

Andhra
Between
The Empires

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To

my Grand Parents

Smt. Seetharamamma &

Late Maddali Umamakeswer Rao

who taught me the Alphabet of

Living and Learning

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INTRODUCTION

The most fertile Coastal belt from Ganjam in the North to Neilore in the South, abounded by thick wily hilly tracts of the Eastern Ghats on the West and the vast expanse of blue waters of Bay of Bengal on the East, is popularly known as Andhra since the times immemorial. The rich Coastal strip is about 50-150 kms wide at places and continuously nurtured by major rivers like the Vamsadhara, the Godavari, the Krishna. The deltas formed at the mouths of these rivers contain rich alluvial deposits facilitating a high yield of variety of agricultural and horticultural produce. Its surface link with the Bengal and the overseas trade in spices with the South - East added to the economic exuberance of the region. Thus, it served as the nerve centre for many an empire and evidently was the most sought after territory by many an empire builder in the past.

The region's potential for enormous surplus production in the agricultural and the industrial sectors - and the well-knit roads and waterways contributed to flourishing trade and commerce. Several urban and semi-urban settlements sprang up on the Coast with various types of industries - agricultural and non-agricultural. The busy economic activity played a catalytic role in the cultural exchanges between the North and the South. Compared with the Western Deccan, the geographical location of the Coromondal was more favourable to allowing easy access to the South from the North and the vice-versa, thus paving way for the fine amalgam of various prominent Indian cultures and art forms tuning itself to the ever shifting sands of Time. The distinct characteristic features of various cultural forms of the sub-continent dissolved themselves into a smart and peculiar 'Andhra mould' losing their identities. One significant and dynamic character of the Andhra Culture has been its willing absorption of any irresistible non-indigenous culture.

The economic growth and cultural achievements attracted many an outside adventurer to grab the political power by force and could hold the region as long as he was able to resist another. Perhaps, these characteristics might have prevented the emergence of any empire or a kingdom to the magnitude of that of the Satavahanas or the Kakatiyas or the Vijayanagara with the seat of power within its central region. Those who ruled this region with their capitals situated within itself like the Ikshvakus, the Vishmukundins,

the Chalukyas of Vengi or the Reddis were only splinter lines of major dynasties of Satavahanas, the Chalukyas of Badami and the Kakatiyas respectively with their power centres outside the region. Though these minor rulers were spectacular contributors to the rich cultural heritage of the Telugu-speaking people, they were politically insignificant in an empire building and never found it necessary or worth while, any territorial expansion into the hinterland. On the other hand, the coastal power involved in personal rivalry based on vanity, jealousy and false prestiges and mutual bickerings often resulting into cut-throat internecenary war among themselves or giving way to an adventurer from the hinter-land. Further the political history of the region testifies the prevalence of chaotic situation during the interval of two succeeding empires from outside the region, one receding while the other was emerging.

The rise of lesser kingdoms like Ikshvakus, Vishunukundins, Brihatpalyas and Anandagotrajās between the Satavahana and the Chalukya empires and similar political situation between the Kakatiyas and the Vijayanagara empires stand enough testimony to the political dynamics of the region suggesting an inbuilt mechanism with distintegrating forces operating through the successive empires by cutting short the life of one and preparing a favourable ground for the other. To understand these dynamics, an objective analyses of the political conditions between any two empires gain significance and such study may reveal a fascinating account of the impact of ebbs and tides on coastal plains not only from the sea but from the hinterland, as well.

While all the periods of interregnum between two successive major kingdoms or empires as the case may be from the Satavahanas down to that of the Mughals are seemingly similar in the Andhra country only varying in the efficacy of governance or span of control, the gap between the Mughals and the British offers uniqueness in the sense that the British power sought to setting its feet on the coast as a superior maritime power and to pressing the native ruler, the Nizam, to pull himself out of the coastal plains and thereby entrenching himself in a land-locked country. Besides this, the British rule on the coastal Andhra had a fairly long spell with an unusual political stability in the region supported by a well organised administrative machinery.

Therefore, the present study is an attempt (i) to analyse the political conditions of Andhra country after the death of Aurangzeb till the establishment of firm grip over the region by the British through their aggrandisement revenue policies; (ii) to probe into the cultural and economic factors favourable to the sustenance of the British grip on the region for such long period and;

(iii) to find out their techniques of checks and counter-checks designed to keep the disintegrating forces under their firm control facilitating the establishment, expansion and consolidation of their power in India.

In the transfer of power from the natives to foreign company, the Zamindars of the region played a decisive role after the death of the first Nizam in 1748. Therefore, the present study traces the relations between the important Zamindars of the Northern Sarkars with the English East India Company from the founding of Hyderabad State in 1724 to the final transfer of these Sarkars with full rights of accession to the Company in 1823.

The Sarkars of Chicacole, Ellore, Rajahmundry Murtizanagar and Mustaphanagar roughly conforming with the present districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, East & West Godavaries, Krishna and Guntur were brought under the control of the Nizam, Asaj Jah I, who founded the Hyderabad State taking the advantage of the weak centre at Delhi. The Zamindars of these Sarkars, to name a few prominent ones, the Zamindars of Bobbili, Vizianagaram, Peddapuram, Pittapuram, Nuzivid enjoyed virtual independence from 1707 to 1724. The first Nizam had to take drastic steps to bring all of them under his control through one of his able commanders Anvaruddin assisted by one, Rustum Khan, an energetic subordinate. But the death of the Nizam in 1748 was followed by a war of succession involving the French and the English companies. These rivalries ended in favour of the English by 1759 with the extinction of the French influence on the Eastern Coast with the help of the Zamindars of Vizianagaram.

After the English could clear the coast off their arch enemies, the French, they designed to get these Sarkars from the Nizam for whatever the price. The English entered into friendly relations with the important Zamindars of the region by helping them in their inland trade and providing them with the supplies of ammunition. The English won over the Nizam's deputies and other chief functionaries of the court with costly presents in order to influencing the Nizam to oblige to their request for the grant of these Sarkars.

In fact, the region was so strategically important besides the economic considerations, that Nizam Ali Khan, the then Nizam, was not willing to part with it under any circumstance. On the other hand, he was pleading for the English help against the Marathas for which he was prepared to accept any alternative proposal. Meanwhile, the English managed to obtain a *Firman* from the Mughal Emperor in 1765 granting these sarkars to the English company knowing fully well that it was infructuous as the Nizam held an

independent authority over this region. But the *Firman* had its due impact on the Zamindars of the region who favoured the English hoping for high rewards by the company on the analogy from the earlier occasions when these Zamindars used to change their loyalties hurriedly in favour of the emerging power.

The Mughal *Firman* rewarded the English as they desired by creating such an atmosphere in the Andhra country that its transfer to the English was a settled fact and that the only question remained was when it would be effected. The Nizam was cornered from all sides and the English diplomacy reaped its first fruit in procuring these Sarkars legally by an agreement between the Nizam and the Company in 1768. Though the area was transferred to the English on lease initially, the Nizam was never in a position to take back these Sarkars from the English terminating the lease and finally the country was acceded to the Company in 1823.

The Zamindars and the Nizam's deputies who showed lot of enthusiasm to go over to the English, thinking that the foreign merchant company would not be interested in the governance of the country and they could enjoy full liberty in ruling their territories if the commercial interests of the company were well served by the local chiefs. But, they realised their mistake before long as the English extended its sway on the coastal districts and consolidated its authority with a well organised beauracratc system committed only to the English interests. The resistance to the expansion of the English power came for the first time from the hilly chiefs of Godavari district as early as 1770 starting from Totapalli Estate and spread to the chiefs of plains culminating in the Battle of Padmanabham in 1794.

Eversince the English put forth their pretentious claim over the Northern Sarkars with the support of the Mughal grant, their intentions were very clear to exploit the region by collecting as much as they could in shape of revenue and to manufacture cloth in their factories by compelling the local artisans to work on unremunerative terms. The permanent settlement introduced in the region had its telling effect on the local aristocracy and the older Zamindary estate became bankrupt in course of time and gave place to the new Zamindaries. The social and economic tranformation that took place in the region turned out to be quite unfavourable to the traditional Zamindary families and all those who depended on agriculture for their livelihood. The transfer of Sarkars heralded the earliest phase of British colonialism in the Andhra in particular. The period is significant for the reason that the modern beauracratc system had its origins in the crude and exploitative system of administration. This stage of colonialism ended with the introduction of

laissez faire economy through the Charter Act of 1813 and the English soon completed the accession of this 'country' in 1823 when the Nizam finally surrendered his claims of the nominal *peshcash* on these Sarkars to the English.

The micro-level political analysis of the region during the troubled period between the fading away of the Mughal empire and the emerging British empire becomes a necessary requisite to understand the political dynamics of the British diplomacy in India. Evidently, it was the first ever region to put up resistance to the expansion and consolidation of the British authority from the petty tribal chiefs. The region eventually suffered the British rule for the longest period in our country. Consequently, the Andhra region was again the first to react favourably to the impact of western culture and ideas through its social reform. The transfer of these Sarkars had reduced the Nizam to the level of a dependent chief ruling over a land-locked Estate which finally compelled him to accede to the demand of joining Indian Union after the withdrawal of the British power from India. Thus the region gained importance as the launching pad for the British imperialism in India. But this has not so far received its due recognition and the history of the region during 18th century has not yet been dealt with in a comprehensive manner except the event of transfer of Sarkars as a passing reference in the historical works pertaining to south India or Deccan. Therefore, the present work is an attempt to explain the transforming political scenario of 18th century to help develop a clear understanding of the foundations of the British Raj in India.

