

# **MYSORE UNDER TIPU SULTAN: THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN AGE**

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# MYSORE UNDER TIPU SULTAN : THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN AGE

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## 2. POLITICS, TRADE AND RELIGION IN PRE-COLONIAL KARNATAKA: A STUDY IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND MYSORE (1763-1799)

Dr. Nagendra Rao

### Abstract

This paper argues that political considerations determined the economic and religious policies of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan who ruled Mysore in the later half of eighteenth century. In pre-colonial Karnataka, there was an interaction between the English, French, Portuguese, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. Hyder Ali, in the 1760s captured the Sunda territories; and thereby Mysore became the neighbor of Goa. However, Hyder Ali understood the importance of his friendship with the Portuguese in his fight against the English. He allowed the Portuguese to trade in Mangalore. The Christians of Mangalore were also given the freedom to practice their religion including the missionary activities. However, Hyder realized that the Portuguese were not likely to support him. Tipu Sultan also followed the policy of his father and threatened the Portuguese to capture Goa by obtaining the support of the French. The Portuguese documents provide information regarding the activities of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan.

In the eighteenth century, there were a few developments that created tension in the Portuguese camp concerning the rise of Mysore as a formidable power, which

threatened to capture Goa. Hyder Ali had invaded Bidnur and captured the Keladi kingdom. Important ports on the western coast such as Bhatkal and Mangalore became parts of the Mysore kingdom. Only Marathas and the British remained as the potent forces that could challenge the growing power of Mysore under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. The French had entered into an alliance with the Hyder Ali, an important reason for the success of Hyder Ali against the British and the Marathas. The Portuguese depended on the support of the Marathas and the English. The success of Tipu Sultan against the English would mean the end of the Portuguese rule in Goa. Consequently, the Portuguese exhibited an interest in the political developments in Mysore. In the Portuguese sources such as *Colleccao Tratados Concertos e Pazes, Reis Vizinhos, Moncoes do Reino* etc., one can note the reference to the threat that the Mysore posed to the Portuguese in Goa. In this connection, it becomes important to visit and re-visit the Portuguese-Mysore relationship.<sup>1</sup>

The study has also implication for the analysis of the changes in the trade pattern on the western coast, particularly in the Kanara and Malabar as in the latter the Mapillas exhibited their support for the Mysore sultan. This development is particularly important because the Muslims of Kerala traditionally opposed the Portuguese. The Mapillas liked an authority that could challenge the Portuguese on the western coast. Mysore also caused serious problems to the

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent study see Rita Braganza, 'Goa-Karnataka Relations 1763-1857: A Political and Economic Study', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2001; Also see B.S. Shastri, *Studies in Indo-Portuguese Relations* Bangalore: IBH Prakashan, 1981; N. Shyam Bhat, 'Political Interaction between Portuguese Goa and Karnataka', *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2008, pp. 25-47.



Portuguese trade on the west coast due to the conquest of Karwar, Bhatkal and Mangalore. Before this development, the Portuguese controlled the ports of Karwar and Mangalore which also had a direct trade relationship with Muscat. On the other hand, Mysore gained by controlling the ports of Karwar, Bhatkal and Mangalore. It was able to enhance its income by collecting customs duty in these ports. The study has political and economic implications with reference to the Portuguese-Mysore relationship.

In 1750, a Portuguese document assessed the nature of the relationship between the Portuguese and Kanara, which was under the control of the Keladi Nayaka. It was suggested that the Nayaka was 'more rich than powerful'.<sup>2</sup> The document suggests that the Keladi king benefited from the Mangalore-Muscat trade and it is found that he accumulated enormous amount of money. However, the money was not invested in any productive activity. The king would not allow fortification in his kingdom as he was afraid that his enemies would capture the fort and thereby affect his supremacy. The document notes that the Portuguese had a factory in Mangalore and the Portuguese needed to maintain the friendly relationship with the Keladi Nayaka.<sup>3</sup> The Marathas attacked the ports of Mangalore and Honnavar and obtained a considerable booty. To avoid such attacks, the Keladi king planned to build a fleet of warships. The document also

<sup>2</sup> F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India Being a history of the Rise and Decline of the Eastern Empire vol. II*, London: W.H. Allen, Co., p. 423. In fact when Hyder Ali conquered the Bidrur, he obtained three million pagodas equal to 24 million xerafins. See, S.N. Sen, *Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and other papers*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1941, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 423.

mentions the relationship of the Portuguese with the Sunda kingdom and the port of Karwar. The latter was controlled by the Sunda king, who was known for his indolence. Sunda was known for the high quality pepper. The Portuguese insisted that the Sunda king should not allow any European power to establish its factory in Karwar.<sup>4</sup> The conquest of Karwar was an important development as the Portuguese claimed a control over this port, which maintained contract with Muscat and other ports of West Asia. Hyder Ali entered into a treaty with the Portuguese who agreed to surrender Karwar to Hyder Ali. The latter also realised that he could not depend entirely on the Europeans for the conquest of a region in India.<sup>5</sup>

In the 1760s, there was the rise of Hyder Ali as a major force in the Deccan politics. He took the support of Busalut Jung, who had some ambitions in the Carnatic. However, after conquering a few regions, Busalut returned to Adoni.<sup>6</sup> Hyder, on the other hand, continued his operations in the Deccan. His army invaded the territory of the Sunda King who was forced to leave his place and take refuge with the Portuguese. Hyder also obtained the fort of Bicholim from the Portuguese. This event was the beginning of the Portuguese-Mysore relationship.<sup>7</sup> Before reaching the borders of Goa, Hyder Ali conquered Kanara and Malabar. After this achievement, Hyder turned his attention towards the Sunda territory who approached the Portuguese for

<sup>4</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, pp. 423-4.

