership of Sayyid Makhdum All Khan and Sayyid Nasir Ali Khan and stationed them outside the fort towards the northern gate, on the bank of the Cauvery opposite the temple of Srirang, the encampment of the enemy. Then he was able to gather within a period of about a week or ten days an army composed of infantry and some horse from Tundaman (of Pudukottah), from the zamindar of Tirur and others from among the seven zamindars of Maniparah belonging to the *suba* of Nattharnagar. In the meanwhile, those who fled from the battlefield of Tiyakgadh returned with excuses and in a bashful and distressed condition. He received them all from soldier to *sardar*, and made them feel honoured by his demonstrations of love, and removed their bashfulness; he gave them fresh implements, and once again got them ready to exhibit their devotion. The English troop also came back in the same ruinous condition. Hazrat-i-Ala comforted them, and in the place of their *sarddr* who fell on the ground and gave up his life on account of his drinking a large quantity of water at a *manzil*, appointed another *sardar* according to the custom of the English and **made** them join the army.

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When Ipasrat-i-A'la found the face of an army, according to the proverb 'Little drops of water make the great ocean' he dispatched them against the temple of Srirang. The French learnt this, cut down the trees, destroyed, plundered and vacated the buildings and devastated the temple. The army of the *sarkar* entered it without any fight and according to the custom appointed the *qilhdar*, the *darugha*, and other managers, issued orders to rebuild, inhabit and fortify it. Then they returned to Hazrat-i-Ala.

The happy march of Hazrat-i-A'ld with his army, resolving to subdue the fort of Phulcheri; his return from Ranjangadh to Karikal, and its subjugation besides other forts belonging to Arcot; Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur meets him at Wardhachal; Hazrat-i-A'la increases the splendour of Chennapattan by his presence.

After the French had fled from the temple of Srirang and Muhammad Yusuf Khan returned from Wardawur seeking the presence of Hazrat-i-A'la, the Nawwab held a council of his nobles and ministers and addressed them as follows:—

"From the beginning of the establishment of the standards of our pomp and power we neither spent a single day in peace nor slept comfortably during night without anxiety on account of the ever-wakefulness of dormant mischief. For the purpose of extinguishing the live embers of the mischief in the *zamm-dart* it has become necessary to spend treasures and shed **the** blood of some army; consequently the kingdom is brought into a state of confusion. But what a hard task it will be to put **out the flame** of the fire of opposition of the ruler of *frang* community? Placing my reliance on Allah, I have resolved to subdue **the** fort of Phulcheri which is the source of mischief and **confusioa in** this land. It may be recalled here that in an **attempt to** subdue it Nawwab Nasir Jang Shahid, the *sarder* and a

HAZRAT-I-A'LA PREPARES FOR WAR

powerful commander who possessed three lacs of horses, lost his head without achieving any thing. I desire to uproot this thorny tree whose branches are the cause for the desolation of the garden of the kingdom of the Deccan. I grant that Phulcheri is strong as iron and it is in the hands of the haughty enemy. I understand that it will furnish a test for the exercise of the magnet of the inborn, God-given courage, and I count it a proof of the strength of the conquering arm, the joyful glory of victory. To work I have the right, help is from Allah; plans proceed from me, but the fruits are from Allah."

All those who listened to the speech stood up, kissed the earth in respect and gave the following reply:

"The support of the Eternal Lord is with your auspicious intentions for war. According to our prayer, your enemy has his heart opened with the scimitar. In whatever direction you turn your steps, it will be suitable. God will be your supporter in your attempt to untie every difficult knot."

Hazrat-i-Ala felt cheerful and happy at the exhibition of obedience by his faithful and devoted servants who held fast to the skirt of his kindness and favour. Then he appointed Ghulam Husayn distinguished by the title of Umdatul-Umara, the eldest and the best beloved of his sons, as his *na'ib* at Natthar-nagar; Sayyid Ali Khan. Sayyid Nasir Ali Khan, Malik Aalam Khan, and Husayn Muhammad Khan as his followers and councillors, and honoured and glorified them by entrusting to them suitable services. He got ready provisions and all kinds of material, appointed experienced men along with some trustworthy English and thus strengthened the fort. After issuing instructions—obedience to which is necessary—Hazrat-i-A'la started with the idea of subjugating Phulcheri, followed by his own army and those of others, on the road of confidence and sincerity on Thursday, 20th of Rajab of the year 1173 A.H. riding in his howdah, like the rising of the glorious sun, in an auspicious moment, when his lucky star was in the ascendant and the

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star of the enemy was in the descent; while his ears heard the joyful music of the drum, his eyes were on the victorious bridle, his tongue sought the help of the Lord, his mind placed its reliance on the Supreme Intercessor; his will was to destroy the very foundation of the wickedness of the enemy and his purpose to bring prosperity to the creatures of God. Thus he started in splendour and pomp, in dignity and magnificence. As soon as he crossed the two rivers, the Cauvery and the Coleroon, he met the conveyor of joyful news, namely the vakil of Mir Asadu'llah Khan who submitted an '*arzdasht*' which informed him of the management of important affairs relating to Arcot, the return to obedience of the zamindars and *jagirdars* and the steps taken to collect *peshkash*. On hearing this, Hazrat-i-A'la thought it a good omen for the achievement of his object, and the destruction of the accursed enemy, and prostrated before the Lord offering his thanks. In great happiness and joy he halted at Mansurpet, at a distance of three *kurdhs* from Nattharnagar. Next day he marched from that place and blessed the *qasba* of Untaturi by his generous presence. Next morning he passed Walkunda with his army, and his banners flew over Ranjangadh² situated at a distance of one *kuroh* from Walkunda, because of the welcome, profound service, request and humble devotion of Mu'tabir Khan, the *jagirdar* of that place, and it was the virtue of the generous disposition of the Nawwab to show regard to the big as well as to the small. He ordered his army to camp round about the fort, and his own guards inside it, while he himself with nobles and ministers resided therein shedding splendour by his presence. Mu'tabir Khan submitted *nadhr* and observed the rules of obedience necessary for a vassal, displayed the courtesy and duties of a host and thus cleared the mirror of his mind off the rust of past turbidness. Hazrat-t-

(1) Utatur was situated fifteen miles south of Perambalur near a rocky pass through which the road runs to Cuddalore.

(2) Ranjangadh was the scene of a well-known battle in 1751 A* D,

SIEGE OF KARIKAL

Ala stayed for seven or ten days in ease and comfort, enjoying different kinds of food and drink, hunting, going on pleasure trips and planning to subjugate Tiyakgadhi. In the meanwhile Smother spy arrived safely and submitted the news about the fort of Karikal being strengthened by the crowd of the wicked French, besides the misery of travellers and cultivators round about it on account of their presence. He dropped the idea of subjugating Tiyakgadhi, took leave of his host exhibiting gracious kindliness, and customary generosity by the grant of Walkunda as a *khdlisa jagir* in compliance with the long-felt desire of the *jagirdar*, and then marched with his victorious army towards Karikal; after a long march he reached the fort and besieged it. He planted his banners to the north of the fort, pitched the tents of his army, and thus formed an entrenchment. With the idea of preventing any help reaching the enemy he established the bastions on the remaining three sides; the eastern side facing the sea of 'Uman² under the command of the English, the west under the exertions of Sayyid Makhdam Ali Khan, the south under the endeavours of Muhammad Yusuf Khan. In spite of the severe attempt of the besieged forces, the two towers on the northern side towards the tent of the Nawwab were pulled down in a few days; many haughty men were killed, and those who escaped death grew desperate and sought shelter; the door of the fort was broken and it was subjugated, and demolished; the French soldiers were imprisoned and the Indians set free on their undertaking not to join the service of the French. Hazrat-i-Ala then reached Nagur belonging to Tanjore, attained the happiness of visiting the *dargah* of Hazrat Qadir Wall (may Allah purify his resting

(1) Tyagadru is in the Kallakurichi Taluk, South Arcot District.

(2) TJman—The southern coast of Arabia, extending from Maskat to Aden, i.e., from the entrance into the Persian Gulf to the Straits of Babelmandeb. This seems to be a mistake for Bay of Bengal or rather the Indian Ocean*

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

place), submitted *nadhr*, and showed favour to the people in the neighbourhood of that illustrious place. Then he left that place and reached Tarkambadi¹, for its governor was a Dutch who on account of his religious affinity had joined M. Lally during his invasion of Tanjore on a previous occasion and helped him in all possible means. The Nawwab desired to punish him also and to destroy his place by the discharge of arrows and muskets that would blow up mountains. But the Dutch Governor approached the Nawwabin all humility, and submitted presents; the Nawwab simply increased the *jizya* and left him undisturbed in his position. Then Hazrat-i-Ala went to Salambar (Chidambaram) where he saw the fort, an ancient Hindu temple, garrisoned by French forces, cannon and other implements.² He gave battle, subdued the French and took possession of the fort. He imprisoned the French, put them in chains and sent them to Natthar-nagar. As it was commonly believed by the Hindus, Muslims, and others that Salambar had been the halting place of the throne of the prophet Sulayman (on him be peace) he gave presents to the inhabitants, honoured them, and made them feel happy. He entrusted the fort to AbduV-Rashid Khan, second son of Muhammad Najlb Khan Shahld, who had just then returned from Haydarabad where he had been on the death of his father, gained the confidence of the Nawwab after a time, and obtained the post of *diwan-i-khas*. Then Hazrat-i-Ala turned the reins of his valiant horse towards Wardachal (Vriddhachalam) where he found the fort secure in the hands of French, He pressed them so hard that they ran away and he captured the fort. When the enemy was fleeing he sent the victorious army in pursuit of the *sardar* and imprisoned him. In this manner Hazrat-i-Ala brought out the hiding French troops from every place; those who could not fly and escaped slaughter

(1) Tarangambadi (Tranquebar).

(2) The French had further fortified the huge walls of the Temple with bastions and gates.