The Historical Method is applied in the present study which depends on the Archival and Zamindari records for the primary data and the public and private libraries for the secondary data. The study is organised under the following Chapters.

Chapter one explains the topography and the historical background of the region.

Chapter two deals with the administration of these sarkars under the first Nizam. The Nizam's policy towards the foreign settlements in the region is discussed. The relations between the powerful chiefs of the region and the foreign companies are analysed to trace the beginnings of the British diplomacy in India.

Chapter three focuses light on the Anglo-French rivalry on the Coast after the death of the Nizam and the study probes into the factors favourable to the rise of the French. The administration of these districts under the

French hegemony and its impact on the inter-estate relations are dealt in this chapter.

Chapter four exposes the ineffective handling of the affairs of Northern Sarkars by the French and the inter-estate rivalry in the region which contributed to the expulsion of the French from the Northern Sarkars. The auxiliary role of the English Commandant, Col Forde, in the rivalry between the Zamindars and the French; and the English designs on this Coast are presented along with the critical analysis of the major political events.

Chapter five presents the efforts of the English to procure the Northern Sarkars from the Nizam and the relations between the local chiefs and the English. The Chapter attempts to trace the origin and evolution of the British policy towards local chiefs. The Chapter narrates how the English were successful with their superior diplomatic strategy in procuring these Sarkars from Nizam Ali Khan.

Chapter six brings to light the resistance offered by the local chiefs of hill estates and plains to the English power. The Chapter also deals with various measures taken by the English in tackling the problem of recalcitrant Zamindars and how the English were successful in the administration of the native estates so that they ceased to offer any potential threat to the Raj in future.

Chapter seven analyses the revenue policy of the Madras Presidency in general and the Coastal Andhra in particular. The chapter is intended to give an estimate of the impact of the revenue policy of the company on the economic conditions of the peasantry and the traditional Zamindari families as well till the final accession of these Sarkars to the company.

Chapter Eight presents the general observations of the study. The achievement of the English Company and the failure of the native rulers to offer any formidable resistance to the company are critically examined in the light of their relations for about a century before the English could claim unquestioned authority over its dominion in India.

THE NORTHERN SARKARS

Northern Sarkars constituted the most fertile coastal strip of the erstwhile Nizam's Dominion. The area extending from 15° 2' to 20° N.L and from 79° 2' to 85° 2' E.L from the Greenwich is commonly known as the Northern Sarkars for its relative situation to the Fort. St. George (Madras).

1. TOPOGRAPHY

According to James Grant. "the area bounds it to the east, in a direct course North-East 1/2 E along a coast 470 measured miles in the length from the port of Mootapillee (Motupalli) dependent on Guntur Sarkar near its southern extremity, to the town of Malond in Orissa on the borders of Chilka Lake. In almost a parallel direction on the West from 50 to 70 miles in land, it is divided from the interior provinces of the Hyderabad Suboh, by a range of small detached hills extending to the banks of Godavari and in like manner separated from Berar to the North of that river, by a great continued ridge of mountains impassable everywhere..... . Towards the south, the small river Gondezemma (Gundlakamma) which empties itself at Mootapillee (Motupalli) separates the territory we are describing from the district of Ongole, and formeth on that side, the most distinguishable modern frontier to the Carnatic payenghat"¹.

The area is watered by the three important rivers of the Deccan, the Krishna, the Godavari, and the Gundlakamma. Besides a long sea coast of 470 miles, the territory was also noted for its economic wealth, Masulipatam was noted for its dyeing and printing industry while Rajahmundry abounds with rich teak forests and Chicacole (Srikakulam) is chiefly a rice producing area. There was a vast demand for the calicoes, chintzes, and palempores of Coromandel in other regions of India. ² The strip along the Bay of Bengal is enriched with the ancient and natural sea-ports like Vizagapatam, Kakinada, Masulipatam, Ghantasala, Motupalli etc..

¹ James Grant: Political Survey of the Northern Sarkars as appended to the Vol. III Appendix 13 of the Fifth Report of *Select Committee on the affairs of East India Company*, pp. 3 & 4.

² Sarkar was the largest revenue division of a Suboh (province) roughly equivalent to the present district.

² Willaim Forster: *England in Quest of Eastern Trade* (Pioneer History Series). pp. 208 & 209.

The presence of the Eastern Ghats abounding with thick bamboo forests made the region safe from and invulnerable to foreign aggression in those days of infantry and cavalry war-fare, since it was very difficult for the enemy to penetrate through them.

These Sarkars were five in number, Viz. Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Murtuzanagar and Mustaphanagar. The territory roughly corresponds to the present districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Vishakhapatanam, East and West Godavaries, Krishna and Guntur in Andhra Pradesh.

2. ANCIENT ZAMINDARIES OF THE NORTHERN SARKARS

I. CHICACOLE SARKAR

The most prominent of the Zamindaries of this Sarkar was the *Pusapati* family of Vizianagaram followed by the *Velmas* (Raos) of Bobbili and the *Gajapatis* of Jeypore Estate.

i) Vizianagaram

The Zamindary family of this premier estate claims its ancestry from Madhavavarma, a Rajput chief who led the Rajput tribes of Vasistha, Dhanunjaya, Kaundinyasa and Kaasyapasa to the southern region in 591 A.D.³ This might be one of the reasons why the *Rachavarus* (the Kshatriya princes of a lower rank) had much respect for the Rajah of Vizianagaram and considered him as their overlord.

During the Qutb-shahi rule from Golkonda, one Sher Muhammad Khan was appointed *Foujdar* of Chicacole in 1652. Pusapati Madhava Varma, one of his trusted lieutenants who followed him to Chicacole had later settled down at Vizianagaram.⁴ Since then, the family had won many titles and was granted *inams* by the Qutb-Shahi rulers through the recommendations of the *Foujdar* of Chicacole. Later, they assumed a predominant position in the Sarkars and at the time of the transfer of Northern Sarkars to the English, the Rajah of Vizianagaram was in the possession of the whole of the Sarkar subduing the other powerful Zamindars, namely the Raos of Bobbili and the Gajapathis of Jeypore.

³ V.R. Jagapathi Varma: *Pusapati Kaifiyad. :Peddapuram Samastahna Charitra* (Telugu) 1951.

Meckenzie's *Kaifiyads: Vizianagaram.*

⁴ D.F. Carmichael: *Manual of District of Vizagapatam* (1869).p. 277.

ii) Jeypore

The Zamindars of this Estate claimed their descent from the ancient line of kings of Jambudvipa (ancient name of the Indian sub-continent). The eighty eighth of the line, one Vinayak Dev found Nanundapuram (Jeypore) and settled down in the region. Apart from this legendary account, it is found that the first of the line was a dignitary in the court of Gajapathis of Cuttack who moved towards south in 14th C. Vinayak Dev, a Rajput of lunar line, married a daughter of the Gajapathi of Cuttack and settled himself at Nanundapuram (Nandapuram, or Jeypore).⁵

When Sher Mahammud Khan, *Foujdar* of Chicacole during the Qutbshahi rule, came to restore peace in the area, Vinayak Dev submitted to him in 1652 A.D. thereby ceasing his relations with the Gajapathis of Cuttack. He accepted to pay a tribute of Rs. 24,000/- per annum. Later, the Estate fell a prey to the ambitious Pusapati family when the Jeypore Zamindary was conferred on Pedda (Elder) Vijiarama Razu of Vizianagaram along with a title of Manna Sulthan by Jaffer Ali Khan, the *Foujdar* of Chicacole under Nawab Salabat Jung. Jaffer Ali Khan granted to Vijiarama Razu this favour only to seek his help in his (Jaffer Ali Khan) attempt to resist the French occupation of these Sarkars in 1753 A.D.⁶ However, it did not materialise since all these Sarkars were soon brought under the management of the French and Jaffer Ali Khan fled from the place.

Since 1769, the Zamindary of Vizianagaram was on its ascendance under the management of an ambitious Divan, Sitharama Razu who was also the elder brother of the Rajah of Vizianagaram, *Chinna* (Younger) Vijiarama Razu. When Lala Krishna Dev and Vikram Dev were disputing for the Zamindary of Jeypore, Sitharama Razu marched into the Estate. Vikram Dev submitted to the authority of Sitharama Razu by handing over to him, Madgole, Kasipur, Andhra (a small hill region) Salur, Chemudu, Sangamvalasa, Kurupam and Meranghi which were fiefs under the control of the Rajah of Jeypore. Lala Krishna Dev fled on the approach of Sitharama Razu.⁷

The following minor Zamindaries were created by the Gajapathis of Jeypore and for all preatcal purposes they were dependent on the Rajah of Jeypore.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid, p. 285.