<sup>5</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 424.

<sup>6</sup> One of the earliest references to Hyder Ali is found in the Portuguese sources. See S.N. Sen, *Early Career of Kanhoji Angria*, pp. 77-87.

<sup>7</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, pp. 435-36.

protection. In return for this favour, the Portuguese demanded from the Sunda king, the territories including Ponda, Zambaulim, Canacona and Cabo de Rama, which became part of the New Conquest area of Goa.<sup>8</sup> Conquest of these regions would secure Goa against a possible attack by Mysore. Secondly, the Sunda kingdom produced rice and pepper in large quantities. The Portuguese traders could benefit from this conquest.<sup>9</sup>

A document submitted to the Junta Real Fazenda (an administrative board established in the eighteenth century) refers to the request by Anta Sinai for the continuation of the pension of 12,000 xerafins for the king and his descendants as Hyder Ali had expelled the king of Sunda from his kingdom.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, some of the Goan soldiers who worked for Hyder Ali earlier, revolted against the Portuguese. Narba Naik was one such soldier who attempted to mobilise the Goans to fight against the Portuguese.<sup>11</sup> The Portuguese sources also exhibit the knowledge concerning the achievements of Hyder Ali. Some of them are the imprisonment of the king of Patane, death of queen of Kanara, imprisonment of Mora Rao and the Raja of Chitradurga, and many other incidents which show that Hyder does not hesitate to use force. The implication is that the Portuguese should use caution while dealing with Hyder Ali.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ernestine Carreira, *Globalising Goa (1660-1820) Change and Exchange in a former capital of empire*, Sonarbat: Goa 1556, p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 143.

<sup>10</sup> *Documentacao Ultramarina Portuguesa* (henceforth DUP), vol. V, Lisbon: Centro do Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1967, p. 159.

<sup>11</sup> DUP, vol. V, p. 272.

<sup>12</sup> DUP, vol. V, p. 416.

It may be noted that even before the beginning of an actual interaction between the Portuguese in Goa and Hyder Ali, the two parties knew each other as some Portuguese mercenaries worked for Hyder Ali. For example, while fighting in Trichonopoly, Hyder Ali obtained the assistance of a Portuguese soldier Bento de Compos who switched sides from Nanjaraj to his adversary Hyder Ali.<sup>13</sup> In his war with the Marathas, Hyder obtained the assistance of the Portuguese soldier Joseph Menezes even though Hyder lost this battle.<sup>14</sup> In another war, The English captured a Portuguese officer who had worked for Hyder Ali.<sup>15</sup> In 1776, the Maratha leader Raghoba who fought with the English decided to request Hyder for asylum and for this purpose he sought the help of the Portuguese to safely reach him to the territory of Hyder Ali.<sup>16</sup> The army of Hyder Ali comprised a large number of Europeans including French and the Portuguese. He also obtained information from the Portuguese sources. For example, during his Malabar conquest when Hyder Ali was in Coimbatore there was a revolt in the region. Hyder Ali obtained this news from a Portuguese sailor.<sup>17</sup>

An important document that provides information regarding the Portuguese relationship with Mysore is *Antigualhas* by the Goan historian Panduranga Pissurlencar. It comprises the documents from the archival sources such as *Reiz Vizinhos* (Neighbouring Kings) and *Moncoes do Reino*

<sup>13</sup> N.K. Sinha, *Haider Ali*, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> N.K. Sinha, *Haider Ali*, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> N.K. Sinha, *Haider Ali*, p. 75.

<sup>16</sup> N.K. Sinha, *Haider Ali*, p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> N.K. Sinha, *Haider Ali*, p. 150.

(The Book of Mansoons).<sup>18</sup> It refers to the activities of the Portuguese and Goan adventurer Peixoto who had joined the army of Hyder Ali and contributed to its success in the early years of Hyder's career. In 1767, he decided to desert the army of Hyder Ali even though he also refused to join the British. Later, the French compelled him to join Hyder Ali. However, after one year Peixoto left Hyder's army as he was disappointed with the behavior of the Europeans.<sup>19</sup> It is apparent that Hyder Ali depended on the European mercenaries such as the French and the Portuguese who became the major reason for his success. Tipu also followed the policy of his father. It is true that he alienated some Europeans due to his anti Portuguese policies. However, we will see later that he was not inherently against obtaining the support of the Europeans and Christians in India.