HAZRAT-I-A'LA HONOURS HIS BROTHER

were made prisoners. As the climate and the site of Wardē-cbal and its plain were pleasant, Hazrat-i-Ala stayed there to rest his army. He laid new foundations for the fort¹ and thus strengthened it. Just then Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur arrived there. He had been to Haydarabad along with Muhammad Najlbu'llah Khan Bahadur, his younger brother, after the martyrdom of the Nawwab Nasir Jang Shahtd (on him be peace), but as narrated before did not return with him in response to the letter of Hazrat-i-Ala who, on the death of Husayn Dost Khan, invited both his brothers. Hazrat-i-Ala, according to his inborn nature, came out of the army quarters to receive him, paid his respects as a son to father, placed his head at the feet of his brother, submitted cash, precious stones, and the rarities of India and Europe, conducted him to the victorious camp and lodged him in a tent adjoining his own quarters. Then he strove to please him, discharged the duties of a host, and looked to his comforts. He learnt he had a desire to occupy Madhrah (Madura) and Tirnawlli (Tinnevelly) in accordance with the practice observed during the days of his father. Hazrat-i-A'la with exceeding joy and happiness entrusted to him the two taluks. Then he sent in advance a mandate addressed to 'Umdatul-Umara Bahadur, his beloved son, the *na'ib* at the *fuba* of Nattharnagar, enjoining on him to respect and honour his uncle as his own father, and to submit a *sanad* for the grant of the district. Then Hazrat-i-Ala escorted the Bahadur in person outside the camp and sent him towards Nattharnagar with tents, carpets and servants, and the whole world was astonished at the welling up of love and the modesty of the Nawwab which were beyond the nature of human beings. In obedience to the command of his famous father, Umdatul-Umara Bahadur welcomed his venerable uncle, took him into the fort of Nattharnagar and attended to the duties of hospitality. He wrote a *sanad* according to the directions, sent the Bahadur

(1) The temple of Vriddhachalam also served as a fort.

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towards the taluks, and reported the fact to his own glorious father. The, Bahidur reached the taluks entrusted to him, and engaged himself to set right the affairs of administration. The rest of the facts will be related in detail in this *daftar* and in the second *daftar*.

In brief, after taking leave of his brother, Hazrat-i-Ala marched from Wardachal towards Wardawuri to inspect the victorious army gathered under the command of Colonel Coot* according to his own orders. He visited the tomb of Shah Ali Ganj Gawhar (may Allah purify his resting place) which has the rank of paradise, paid his respects and secured the real support. He congratulated and praised Colonel Coote, the *sardar* of the army, who came forth with Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan to welcome the Nawwab and submitted presents and choice articles. Then the Nawwab entered the encampment. Next day after reviewing the army and receiving the salute, Hazrat-i-Ala presented Colonel Coote with a pair of horses, trappings, and a *turra* studded with gems. He also granted presents to every man of the army from the *sardar* to the sepoy according to the rank. On the fourth day he marched forward and reached the fort of Parmukal, which as detailed before, was captured by Abdrfl-Wahhab Khan Bahadur from the hands of the French and was brought under the control of the *sarkar*. Hazrat-i-Ala took pity on the miseries and poverty of Abu'l-Hasan Khan, the old *jagirdar* and a well-wisher of the *sarkar* and restored him to his *jagir* and made him a *qiladar*. Thence he reached Karnakal (Karunguli) halted there for a day and went to Chingleput. He honoured with presents the English army and the *sardars* stationed there. Next day he raised aloft the banners of his victorious army marching towards Chennapattan. Becket, the Governor of Chennapattan, went forth with other *sardars* to Frangikunda to welcome him, had the honour of meeting the Nawwab, and adorned his mind with

(1) Valadavur a fort near Pondicherry.



Lord Pigot

Referred to in this book as Becket.

GOVERNOR'S DINNER TO HAZRAT-I-A'LA

devotion and his tongue with thankfulness, on account of the graceful presents, princely generosity, kindness, benefaction and favours. After the prosperous alighting of the Nawwab's army, Becket busied himself with arranging a feast as described below.

Becket, Governor of Chennapattan, gives a dinner to Hazrat-i-A'la and his nobles in the Company's garden; gaiety and rejoicing of the English community by getting up a dance on the occasion.

Becket, the Governor of Madras, invited Hazrat-i-Ala and his nobles to a dinner. As the Nawwab was intimately associated with the English he showed them friendliness by Accepting their invitation with great pleasure and happiness.

The Company's garden² was decorated for the occasion.

The English took pride in the fact that Hazrat-i-Ala had honoured them by accepting their invitation.

All officers of rank among the English accompanied by their wives were present in the garden long before the appointed time.

The host seated the Nawwab on a golden chair and scattered before his feet gold and precious stones.

Dinner was served at the appointed time. Various kinds of dishes were served in such large quantity that those present were struck with amazement.

There was European as well as Indian dance. Then there was a display of different kinds of fireworks which delighted the party.

The whole night was spent in merry-making. Then Hazrat-i-Ala honoured those present with gifts,* especially Becket and other English *sardars* were favoured with presents according to rank.

(1) A brief summary of the account is given as the description of the feast is in courtly language.

(2) The garden house was acquired in 1753. It is the present day Government House in Chepauk.

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The army of the Sarkar under the command of Colonel Coote is employed to lay siege to Phukheri; Hazrat-i-Ala increases the splendour at Arcot by his presence; makes it populous as of old, receives a letter from the English King with two portraits and one lion bred in England.

Banquet being over, Hazrat-i-Ala held a council of war with Becket the Governor and other *sardars* of the council of Chennapattan and pointed out to them that it was a favourable opportunity to subdue Phukheri, because of the engagement of the Deccan army against the Mahrattas, and the war of gaydar Ali Khan against the zamindars of Mysore. He assured them that he had arranged to send from Nattharnagar in quick succession provisions necessary for the army and that he would stay at Arcot and manage these things. Then he issued orders to collect from Chennapattan lead, gunpowder, and other things necessary for war, to call for warships from Bengal or Bombay, and to employ them on the coast of Phukheri for the purpose of preventing help that could come from the port of Murs (Mauritius) and other ports of the enemy. They agreed to carry out all such directions. They also submitted definite information about the starting of ships from home with an army and their quick arrival to this land. He presented every one with *khilat* according to rank and bestowed distinction on Becket by honouring him with the presents of a horse, *khilht*, and a sword. Then he dispatched separate orders to the *sard&rs* of the army at Wardawur, instructing them to march with their forces and lay siege to Phukheri. Then he sent away, those present, and marched gloriously towards Arcot

When Hazrat-i-Ala reached Kaajl Abdu'l-Hayy Khan, the amil, who received him and submitted *nadhr*, was honoured with presents. Next Day the Nawwab was welcomed by

HAZRAT-I-A'LA AT ARCOT

Asadullah Khan and Arshad Beg Khan, the officers at Arcot, to whom he showed favours which made them feel elated. On his approach to the gate of the town, he became the fountain of favour to '*ulamds*, *qazis*, venerable men and others. Taking his seat on the hereditary throne at the *darul-amara*, he became the fountain-head to the vakils of zamindars and *jagirdars* who were present with *nadhr* and *peshkash*. When his noble mother and his exalted sister arrived from Chandragiri in the company of Abdul-Wahhab Khan Bahadur, his beloved brother, he paid them homage, and attained happiness. He honoured his brother for his fidelity.

Seeing the desolation of the town, Hazrat-i-Ala was oppressed with sorrow because of his innate tenderness; he gave orders to gather the inhabitants who had dispersed on account of the tyranny of the enemy, to get ready things necessary for the building of houses, and to pay every one from his plentiful treasury compensation for the loss of things. Thus he relieved the anxiety and distress of the subjects. He remitted for one year the dues and taxes of the cultivators, in order to encourage repopulation of the town. On account of such concessions the population of the town increased in a short time, and its beauty was enhanced because of the building of houses on ail sides. In the meanwhile, an '*arzasht* came from Becket submitting the news of arrival of ships from home with an army and the receipt of a letter from the English Padshah, along with two portraits of the King and the Queen,² and a lion bred in England under the care of the English King. On learning the news, the Nawwab felt happy and wrote in reply to Becket asking him to send those ships to Phulcheri for the succour of the army of the *sarkar* and the letter and presents to himself. Accordingly Becket sent the ships to the port of Phulcheri, kept the English lion in Chennapattan, and sent to the Nawwab the

(1) George III, grandson and "successor of George II (ace. October, 1760.)

(2) Queen Charlotte (married 1761.)

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letter with presents through one of the *sardars* of the ships. Hazrat-i-Ala arranged a *darbar*, assembled his retinue and servants and read out the affectionate letter in the hearing of the great and the small. Though the details of these letters will be given in a different place, a summary of them is given here to preserve the continuity of narration.

Letter of the English king to Hazrat i-Ala¹.

"Our sincere and true friendship which has become manifest till now has paved the way for the meeting in person. Mutual loyalty has become conspicuous. Our affection proceeds from the heart, hence mutual help has become obligatory. Love and affection were put to the test many a time. Your highness has helped us in times of hardship and misfortune to such an extent that it is not possible to enumerate them. From the days of my grandfather till this day my government is bound in gratitude for three generations; it is obligatory on my posterity to confess that, and as long as the English government lasts, it is necessary for them to have regard for past friendship and affection. There is no doubt that the wise and intelligent hold that the

(1) Two pictures of King George III and Queen Charlotte in their coronation robes, painted about 1761 by Allan Ramsay, were sent as presents to the Nawwab by His Majesty through the Court of Directors in 1768, with the singular accompaniment of a live British lion.

The King's letter accompanying it, dated 6th February, 1768 says as follows:—

"We accept with satisfaction the white stone which you have sent us, as a mark of your attachment. We shall wear it Ourself, and deliver it to Our successors in remembrance of you. And in order that you may have before your eye a memorial of Our regard and affection we send you Our picture and that of Our Queen. Moreover, hearing that you were desirous of procuring a lion, We have directed one from Our own collection to be sent to you which we desire you to keep for our sake as a public proof to the powers of Indostan of the particular regard with which We have been pleased to distinguish you."

The original of the above letter is in the office of the Paymaster of the Carnatic Stipends.

HAZRAT-I-A'LA'S LETTER TO KING GEORGE III

highest-rank is for those who have a warm feeling of goodwill towards, a benefactor; it will vouchsafe the pleasure of God. This good faith has blessed us, and our government has gained strength from day to day for the past three generations. The best benefits of this sincerity are reaped in the shape of victories for the English army on land and sea. We will join your highness in all the undertakings to put down the mischief of enemies. On account of our firm friendship from the days of my grandfather (King George I) we will never grudge to help your highness with our army to any extent in times of necessity. Out of regard for our ancient alliance and long friendship your highness must write letters constantly to strengthen our love and affection so that this may become well known in the world, set things right, and frustrate attempts of enemies.