⁷ Ibid.

a) *Madgole*

The family claimed their descent from the kings of Matsyadesa who were related to the Pandavas. The family settled, at first, at Paderu where there was a Matsya Gundam (a tank). The family came to these parts with Vinayak Dev, the founder of Jeypore Estate who gave this fief along with the title, *Bhupathi* to this family. Linga Bhupathi of Madgole joined the general insurrection of the hill Zamindars against Vizianagaram in 1770 and consequently was dispossessed of his fief by Sitharama Razu, the Diwan of Vizianagaram.⁸

b) *Andhra Country*

Garaya Dora, the founder of the line of *Konda Doras* (hill-chiefs) was given the title of *Pratap Rao* along with a fief of Andhra (which was a small territory in the hills to the north of Vizianagaram) by Viswambhara Dev of Jeypore. But, later, they allied themselves with Vizianagaram.⁹

c) *Salur*

This fief was also granted by Viswambhara Dev of Jeypore to a *Konda Raju* (hill-chief) with the title *Bolyaro Simho* (the Mighty Lion). This Zamindary, too, had fallen into the hands of Sitharama Razu of Vizianagaram in 1770 when Sanyasi Razu of this family joined the rebels against the Rajah of Vizianagaram.¹⁰

d) *Panchipenta*

The founder of family was a *Naik* of Peons (Head of Peons) guarding the Ghats of Panchipenta. He received the title of *Dakshina Kevara Yuvaraja* from the Rajah of Jeypore. This Zamindar assisted Jaffer Ali Khan by guiding the Marathas into the country against Vizianagaram for which he suffered life imprisonment in the Fort of Vizianagaram and died in 1789.¹¹

e) *Chemudu*

This family was enjoying Chemudu as a fief granted to them by the Rajah of Jeypore along with the title, '*Rana Simha*'. Lakshmi Razu of this

⁸ Ibid: p. 294.

⁹ Ibid: p. 295.

¹⁰ Ibid: p. 296.

¹¹ Ibid: p. 298.

line was later removed by Sitharama Razu and was granted two villages as *Mokhasa*.¹²

f) *Sangamvalasa*

The family was also a feudatory of Jeypore with the title, *Nishanka Bahadur*. Sangamvalasa was, later, occupied by the Rajah of Vizianagaram in 1769 and then they were admitted to a *Towjee*.¹³

g) *Belgaum*

The family belonged to '*Konda Raju*' caste and enjoyed the title, *Viravara Todarmallu Tai Raju*. Ramachander Dev, the Rajah of Jeypore made over this fief to his Diwan, Jagannatha Patro who was very influential in keeping the hill-chiefs united. He kept the Jeyporeans from joining the general insurrection against the British rule in 1794.¹⁴

h) *Meranghi*

The fief was made over to Jagannatha Razu with the title, *Satrucher-
alu* by the Rajah of Jeypore but the country was, later, occupied by the Rajah of Vizianagaram in 1770.¹⁵

i) *Kurupam*

Viswambhara Dev, the Rajah of Jeypore granted this country to one, Sanyasi Dora, with the title of *Vairicherala*. This country was in the possession of the Rajah of Vizianagaram from 1770 - 1794.¹⁶

j) *Palakonda*

The founder of the family was a *Khond* or *Jatapu* (a hill-caste). The fief was granted by Viswambharadev of Jeypore with the title *Narendra*

¹² Ibid: p. 299 (*Mokhasa* village was one which was alienated from the annual assessment and granted to the faithful servants for their services.)

¹³ Ibid: pp. 300 & 301 (*Towjee* was a compensation in form of an annual return to support the family which was deprived of the fief.)

¹⁴ Ibid: p. 302.

¹⁵ Ibid: p. 303.

¹⁶ Ibid: p. 304.

Nayudu (Narendra Rao). Later, this Zamindary also fell into the hands of Sitharama Razu, *Diwan* of Vizianagaram in 1770.¹⁷

k) *Golgonda*

This fief was also granted by the Rajah of Jeypore with the title, 'Bhupathi'. Later, it was occupied by the Rajah of Vizianagaram in 1776.¹⁸

iii) *Bobbili*

The Rajah of Bobbili belonged to the *Velma* community. This family was related to the Rajah of Venkatagiri in Nellore Sarkar. The ancestor of this family, Pedda Rayudu, came to these parts with the *Foujdar* of Chicacole, Sher Mahammud Khan, alongwith Madhava Varma, the founder of the Vizianagaram family.¹⁹

Pedda Rayudu received from the *Foujdar* the titles, 'Ranga Rao' and *Rajam Hunda* for his valour. The rivalry between Vizianagaram and Bobbili started eversince they came to these parts and settled in the Chicacole Sarkar in 1652.²⁰

Pedda Vijiarama Razu of Vizianagaram, having taken advantage of Bussy's visit of the Sarkar in 1757, seized the Fort of Bobbili. As a result of the Battle of Bobbili, the Zamindary came under the management of the *Pusapti* family.²¹

Thus, at the time of transfer of the Northern Sarkars to the English, Vizianagaram was at the zenith of its power and influence in the Chicacole Sarkar. The Fort of Vizianagaram was very strong and of great strategic importance. So, it acted as a formidable force against the penetration of the English into these areas.

II. RAJAHMUNDRY SARKAR

Rajahumndry had been the Headquarters of the *Foujdar* of Rajahmundry, Chicacole and Ellore Sarkars during the rule of Qutb-shahis and the Asaf Jahs as well.

¹⁷ *Ibid*: p. 315.

¹⁸ *Ibid*: p. 317

¹⁹ *Ibid*: p. 292. V.R. Jagapathi Varma: *Opcit*, G. Srirama Murthy: *Revuvamsiya Charitra* (Telugu); Mechkenjis's *Kaifiyad*: Bobbili.

²⁰ *Ibid*:

²¹ *Ibid*:

The important Zamindaries were:

i) Peddapuram

The most important and ancient Zamindary of the region was that of Peddapuram, The Vatsavayi family of Peddapuram claimed its descent from the solar line and the founder of the family was one, Sagi Potha Razu who participated in the famous Battle of Palnad (1178 - 1182). This region was later brought under the Kakatiya rule. The family came to Peddapuram and adopted a new name, Vatsyavayi, for their family after a Fort during the times of Vatsyavayi Thimma Razu (1555 - 1607).²²

Nawab Anvaruddin was assigned the Sarkar of Rajahmundry and Chicacole by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I in 1732 and the Nawab, in turn, appointed one, Rustum Khan, his deputy in the Sarkars. Rustum Khan's administration was sever and reported to be cruel. He punished all the refractory Zamindars of the region and brought order and peace into the Sarkar.²³

Rani Rangamma, the regent of her minor son, Thimma Razu (1714 - 1734), the Rajah of Peddapuram, had suffered the wrath of Rustum Khan. The Fort was destroyed and the Zamindary was brought under the direct management of the Foujdar of Rajahmundry.²⁴

Pedda Vijarama Razu came to the rescue of Vatsavayi family and the young Thimma Razu was brought up in Vizianagaram. After the death of Rustum Khan, the region again fell into the hands of weak administrators. Vijarama Razu managed to restore the Zamindary of Peddapuram to young Thimma Razu in 1749.²⁵

ii) Pittapuram

The Zamindary was comprising of eight districts (a district was a small group of villages called *Mootahs* yielding revenue) out of which

²² V.R. Jagapathi Varma: *Peddapura Charitramu* (Telugu) p. 130 *Pusapativari Kaifiyad.*, Meckanzie's Kaifiyads: Rajahmundry.; Henry Morris: *Manual of Godavari District.*, Records of Fort St. George: Country Correspondence: Vol. 10 Year 1762 Lr. No.107, pp. 201 & 205 *The Circuit Committee Reports on Vizagapatam and Chicacole*, Dated 12th. Sept. 1784.

²³ James Grant: *Opcit.*, p. 223

²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ *Ibid*, V.R.Jagapathi Varma: *Peddapura Charitramu* (Telugu), p. 83; Meckenzie's Kaifiyads: *Peddapuram*

seven districts belonged to the management of Mahipathi Razu, the Zamindar, who was only sixteen years' old in 1762. He was placed under the guardianship of Neeladri Rao, his uncle.²⁶

iii) Domabal

The Zamindary was formed during the French occupation of Northern Sarkars (1753 - 1759). The twelve districts of the Zamindary were shared by Ramachandra Razu and Venkatapathi Razu.²⁷

iv) Korukonda

The Zamindary belonged to Thirupathi Razu in 1762.²⁸

v) Kovada

The Zamindary was consisting of two districts and six villages which were shared by S. Narayana Dev and Ramal Dev.²⁹

Thus, the Sarkar of Rajahmundry contained in all 33 districts and 12 villages out of which 21 districts were under the management of various Zamindars as detailed above and the rest were under the direct management of the Amildar of Rajahmundry Sarkar (Manager of Revenue).³⁰ The Fort of Rajahmundry was of much strategic importance. Rajahmundry served as the Headquarters of the Nawab of Northern Sarkars during the Qutb-shahi's rule and Asaf Jah's as well.