The Portuguese were worried that Hyder Ali would invade their territories. They noted that after the conquest of Sunda, Hyder Ali attempted to conquer the island of Angediva and it was suggested that the fortification of Angediva should be strengthened to prevent an attack on this island by Hyder Ali.<sup>20</sup> An attempt was made to obtain the Sunda territory captured by Hyder Ali. However, it was argued that the Brahmans had dominated the Sunda kingdom and they were not likely to help the Portuguese as the

Brahmans were motivated by their selfish interests.<sup>21</sup> The Sunda king was only ten years old and being a minor he had to listen to the advice given by the Brahmans. In this situation, the Portuguese State needed to analyse its relationship with the king of Sunda who lost his territories to Hyder Ali of Mysore.<sup>22</sup> In this connection, it was important to obtain the assurance from Hyder Ali that he would not harm the king of Sunda when he returned to his territory.<sup>23</sup> It has been suggested that the Portuguese helped the Sunda king to prevent him from joining Hyder and act against the Portuguese. A friendly relationship with the Sunda king also allowed the Portuguese to control the territories such as Ponda, Canacona and Sanquelim.<sup>24</sup>

Prevalence of a war-like situation would endanger peace, thereby affecting the trade in the region. Such a situation also would affect the Christians in South India. This was the conclusion of the Portuguese document.<sup>25</sup> There is also reference to the fleet of Hyder Ali near the fort of Ticacol located on the borders of Maharashtra.<sup>26</sup> The Portuguese sources also reveal that Hyder Ali had built a force of 30 warships and many transport vehicles that allowed the navy of Mysore to move on the sea.<sup>27</sup> Hyder also employed or obtained the assistance of the Portuguese informants in various parts of South India. For example, he obtained the

<sup>18</sup> Panduranga Pissurlencar, 'Antigualhas', Boletim Instituto do Vasco da Gama, No. 45, 1940, pp. 109-172. For further details regarding Peixoto see, B. Shaikh Ali, *British Relations with Hyder Ali*, Rao and Raghavan, 1963, p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> Pissurlencar, *Antigualhas*, pp. 109-10. Also see Prince Gholam Mohammed, *History of Hyder Shah alias Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur and his son Tipu Sultan*, London: Thacker & Co., 1855, p. 59.

<sup>20</sup> Pissurlencar, *Antigualhas*, p. 131.

<sup>21</sup> DUP, V, p. 417.

<sup>22</sup> DUP, V, p. 417.

<sup>23</sup> DUP, V, p. 417.

<sup>24</sup> N.K. Sinha, *Haider Ali*, Calcutta: AMC, 1941, p. 144.

<sup>25</sup> DUP, V, p. 418.

<sup>26</sup> DUP, V, p. 449.

<sup>27</sup> N.K. Sinha, *Haider Ali*, p. 144.



news regarding the rebellion in Malabar from a Portuguese informant.<sup>28</sup> However, the Portuguese mostly acted as the informants of the English. For example, during their Malabar campaign the British general Coote obtained information regarding the movement of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan from a Portuguese official.<sup>29</sup> In one occasion, a Portuguese official led a group of soldiers. Hyder Ali wanted to recruit Europeans having the knowledge regarding the Frussian art of warfare and he had written to Goa, Bombay, Madras, Pondicherry and Colombo requesting for such officials. The Portuguese, in response to this request, sent one official from Goa. However, due to some misunderstanding, the official had to leave the army of Mysore.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, Hyder also recruited Topasses or the black Christians who called themselves Portuguese as they had some Portuguese background. Even though Topasses obtained training from the Portuguese officers they were discriminated in Goa. However, Hyder gave them a better treatment by considering them equal with the Portuguese even though they were led by a European officer.<sup>31</sup> There is an interesting event in the relationship between Hyder Ali and a Portuguese officer who had died in a battle and he was in the service of the army of Hyder Ali. The latter decided to appoint his widow as the officer in command till her son achieves maturity and gave her the command of the army of her husband. The army comprised the Topasses. The widows accompanied the army

but she appointed a junior commander to supervise the battalion. The same lady complained against a Jesuit father who had taken her jewels with him to Goa. However, Hyder Ali did not interfere in the legal procedure and suggested that the Portuguese should be allowed to decide the case. Finally, the Jesuit father was compelled to return the jewels and the cash that was deposited by the Portuguese lady.<sup>32</sup> It is not correct to brand Hyder Ali as anti-Christian as he assisted the Christian inhabitants of Cannanore previously ruled by Ali Raja. These people had constructed their houses and cultivated the neighboring fields, but they did not possess a title to the land. Hyder Ali decided to allow them to retain their land and regularized their stay.<sup>33</sup>

A peaceful relationship with Mysore was important for the Portuguese for their tobacco trade. The Portuguese aimed to import a huge quantity of tobacco from the regions such as Brazil. Tobacco from this region had a considerable demand in India and it fetched a price of around 210 xerafins per khandi. Consequently, the Portuguese could amass a huge profit from tobacco trade. The Portuguese needed the cooperation of Hyder Ali to import tobacco to the ports controlled by him.<sup>34</sup> Conquest of Sunda also allowed the Marathas to interfere in this region. They claimed to restore the territory to the king of Sunda and in this pretext the Maratha commander Vissagi Panta camped at a place called Mossurem. It was a problem for the Portuguese because the Marathas requested passage to Ponda to accomplish their

<sup>28</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 150.