Two pictures, mine and that of my queen are sent herewith so that the memory may be ever green by seeing them. A lion brought up under our care, a sword, a gun, two golden pistols and a few other presents enumerated in the enclosed list are also sent. I hope your highness will kindly accept them. I have conveyed some confidential information through the *sarddr* of the ship who seeks your highness's presence as my *vakil*."

Reply of Hazrat-i-A'la to the English King¹.

"Your affectionate letter reached me. As I was expecting it anxiously, its arrival gave me great pleasure. The contents which are very clear in giving expression to firm friendship, cordial love and deep attachment, add to our long-standing intimacy. I have scrupulous regard for our ancient alliance and past relationship. I am friendly to your friends and inimical to your enemies. The members of your Government are in union with me on account of this sincerity and they are in agreement with me in all undertakings. In fact the gratitude and sincerity

(1)'Summary of' the letters is given.

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of the English are well known and acknowledged everywhere. This accounts for the continuous defeat and failure of the enemies in spite of their great strength, and the steady advance of the power of the English, which perhaps may bring beneficial results to the world at large; for, the progress of the just is in fact the cause of the well-being of God's creation.

The rare gifts which you sent me out of your kindness reached me. It is difficult to give expression to their value. It is hoped that the increase in our friendship will result in the organisation of our friends and the ruin of treacherous enemies."

The members of the Government sealed the letter with the royal seal and entrusted it to the *sardar* of the ship.

The *sardar* was honoured with presents of cash, a *khil'at*, a ring studded with gems and a horse with embroidered saddle.

Colonel Coote starts with the forces of the Sarkar and the English intending to lay siege to Phulcheri; he reaches the frontier; M. Lolly comes out and encamps his army outside the fort; Makhdum Nayik, on behalf of Haydar Ali Khan, arrives with cavalry forces to help the French.

According to the orders of Hazrat-i-A'la and instructions from Becket, Colonel Coote shot forth with all the forces from his encampment at Wardawur to destroy the foundations of Phulcheri. When he reached its frontier, M. Lally also got out from Phulcheri, his station, with his army composed of Indians, *frangs*, and Negroes. He strengthened all the three sides of the fort to a distance of four *kurohs*, with implements of war and cannon, and newly-dug deep ditches, while the fourth side had the protection of the sea. Thus he made it appear that the subjugation of the fort would be impossible. As the road was obstructed by such an iron-like mountain and a fire-emitting dragon, Colonel Coote despaired of achieving his object, and

HAYDAR ALI HELPS THE FRENCH

lost his heart to oppose that evil. But the command of **the** Nawwab, the shame of retreat, and the fear to oppose the enemy, weighed with him and he was like one whose head was underneath the sword, or a goat before a fierce lion. He was in great confusion. The enemy also did not advance. Both parties were seeking for an opportunity to attack and did not do any work.¹ In this manner a period of eight months was spent without fighting. In the meanwhile Riza Ali Khan, son of Husayn Dost Khan, and M. Lally dispatched letters to Haydar AH Khan, seeking his help. As he had not established himself firmly² in the territory of Nandraj, of which he had taken possession, they wrote again and again, to achieve their end. Haydar Ali Khan felt helpless and sent Makhdum Nayik one of his relations, with an army of horse.³ When this reinforcement increased the light of the eye of their expectation, the hand was extended to loot the neighbourhood; they roamed about here and there to blockade the roads through which provisions could come to the *sarkdr*. Consequent on the straitened circumstances, lamentations and groaning sounded forth from the tongues of the army.⁴ The *sardar* did not think it advisable to oppose the enemy, because of the faint heart of his own sepoy. So he

(1) In April, 1760 Colonel Coote captured Valudavur fort; then he seized the Villiyanallur country, drove the French troops from the Perumbai hill and occupied most of the villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry, capturing the forts of Villupuram, Chidambaram, and Vriddhachalam. Thus the French were left with a few enclosures under the guns of Villiyanallur and Ariyankuppam, and the ground within the bound-hedge of Pondicherry.

(2) Haydar Ali Khan was then in great danger of being overthrown by Khande Rao, and was anxious to secure some place of refuge in case of failure.

(3) haydar Ali was persuaded to send a body of 2,000 horse and 3,000 sepoy to help the French on the condition that he would be given the forts of Tyagadurg and Elavanasore, besides a lac of rupees.

(4) This probably refers to the defeat of Krishna Rao, **near** Valikandapuram by Makhdum Ali (June, 1760) and his appeal to Colonel **Coote** for help.

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wished, to retreat certain *manzils* and then advance at an. opportune time. At this juncture, misunderstanding arose between the *sardar* and the Governor of Chennapattan. The 'arzdasht of Colonel Goote along with the 'arzdashts from other *sardars*, counselling the withdrawal of forces, reached Hazrat-i-Ala. From these the Nawwab learnt the difficulties of the army, but considered the retreat as improper. He wrote a letter to Colonel Coote informing him of his own march in person, besides other friendly news and thus encouraged and pacified the *sardar*. Then he instructed his officers to make arrangements for the march.¹

The march of Hazrat-i-Ala from the capital of Arcot towards Phulcheri; he joins the army under the command of Colonel Coote; the battle, the defeat of the French and the flight of Makhdum Nayik in the direction of Balaghat.

Considering the distressed condition of the army, and reflecting on the misunderstanding between the *sardars*, Hazrat-i-Ala ordered Mir Asadu'llah Khan, the *na'ib* in the *suba* of Arcot, to send regularly provisions to the army and cash for their expenses through the governor of Chennapattan. He also wrote to the governor asking him to send lead, and gun powder and take the usual charges from the Khan. Then basing his reliance on the grace of the Glorious Lord, Hazrat-i-Ala started in an auspicious hour, covered *manzil* after *manzil* and encamped near the victorious army. The *sardars*, who went forth to welcome him felt honoured, and an inspiring address from his lips relieved their minds of the cares of sorrow and the affliction of turbidness. Thus cheering the minds of soldiers, he entered his tent. Next day he reviewed the army. He placed the soldiers and armed men under the command of Colonel

(!) The Nawwab sent troops to Madura to attack Haydar's. possessions in Dindigul and to help Krishna Rao.

THE FRENCH SUFFER A REVERSE

Coote, the horse of the *sarkar* under Ghazanfar Ali Khan, while he himself commanded his own forces. He stationed them in three distinct places; that is, he posted the troops under Colonel Coote and Ghazanfar Ali Khan to the right and left of his own troop, with the idea of exhibiting his power and¹ influence. Then, on the third day he beat the kettledrum.

M. Lally, who took pride in his large army, encamped outside the fort the whole multitude of Indians, *frangs*, Negroes, and the horse of Makhdum Nayik. The battle began. The English came into contact with the French, and Ghazanfar Ali Khan with Makhdum Nayik, while Hazrat-i-Ala and Colonel Coote watched the fight intending to help the army of the *sarkar* if at any time—God forbid—any depression was seen, and cheered them with applause and praise. In spite of the thundering noise of cannon, and the innumerable fire-emitting guns, the showering of stones from catapults, and the dashing of the waves in the ocean of battle, both parties were steady in the field till noon, without achieving the happiness of success. As the Unknown Aid was designing to brighten the affairs of the *sarkar*, and Fate was waiting to ruin the labours of the wicked enemy, a ball proceeding from the fire-emitting cannon of the English, carried away from the scene of battle the foot of the *sardar* of the mischievous French, which was so calamitous as to make him give up the pride and the hope of leading the army; his followers, thus reduced to helplessness, increased the darkness of their gloomy faces, with the dust of disgraceful flight. Makhdum Nayik, in his helplessness and confusion due to the reverse of fortune, desired to seek refuge by joining the French army. Muhammad Abrar KJmri marched quickly with his horse from the battlefield, and blocked his way, when Ghazanfar Ali Khan pursued him and came against him like another calamity. Makhdum, racked on both sides, felt powerless and helpless and turned the bridle of his swift horse tawardr Tanjore. At every *manzil* many a horse **and rider**

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fell, and he was thus lightened of his equipage. Thus in utmost distress, he reached Balaghat with a small army and informed his master, who was jubilant in anticipation of victory with the French help, of the destruction of his army and his own misery.

The army of Colonel Coote, which, for various reasons, had suffered diverse mishaps¹, felt strong after the Nawwab's arrival and victory on that day. The roads on all sides were opened and large quantities of provisions began to come from Nattharnagar and Arcot. The residents of the adjoining villages purchased from the army grain that was in excess of their need, carried them to their own homes, and did business.

The battle, the siege of Yalanurfi its subjugation by the victorious army after a severe struggle.

The victory had been won and the wretched enemy routed; the prosperous Nawwab, possessor of the grace of the Mighty Lord, did not break his camp for three more days; musical instruments celebrated the victory; and the firing of salutes indicated his happy position. Ceremonies to the dead according to the different sects to which they belonged being over, and the brave men wounded in the battle having been dressed, he marched out on the fourth day to attack the tower at Yalanur which was well defended by select and able *sardars*, and considered to be the strongest of all the towers in the outskirts of Phulcheri.³ He encamped before the enemy at the distance of a

(1) One of such mishaps was the defeat in Tiruvati of Major Moore (July, 1760.)

(2) Villiyannallur (Villennour.)