III & IV SARKARS OF ELLORE AND MUSTAPHANAGAR

These Sarkars were comprising of 34 districts and 6 villages most of which were managed by several Zamindars. Of all these, the important Zamindaries were:

i) Ganzacalora

The Zamindary was consisting of 6 districts under Ellore Sarkar being shared by Rajabari Chander and Thirupathi Razu in 1762 and the Headquarters

²⁶ Ibid: Meckenzie's Kaifiyads: *Pittapuram*.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid: V.R. Jagapathi Varma: *Korukonda Kaifiyad*.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

of the Zamindary was at Mogiliturru.³¹

ii) Nidudavolu

The Zamindary was comprising of 11 districts and Appa Rao was the Zamindar in 1762.³²

iii) Chintalapudi

It was only one district and being managed by Narsinga Rao in 1762.³³

iv) Mutta Talaga Chirala

It was consisting of four villages under the Zamindar Wuppapathi Venkatapathi Razu in 1762.³⁴

v) Devarakota

It was consisting of one district and Kodanadaram was the Zamindar in 1762.³⁵

vi) Kavali & Mylayavam

The Zamindary was belonging to Suraneni Puttanna and the Headquarters was at Kondapalli in 1762.³⁶

V) MURTUZANAGAR SARKAR

The Sarkar was under the control of a Nawab with headquarters at Masulipatam during the Asaf Jah's rule and later it was brought under the jurisdiction of the Masulipatam Council in 1767. The Sarkar contained five districts and 12 villages. The Fort of Kondavidu in the Sarkar had strategic importance.³⁷

³¹ Ibid

³² Ibid

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid: Meckenzie's Kaifiayads: *Guntur*; Fort. St. George Records: Country Correspondence, Vol. X Year. 1762, pp. 201 to 215.

The important Zamindaries in the Sarkar were as shown below:

i) Nujividu

The family was the most prominent and perhaps the oldest one in the region. Meka Basavanna who came from South, had settled down on the left bank of the river Krishna as a soldier in 16th Century. He built a small fort at Gollapalem (Gollapalli) in the service of Qutb-shahis of Golkonda. Appanna, also known as Vijaya, received the titles of *Tahavir*, *Vazulal'* and *Dasturgha* from the King of Golkonda in 1667. He also received the title of *Rajah Bahadur Appa Rao*. He built the Fort of Nuzividu (Nuvvu Chettula Vidu).³⁸

Later in the second quarter of 18th Century, the Nuzividu Zamindary comprised of 18 Paraganas drawn from Ellore, Mustaphanagar and Murtuzanagar Sarkars - viz. Gondugollu, Pentapadu, Nidadavolu, Baharazalle and *havelies* of Ellore under Sarkars of Ellore and Musthaphanagar; and Vuyyur, Medur, Nunnastalam, Chatraji, Vijaraji, Gollapalli, Gudivada, Kaladindi, Vinnakota, Bhattarzalle, Divi, Rayaludi, Kudikonda and Kappalavar in Kondapalli Sarkar (Murtuzanagar).³⁹

Nuzividu had also suffered the rigours of Rustum Khan (1732-1737), the Naib (Deputy) to the Nawab of these Sarkars. Ramachandra Apparao, the Zamindar, after offering resistance for about 3 months, was defeated and slain in the battle that followed. For about twelve years, the Zamindary was under the direct management of the Amildar at Rajahmundry. Later, the Zamindary was restored to one Venkatadri who was distantly related to the old family. By 1746, Venkatadri regained most of the past Zamindary. But, the internal feuds between the Zamindar, Jagannatha Apparao and his managers, Kamadana Appayya and Kamadana Rayanna, caused the dismemberment of the Zamindary. The French at Masulipatam intervened in favour of the Managers and carried the Zamindar as a prisoner to Masulipatam. He died as a captive of the French in 1756.⁴⁰

The *Sanad* for the Zamindary was granted in 1763 to one, Venkatadri, a grandson of an uncle of Ramachander Razu on the recommendations of Hassan Ali Khan, the then Foujdar of Rajahmundry, Ellore & Musthaphanagar

³⁸ Meckenzie: *Manual of Krishna District*, p. 295 ; *Circuit Committee Report on Nuzividu and Charnahal*, 1786.

³⁹ *Ibid*: p. 296.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*: pp. 297 - 298.

Sarkars. The new Zamindar, in turn, granted Charnahal to Kamadana people in gratitude for their services and assistance in inducing Hassan Ali Khan to grant the *Sanad*.⁴¹

ii) Nandigama

The Vasireddi family of Nandigama belonged to *Kamma* caste. The founder of this Zamindari was Vasireddi Virappa Naidu who obtained a *sanad* from the King of Golkonda.⁴² But, soon after his death (1686), the Zamindari was divided among his three sons, Raghavayya, (Magollu), Choudhari Ramayya (Raghavapuram) and Chandramouli (Chintalapudi). Raghavayya's successor, Vasireddi Chinna Padmanabhudu obtained Penuganchiprolu and Bellavolu in Kondapalli Sarkar (Mustaphanagar). A Mughal *Sanad* in the name of the Emperor, Shah Alam, for the office of *Mannavar* in the five *Mahals*, Kollur, and Ketavaram, Bellamkonda, Vinukonda, Rayapudi and Kavali alongwith Ravur and Kuchipudi, was granted to Naganna (Magollu) and Laxmipathi (Chintalapudi) in 1761 on the recommendations of the Nizam. Certain lands in each village were granted to them besides commission at 3% on the revenue collections and usual fee as their remuneration.⁴³ But, soon, the Chintalapudi family became insignificant while Magollu family rose to prominence.

iii) Vinukonda

Nawab Basalat Jung who was granted the Sarkar of Murtuzanagar (Guntur) as life *Jagir* by his elder brother Nizam Ali while he (Nizam Ali) usurped the position of the Nizam (1759 - 61), issued a *parvana* in favour of Malrazu Venkata Narasimha Rao, a brahmin, as *Deshmukh Mannavar* of the paragana of Vinukonda. Malrazu Venkata Narasimha Rao fixed his residence at Atluri (now known as Narsaraopet after his name) and built a fort there.⁴⁴

iv) Repalle

The Zamindari was belonged to Manikrao family who were *Velmas* by caste and traced their ancestry from the times of Srikrishnadeva Rayalu of Vijayanagara (1509-29) subsequent to the fall of Qutb-shahis of Golkonda, one, Manikrao Rama Rao, was appointed *Deshmukh Mannavar* for the whole

⁴¹ Ibid: pp. 298 - 299.

⁴² Ibid: p. 307; Memoir: *A memoir of the survey of Guntur Sarkar* (1815)

⁴³ Ibid: p. 307

⁴⁴ Ibid: p. 317

of the Sarkar of Murtuzanagar (Guntur) excepting Vinukonda *paragana*, in 1960. But, this position fell into a controversy owing to a rival claim from the Vasireddi family of Nuzividu. The Nawab of Arcot intervened in this affair and gave away one-thirds of the Sarkar to Vasireddi family in 1710.⁴⁵ Since then, the Zamindary had lost its influence in the Sarkar.

v) Sattenapalli and Chilkaluripet

The Manuri family of Sattenapalli and Chilkaluripet were brahmins by caste. They became *Sheristadars* of Murtuzanagar (Guntur) by an Imperial grant of Aurangzeb in 1707. Manuri Kondalrao was the Zamindar at the time of the take over of the Sarkar by the English in 1767.⁴⁶ On the death of Manuri Kondalrao, the Zamindary was divided between his two grandsons in 1799.⁴⁷

vi) Medurghat, Jammalvai & Kanakagiri

Rajah Vellanki Mallarao obtained the *paragana* of Medurghat, Jammalvai and Kanakagiri from the Qutb-shahis of Golkonda. But, the Zamindary was divided and sub-divided a number of times in later generations and thus, lost its importance.⁴⁸

vii) Deverakota (Chellapalli)

The Yariagadda family of Deverakota was founded by one, Yariagadda Guruva Naidu, in 1576 when he was granted the Zamindary by the Qutb-shahis of Golkonda. His successor, Thirumala Naidu obtained a fresh *sanad* for the Zamindary in 1640 from the Sultan of Golkonda.⁴⁹

Thirumala Naidu was succeeded by Gangi Naidu in 1666. Gangi Naidu was succeeded by his younger brother Kanchi Naidu in 1682. After the death of Kanchi Naidu, the son of Kanchi Naidu, Gangi Naidu II (1699-1708) received an Imperial Grant confirming him to the Zamindary by the Emperor, Aurangzeb.⁵⁰ Venkataramana of the same line (1723-1734) received another confirming *sanad* from Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I in 1726.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Ibid: p. 320.

⁴⁶ Ibid: p. 321.

⁴⁷ Ibid: p. 321.

⁴⁸ Ibid: pp. 321 - 325.

⁴⁹ Ibid: p. 326.

⁵⁰ Ibid: pp. 326 - 330.

⁵¹ Ibid: pp. 326 - 330.

In 1732, Rustum Khan, Deputy of the Nizam in the Sarkars, brought the Zamindary under his direct management. But, the Zamindary was restored to Naganna, brother of Venkataramana in 1735 who enjoyed the position till his death in 1745. He was succeeded by his younger brother Kodandaram (1746-1791) during which period, the French had a short span of direct management of the Estate from 1751-59. After the expulsion of the French, Kodandaram obtained his Zamindary. Since he was not in good terms with Hassan Ali Khan, the then *Amildar* of the sarkars, he lost his Zamindary and fled to Kondavidu. However, he was appointed Renter of this area on the recommendations of General Caillaud, the English Captain camping at Ellore, to help Hassan Ali Khan. He earned a good name as a landlord for the prompt payments of *peshkush* (annual remittances to the State treasury) ⁵²

viii) Charmahal

The Charmahal comprised of four *mahals* (*paraganas*) namely, Vinnakota, Gudivada, Kaladindi, and Bethemcherla. These four *mahals* were granted in 1763, to two brothers, Kamadana Appayya and Kamadana Rayanna, who were managers of Nuzividu Zamindary. Ramachander Razu, the Zamindar of Nuziyidu, granted these four *mahals* to his managers for their services to the Zamindary as already referred to under Nuzividu.