<sup>29</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 197.

<sup>30</sup> Gholam Mohammed, History of Hyder, p. 77.

<sup>31</sup> Gholam Mohammed, History of Hyder, p. 85.

<sup>32</sup> Gholam Mohammed, History of Hyder, pp. 99-102.

<sup>33</sup> Gholam Mohammed, History of Hyder, p. 65.

<sup>34</sup> DUP, V, p. 99.

task.<sup>35</sup> One may note that there was a constant struggle between Mysore and the Marathas for the supremacy over Deccan. During the initial years of their relationship with Mysore, the Portuguese were not against the idea of supporting an emerging power to counter the power of the Marathas as the Portuguese were wary of the Maratha incursion into the Goan territories including Ponda. In fact, in 1767 and 1769, the Portuguese assisted indirectly though, Hyder Ali to defeat the English in Kanara. Hyder Ali returned this favour by respecting the Christians of Mangalore and signed a treaty with the Portuguese to confirm this relationship. Hyder also requested the Portuguese support to build a war fleet. However, the Portuguese were not willing to take the risk of supporting Hyder Ali and challenging the Marathas. Consequently, they declined this request, resulting in the emergence of the enmity between Goa and Mysore. The Portuguese obtained regular information regarding the activities of Hyder Ali with the help of the Portuguese and French informers in the court of Mysore.<sup>36</sup> Despite the Portuguese refusal to assist him, Hyder Ali embarked on a project of ship building in Honnavar and Bhatkal. The plan was to create a large fleet and use them against the British. He appointed a Dutch officer to supervise this project, which had the estimated cost of 17 lakhs pagodas.<sup>37</sup> Hyder Ali faced a few impediments to his shipping project. The British captured his ships. In retaliation he also captured the English ships and demanded

<sup>35</sup> DUP, V, p. 368.

<sup>36</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 78.

<sup>37</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 163.

the release of his ships. Interestingly, Imam of Muscat also attacked the ships of Hyder Ali.<sup>38</sup> Tipu Sultan continued the policy of Hyder Ali of ship building. He requested some carpenters from Muscat to build ships, as he had replaced the Portuguese with Oman in the field of maritime trade. The British, on their conquest of Mangalore found 3 big ships with 50 to 60 cannons.<sup>39</sup>

Hyder's conquest of Kanara was an important achievement as the Portuguese termed it 'land of gold' and 'granary'. It supplied a large quantity of food grains to the neighboring regions and it was known for sufficient rainfall and fertility of soil.<sup>40</sup> In 1768, the Portuguese in Mangalore had given access to the English to the factory and informed regarding the ways of conquering the Mangalore fort, thereby affecting the Mysore-Portuguese relationship.<sup>41</sup> The Portuguese obtained the information that the English were likely to attack the fort Piro or Sadashivgad. To prevent such as eventuality, the Portuguese attempted to capture this fort, and this act affected Hyder Ali, who was also furious with the Portuguese for their pro-British attitude. When the Portuguese apologized, he allowed them to trade in Mangalore and also allowed voluntary conversion of people into Christianity. This event shows that Haider hated the British and those who supported them.<sup>42</sup> However, Hyder Ali

<sup>38</sup> *Index to the Foreign and Political Records vol. I*, Delhi: National Archives of India, 1957, p. 212. It is apparent that the English obtained important information regarding the activities of Hyder Ali.

<sup>39</sup> G.M. Moraes, Mangalore, p. 56.

<sup>40</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 43.

<sup>41</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 157.

<sup>42</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 158. Also see Druon, *Les Français Dans L'Inde Au XVII et au XVIII Siecles*, Paris, 1886, p. 266. Also see T. Chandrashekharan (ed), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Marathi Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras*, vol. I, Madras, 1953, pp. 282-3.



also attempted to capture, the Goan territories such as Ponda, which were controlled earlier by the Sunda king by offering the minor Sunda king that Hyder Ali would capture those territories from the Portuguese and give the same to the Sunda king. However, the Portuguese did not allow the Sunda king to leave Goa. Hyder Ali had planned to conquer a few regions of Goa, thereby affecting the Portuguese interest.<sup>43</sup>

Hyder Ali also attempted to control Malabar. The king of Zamorin requested for the French protection. Hyder Ali invaded Calicut and defeated the force of Zamorin and the French. Consequently, Hyder Ali could control some pepper ports of Kerala.<sup>44</sup> The Portuguese had to deal with the Marathas and Hyder Ali. However, they attempted to maintain their neutrality as they were apprehensive of both the parties, which could any time capture Goa. The Marathas under Madhava Rao suggested to the Portuguese that the latter and the Marathas should wage a war by using their fleets against Hyder Ali. The Marathas were prepared to pay for the expenses and the northern regions that the Marathas had conquered from the Portuguese. Hyder Ali also proposed such an alliance by sending his general Faizullah Khan to help the Portuguese against the Marathas. However, these plans were not actually implemented.<sup>45</sup>