(3) The bound-hedge of Pondicherry extended in a curve of fifteen miles round the town, and was strengthened by four large redoubts, called respectively from north to south, as the Madras, Valdour, Villennour and Ariyankuppam forts. Colonel Coote captured the fort of Villennour before M. Lally could come out of Pondicherry and relieve it. Orme says that **this was the most fortunate** of all Coote's successes, because it was least expected

HAZRAT-I-A'LA HOLDS A COUNCIL OF WAR

cannon shot. In a short time he erected high and long batteries and began to cannonade. For one full month each party was engaged by day in destroying the places of refuge belonging to the other, and in repairing them by night. Sometimes one party was successful and at other times, the other; the enemy was often driven to the tower. Hazrat-i-Ala was vexed at this state of affairs. So he assembled Colonel Coote, and other *sardars*, Indians as well as *frangs*, and nobles, and addressed them as follows:—

"When the results are slow in coming, the object of friendly complaints is with a view to seek aid, and it seems necessary to reveal to a friend what occurs in one's mind. That is, I do not make any complaint because of the prolongation of the war and the consequent large expenses. But I fear that in the event of delay, reinforcements may reach the enemy, and our labours with the loss of many souls and money during the past many months in the attempt to curtail the strength of the wicked enemy will go in vain. It strikes my mind that the reverse of our aims should not turn up, and cause fresh trouble. Even a single tower is not subdued till this day; and how to subdue other towers and forts? It is my earnest desire that we should exert ourselves speedily with bravery that it may become proverbial among men of the times."

All those who listened to this speech were impressed, became diligent, and submitted: "Let bygones be bygones; if, to-morrow, the order is given, and the three armies are drawn in battle array, your exalted eyes will behold the bravery of your devoted servants; for the standards of the *sarkar* will be flown from the tower and the enemy ruined and made to flee".

The Nawwab applauded this great courage. Next day he arranged the three armies, sent them towards three sides of the *maydan*, and gave orders to cannonade the enemy. The French

and it resulted in the retreat of M. Lally with his whole army under the walls of Ariyankuppam.

also exerted themselves greatly, and advanced so near that cannon balls proceeding from both sides collided with one another on account of the narrowness of the *maydan*. Finally, both forces mixed with each other at the foot of the tower. On account of the superiority in numbers—the root of mischief—the enemy was pouring in with renewed vigour. Half the day passed in this kind of fight; Colonel Coote who was standing aside with a group of soldiers of the Padshah, suddenly began to attack with such courage and strength that he paralysed the French. He directed the troops commanded by Ghazanfar All Khan and Muhammad Abrar Khan, to follow him while he attacked with his forces the tower on its broken side. In the heat of war, the Nawwab gave orders to rain fire from the cannon mounted on the batteries. Leaving his place, he joined the particular rank of his own army that was ready for attack; he commanded Muhammad Yusuf Khan and other *sardars* to attack the tower along with the Colonel. Thus by the steadfastness and bravery of these men, and the grace of the Great Glorious Lord the Bestower of all things, the Nawwab ascended the tower, planted the standards of the *sarkar*, took possession of the cannon, and began to open fire on the flying enemy. Musical instruments sang happiness, and salutes were fired in joy. Hazrat-i-Ala then demolished the tower. He gladdened the Colonel with the gift of a horse, and other *sardars* with presents of *khilat*. He tested his army and made the French fly in great confusion towards Adyakupam (Ariyankuppam).

THE ALLIES SUBJUGE ADYARDPAM

The subjugation of the towers of Adyakupam (Ariyan-kuppam) and Wadgara (Olugarai) one after another, and their demolition. The flight of the French in distress and with very great loss towards Tadpan seeking shelter.

The tower of Yalanur having been blotted out of existence, the accursed runaways took refuge in the equally strong tower of Adyakupam. Finishing the work pertaining to the dead and the wounded, Hazrat-i-Ala started on the fourth day, like a blood-tasting lion issuing forth from forest, in search of its prey. He reached Adyakupam and in accordance with the plan of Colonel Coote deputed an army to besiege it. Then he turned his attention to erect a new tower to destroy the ambush of the enemy. In a period of one week he pulled down one of the sides of the Adyakupam tower. This encouraged the victorious army who grew eager for war; while the enemy from that day got fear in the heart and morbidness in the mind. Colonel Coote, with soldiers of the Padshah, captured the tower, took possession of the cannon, opened fire on the enemy, and thus assisted the army of the *sarkar* which was fighting vehemently on the *maydan*.¹ As a result of this the enemy was overpowered and hastened towards Wadgara where M. Lally had encamped with an army and stores of countless implements of war. It was there a garden had been planted and named after the Padshah of the French. The bloom of colour on the forehead of trees in that garden was a model for a painter of the spring; the rare designs on its walls and doors reflected the splendour of the marvels of the times;

(1) Colonel Coote decided that, before attacking the redoubts of the hpund-hedge, he should capture the fort of Ariyankuppam which was separated from Pondicherry by the river. M. Lally heard of the plan and resolved to surprise the British camp. The French attack was made on 4th September and failed with considerable loss. M. d' Auteuil became a prisoner. The English camp extended from Villenour to Perumbai,

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

the loftiness of its roof was like the fortunate aspect of the felicity of Jamshid and Qubad; the arrangement of mansions in their respective places was the picture-gallery for celebrated painters like Manl and Bahzad. The tongue of the pen becomes sweet by praise of the sweetness of its fruits; the surface of the paper becomes tinged with colour by extolling the colours of its flower-garden. The beds of green hyacinth, narcissus and wild rose satisfied the imagination.

After the subjugation of the tower of Adyakupam, Ha?rat-i-Ala favoured Colonel Coote with fresh honours. After attending to the wounded and the dead, he reached Wadgara, fixed at suitable places the standards of his victorious army and laid siege to the garden, the encampment of the accursed army. As the garden was well protected by a series of towers, Hazrat-i-Ala built towers opposite to them and made the flaming guns emit forth the fire that would burn the enemies. For a period of three weeks, both sides fought daily with equal valour. One day the superior courage of the friends of Hazrat-i-Ala got the better of the enemy. Just when both ranks came to close proximity Colonel Coote withdrew himself along with some soldiers to one side with great ability. As soon as M. Lally overcame the file of men who opposed him, he went forward, intoxicated with the drink of pride, as far as the tower of the *sarkar*, without due caution. Colonel Coote then came out of his hiding place, and M. Lally was caught between the Colonel and the line of defeated soldiers. He got frightened and stretched out his head with the idea of escaping from the rack, but found the way blockaded by Ghazanfar Ali Khan and the cannonading of Colonel Coote. He had been in a similar situation on a previous occasion. In brief, leaving all the materials and giving up hope of all attempts, M. Lally ran away to Tadpan adjacent to the port of Phulcheri and took refuge.¹

(1) This refers to M. Lally's attempt to retake the Ariyankuppam redoubt. (29th September.)

THE FRENCH PUSHED BACK TO PONDICHERRY

The entire army, imprisoned in the enclosures of the towers (redoubts), was perplexed. On achieving such success, and seeing the garden and its beauties, the victorious Nawwab offered thanks to the Creator, the Lord of the Universe, and comforted the ears of the whole world by joyful play of the happy instruments of music and firing of salutes which announced the news of happiness.

M. Lally takes refuge with his whole army at Tadpan; the siege, the loss of battle on account of the superior management and the courage of Hazrat-i-Ala, the annihilator of the enemy; the arrival of M. Lally at the fort of Phulcheri in great dread and confusion.

The enemy's forces had taken to heels, the conqueror of the kingdom captured the rear of the enemy's army and conveyed them to his encampment without any molestation. Then he set at liberty the Indians, and imprisoned for life the French and the Negroes. He distributed their implements among his own army, and blotted the tower out of existence. On the fourth day after the victory he marched forth and reached a place known as Tadpan,¹ on account of the density of palm trees, to the extent of one *kuroh* on all sides of the fort of Phulcheri, except the side facing the sea, at a distance of one *kuroh* from the fort. Tadpan appeared to possess the strength of a fort with innumerable walls, because of the thick growth of trees; nay, it seemed to be a mountain of steel, because M. Lally had taken refuge, gathered his cannon, and set the towers in order. There Hazrat-i-Ala divided his whole army into many troops, appointed trustworthy *sardars* and left them under the command of Colonel Coote, who erected bunds at strategic points and cut down the trees by firing shots in such quick succession that the rapidity with which the balls issued from the mouths of the cannon appeared like a saw, while the French vacated the place

(1) Talippanai (Talipot) tree.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

where the trees were cut. They set in order the various towers which would be useful for purposes of war as well as shelter and strengthened them with their forces who were encouraged to put forth their valour. The result was an indecisive fight for a period of two months. One day when Colonel Coote was inarching in the company of Hazrat-i-Ala with a small number of horse, he went forward a long distance into the grove, finding his way with a telescope. He captured some of the peasants who were passing by, inquired of them the way, conducted them into the presence of Hazrat-i-Ala, and kept them in confinement. On that very night, he dispatched an army under two guides from among them. Next morning he divided his whole army into three or four troops and marched forward facing the enemy. There was fighting till noon on account of the opposition of the French. In the meanwhile, Muhammad Yusuf Khan came out with his army from the side of the trees and put up a brave fight. Immediately the troop sent overnight came behind the worthless eaemy, and a severe fight ensued. Colonel Coote understood the noise of cannon to be the messenger of the consequences of his plan and marched forward with his army also. M. Lally did not find any way out of the dangers on the three sides, but to run to Phulcheri and shut himself up with his companions inside the fort. He then got ready the implements of war and thus brought the kettle-drum of war into bis own ruinous house.

THE ALLIES OVERCOME IMPEDIMENTS

Marshy ground¹ obstructs the march of the army of the sarkar in the course of the pursuit of the accursed runaway enemy; the filling up of it; the march of the army to lay siege to the fort; the account of the rebellion of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur; the appointment of Muhammad Yusuf Khan to extinguish the fire of mischief.

Now on the *maydan* of quest, difficulties dog at every step, troubles occur at every breath. When Hazrat-i-Ala, after the subjugation of Tadpan, hastened towards the fort of Phulcheri, marshy ground to the extent of one *kuroh* from the verge of tadpan to the precincts of the fort, came in view like a treacherous foe who puts on the appearance of a sincere friend; it appeared to the undiscerning eye as firm earth fit for the march of horse and elephant, but in truth was a gulf even for the fleeting shadow. Hazrat-i-A'la saw the obstacle and halted. As riifcn employed to fill it up with stone and mud were not sufficient, Hazrat-i-Ala also girded up his loins, tucked his sleeves up to the elbow, and joined them in their work. On seeing this the old as well as the young in the army engaged themselves in this work of casting hay, leaves and trees of the plain, and old superfluous tents. In a period of about seven or ten days, they progressed to a distance of thirty or forty yards; in a period of one month and a few days when a broad path fit enough for the passage of the army was got ready, a river also intervened. It was flowing from the south towards the north adjoining the ditch and was emptying itself into the sea. Hazrat-i-Ala put up a big dam, diverted its course to the other side and made it join the sea.