Since these two brothers were not discharging their obligations with the English they were asked to produce a surity from any Zamindar to continue their possession of Char Mahals while three-year settlements were being made by the Company with the Zamindars of the Northern Sarkars in 1771. Kaladindi Thirupathi Razu, the Rajah of Mogaliturru, stood as surity for the prompt payments from Charmahal. But, by the year 1774, the family were indebted to the Rajah of Mogaliturru to the tune of 84,000 *pagodas*. ⁵³

For having fallen in arrears of the *peshkush*, the family was removed from the management of Zamindary, a number of times. In 1813, the Zamindary was reduced to *Do-mahal* (two *paraganas*) when the Zamindary was put to auction for the recovery of dues. The Zamindar of Mylavaram purchased Betamcherla for 7,125 *pagodas* while Kaladindi was sold to the Zamindar of Bezwada for 3,525 *pagodas*. The Kamadana family could retain only two *paraganas*, Gudivada and Vinnakota. The Zamindar, Kamadana Sobhanadri, died in 1820, on account of which the succession to the

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid: pp. 330 & 331; *Circuit Committee Report on Nuzividu and Charmahal (1786)*

Zamindary was disputed by his sons and daughters, numbering 10 and 6 respectively.

Finally, the English purchased the Zamindary for Rs.3,00,000/- and granted an annuity of Rs.500/- to Kamadana Papayya, the eldest son of Sobhanadri, in 1843. ⁵⁴

ix) Mylavaram

The Zamindary was formed out of *Havali lands** under Kondapalli *paragana* and Surineni Venkatapathi was appointed *Mustazar* (Renter) after the fall of Qutb-shahis of Golkonda, by an Imperial *Sanad* from the Emperor, Aurangzeb. His successor, Surineni Narayanudu, assumed the title, 'Zamindar' and built a fort at Mylavaram taking advantage of the chaotic situation prevailing in the region prior to the formation of the Hyderabad State in 1724. Narayanudu was succeeded by his nephew, Venkatapathi Razu (*Rayaningar*) who was expelled by Rustum Khan, the Deputy to the Nawab of Northern Sarkars, in 1734. However, the Zamindar was reinstated later. The Zamindary was confirmed to Surineni Burra Venkatachelam in 1746. ⁵⁵

But, the Zamindary could not flourish owing to internal disputes and frequent failures to clear the arrears to the English.

x) Bezwada

The Zamindary was granted to Kalvakolanu Thirupathi Rao in 1731. But, the family became extinct by 1764 when the Zamindary passed into the hands of *pedda* Buchanna Rao and Achanna Rao as joint Zamindars. ⁵⁶

In 1788, Rama Rao and Chenna Rao, the Zamindars, failed to pay the arrears of revenue to the English and even refused to present themselves before the Council of Masulipatam. So, Lt. Col. Penderghast sent a detachment from Kondapalli with Lt. Lawrence. On the approach of the detachment, Rama Rao fled to Khammam and Chenna Rao to Mylavaram. However, Rama Rao was reinstated on his submission to the English authority in 1789. Later, Chenna Rao was also restored to his Zamindary in 1791.

⁵⁴ Ibid: p. 331; * *Havali lands* were kept under the direct management of the central authority.

⁵⁵ Ibid: pp. 333 & 334

⁵⁶ Ibid: pp. 334

But, the successors of the above could not hold the Zamindary properly due to mismanagement and the Zamindary was attached for arrears in 1830. The Zamindary was later sold out on 19 June 1846 and the Government (the English) itself purchased it for a nominal sum of Rs. 3000/- as " there were no bidders". The only heir, a minor widow, was granted an allowance of Rs. 150/- per month. ^{56 A}

xi) Munagala

The Munagala family belonged to the Reddy community. The Zamindary was an ancient one dating back to the times of Reddy-rule in that region after the fall of the Kakatiyas in the first quarter of the 14 Century. But the ancient line became extinct when the last of the line, Garlapati Iyyanna Desai, died in 1693. He was survived by his wife, Subhadamma who transferred the Zamindary to her brother, Kissara Mukundappa. ⁵⁷

At the time of permanent assessment (1803) the Zamindar was Venkata Narasimha Rao. The Zamindary was kept under Court of Wards between 1814 - 1818 due to the death of Kodanda Ramayya who succeeded Venkata Narasimha Rao in 1803. In 1818, the Zamindary was restored to Kodanda Ramayya's son, Venkata Narasimha Rao II. He died in 1835 leaving an adopted son, Kodanda Ramayya II. After the death of Kodanda Ramayya II, the Zamindary was passed on to his daughter, Laxmamma, who died as a widow in 1854. ⁵⁸

xii) Lingagiri

The Mantripragada family of Lingagiri were Brahmmins by caste. The founder of the family was Mantripragada Mallapparazu. An Imperial Sanad from Aurangazeb was granted in 1690 to Rangasayi, the grandson of Mallapparazu, and Singarazu, the second son of Mallapparazu, to manage the Zamindary jointly. ⁵⁹

The English made permanent settlement with Jogayya and Narahari belonging to the parallel lines of families to whom the Imperial Sanad was granted to be joint Zamindars. ⁶⁰

^{56A} Ibid:

⁵⁷ Ibid: p. 335

⁵⁸ Ibid: p. 336

⁵⁹ Ibid: p. 337

⁶⁰ Ibid: p. 337

Besides the above mentioned Zamindaries, there were a few more minor Zamindaries which were less significant. Vissarnapet was managed by a brahmin family, *Varigonda*. Vallur was managed by one Bommadevara Naganna who purchased the Haveli lands of Vallur in 1803.⁶¹

The Sarkar of Murtuzanagar contained five districts and 12 villages. The Fort of Kondavidu had strategic importance.

The details of these Sarkars may also be found in the *Jumma Kaumil* as appended to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the affairs of East India Company, with a little variance.

According to this '*Jumma Kaumil*', the total revenue of these Sarkars excluding the Zamindary free holds, Estates, and alienation to Brahmin and peons was 26,51,122 1/2 in Madras Pagodas or Rs.1,06,04,490.

But, according to the unpublished records(Dafter-Diwani Section) in the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, the Sarkars yielded a revenue of 24 lakhs at the time of their being granted to the French. The revenue had gone down to Rs. 6,40,000 or 1,60,000 *Varahas* when the Sarkars were taken over by the East India Company in 1766.⁶²

The considerable fall out in the revenues of Northern Sarkars indicates the political unrest in the region during the period under study.

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The area that constituted the Northern Sarkars formed a part of the Kingdom of Kakatiyas for more than two centuries till 1323 A.D. when the Kakatiya kingdom was overthrown by the Tughlaks. Within a span of two decades, two kingdoms, viz. Vijayanagara and Bahamanis were founded in South India. Petty principalities at Vizianagaram, Rajahmundry and Kondavidu were established by the Reddies where Telugu culture flourished till the beginning of sixteenth century when the whole of Deccan was brought under the effective sway of the Qutb-shahis of Golkonda.⁶³

The economic advancement and prosperity during the times of Kakatiyas, Reddies, Vijayanagara Kings and the Qutbshahis, was undoubtedly

⁶¹ Ibid: p. 338

⁶² Sarojini Regani: *Nizam-British Relations*, p. 72

⁶³ Abdul Mazed Siddiqui: *History of Golkonda* (First edition 1956) p. 7 of Introduction

great. According to Nicolo Conti and Abdur Razak, pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds were sold openly in the *bazars*.⁶⁴ Till as late as 18th century, even common man had a few luxuries.⁶⁵

The fall of Golkonda in 1687 A.D. brought the territory under the Moghal rule. But the Mughal suzerainty was ineffective and the local Zamindars enjoyed unfettered powers.

The death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 marked the decline of the grand Moghal Regime. The successors of Aurangzeb were weak and the central government became ineffective over its Subas. Mubariz Khan, the Emperor's nominee to the Deccan Suba was defeated in the field of Shaker-Kheda in Berar by Mir Qamuruddin Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I in the year 1724.⁶⁶ The Mughal Emperor had gracefully accepted the inevitable and confirmed Nizam-ul-Mulk in the Deccan Subedari.⁶⁷

Though the Nizam was in name a military Governor of the Mughal, for all practical purposes, he was the de-facto Head of the State. His state comprised of the whole of Deccan and the Carnatic. Soon after his assumption of power in the Deccan, he had to face the internal disorder since Khwaja Ahmed Khan, son of Mubariz Khan, had instigated the Nawab and Zamindars to rise in revolt against the Nizam.⁶⁸

The Zamindari system was an age old and unique institution in India since the beginning of the Muslim rule. The Zamindars in India had hereditary right to their territory and enjoyed certain amount of political, economic and judicial power. The system survived many imperial dynasties for local administration. The overlord was appointing *amildars* or *Nawabs* over these Zamindars only to collect tributes due to the suzerain. The Zamindars were seizing every opportunity to defy their overlord whenever there was a change of government in the capital. If the overlord was too weak to control them, the Zamindars declared themselves independent.