In 1769, Hyder Ali, through his minister Vencapayya wrote a letter to the Portuguese authorities through the representative of the Portuguese Sadashiva Comotim

requesting for the friendly relationship with the Portuguese.<sup>46</sup> The letter was translated by Sadashiva Comotim. However, the document does not mention the language of the original document. In 1769, Hyder Ali sent another letter to the Portuguese requesting for the cooperation with the Portuguese in Mangalore.<sup>47</sup> The letter informs that Shaikh Ali was the governor of Coddial (Mangalore) and the Portuguese were given the gift of clothes. The letter also suggests that Hyder Ali was interested in the friendship with the Portuguese.<sup>48</sup>

In the 1770s, there was a cordial relationship between the Portuguese and Mysore. As per the treaty signed with the English after the conquest of Mangalore from the hands of the English, the Portuguese were allowed to trade in Mangalore and allowed the rice tribute and they could even convert the locals into Christianity. These clauses were also mentioned in a treaty signed between the Portuguese and Hyder Ali. In 1771 another treaty was signed by the Portuguese and Hyder Ali. Accordingly, Hyder allowed the supply of pepper, rice and sandalwood.<sup>49</sup> He also allowed the Portuguese to retain their hold over the territories such as the Sunda territories conquered by the Portuguese and Cabo de Rama.<sup>50</sup> According to this treaty, the Portuguese are allowed to retain their trading post in Mangalore as before. Hyder allowed the Portuguese to visit the western coastal ports controlled by Hyder Ali and collect rice, pepper and other

<sup>43</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 159.

<sup>44</sup> Carreira, Globalising Goa, p. 209.

<sup>45</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 157.

<sup>46</sup> Colleeao Tratados, vol. VIII, pp. 26-27.

<sup>47</sup> Colleeao Tratados, vol. VIII, p. 28. The letter is dated 12 August 1769.

<sup>48</sup> Colleeao Tratados, p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> G.M. Moraes, *Mangalore*, pp. 45-47.

<sup>50</sup> Moraes, *Mangalore*, p. 47.

commodities. According to another clause, the vicar fathers of the churches are allowed to decide the cases related to the Christians. The Mysore government will not interfere in the attempt of the Portuguese to convert people into Christianity.<sup>51</sup> However, in 1774, Hyder while searching for a suitable location to build a citadel found that the Portuguese factory was the most favourable spot for this purpose. Consequently, the Portuguese were asked to vacate the Mangalore factory, thereby ending the Portuguese settlement in this coastal region.<sup>52</sup> In 1776, he banned the entry of the Portuguese traders to Mangalore. He captured the Portuguese ship and arrested the crew members. As symbol of his anger, he destroyed the Portuguese garrison and artillery. However, he offered to revive the friendly relationship with the Portuguese provided they assisted him in his war against the British.<sup>53</sup> In 1778, Hyder Ali revived his plan of ship building in Mangalore and other western coastal ports that he controlled. For this purpose, he approached a famous Goan ship builder Colen Dinamarquez, who refused to support Hyder Ali. The latter also approached the Dutch to build ships.<sup>54</sup> Despite these events, Hyder Ali stated that he was interested in the protecting the interest of the merchants, local and foreign, including British, French, Dutch and Portuguese, thereby showing that he was prepared to enter into alliance with any European power that supported his cause.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Colleecao Tratados, VIII, pp. 31-2.

<sup>52</sup> Moraes, Mangalore, p. 47.

<sup>53</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, pp. 158-9.

<sup>54</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, pp. 162-3.

<sup>55</sup> N.K. Sinha, Haider Ali, p. 167.

A few French soldiers had settled in Goa. In 1761, a few French soldiers who worked for Hyder Ali decided to leave for Mauritius. On the way, they reached Goa and they were welcomed by the viceroy of estado da India. In 1763, the French who had settled in Goa were asked to leave due to the war between Portugal and France. These soldiers joined the army of the Nawab Fazal Ullah Khan and they participated in his conquest of the Sunda territory near Goa. This army had, conquered Cabo de Rama. However, some French soldiers opposed the conquest of Goa and deserted the Mysore army. These soldiers joined the Portuguese in Goa.<sup>56</sup> The Portuguese have given the detailed account of the rise of Hyder since 1750s and his conquest of Kanara as it is mentioned that Hyder was able to convince the queen of Kanara and her son to accept his protection and captured Kanara, which yielded an enormous amount of rice, pepper and sandalwood.<sup>57</sup> Hyder Ali had conquered Bidnur and renamed it as Hyder Nagar. He also conquered the Sunda kingdom and attacked Cabo de Rama, which provided entry into Salcete of Goa.<sup>58</sup>

Another phase in the relationship between the Portuguese and Mysore was the rise of Tipu Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali who had proved his capacity as a leader. The Portuguese feared that like his father, Tipu would invade

<sup>56</sup> Carreira, Globalising Goa, p. 158. Also see Joaquim Pedro Celestino Soares, *Documentos Comprovetivos do Bosquejo das Possesoes Portuguezes no Oriente, Tomo III*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1853, pp. 86-88. This source provides a detailed information regarding the activities of Hyder Ali. It is apparent that the Portuguese keenly followed the developments in South India, which could affect their interest in Goa.