Owing to the raging of the sea of the army under every *sardar*, the fort was caught in the whirlpool of siege. Hazrat-i-Ala busied himself in setting in order the towers and the

(1) this extended to the north west of the walls up to the feed Hills.

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intrenchments, and devising rules of action. Before achieving any result in this struggle, another trouble faced Hazrat-i-Ala. He heard that Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur in union with Pulitiytir (Pulitevar) and other mischievous zamindars, was making preparations for opposing Hazrat-i-Ala, by building the fort of Madura, seeking the help of Haydar All Khan, and sending Sampat Ray, the *diwan* of Nawwab Shahid, to Nizam All Khan to enlist his support. Hazrat-i-Ala pondered over the matter, and even thought of postponing the idea of punishing or destroying the enemy; yet he endeavoured outwardly to put on a fearless attitude in accordance with his power to conquer kingdoms. He assembled the *sardars* both Indians and *frangs* and said:—

"Many years of hard labour have gone by, vast treasures and property have been exhausted, various kinds of difficulties and inconveniences undergone, several armies wasted; my famous father, Nawwab Nasir Jang the powerful *sardar* and others are dead. Now, after many a battle, when the image of ruin of the capital of the accursed enemy comes in view merely by the help of God, a boil of disorder, such as this, brings with it pain in the joints of the body of the kingdom. Although I wish to treat this boil after removing the thorn of Phulcheri from the foot of my labours, yet if I do not act according to the wisdom conveyed by the following verse, 'A wire may suffice to block a fountain, but when it gushes forth, even a beam cannot', it is possible that the confusion may take root, and its suppression may become impossible. But the attempt now to punish these men will be like the saying, 'one head with two aims.' And this should not be. So advise me according to your experience and intelligence, and suggest to me a plan."

None came toward with any scheme of action, though all were ready to obey the commands of Hazrat-i-Ala. But Muhammad Yusuf Khan, seeking pardon for his daring proposal, submitted humbly and with great politeness as follows:—

HAI RAT-A'LA'S LETTER TO UMDATU'L-UMARA

" In case a mandate is issued to the exalted prince 'Umdatul-Umara Bahadur enjoining on him to render assistance with array and necessary things, I shall be able with the help of zamindars of those parts and through the propitious blessings that would subdue kingdoms, to manage easily this work".

Hazrat-i-Ala rejoiced at this proposal. As per his request an *'inayat-nama* bearing the following contents was addressed to his beloved son:

"To correct certain rebels in the far off districts of Tirnawili and Madhra which, in these days have become the source of trouble and evil deeds, in consequence of autliority having been entrusted to our exalted brother, and keeping in view the well-being of the imperishable state, and taking hint from the happy wisdom, we have sent to you the brave and intrepid Muhammad Yusuf Khan, relying on the assistance of the Great Helper. It is necessary to supply him with cash and other things essential for such a great and sure undertaking, and commission quickly two-thirds of the army at the fort of Nattharnagar and the forces of the zamindars, your dependants, for the help of the Khan as desired by him, and dispatch him to Tirnawili. We have sent along with the Khan, Malik Aslam Khan, the virtuous person who was *my* father's bosom friend for the purpose of admonishing the brother to do his duty and save him from the charge of ingratitude. Think it necessary to render in quick succession various kinds of assistance to the Khan, gather information about the two districts with the aid of messengers, and communicate it to us frequently."

The above letter was written, adorned with the seal and entrusted to the Khan, whom the Nawwab presented with Khilat and sword, and paid six thousand rupees to meet the expenditure of the troops. The Nawwab also bestowed on the *risalars* appointed under him, various presents and increased their honour. Thus he dispatched them.

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Then he turned his attention to lay siege to Phulcheri, which on account of the protection on the east and the south by the sea of Uman and on the other two sides by the running stream and deep ditches, was like an island inaccessible to any human being. In spite of the stern defence of the besieged, Hazrat-i-Ala blew up many towers equipped with cannon at the expense of many brave men of the victorious army. He deputed the *sardars* of the Indian and the *frang* forces to every one of the towers and called them after the name of the particular *sardar*. For example, the tower opposite the tent of the Nawwab was named as the intrenchment of the Nawwab, the tower of Colonel Coote became well known by the name of the Colonel. Cannon shots and catapults began to rain night and day first from the intrenchment of the Nawwab, then from that of the Colonel and then from other towers. In the same manner the artillery of the French as well flashed fire from different towers of the fort. Indeed, each skilled gunner on both sides, was aiming at the mouth of the cannon of the other and consequently the balls proceeding from each side knocked against one another many a time. When the happy Nawwab announced presents to the victorious army for their continuous efforts, taking only a little time for food and rest, they pierced a hole at the foot of the wall and firing continuously for a while, they pulled down the wall and towers on one side and thus made the mouths of the cannon to adorn the dust of the earth. In spite of the severe attack of the besieging army, the French, merely because of their great experience in every fight, their meeting with hard labour and fatigue, and their greedy habit to subjugate the forts of the Deccan, exerted themselves night and day as long as they had provisions. When the means of their strength were exhausted, and the roads were blocked on account of the hard pressure of the army of the *sarkar* and the ships of the brave

(1) This refers to the Ariyankuppam river on the south and a flood-channel to the south of the marsh.

RIZA ALI KHAN TAKES TO FLIGHT

English, the besieged ate the flesh of their own body in lieu of food,¹ and drank blood in lieu of water. Finally they grew desperate on account of their helplessness to get any assistance, and were fainting on account of the pain of helplessness. Considering the straitened circumstances of the besieged, Hazrat-i-Ala raised the banner of safety and protection which proclaimed security for honour, life, and food for three days; consequently every one sought refuge and the fort became empty.

He wrote to Riza Ali Khan: "Put aside from your mind the dread of former times and misgivings of past days. Think of us as more than a brother and you will find generosity, regard for your dignity, and preservation of honour. There will be security in all ways. You will have a *jagir* as you desire befitting your ease and comforts"-

Riza's mother and other dependants of Husayn Dost Khan preserved a tranquil mind and came out of that prison-house which would cause damage to their honour and life and rested under that house of security of the victorious army. Hazrat-i-Ala entertained them, bestowed on *them khilats*, and made them feel happy. He then permitted them to depart, and made arrangements for transit of their things to Chennapattan. Hazrat-i-Ala also sent *parwanas* addressed to the name of Mir Asadullah Khan, the *na'ib* of the *subaoi* Arcot, with a view to provide for them. Riza Ali Khan adorned his tongue outwardly with terms of treaty and peace but according to his innate evil nature came out of the fort during a stormy night for the purpose of seeking refuge in a safe place. When the English ships went away, he got into a boat and sailed towards the south, and disappeared. No one ever heard of him later.²

(1) For an eye-witness's account of the scarcity of grain in Pondicherry see *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. XII (entries for April, 1760 *etseq*)

(2) There was a severe storm on 30th December, 1760. In the wild nights succeeding the storm, several boats got away from Pondicherry, Riza Ali Khan escaped in one of them to Negapatam and thence to Ceylon.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

The helplessness of M. Lally and his community' owing to the strength and the readiness of the army of the sarkar to attack; the subjugation of the fort in consequence of the accursed besieged seeking quarters; the imprisonment of M. Lally, M. Lahri and other sarddrs of the French, the substitution of the Walojahi banners in the place of the French banners fit only for destruction.

The messenger of pen has covered the space of many years, and he reaches his destination this day. His success may be seen now. The young plant of the chronicler, watered for a long time with the river of thoughts, has begun to yield fruit and it is possible to gather them with both hands.

M. Lally got into a fix on account of the brave hand of Hazrat-i-Ala. The fort had become empty of inhabitants, old and new; there remained only fighting men—destined for destruction—who were restrained from running by fetters of clanship and honour, Indians of long service, and Abyssinian prisoners. In these circumstances M. Lally found his hard heart and merciless mind useless for war in future. The army with a limited number of cannon and muskets, and only one meal a day experienced such adversity and helplessness that they had to spend their days in sorrow, and finally died of starvation.¹ Those who were alive ate crows, kites, dogs, cats and other unnatural victuals. They were so completely paralysed that they could not move either hands or feet and began to raise a lamentation. The valiant soldiers of the sarkar entered the fort through a hole in the wall, broke open the doors and engaged themselves busily in destroying that house of mischief. They dug up its foundation, filled it up with gunpowder and waited for the command of

(1) The scarcity of paddy was so great that M. Lally threatened, even in September, to drive out all Tamils from the town. On the 27th Norember, he turned out all Indians to the number of 1,400.

CAPTURE OF PONDICHERRY

Hazrat-i-Ala to set fire to it with the intention of destroying it and eradicating the pride of the enemy. So M. Lally felt helpless, and in accordance with the advice of all French *sardars*, he sent to the presence of the Nawwab a priest accompanied by some *sardars* suing for peace; he submitted through the mediation of Colonel Coote that he would surrender the fort in a period of eight days and requested suspension of hostilities. Hazrat-i-Ala who had a strong desire to take vengeance on the French for their attack and massacre in the fort of Chetpet in the past, thought that their peace endeavour was only to gain time, get reinforcements and recoup strength. So he shrugged his shoulders and did not accept the offer of peace. But out of regard for the requests of the English *sardars*, and in fairness to the custom of that community, he agreed for peace and gave interview to the vakils. He established his authority over all the affairs of the fort, prevented its repairs, dismantled the cannon, permitted every one to purchase daily rations from the shops of the camp, placed guards round the fort walls, and gave vakils permission to retire.

When Becket arrived by ship from Chennapattan on hearing the peace, and attained the happiness of meeting the Nawwab, the misunderstanding that was lurking in the minds of the governor and the *sardars* of the army, as related in the previous pages, was removed.