To check the disorder in Deccan, Asaf Jah I divided his territory into four Nawabships; Arcot, Kurnool, Rajahmundry and Chicacole, and subdivided them into 24 *paraganas*. The administration of Rajahmundry and Chicacole was entrusted to Nawab Anvaruddin (he was later made Nawab of Arcot) who had in his service an able administrator by name Rustumkhan.

⁶⁴ H. Sewell: *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 8 & 9

⁶⁵ B.V. Narayana Swamy Naidu: *Economic conditions of Madras in 18th Century*.

⁶⁶ Yusuf Hussain Khan: *Nizamul Mylk Asaf Jah I* (1936), pp. 157 - 165.

⁶⁷ Sarojini Regani: *Opcit* : p. 1

⁶⁸ Yusuf Hussain Khan: *Opcit*.

4. COMING OF EUROPEANS

The advent of Europeans has changed the Indian political scene to a greater extent. The first of these were the Portuguese who, being the discoverers of a new sea-route to India by circumnavigating the Cape of Good-Hope, pretended an exclusive right to trade with India and defended their right by force. The Portuguese first settled in Masulipatam in 1606, the Dutch in 1608 and the English negotiated a treaty in 1611 with the Nawab of Golkonda for trade privileges.⁶⁹

A pilot voyage of the Dutch adventurer, Florence Debyone from London to Masulipatnam realised 218% profit.⁷⁰

The reign of Henry VIII witnessed the most adventurous spirit of navigation in England and the English were the earliest to follow the Spaniards in visiting the 'New World'.

Robert Thorne, an English merchant "presented a project to Henry VIII, about the year 1527, the accomplishment of which he imagined would place his countrymen in a situation no less enviable than that of the Portuguese.....he supposed that his countrymen might reach the same part of the globe by sailing to the North West, and thus, obtain a passage at once expeditious and undisputed".⁷¹

But many attempts in this direction were met with disappointment. Meanwhile, "the Dutch set-aside the pretentious right of the Portuguese by sending four ships to trade with India by the Cape of Good-Hope in 1595, while the English fluctuated between desire and execution in this important enterprise".⁷²

Some enterprising merchants formed themselves into an Association in 1599 with an initial capital of £ 30,1331. 6 s. 8d. off 101 shares and petitioned to Queen Elizabeth I, for a warrant to export bullion, and also for Charter of privileges.⁷³ But, the consent of the Government was obtained towards the end of the year 1600. Thus, a new Company to trade in the East was born.

⁶⁹ Lanka Sundaram: "British Beginnings in Andhra" *Triveni*, Nov 1928.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*:

⁷¹ James Mill: *History of British India* Vol. I (1820) Lon. Second Edition., p. 5

⁷² *Ibid*: p. 19

⁷³ *Ibid*: p. 19; The initial capital of the Company was \$ 70,000., Romesh Dutt-*Economic History of British India*, 3rd Edition, 1908, p. 293

The British East India Company established its first settlement in the Northern Sarkars when their ship, "Globe", anchored at Masulipatam in Jan, 1611.⁷⁴ The English built Fort. St. George in Madras in 1639, bought the island of Bombay from King Charles II and removed their factories to that place in 1687, and established their Bengal Headquarters in Calcutta in 1700.⁷⁵

Thus, Northern Sarkars claim much significance in the history of British India by serving as the launching pad for British imperialism. Since ages, Masulipatam was an important port on the Coromandel Coast and it facilitated the trade with South-East Asian Countries.

"If Bengal deserves to be considered the richest jewel in the British Crown, it may be observed of the Northern Sarkars that though only forming a cluster of lesser magnitude, they give additional value with a superior lustre to the royal diadem as constituting the only portion annexed constitutionally without the incongruity of formal participation, except the Zamindars of Benares, in free, avowed, undivided sovereignty".⁷⁶

The British East India Company could not make much progress in India during the seventeenth century owing to several causes. England had undergone constitutional experimentation and the political conditions were not favourable to the Company to make a headway in Commerce. The inconsistent policy of the changing governments granted Charters to a number of commercial concerns to trade with India. Besides this, France had entered into the field of overseas commerce and rose like a meteor under the direct patronage of the French Government. The French made rapid advances in India.

The bitter rivalry between the French and the English was deep-rooted and backed by national, commercial and colonial interests.

Despite these odds, the British Company was maintaining its settlements in Vizagapatam, Ingeram, Masulipatam, Bandarlanka and Modapolam in Northern Sarkars.

The Godolphine's award had put an end to the rivalries among various British Companies trading with the East. United East India company was

⁷⁴ Aitchison: *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. X, pp. 8-16; *Account of the War in India*, pp. 71-76.; Fort St. George Records of: *Diary & Cons: (Milit. Dept.) for 1752.*, pp. 286-88 & 290-96.

⁷⁵ Romesh Dutt: *Economic History of British India*, pp. 2 & 3

⁷⁶ James Grant: *Opcit.*

established in 1711 and by 1712, all the divisions between the 'Old' and 'New' interests had died down.⁷⁷ This had a great impact over the British affairs in India.

5. FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN SARKARS

i) The English Settlements

a) Masulipatam

The English activities on the Coromandel can be traced back to 1611 A.D. When their ship, "Globe" captained by Hippon, touched the shore off Nizamapatnam (Patapalli) first and then Masulipatam.⁷⁸ The factories were established simultaneously in the year 1621. But, due to some pressures from the local officials of the King of Golkonda, the factory was shifted from Masulipatam to Armoogam.⁷⁹

As a result of numerous representations made to the Sultan of Golkonda, the English succeeded in procuring a *Firman* from the Sultan in 1632.⁸⁰ According to this *Firman*, the English were permitted not only to trade at the port of Masulipatam, but also to trade at other ports in the Kingdom of Golkonda. But, the English were required to import Persian horses and 'rareties' from Europe. It was also made obligatory that the Sultan of Golkonda was to enjoy the first preferential selection of all their imports. *The Firman* is considered to be the first written sanction from a ruler in India allowing the English the right to trade on the Coromandel Coast. So, it is known as *Golden Firman*. This was followed by another *Firman* in 1634-35 granting a few more concessions to the English merchants.⁸¹

Due to political unrest on their homefront followed by unhealthy competition with compatriots, the trade with India during 17th century could not prosper. Turning the situation from bad to worse, the Emperor Aurangzeb captured Golkonda in 1689. Since he was not favourably inclined towards

⁷⁷ Lucy Sutherland: *East India Company in 18th. Century Politics.*(Oxford) 1952, pp. 14 - 15

⁷⁸ Henry Morris: *Op.cit.*, p. 177

⁷⁹ Board of Revenue Records: *Appendices to the Estates Land Act Committee Report.* Appendix II, p. 8

⁸⁰ Henry Morris: *Op.cit.*, p. 180

⁸¹ *Ibid:* p. 180.

the European merchants, the English had a tough time till they could persuade him to grant a *Cowle* (permission) for the factory at Masulipatam in 1690.⁸²

But, the Masulipatam factory had a checkered fate. The French occupied the factory in 1750. Despite their representations to the Nizam, the English could not get back their factory. Masulipatam along with Yanam and Karikal was formally ceded to the French by the Nizam, Muzaffar Jung, Salabat Jung in 1751. The possession of the area by the French was again confirmed by the successor of Muzaffar Jung. Salabat Jung further added the surrounding areas of Masulipatam, namely Nizampatam, Alammanur in Krishna District and Kondavidu and Narsapur in Godavari District.⁸³

On account of Bussy's influence in the Nizam's Court, the English did not succeed in their attempts to get redressal of their grievances from the Nizam. The position of the English became worse when Salabat Jung ceded the Northern Sarkars to the French in 1753.⁸⁴

In 1759, the English under the Command of Col. Forde joining their hands with Ananda Razu, the Rajah of Vizianagaram, seized Masulipatam and expelled the French. Thus, Masulipatam was recaptured by the English and their possession was confirmed by the Nizam, Salabat Jung, soon after the expulsion of the French.⁸⁵

Subsequently, the Imperial *Firman* of 1765, granting the Northern Sarkars to the English, had further strengthened their hold in the region.⁸⁶

b) *Nizampatam* (Patapalli)

Nizampatam was among the earliest English settlements on the Eastern Coast and because of its proximity to Masulipatam, both the settlements had equally suffered till the Sarkars were cleared off the French by 1759.⁸⁷

⁸² Fort St. George Records: *Board of Revenue: Appendices to the Estates Land Act Committee Report, Appendix II, p. 8.*

⁸³ Malleson: *History of the French in India.*, p. 273

⁸⁴ Sarojini Regani: *Op.cit.*, p. 71

⁸⁵ Dodwell: *Dupleix and Clive*; p. 178 ; Lanka Sundaram : Revenue Administration in Northern Sarkars, *Journal of Andhra Historical Society*, Vol.VI, Part: 2., Oct.1931, p. 93