<sup>57</sup> Soares, Documentos, p. 93.

<sup>58</sup> Soares, Documentos, p. 93.

Goa. Along with this, there was the decline of the Marathas. The Portuguese had no one to look for support in the event of an attack by Tipu Sultan.<sup>59</sup> There was a rumour that Tipu Sultan was keen to expel Christians from India. Some French sources also supported this contention. Tipu was angry with both Portuguese supported the English. The French, who traditionally supported Mysore, refused to give their support when the English and the French signed a treaty.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, there was a rumour that Tipu was planning for an outright attack on Goa, which was the neighbor of the Mysore territory. There were news in 1786 that several thousand soldiers assembled near the Goa border to attack Goa. The French sources confirmed this news. The Goan missionaries claimed that Tipu had destroyed their places of worship and their position in Kanara was precarious. Tipu had banned the Portuguese trade in the ports controlled by him. At the same time, there was a famine in Goa due to the lack of food production and supply.<sup>61</sup> Tipu Sultan, in one of his letters gave the indication of capturing Goa.<sup>62</sup> In the meantime, the Portuguese also alienated Nana Phadnavis who needed the arms supply from an European power. The French and Portuguese refused to support the Marathas, compelling the latter to request the English to support against their enemies. Nana thought that due to the Portuguese non cooperation, the Mysore army had defeated his army in 1787. The implication is that the Portuguese became vulnerable to a

<sup>59</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 83.

<sup>60</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 83.

<sup>61</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 84.

<sup>62</sup> Kabir Kausar, *Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sultan*, New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers, 1980, p. 52.

future attack by the Mysore army, which was present on the Goan borders.<sup>63</sup> The French also played an important role in the success of Mysore against its enemies such as the Marathas even though the French did not fight directly against the Portuguese. However, like the Portuguese and English, the French had colonial and commercial ambitions. French wanted to control Mangalore. Mysore, however, was averse to the idea of giving up control over a port that yielded a huge rice supply. The French also attempted to obtain Karwar from Hyder Ali and exchanging Karwar for Mahe. However, there was the fear of the opposition from France as the latter maintained a friendly relationship with the Portuguese. The establishment of the French settlement in Karwar would have affected the Portuguese in Goa.<sup>64</sup> In the meantime, the French also had the ambition to capture Goa as there was no other port with the fleet building facility. Mangalore controlled by Tipu did not have ship building facility. However, the French could not implement their plan due to the failure of the Egypt invasion by Napoleon and other international developments<sup>65</sup> and French. Christians of Mangalore under the Portuguese protection had

In 1776, Hyder Ali had suspended the trade relationship with the Portuguese, thereby affecting their trade with Mangalore. The Viceroy of Goa wrote a letter to Tipu after the death of Hyder Ali requesting him to open the ports controlled by him for trade with the Portuguese. However, when the English attacked Tipu's territory on the western

<sup>63</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 85.

<sup>64</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 118.

<sup>65</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 121.



coast, the Roman Catholics of the region assisted the English, which enraged Tipu Sultan. At the same time, Tipu was prepared to give some concessions to the Portuguese provided they agreed to his conditions. He had released the Catholic priests who were imprisoned earlier. However, the Portuguese were unwilling to accept an alliance with Tipu as they worried that he would eventually capture Goa. Secondly, they aimed to conquer Sadashivgad, which was under the control of Mysore.<sup>66</sup> They found the advantages of helping the Marathas instead of Tipu. Consequently, they signed a peace treaty with the Marathas. The Portuguese, according to this treaty, demanded from the Marathas the right to retain the territories which were earlier possessed by the Sunda king. It was also decided to share the expenses of war. The aim of this treaty was to defeat Tipu and ensure the safety of the territories of the Portuguese and the Marathas.<sup>67</sup> There was a secret negotiation between the French and Tipu regarding their plan to defeat the English and divide the territories in South India between them. The French proposed that Tipu Sultan, after destroying the fort of Goa, could retain it while Bombay should be given to the French. However, the French also suggested that the Portuguese in Goa should be imprisoned but they should be provided with the necessary commodities. At the same time, after the war, the Portuguese were to be expelled from the territories controlled by the French and Tipu. It was also decided to divide the ports on the coastal regions between the French and Mysore. It was

<sup>66</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, Delhi: Aakar Books, Second edition, 1971, p. 389.