After the expiry of the period of truce on the 9th of Jamadiu'th-thani of the year 1174 A.H.¹ immediately after early-morning-prayer Ha?rat-i-Ala got up on his elephant high as the sky, which from that day was known as '*fatah-lashkar*'. It was the same elephant which Hazrat-i-Ala rode with all the pomp of his army composed of Indian and *frangs* during the days when he assisted the English at Dewnampattan and defeated the French. When the select troops of Hazrat-i-Ala

(1) Friday 16th January, 1761.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

reached the gate of the fort, the ever-wakeful luck brought to him the keys of the doors from the French *sardars* through the English *sardars*. On that very spot he pitched his tent, and conveyed peace and tranquillity to the whole world by the happy reports of cannon and the music of the victorious army. The *sardars* of the army entered the fort after deputing men to guard every place, securing the arsenal, and imprisoning M. Lally, M. Lahri (Leyrit) and other *sardars* of the French. The French flags were lowered and the *walajahi* banner was installed. Thus the fortune of the enemy was at a low ebb, and the good luck of the allies became exalted. The lamentations of the enemy and the mirth of the allies were so mixed that the colour of the rose garden of eternal prosperity exhibited a strange splendour.

Four hours had not elapsed after the installation of the , flags of the *sarkar*, the victorious army had not even rested, when the French ships with provisions and a large army arrived from Murs. They saw from a distance the flags indicating the subjugation of the fort by the conqueror of kingdoms and also the English ships in the harbour, and understood their own destruction. So they turned and went back the way they had come.

Hazrat-i-Ala visits the fort, gives thanks to Heaven for the gift bestowed upon him, accepts nadhr from officers of the government, and gives them presents; M. Lally and M. Lahri are dispatched to the country of the English ;¹ the fort demolished as a retribution for the damage done to the fort of Dewnampattan.

The powerful and glorious Nawwab got on his horse in an auspicious hour and reached the fort gate where innumerable shots were fired, which announced the ignominious condition of

(1) M. Lally and M. Leyrit were taken to Madras and thence sent to England. The English government allowed them to proceed to France on their parole.

KAZRAT-I-A'LA AT THE FORT OF PONDICHERRY

the French. On the *maydan* opposite to the house of M. Dupleix a salute of guns was fired in accordance with usage by the victorious army composed of Indians and *frangs*. The Nawwab then alighted and sat on a chair. After the call to prayer was repeated, he said the prayer invoking blessings, making two genuflexions.

The house of Dupleix was full of rare and wonderful works of art collected for a long time. The house was kept neat and tidy, and was free from any kind of fault. The style of the building was so grand that it brightened the eye and pleased the mind. The walls were painted with gold and set with innumerable mirrors. The pillars were substantial and splendid. The colours on the wall were such that they appeared to change with the change of season. The pictures thereon were so nice and pretty that they seemed to speak during the day and sleep during the night.

After the Nawwab had gone round with a jaunty air enjoying the sight, a *masnad* was put up and orders were given for *darbdr-i-am*. The Nawwab was pleased to receive salutations, congratulations and *nadhr* from the *sardars*, and presented each one with elephant, horse, *khil'at*, gold and precious gems and thus bestowed on them unexpected honour.

After peace and order were restored in the city the Nawwab sent away by ship M. Lally and M. Lahri to the country of the English. Then he went towards the sea, tucked up his sleeves, and dug out with a shovel two bricks from the wall of the fort; he threw one into the sea, and sent the other to Nattharnagar so that it might be proclaimed that opposition of the powerful would have such result; that the seed of insolence of the erring ones would grow in this manner. He then gave orders for the demolition of the building and addressed the two *sardars* thus:—

"In former days I obeyed the commands of my father and preserved Dewnampattan and freed Chennapattan from the treacherous hands of the French, but now I have captured the

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

fort of Phulcheri as a punishment for the subjugation of Chennapattan and I have destroyed it as a reparation for their attack on Dewnampattan. I have thus done my duty to the English. I grant this fort of Phulcheri to the English Company so that they may prosper in business and the things found in it to the *sardars* of the army as a reward for their toil and bravery, I wish the bond of help between your community and my children continues for ever; whoever acts contrary to it will become unworthy of his ancestry."

As he had bestowed upon the English all things in the fort as gifts, he purchased out of these for a large sum one big mirror, a cluster of lamps made of crystal, chairs of different pattern; lovely pictures and other articles besides two portraits of the French King and Queen which as described in the previous, pages had been sent from home by the French King to the Nawwab when negotiations for peace were discussed. As the Nawwab had declined to accept these portraits M. Dupkix hung them in his house. These things were sent to Nattharnagar.

On the occasion of Chennapattan being subdued by the French M. Dupleix had carried away black stone pillars from the fort of Phulcheri and used them in his building. The English removed them from the building, carried back to Chennapattan by ship and restored them to their place.

The *jagir* of Phulcheri as it was originally under Arcot, was entrusted to Mir Asadullah Khan by the order of the Nawwab. In brief the victory happened as desired by the well-wishers of the Nawwab.

At this juncture Hazrat-i-Ala learnt about the coronation of Ali Gawhar Shah 5,1am as the Emperor of Hind. He wrote an *arzdasht* congratulating him on his accession to the throne with 1100 *oshrafi* as *nadhr* and conveying the news of the capture of the fort of Phulcheri with keys made of gold as *nadhr*; entrusted these to Khwaia Shamsu'd-Din Khan, his *vakil* and instanced him to subnet them to the Mughal Emperor.

HAZRAT-I-A'LA HONOURED WITH TITLE

in the company of Mr. Clive who, after the capture of Husayn Dost Khan, had gone home, had been honoured with the title of Lord Clive by the English King, and had returned to Bangala (Bengal). The Khan reached Bangala, and met Lord Clive, who received him with pleasure. They started together seeking the presence of the Padshah and submitted to him the '*arzdasht*.

The Emperor praised the Nawwab for the capture of Phulcheri, accepted *nadhr* submitted for his coronation and *nadhr* for the subjugation of the fort. Then he granted the title of *walajah* to Hazrat-i-Ala besides other titles and *mansabs* to the five sons of the Nawwab. The Khan took leave of the Emperor and returned.

APPENDIX I¹.

Muhammad Yusuf Khan took leave of Hazrat-i-Ali who, on the eve of his capture of Phulcheri, sent him to set things right in Madura and Tinnevely. (May 1759).

Yusuf Khan reached Nattharnagar and delivered the *farman* of Hazrat-i-Ala to 'Umdatul-Umara Bahadur. The prince, in spite of his young age and deficiency in practical knowledge, was able to collect in a period of about ten or twelve days a grand army composed of the forces of the *sarkar* and those of Tondaman and other zamindars, equip them with guns, cannon and other suitable things and entrust them to the Khan. When this news spread from mouth to mouth the rebels were seized with terror and became scattered.

The Khan continued his journey winning over the inhabitants to his side and appointing *'amils*, and reached Madura. As the people in the fort turned against him in spite of his admonition, he laid siege to the fort. He threatened them with great loss of life and property; he dug through the wall and thus subjugated the fort without bloodshed. He then entrusted it to a *qiladar* with necessary forces and turned his face towards Palamkuta known as Tirnawlli.

Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur who had already heard of the march of the victorious army, the subjugation of Madura and the restoration of order in that area, thought it not advisable to hold to Palamkuta. He left that place and went to Nelkattumseval a place full of trees and shrubs and safe from all kinds of danger. He exalted Pulitevar, the zamindar,

(1) The information contained in the following pages does not fall in with the due sequence of the narrative in the book. Hence it is summarised here in the form of Appendices.

APPENDIX I

calling him as his son, and revolved to defend his place with the help of seventeen *palayagars* of that area.

Muhammad Yusuf Khan laid siege to Palamkuta, (July 1759) captured it after fifteen days without bloodshed and entrusted it to a *qiladar* of the *sarkar*. He then reached after great exertion the limits of Nelkattumseval with a view to meet Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur and could not proceed further. He cut down some trees with the help of the Tondaman and other zamindars who accompanied him, cleared the way for the march of the army, entered the territory of Pulitevar and waited for an opportunity to lay hands on the mischief-makers who helped the zamindar. Some of these deserted the zamindar; some, who took to mischief ill the general confusion, sought seclusion in their homes when they heard the news of the subjugation of Phulcheri; but the zamindar Pulitevar alone was rebellious on account of the position of his place and the union with a few foolish men. The Khan mixed with the old inhabitants of that area, who indicated the track in which he was to go, and succeeded eventually in subduing the zamindar who was put to death along with his supporters. The Khan nominated one of the descendants as the zamindar who submitted *nadhr* and paid the sum fixed as penalty for the offence of his predecessor. Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur was imprisoned, brought to Palamkuta and interned in the fort. Thus peace was restored in Madura and Tinnevely. Nelkattumseval was cleared of its forests and converted into a garden.

When Hazrat-i-Ala marched from Phulcheri and arrived at the frontier of Tanjore, the 'arzdasht with *nadhr* from Muhammad Yusuf Khan which contained the news about the administration of the taluks and the imprisonment of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur reached the Nawwab along with another letter accompanied by *nadhr* from 'Umdatul-Umara

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Bahadur. The Nawwsib was very much pleased to receive them. He sent a letter to his son congratulating him on providing the army with necessary things. He wrote to Muhammad Yusuf Khan praising him for his bravery and instructed him to send with great care Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur to his presence.

When Hazrat-i-Ala reached Tanjore, Pratap Singh, Raja of that place, welcomed the Nawwab, submitted *peshkash* and petitioned humbly that he should halt there for some time. The Nawwab honoured the Raja by halting there for a day. Then he marched from that place after presenting the Raja with a horse and jewels and Manaji Rao, his *diwan*, with *khilat* and a horse.

As Hazrat-i-Ala approached Nattharnagar 'Umdatul-Umara Bahadur went forward in great pomp with his nobles and retinue and received the Nawwab who honoured them all by his kindness. Hazrat-i-Ala paid a visit to the holy shrine of Nattharwali and then entered the fort. He approved of the son's administration during his absence. He gave presents to '*ulamas* and *shaykhs*, celebrating the success at Phulcheri.