⁸⁶ Aitchison: *Op.cit.*, pp. 22, 25

⁸⁷ *Ibid*:

c) *Veervasaram*

The English established their factory in 1634 at Veervasaram about 8 miles to the North of Narsapur port in Godavari District. The factory had suffered during the French occupation of Northern Sarkars (1753-1759).⁸⁸

d) *Madhavajipalem*

The English settled their factory at Madhavajipalem (Madapollam or Metapallam) in Godavari District in 1679. The factory also suffered during the French occupation as was the case with Veervasaram.⁸⁸

e) *Vizagapatam*

The English procured Vizagapatam (Vishakhapatnam) from the Sultan of Golkonda as a free gift and they built a factory and a fort in 1683.⁸⁹

But, before long, Golkonda was captured by Aurangzeb in 1689 and Vizagapatam factory was captured under the orders of Aurangzeb in 1690. The English who were staying in the Fort were brutally killed.⁹⁰

However, Aurangzeb granted a fresh *Cowle* for Vizagapatam permitting the English to reestablish their factory and also to fortify the town in 1690.⁹¹

As a result of Holcombe's affair,⁹¹ the factory was blockaded in 1710, but, the factory was, later, restored to the English in 1716. The Factory, once again, fell a prey to the French in 1757. Rajah Ananda Razu of Vizianagaram captured the factory by expelling the French and handed over the factory to the English in 1758.⁹²

f) *Injeram*

The English established their factory at Injeram in 1708 on the Eastern branch of the river Godavari. But, the factory was closed within a short period

⁸⁸ Fort St. George Records: *Board of Revenue, Appendices to the Estates Land Act Committee Report., Appendix. II, p. 9*

⁸⁹ Henry Morris: *Op.cit.*, p. 193.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*:

⁹¹ *Ibid*: Holcombe's affair is discussed in the same chapter under sub-title: Initial Difficulties of the English.

⁹² Fort St. George Records: *Op.cit.*, p. 10

due to unfavourable circumstances and revived later in 1722. Like all other English Settlements, it was also under the French possession during 1757-59.⁹³

g) *Bandamurlanka*

It is 18 miles east of Narsapur. The factories were established at Bandamurlanka and Nellapalli in 1751. Both were taken by Bussy in 1757 only to be recaptured by Col. Forde in 1759.⁹⁴

These settlements and factories were managed by the Residents who were appointed by the Company. They acted independent of the Collectors when the Company obtained the Sarkars from the Nizam. However, all the mercantile establishments of the East India Company were abolished in the year 1829.⁹⁵

“In an average Rs.7 *lakhs* was expended every year on the purchase of muslins and cloth through the above establishments. On some occasions, the disbursement rose upto 14 *lakhs* of Rupees. The abolition of factories had affected the development of the area. The main trade in cloth was superseded by the manufacturers of Europe and the flourishing trade of native weavers for which this part of India had attained a celebrity through out the world, was almost annihilated”.⁹⁶

ii) The Dutch Settlements

The Dutch East India Company was established on March 20th, 1602. They captured Nagapatam from the Portuguese in 1658 and it became their chief settlement on the coast. They had their settlements at Sadras, Palakollu, Jagannathapuram and Bimilipatam. All the Dutch possessions were ceded to the English by the Peace of Versailles in 1783 excepting their factories in Godavari District which were retained by the Dutch on the condition of paying a quit-rent to the East India Company. However, they were finally ceded to the English by 1804.⁹⁷

⁹³ Ibid:

⁹⁴ Ibid:

⁹⁵ Henry Morris:Op.cit. p. 193

⁹⁶ Ibid: p. 194

⁹⁷ Henry Morris: Op.cit; pp. 193 - 205

iii) The French Settlements

The French East India Company was set up in 1604.⁹⁸ But, it was only in 1669, Marcara, a Persian in the service of the French, obtained permission to set up a factory at Masulipatam. In 1693, the French constructed a locality by name Francepet in Masulipatam. They had another settlements established sometime before 1750 at Yanam. They lost all their settlements to the English when they were expelled from the Northern Sarkars in 1759.⁹⁹

6. INITIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE ENGLISH IN THE NORTHERN SARKARS

As things stand at the beginning of the 18th. century, the English Company was trying to get restored the privileges and trade concessions which they enjoyed during the Qutb-shahi rule.

The English, while asking for the restoration of ancient privileges, requested for a grant of Divi Islands near Masulipatam which they wanted to develop as a good port for the benefit of the King and other merchants. They rented the following towns:

Peruvanda and Wudapunda for	Rs. 900/-p.a.
Waltair	500/-p.a.
Malkapuram	90/-p.a.
Vizagapatam	3,372/-p.a.

for which villages, the English merchants had to pay Rs. 4862/- into the Imperial treasury at Chicacole, every year.¹⁰⁰

The local Nawabs who were changing very frequently were demanding costly presents, money and ammunition from the British Company. And the local chiefs of the English factories were much worried about the grave consequences if their requests were not attended to.¹⁰¹

The English were, thus, forced to express their inability to supply presents to all princes and their Naibs (Deputies) since they were 'small' merchants and 'taking high risks for a little loss'.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Ibid: p. 194

⁹⁹ Ibid: pp. 205 to 207

¹⁰⁰ Fort St. George Records: *Consultations: Public Dept.*, Vol.40. Cons. Dt. Jan 5th, 1708/1709.

¹⁰¹ Ibid: Cons. Dt. Jan 6th, 1709. pp. 1/2

¹⁰² Ibid.

In turn, the English were asked to serve the Empire by checking the pirates on the sea and to help the native government in arresting the King's enemies, or, to extend co-operation to the King's officials on a number of issues.¹⁰³

The English were trying to procure a *Firman* from the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, who was expected in the Deccan, through the intervention of Zuda Khan, Mughal Official. But, the Emperor changed his mind suddenly and returned to Delhi causing much disappointment to the English.¹⁰⁴

However, to keep them in good humour, an assurance was given to the English by the Emperor, Shah Alam, to restore their ancient privileges, on being allured of the costly presents consisting rarities from Europe.¹⁰⁵

The English Company was so much concerned with the high incidence of road robberies as did the Imperial Government with the sea-piracy. They were very often complaining to the local officials and the administrators, but it was of no avail.¹⁰⁶ Even the presents to the Emperor could not be conducted safely.¹⁰⁷

Very often, the local Nawabs were taking the English Company to task for the misdeeds of their officials. It may not be out of place to mention, the case of Holcombe vs Fakrulla Khan, the Nawab of Chicacole, in this connection. Holcombe was a servant of the Company who took a personal loan of 6000 *Pagodas* from Fakrulla Khan through the intervention of Brahmin *Vakil*, Juggappa. As Holcombe died before he could repay the loan, the Nawab took a severe action by investing Vizagapatam. Under heavy physical pressure the English paid the Nawab his dues and, of course,

¹⁰³ *Ibid*: p. 417., *Cons.* Dt. 4-1-1709, about sea-pirates; *Ibid*: p. 17, *Cons.* Dt. 17-1-1709, about a request from the Mughal government to kill or imprison a rebel, Khan Bux; *Ibid*: p. 18, *Cons.* Dt. 6-1-1709, a letter to Zulfikhar Khan on the above matters; *Ibid*: p. 106, *Cons.* Dt. May, 1709 a letter from the Imperial Court to assist their deputy, Mir Muhammad, to procure certain things at Madras for the Emperor.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p.11, Dt Jan, J.; *Cons.* dt. Jan. 12 & 21, *Cons.* Dt Jan, Dt. 15, p.31; *Cons.* Dt. 16th Feb. p. 58; *Cons.* Dt. 17th Feb. p. 66; and *Cons.* Dt. 19th May. p. 106.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*: *Cons.* Dt. 5th Jan, 2, 1709, p. 117

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*: *Cons.* Dt. 4th Jan, 1709, p. 117

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*: *Cons.* Dt. 2nd June, 1709, p. 128

collected the same from the personal effects of Mrs. Elizabeth, the widow of Holcombe.¹⁰⁸

Though the Mughal Government had lost all its vigour by now, it still pretended to control the foreign merchants in India. They were warned not to fight in India when they were at war in Europe. The Mughal Government admonished the Dutch, the French and the English.

Zuda Khan, the Mughal Governor in Bengal, had even attempted to draw up an agreement among the foreign companies to be peaceful in India despite the troubles in Europe. But, the English Governor at Calcutta, did not sign stating that he had to consult his sovereign and his employer.¹⁰⁹

Once the English had settled their affair with Fakrulla Khan, they expected good prospects of making large investments on the Eastern Coast.¹¹⁰

The English were carefully watching the developments in the native Government. The death of the Emperor, Shah Alam in Lahore and the possible war of succession caused much anxiety to the English since all their attempts to get back the ancient privileges only brought them assurances from the Emperor.¹¹¹ Besides this, a fresh scramble for power was deterrent to their business.