<sup>67</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, p. 390.

decided to obtain 5 to 10,000 Europeans from Mauritius and 25,000 trained 'negroes'. The French troops would land at Sadashivgad near Goa. It allows them to capture Goa, a strategic location to launch attack against the English.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, they decided to ensure a humane treatment of the English and Portuguese prisoners even though they would be deported from their territories after the war. Tipu also suggested that the joint army of the French and Mysore should land in Onore or Honnavar, which allows them to attack Goa.<sup>69</sup> Tipu also suggested that along with Goa, there is a need to attack the Marathas and the Nizam who were also regarded his enemies.<sup>70</sup>

Tipu, in his "Memoirs" exhibited his hatred for the Portuguese and other Christians. He wrote that the Portuguese had captured Goa and forcibly converted large numbers of people. He suggested the need to punish the Portuguese who also controlled the port of Mangalore.<sup>71</sup> Tipu Sultan realized that the Catholics of Mangalore had supported the British based on the input that they obtained from Goa. The Catholics of Mangalore, consequently, represented the Portuguese of Goa. However, he was prepared to enter into an alliance with the Portuguese and allow them to enjoy the commercial privileges provided they agreed to his demands. The Portuguese, on the other hand,

<sup>68</sup> Kabir, Kausar, *Secret Correspondence*, p. 88.

<sup>69</sup> *Secret Correspondence*, p. 170.

<sup>70</sup> *Secret Correspondence*, p. 276.

<sup>71</sup> Moraes, *Mangalore*, p. 63. However, Moraes does not find evidence regarding the forcible conversion of Hindus into Christianity despite evidence given by the scholars such as Cunha Rivara. Nevertheless one cannot justify the approach of Tipu Sultan towards the Christians of Mangalore.

continued to support the English, which affected the interests of Mysore.<sup>72</sup> In the meantime, the Portuguese also proposed for an offensive alliance with the Marathas as they decided to invade Mysore and prevent the threat of invasion of Goa and Maratha territories by Tipu Sultan. The treaty specified that the Marathas would move towards the south of Tipu's territories while the Portuguese would attack the coastal territories of Tipu Sultan. The Portuguese would obtain the war expenses from the Marathas. In return, the Portuguese would surrender Tipu's territories to the Marathas. The Portuguese suggested that they do not require money but demanded that they should be allowed to retain the territories of the Sunda king and other territories around Goa.<sup>73</sup> The treaty also mentions that the Peshwa would allow the commercial privileges to the Portuguese in the territories that they conquer from Tipu. According to another clause, the Portuguese agreed not to convert Hindus into Christianity and not kill cows. However, the Christians are allowed to kill cows when they owned them. It is also mentioned that the Portuguese would not allow the conversion of Brahmans into Christianity. The Peshwa agreed not to allow the conversion of Christians in his territory into Islam.<sup>74</sup>

The Portuguese noted that there was a treaty signed between Tipu and the British in Srirangapattana in 1784. It was found that Tipu was particularly furious with the Portuguese in Mangalore as they had helped the British.

<sup>72</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, pp. 384-5.

<sup>73</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, p. 385.

<sup>74</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, p. 386. However, the proposed treaty was not signed officially. At the same time, it would have further affected the Portuguese-Mysore relationship.

Around 30,000 Christians who were in Mangalore were forcibly circumscribed and deported to the ghat region to punish them. The Goan Vicars were sent back to Goa.<sup>75</sup> Some of the Christians returned to their homeland after the defeat of Tipu, but they had lost their property to those who had occupied them. They demanded restoration of their property.<sup>76</sup> Even though Tipu considered the Portuguese as his enemies, he had no problem in approaching a Portuguese citizen Pierre Monneron to send an embassy to France to seek help of the French authorities. Monneron also acted as the mediator between Tipu and the French while dealing with the loan of nineteen lakhs rupees that the French had taken from Tipu.<sup>77</sup>

Despite the distrust of the Christians of Mangalore for Tipu, a few nationalist Catholics depended on Tipu for the liberation of Goa. In 1787, there was a revolt in Goa. The revolutionaries attempted to obtain independence from the Portuguese. They believed that Tipu Sultan would invade Goa and they were prepared to accept Tipu as their ally. One of the leaders was Joaquim Antonio Vicente who had lived in Lisbon. However, he planned to return to Goa and join Tipu Sultan. He had stayed with Peixoto who had served in the army of Hyder Ali. He approached the Catholic leaders in Malabar to obtain recommendations so that he could join the service of Tipu. Vicente could obtain the support of the Catholic leaders such as Fr. Jose Antonio Gonsalves of

<sup>75</sup> It is mentioned that Tipu did not punish father Don Joaquim de Miranda who supplied 1000 rice bags to the English. However, when the Father continued to help his enemies, Tipu decided to exile the Christian community to Cochin. See Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, p. 365.

<sup>76</sup> Moraes, Mangalore, p. 71.

<sup>77</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *The History of Tipu Sultan*, p. 125.