As soon as the Nawwab heard of the coming of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur he sent Umdatul-Umara Bahadur, his son, instructing him to march a *manzil* in advance to receive his uncle, and conduct him with great respect. As his brother came near the fort, the Nawwab went out of it to receive him, submitted *nadar*, kissed his feet, respectfully requested him to change the dress of a *darwesh*, presented him with royal robes and numerous jewels, and conducted him to the fort with great respect (July 1760). Music was played and several shots were fired to celebrate the event. A beautiful building was set apart for his residence. Servants were appointed, all arrangements befitting his rank were made and a *jagir* yielding large income was granted to him. Every day the Nawwab paid a visit to his senior brother and sought to gain his heart. The kindness of

APPENDIX I

the Nawwab made his brother feel ashamed of his past conduct,

* * * * *

Muhammad Yusuf Khan was a mean person.ⁱ He was first enrolled as a sepoy in the army of the *sarkar*. His zeal and carefulness in the execution of his duties won for him the rank of a captain of six sepoy. Gradually the sepoy under his care were increased till the number came to one hundred.

When the French attacked Chennapattan he was a *riyasalodar* under Abdu'l-Wahhab Khan Bahadur and exhibited great valour in opposing the French. In this manner, during the war of Hazrat-i-Ala round about Phulcheri he distinguished himself for his bravery and attracted the notice of the Nawwab.

Hazrat-i-Ala put his trust upon him and selected him to quell the rebellion of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur and *palayagars* in Madura and Tinnevely; made him *sardar* over five thousand horse and ten thousand infantry with full equipments and honoured him with *mansab*, *jagir* and the title of Khan. But all these favours turned out to be useless. When Hazrat-i-Ala appointed him as his *na'ib* to administer the affairs of Madura and Tinnevely, the Khan was regular for some time in sending to the Nawwab the collections of revenue and gradually began to show his bad nature.² He allied himself with mischief-makers who had formerly supported Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, sought the support of Haydar Ali Khan, brought together five hundred French who ran away after the fall of Phulcheri, got ready innumerable guns, gun-powder, flint-stone, and cannon from Chennapattan, Sadran-gapattan, Nagpattan, and other ports that belonged to the *frang* communities, carried on correspondence with the *nazim* of the

(1) Give and other English generals give a different opinion about him.

(2) For details see S. C. Hill's *Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant* Chapt. VIII.

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Decan by sending presents and gifts with a view to obtain from him titles and *mansabs*, established friendship with the zamindar of Matlwar (Travancore) by promising him five lacs of rtipees from the collection of the *sarkar*, made a pact with two divisions of Kallars in the east and west of Madura; thus he found himself a great *sardar*. He imagined that the kingdom was his own and forgot the past.

He murdered the servants of the *sarkar*, oppressed the poor and the rich and tyrannised the zamindars. One day he shot down seven hundred men. Thus he squeezed the kingdom to a very great extent.

As Hazrat-i-Ala was busy with the affairs of Nellote and Vellore and as he had a charitable disposition, he sent letters of advice and admonition to Muhammad Yusuf Khan, but these had no effect on him. On the contrary he got ready to oppose the Nawwab. He strengthened the fort of Madura with fresh fortifications, widened and deepened the ditch filling it with water and crocodiles, and broadened the *moydan* raising its level. He collected large quantities of provision and cattle that would suffice for food for many years; he closed the road to a distance of twenty *kurohs* from Nattharnagar, erected a number of towers, appointed experienced men, kept cannon and powder in all positions of vantage and thus laid the foundation for his own destruction.

When IJazrat-i-A'la found that his letters to Muhammad Yusuf Khan had no effect on him, he marched to Nattharnagar with an army. He divided this army composed of English and his own forces into two groups; he entrusted one group to TJm-dattfl-Umara Mu'inu'l-Mulk Asadu'd-Dawla Husayn Ali Khan Bahadur Dhul-Faqar Jang, and to I'timadu'd-Dawla Bahadur Muhammad Abdullah Khan Husamul-Mulk Bahadur Hixhabar Jang and dispatched them in the direction of the roads that were blockaded.

APPENDIX I

The other group under the leadership of Roskanu'd-Dawla Muhammad Munawwar Khan Bahadur Bahadur Jang and Intizamu'd-Dawla Muhammad Salabat Khan Nasirul-Mulk Bahadur Ghazanfar Jang was dispatched through the taluks of Tondaman, Nalgunta and Ramnath. The way through these places was difficult to pass through on account of thickets and shrubs and scarcity of water. Hence a number of bulls that carried water were sent along with them.

A third army under Anwaru'd-Dawla Muhammad Anwar Khan Bahadur Husam Jang was sent with orders to take charge of Tinnevely and lay siege to Palamkuta.

As the rebel was looting everywhere in the land it was difficult to get grain in the area round about Madura. So Hazrat-i-Ala stayed at Nattharnagar, purchased grain at the rate of five seers per rupee and sent it to army quarters with orders to sell at 12 seers per rupee.

By the grace of God the three armies attacked with great vigour and were able to capture seventeen forts which lay on their way. They all met, according to the order of Hazrat-i-Ala, near the environs of Madura. Then one of these three armies marched to lay siege to Palamkuta, while the other two attacked Muhammad Yusuf Khan and were able to defeat him in all engagements in spite of his huge army composed of horse, French forces and two lacs of Kallars. They subjugated in a period of one year all the towns that were situated at a distance of three *kurohs* from the fort and finally besieged the fort.¹

Hazrat-i-Ala marched from Nattharnagar on the 29th of Dhul-qa'da with an army composed of Indians and *frangs* and reached Madura on the 5th of Dhul-ha j j. He distributed lacs of rupees among the men of his army and presented them with elephants, horses, and arms, granted *jagirs*, and thus increased

(1) See S, C Hill Yusuf's *rebellion of 1763* (1st & 2nd Chapter) *siege of Madura* (Chapt XI- XIII.)

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their zeal. On the 'Id day he said his prayers, got on his horse and ordered the English to cannonade from the west. The walls and towers of the fort were pulled down in three days. Although the rebel was paralysed, yet he continued the fight. Many were killed. When the victorious army saw that the enemy was keeping himself inside the fort and not venturing out on the *moydan*, Major Preston advanced with a company of English soldiers, crossed the ditch and reached the fort. They attacked the enemy with such vigour that the face of success for the *sarkar* began to appear, but the army had to retire to their camp when the Major was wounded. In brief, the brave attack of the forces of the *sarkar* reduced the enemy to helplessness. The rebel was captured and tortured with hooks.

Hazrat-i-Ala entered the fort victoriously and hoisted the *walajahi* flag. Then he said the prayer invoking blessings, gave presents to *sayyids* and *shaykhs*. Many shots were fired announcing the victory. The *sardars* of the army also were honoured with presents. In the meanwhile he heard the news of the capture of Palamkuta and offered thanks to the Great Almighty.

APPENDIX II.

THE SUBJUGATION OF NELLORE AND VELLORE.

The subjugation of Nellore.

Hazrat-i-Ala appointed Madaru'l-Mulk, the younger brother of Umdatul-Umara Bahadur, to look after Nattharnagar and set out from that place in the company of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, his brother, and Umdatul-Umara Bahadur, his son, to Nellore to put the administration there in working order. When he arrived at Arcot, he seated 'Uradataul-Umara Bahadur on the *masnad* of Muhammadpur, known as Arcot, appointed Mir Asadu'llah Khan as the *na'ib* of the prince and then left for Madras. At Madras he received Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din Khan who had returned from the court of Delhi in the company of Lord Give carrying the *farmans* of the Emperor.

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It is the habit with Hazrat-i-A'la to advise in the beginning those who deviate from the path of obedience. When it does not bear any fruit, he would draw the sword out of necessity to put down mischief and restore order and peace in the land. In accordance with this practice, he sent Khwaja 'Asim Khan, the grandson of Khwaja Abdullah Khan and his own boon companions to Nellore to advise Muhammad Najibu'llah Khan Bahadur and to bring him to the path of obedience. When they failed in their mission Hazrat-i-Ala sent Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur for the same purpose, thinking that Muhammad Najibullah Khan Bahadur would pay heed to the advice of his senior brother, but this procedure also did not bring success. Hence the Nawwab started with an army in person. Just then he heard about the rebellion of Muhammad Yusuf Khan, sent

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

him some *farmans* seeking to gain his heart, and continued his march to Nellore.

He arrived at Nellore and waited for a week, sending in the meanwhile, some of his boon companions to advise Najibu'llah Khan. As fate would have it, the Khan did not choose the right path. The Nawwab out of helplessness drew out his army and cannonaded. The walls of the fort were pulled down and the houses inside, which were built of sticks and straw, caught fire. Najibu'llah Khan was frightened at this and fled away during the night. The Nawwab took possession of the fort and gave orders to hoist his victorious flag. He dispatched some men to pursue the run-away Khan. Next day the *qiladar* of Udgir captured him and brought him before the Nawwab. As the captive came along, the Nawwab saw his hands bound in chain. Immediately his honour was touched and he cried out to remove the chain from the hands of the prince. The prince was set free and conducted to a tent.

Hazrat-i-Ala attended to the management of the affairs of Nellore and the taluks under it. He subjugated the taluks of Yalnar and other places and returned to Arcot after a year.

The subjugation of Vellore.

After the murder of Nawwab Safdar Ali Khan, Mir Asadu'llah Khan his *diwan*, was imprisoned by Ghulam Murtaza Khan and was later on released by Hazrat-i-Ala. Thus there was enmity between Mir Asadu'llah Khan and Ghulam Murtaza Khan.

Mir Asadu'llah Khan who was appointed by Hazrat-i-Ala as his *na'ib* at Arcot fanned the flame of suspicion in the mind of the Nawwab that Ghulam Murtaza Khan was in collusion with the Nazim of the Deccan and Haydar Ali Khan, and incited him to subjugate the fort of Vellore, the *jagir* of Ghulam Murtaza Khan.

APPENDIX II

Hazrat-i-Ala who was acquainted with all details was merciful to Ghulam Murtaza Khan and instead of taking the extreme step, demanded of the Khan to pay one lac of rupees, the balance amount of the *peshkash* due to him. Ghulam Murtaza Khan was insolent and did not pay the sum. Hence the Nawwab collected an army, composed of Indians and *frangs*, and made preparations to march against Vellore. The Khan was frightened at the news and agreed to pay the *peshkash* but he was told that he had to pay the expenses of the army which was mobilised for action then. The Khan did not accede to it. The Nawwab marched with his army and reached near Vellore. Immediately the Khan presented himself before the Nawwab, expressed his readiness to pay the whole amount and sought his pardon. However much Mir Asadu'llah Khan incited the Nawwab to subjugate Vellore, he did not listen to him. Ghulam Murtaza Khan returned to his fort and came back with all his family to Hazrat-i-Ala. The Nawwab sent them all with great care to Arcot and permitted them without any restriction to reside in the house set apart for *nazims*.

In brief, Ghulam Murtaza Khan had vacated the fort of Vellore in peace out of helplessness to stand the siege and prolonged warfare. Hazrat-i-Ala who occupied the fort of Vellore without bloodshed took pity on the Khan and wished to restore him to the *jagir* after taking the *pishkash*; but when he came to know of some letters incriminating him of treachery, the Nawwab understood that it was opposed to good policy to let off such men, and imprisoned him. Then the Nawwab started to Nattharnagar.

GLOSSARY.1

Al-arndn, quarter, mercy.

Alwan, cloth of various colour.

'*Amils*, agent, governor, administrator, revenue collector, official, functionary.

Amir, commander, governor, chief, leader, prince, person of rank or distinction.

Amir-i-khass, special commander.

'*Arzdasht*, a memorial or address from an inferior to a superior.

Ashrafi, name of a gold coin, a gold mohur (its value in Calcutta about Rs. 16); by the Regulations of 1793, it should weigh 190,894 grains troy.

'*Ashur-khana*, a temporary structure for the celebration of the Muharram festival.

Badrat, badra, a square piece of cloth or leather, filled with coin and tied up as a purse; bag; a weight of 10,000 dirhems or 7000 dinars.

Bakhshi, paymaster (in Muslim armies); general, commander-in-chief (the office of the paymaster being combined with that of General); an officer who keeps accounts of all disbursements connected with military tenures.

Banat, broad cloth.

Bandar, bowman, archer, rocketer.

Bawarchi-khana, kitchen.

(1) As it is not possible now to ascertain the exact connotation of certain words that were in vogue during the Muslim administration of India, different shades of meaning for them are given.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Bayragi, one who has subdued his worldly desires and passions;
one who abandons the pursuits of this world;
ascetic, devotee, stoic, recluse; a class of Hindu
faqirs who roam about the country and practise
austerities.

Bildar, one who uses a spade.

Bhujband, an ornament worn on the upper arm, armlet.

Chawkidar, the officer of a guard, watchman.

Chawkl-khana, watch-house.

Daftar, book.

Darbar, court, hall of audience; the executive government of a
State.

Darbdr-i-'atn, public hall of audience.

Dargah, shrine or tomb of some reputed saint, which is the
object of worship and pilgrimage.

Darogha, the headman of an office; superintendent, manager,
master, keeper.

Darul-amara, the executive office.

Darul-insha, office of correspondence.

Dhat personal.

Diwan, a chief officer of State, minister.

Diwan-khana, office; hall of audience, hall, court, chamber;
public room detached from the house.

Diwan-i-khass, privy-council-chamber, cabinet council.

Durud, prayer; praise especially of the Prophet.

Faqir, possessed of one day's sufficiency for self and family
(the entirely destitute being called *miskin*) ; poor
man, beggar, religious mendicant.

Farman, mandate; command, order; royal letter.

GLOSSARY

Farrash, one who spreads the carpets or cushions, the chamberlain in the palaces of kings and great men; an officer who superintends the pitching of tents; footman; butler.

Farrash-khana, a room in which carpets, etc., are kept.

Fatah-lashkar, Name of an elephant, meaning 'victorious army'.

Fatiha, the commencement, the opening chapter of the Quran, so called because the recitation in prayer is commenced therewith; prayers for the dead; prayers offered in the name of saints.

Fawjdar, superintendent of the military force in a district, an officer of the police so-called, a criminal judge or magistrate under the Muslim government.

Gaw-i-zamin, the energy implanted by the Creator in the heart of the earth; the bull on whose horns the earth is fabled to rest.

Hakim, learned wise man, doctor, philosopher, physician.

Hukm-nama, written order, writ, decree, warrant, deed conveying certain authority, licence.

Huma, name of a fabulous bird, commonly regarded in the east as a bird of happy omen.

Hun, the gold coin called by the Europeans pagoda, current at Madras; it is worth about 6s.

Huqqa a smoking pipe with long flexible tube, smoke being drawn through water in a vase to which tube and bowl are attached.

'Id, the periodical festival; a festival, feast day.

'Ilaqadar, the person responsible for the payment of the rates, etc., of a village or district.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Imamiyya, an epithet assumed by the followers of Al, the sect of Shi'a, who hold that Ali is the lawful *imam* in immediate succession to Muhammad, the Prophet.

'Imari, also *amari* or *'ammari*, a litter or seat with a canopy to ride on an elephant; when it has no canopy it is called a howdah.

In'am, grant of rent-free land.

'Inayat-nama, letter: a grant in writing.

Irsal, remittance; monthly collection of rent forwarded to headquarters by the subordinate revenue authorities.

'Izra'il, name of the angel of death.

Jagir, holding, occupying a place; assignment of the government share of the produce of a large tract of country to an individual; a possession in land granted either in perpetuity or for life as a reward for services or as a fee.

Jagirdar, the holder of a jagir.

Jigha, an ornament worn on the turban; it consists of a band of velvet about six inches long and two broad, beautifully embroidered and a gold plate set with precious stones sewn on it.

Jizya, a capitation tax on the non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim government exempting them from military service.

Jum'a, Friday prayer; the day of congregation, Friday when Muslims assemble to pray at the cathedral mosque.

Kalima tayyib, the Muslim confession of Faith, "There is no God, but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet."

Kaf and *Nun*=*Kun* (be) It is a part of the Quranic verse *Kun fa yakun*: Be and it is.-

Kamdl, (*Karranay?*), a kind of trumpet.

Khalisa-jagir, a kind of jagir.

GLOSSARY

Khil'at, a robe of honour; a honorific dress with which princes confer dignity upon subjects, consisting at least of a turban, rope and girdle.

Khil'at-i-haft parcha, a kind of khil'at.

Kuroh, a linear measure of about two miles.

Kuttan, a red biting insect.

Mahall, palace.

Mahall-saray, private apartments of a noble or king; apartments for ladies, seraglio.

Mahsul, produce, public income from any source.

Majlis, assembly, congress, council.

Makhmal, velvet with two faces.

Malguzar, landholder, one who holds lands under government; tenant.

Mansab, post, dignity, office, ministry, magistracy, a high place, *Manzil*, a place for alighting.

Manzil-ba-mansil, from stage to stage, by stages.

Mashayikh, venerable old men.

Masnad, throne.

Maydan, open field without buildings, extensive plain, field of battle.

Muham-khana, place where important business is discussed.

Nadhr, gift or present from an inferior to a superior; a fee paid to the State or to its representative on succeeding to an office or to property.

Na'ib, lieutenant, viceroy, vicegerent, deputy.

Nawbat, a. very large kettledrum struck at stated hours; a musical band played at stated times before the palace of a king or a prince.

Nawbat-khana, a large room over the outer gate of a palace or a shrine, where the drums or other musical instruments are sounded.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Nasim, organiser, administrator, governor, the chief officer of a province.

Nizamat, the office of a nagim.

Padak, an ornament of the neck; a badge; a flat plate of gold or other metal.

Padshah, emperor, sovereign, monarch, king.

Palav, pilav, a dish composed of meat or fish highly seasoned first and roasted afterwards.

Palayagar, feudal chief in South India, poligar.

Parwana, written precept or command, letters patent, grant, order of appointment, vernacular letter addressed to a subordinate officer.

Peshkar, deputy, an officer in court below the sarishtadar; steward; a subordinate officer whose business is to write accounts.

Peshkash, present to a superior, present to the ruling power on receiving an appointment or on the renewal of a grant, lease, etc.; magnificent present such as is only made to princes, great men, superiors or sometimes to equals, particularly on receiving a great appointment; tribute; quit-rent.

Pir, spiritual guide, priest.

Qasba, large village, small town well inhabited.

Qazi, Muslim judge or magistrate, who passes sentence in all cases of law, religious, moral, civil and criminal.

Qiladar, the commandant of a garrison; governor of a fort.

Ra'is, headman, commander, governor, ruler, prince, a person of authority, a person high in rank.

GLOSSARY

Risala, a troop of horse, squadron, cavalry.

Risaladar, commander of a troop of horse.

Sanad, order, written authority, royal ordinance, mandate, or decree; deed of grant from one in authority.

Saracha, a tent enclosure.

Saray, temporary home for travellers, caravansary, inn.

Sardar, general, field marshal, officer of rank, chief of any department; prince.

Sarkar, master, lord; court of a king; government, ruling authority.

Sarpech, *sarpesh*, an ornament of gold, silver or jewels, generally worn in front of the turban; it sometimes consists of square pieces of gold plates strung together, each plate being set with precious stones; a band of silk or embroidery, from two to two and a half cubits long, worn round the turban.

Sayyid, descendant of Fatima, daughter of Muhammad.

Shara'. Muslim law as derived from Quran.

Shaykh, venerable old man; man of authority, chief; abbot, superior of the dervishes.

Shia, a sect which follows Ali, affirming that he was the rightful Imam after Muhammad, the Prophet; a follower of the sect (distinct from *Sunni*).

Sipahdar, commander of an army, general.

Suba, a collection of districts; province (one of the large divisions of the Mughal Empire, such as Bengal, the Carnatic).

Subadar, the office of the lieutenant of a province, viceroyalty.

Tablluqdar, one who holds a taluq.

Tamasho, sport, amusement, fun.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Tarafdar, an officer employed to collect the revenue of particular parts; a possessor of territory; landholder, magistrate.

Tasbih-khana, place of worship attached to a private house or palace, where praise to God and the Prophet is said.

Thanadar, commander of a small fort, officer who is in management of a district.

Toshak-khana, place where furniture is kept.

Turra, an ornament worn in the turban; an ornamental tassel or border, etc., a plume of feathers, a crest.

'Uhdadar, an officer of the Mughal government who is engaged to collect the revenue of a district for a small percentage.

Ulama, Doctors of law and religion.

Zilb, a division of a province, a district.

Ziladar, an officer who has the charge of the revenues of a district, superintendent of a district; an officer who makes advances to cultivators and collect rents, etc.; an officer in the canal department who supervises measurements and the distribution of water.

[END OF PART II.]