Ceylon, Archbishop of Cannanore and Bishop of Cochin, Fr. Thomas Pariemakel. The latter opposed the Portuguese in Goa.<sup>78</sup> It is suggested that Tipu was not against obtaining the support of the Christians of Goa, as many Goan and Portuguese soldiers worked for him. The Goan army officials could obtain important military positions in the Tipu's army.<sup>79</sup> It is apparent that Tipu Sultan became the rallying point for the Indian nationalists in different parts of the country including Goa as the nationalists anticipated support from him against the colonial masters. Tipu's survival from the English onslaught would have resulted, perhaps, in a premature liberation of Goa. However, his death prevented such a development. However, even after his death the Goan nationalists continued to oppose the Portuguese domination.

Tipu continued to oppose the Portuguese as he decided to block rice supply from Mangalore to Goa. However, due to the negotiation, Tipu allowed the supply of rice to Goa. It was apparent that Tipu Sultan took some punitive measures against the Portuguese in Mangalore. It is mentioned that in a letter Tipu accepted that his action was 'unwise'.<sup>80</sup> However, this decision was the continuation of Hyder's policy as the latter had banned the entry of Portuguese into Mangalore.

<sup>78</sup> Cunha Rivara, *The Revolt of 1787*, edited by Charles J. Borges, Translated by Renato da Cunha Soares, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1996, pp. 115-16. Interestingly, some Goan Catholic priests revolted against the Portuguese in Goa. The study also shows that the Catholics were prepared to obtain the support of Tipu for the Goan freedom movement.

<sup>79</sup> Rivara, *Revolt of 1787*, p. 116.

<sup>80</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, pp. 445-6. However, different figures are given with reference to the deportation of Christians from Kanara to Srirangapattana. The number varies from 20,000 to 60,000. Mohibbul Hasan does not agree that there was a forcible conversion of Christians even though some Christians became Christians. See Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, p.365. Moraes argues that approximately 60,000 people were deported to Srirangapattana. However, he finds that some of them were released and they were bought as slaves. See Moraes, *Mangalore*, pp. 67-8.

The English and the Portuguese attempted to use various methods to avoid Tipu's trade restrictions in Mangalore. The Portuguese sent some merchants who were termed as traders from Muscat. When Tipu obtained this information he insisted that the traders should obtain a certificate from the Mysore factory in Muscat.<sup>81</sup>

In February 1792, there was a war between the combined forces of British, Nizam and Peshwa and Tipu Sultan. The latter was defeated. As per the treaty, Tipu agreed to surrender half of the Malabar possessions which yielded an income of around 13,00,000 pagodas. The British occupied Calicut and destroyed the factories of the Portuguese, Danes and the French. The Portuguese and other European flags were also destroyed. Interestingly, the Portuguese played an important role in the commercial and political activities of South India. The correspondence between the authorities in Mahe, Mysore and Calicut took in Portuguese, thereby showing that Portuguese had emerged as the language of communication between traders and the elite sections in this region.<sup>82</sup>

Tipu Sultan entered into a treaty with Napoleon Bonaparte of France, who had problems with the alliance between the English and the Portuguese. The French had lost their possession of Mahe and they turned their attention towards Goa as a strategic commercial centre. To prevent such a development, the English sent a garrison to Goa comprising more than 1000 soldiers and commanders.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *The History of Tipu*, p. 345.

<sup>82</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 235.

<sup>83</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, pp. 452-3.



However, after 1786, the threat from Tipu Sultan declined as he withdrew his forces from the Goan borders and shifted his attention towards the Marathas.<sup>84</sup>

Desertions by the foreign soldiers was an important reason for the defeat of Tipu Sultan. Among them were the French who were under the service of Hyder Ali, Monsieur Blevette and Monsieur Lefolu. Another thirty soldiers under the leadership of a Portuguese national Joseph Pedro also decided to leave the Mysore army and join the English.<sup>85</sup> These details also indicate that Tipu, like his father, appointed several French and Portuguese mercenaries. However, he could not retain them in his army.

Hyder Ali laid the basis of the Mysore-Portuguese relationship when he conquered the Sunda territories of Karnataka and he aimed to conquer Goa over a period. At the same time, he maintained a friendly relationship with the Portuguese. As per the treaties signed between the two parties, Hyder allowed the Portuguese to trade in Mangalore and even practice Christianity along with their missionary activities. However, the refusal of the Portuguese to provide him assistance in constructing a war fleet affected his relationship with the Portuguese. He was also affected by the activities of the Christians who supported the English. Tipu Sultan continued the policies of his father. However, he took stern measures against the Christians of Portuguese privileged with reference to the pepper trade.<sup>86</sup> Consequently, the Portuguese did not gain by the defeat of Tipu, their arch

enemy. The English attempted to monopolise the pepper trade. Mangalore by deporting them to Srirangapattana. He also planned to attack Goa by sending the soldiers near the borders of Goa. The Portuguese documents express the fear that Tipu would attack Goa. In fact, he also planned with the French to attack Goa and retain it while he allowed the French demand to capture Bombay. However, the defeat of Tipu at the hands of the English and changes in the English-French relations affected the plans of Tipu with reference to the Portuguese.

<sup>84</sup> Carreira, *Globalising Goa*, p. 149.

<sup>85</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *The History of Tipu Sultan*, p. 248.

<sup>86</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 450.