A Consultation on the humble petition of the merchants of 18th. Jan. 1712 would give a clear picture of the day .. "The troubles in the country are undoubtedly very great and we are not likely to see better times under the weak government, of the present Moghul and it is to be considered that the merchants risque.....money instead of the Company.....up into the several country where the goods are made it must be allowed that they run a much greater hazard than ordinary both in sending up money and in bringing down their goods through.....petty governments with which they must keep a good correspondence which is not to be done without some expense..these troublesome times the *poligars* being in arms to struggle for their liberty."¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Ibid: *Public Cons.* Dt. 22 May, 1710, p. 70 and *Cons.* Dt. 11 Dec. 1710, p. 200 and *Cons.* Dt. 15 Dec. 1710, pp. 204/5 in Vol. 41 for the year of 1710; *Public Cons.* Dt. 5th Apr. 1711, p. 651; *Cons.* Dt. 6th Apr. pp. 67 & 78 and *Cons.* Dt. 28th, June, p. 123 in Vol.42 of the year, 1711; Ibid: Vol.43 for the year 1712,p. 217.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid: Vol. 42, Yr. 1711. p. 92

¹¹⁰ Ibid: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt: 28th May, 1711

¹¹¹ Ibid: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt: 3rd April, 1712; Vol. 43, pp. 104 / 106

¹¹² Ibid: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt. 18.1.1712; Vol. 43 for the year, 1712. (Partially damaged)

The Emperor Bahadur Shah (Shah Alam) died on Feb 27, 1712. He was survived by four sons, namely, Jahander Shah, Azimush Shan, Rafiush Shah and Jahan Shah. There was little hope of a peaceful solution to the problem of succession to the Mughal throne. Jahander Shah, Rafiush Shan and Jahan Shah were in an agreement and united to defeat Azimush Shan, the favourite son of the Emperor deceased, who was then the Viceroy of Bengal and Bihar. They were successful in defeating Azimush Shan, but, they quarrelled with one another and Jahander Shah emerged Victorious after Rafiush Shan and Jahander Shah were killed. Jahander Shah proclaimed himself the Emperor on March 29, 1712, but, his accession to the throne was protested by Farukh Siyar, the second son of Azimush Shan, who had already arrived at Patna with a considerable force. Since most of the Court Nobles were not happy with the irresponsible and indecent behaviour of the new Emperor, Jahander Shah, they deserted him one after the other and joined Farukh Siyar. Farukh Siyar defeated Jahander Shah in the Battle of Agra, on Jan 10, 1713 and became Emperor with the help of Syed brothers. In the following years, Syed brothers played a dominant role at the Centre as King-makers which caused further deterioration of Mughal power.¹¹³

7. THE GENESIS OF POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ZAMINDARS OF NORTHERN SARKARS AND THE ENGLISH

As the central government had become weak, the local Zamindars, *Amildars* and *Nawabs* ascertained their power. The English began to win the favour of the Zamindars by cultivating intimate friendship with them and pleasing them with costly gifts consisting of 'rareties' from Europe, Persia and China. The Chief of Vizagapatam informed the Council at Fort. St. George. on Nov 17, 1712, that he had been obliged to present "Ananterauze" (Anand Razu of Vizianagaram) and eventually to 'some' other Rajahs to the tune of 170 Pagodas."¹¹⁴

Since the fall of Qutb-shahis of Golkonda, the Hindu Zamindars were not co-operative with the Muslim *Amildars* appointed by the Mughal Government. The weakness of the centre and the advantages of their geographical position encouraged them to create troubles for the Central Government. The tension between the Muslim administrators and the Rajahs had mounted up by 1713 at a place very close to Vizagapatam. This situation

¹¹³ Ibid: *Pub. Cons.* Dt. 16-2-1713; Vol. 44, 1713.; William Irvine: "*Later Mughals*" ed. J. Sarkar, Vol. I, pp. 157 - 244

¹¹⁴ Records of Fort St. George: *Pub. Cons.*, DL19.11.1712; Vol. 43.

warranted the arrival of Chin Qilich Khan, a powerful noble of Mughal Court (and later Nizam I) in the parts.¹¹⁵ This had, obviously, caused, "great obstacle to our (the English) affairs there".¹¹⁶ This trouble continued for a long time.¹¹⁷

Soon after his arrival in the Northern Sarkars in 1714, *Vazir* Chin Qilich Khan, the Subedar of Deccan, issued a *Firman* directing the English and the Dutch to seize the ships alongwith the cargo and other effects belonging to Rayapa Razu II of Peddapuram when they anchored in the ports under their control. Rayapa Razu II, the Rajah of Peddapuram was evading the payment of arrears of *Peshcush* to Muhammad Zafar, the Subedar's deputy at Masulipatam.¹¹⁸

When the English received *Firman*, a ship belonging to Rajah of Peddapuram was already in their region. But, the English Council at Madras resolved not to act in accordance with the directions of the Subedar of Deccan since the Rajah was in the possession of the region around their settlements at Modapollam and they thought that they might lose contact with thier northern settlements at Ingeram and Vizagapatam, if they invited hostility with the Rajah by seizing his ship. Moreover, the Rajah of Peddapuram was closely related to the Rajah of Vizianagaram who was in the possession of the region around their settlements in Chicacole Sarkar. The English were not sure that the *Subedar* could be able to drive the Rajah out of his Zamindary. So, they decided to ignore the *Firman* in the best interests of the Company.¹¹⁹

The Zamindars of Bobbili and Vizianagaram were very prominent in the Sarkars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry. They were also leading the revolt of the Hindu *Poligars* of the Northern Sarkars, against the Mughal Government. The English Company had its important settlement in these Sarkars which were surrounded by the lands of these rebellious Zamindars who were united for the time being against the Nizam brushing aside their hereditary rivalry.¹²⁰

These Zamindars were maintaining considerable number of *sepoys* to defend their forts. They were almost independent in internal administration.

¹¹⁵ Ibid: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt. 21 Aig. 1713; Vol. 44, 1713, p. 161

¹¹⁶ Ibid: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt. 2 Sep. 1713, Vol. 44, 1713, p. 169

¹¹⁷ Ibid: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt. 30 Sep. 1713, Vol. 44, 1713, p. 188

¹¹⁸ Ibid: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt. 19 Aug. 1714, Vol. 45, 1714, p. 150

¹¹⁹ Ibid:

¹²⁰ V.R. Jagapathi Varma: Op.cit, p. 130; Gurujada Sri Ramamurthy: *Sri Ravu*

Their army could be classified under three heads; Ordinary *Sepoys* being paid in cash for their service; *Mokhas Sepoy* was granted lands on quit rent basis for his services to the Rajah and petty Lords.¹²¹ The Zamindars could give away *jagirs* without referring to their overlords.¹²² Even the Muslim overlords (Local *Killedar* of the Nizam) were afraid of them and tried to woo them by granting *Kitabs* (Titles) to those who paid their tributes properly. The same system was also followed by the English in the years to come.¹²³ These Zamindars maintained their own ships and conducted overseas business independently.¹²⁴

Under these circumstances, the English were not prepared to invite the wrath of the Zamindar by seizing the ship, so, they decided to play a double game by not supporting any party. When the ship was out of their region, they wrote to Chin Qilich Khan that they could not do anything as the ship was out of their reach.

Meanwhile, Tejasingh Saroop of Gingi attacked Chin Qilich Khan with 300 Rajputs and was defeated. The French were the first to seize the opportunity of congratulating the Nawab.¹²⁵ The English appointed Sunka Ramiah and Laxma Rao as their *vakils* in the camp of the Nizam to guard the English interests.¹²⁶

But it was only in the year 1716, that the English could obtain a *Firman* from the Emperor Faruk Siyar on the representation of John Surman and Khwaja Azahar. The *Firman* Dt. 5.1.1716¹²⁷ granted free and custom-free trade in all ports of India. The Moghal officials were directed not to trouble the English but to help them in buying and selling goods and in setting up factories. The English were granted four villages including Vizagapatam on payment of Rs. 4862 into the Chicacole treasury. The Madras Rupees were made legal tender. The English were further granted five villages including Divi Island for their military assistance at Gingi. The English decided to "take the peaceable possession of the Divi Islands with all possible expedition" as they were in distrust with the Nawab Mubariz Khan who in a few months was moving to Golkonda.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Ibid:

¹²² Ibid: Vijjarama Razu granted Reguvalasa *paragana* to the sons of Ramachandra Raj who died fighting for him.

¹²³ V.R. Jagapathi Varma: *Opcit*: p. 130

¹²⁴ Records of Fort St. George: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt. 13 Aug. 1714, Vol. 45, p. 156

¹²⁵ Ibid: pp. 174 - 6

¹²⁶ Ibid: *Cons.* Dt. 18th Nov. 1714, p. 206

¹²⁷ Records of Fort St. George: *Pub. Cons.*; Vol. 48, p. 208, for a copy of *Firman*.

¹²⁸ Ibid: *Cons.*, Dt. 2nd Sep. 1717, Vol. 48, 1717, p. 245

There was a sudden change in the tide when Emperor Faruk Siyar was dethroned and imprisoned by the Syed Brothers in 1719. Syed Brothers put Rafiud - dayat, Rafiad-Dowlah and Muhammand Shah on the Mughal throne, one after the another in a quick succession surprisingly within a span of 7 months from the date of Faruk Siyar's deposition.¹²⁹ Mohammad Shah was proclaimed Emperor by the Syed Brothers on 28 Sep. 1719.¹³⁰ Hence the Nawab of Deccan (*Subedar*) "had to draw in his effects for all possible expedition,"¹³¹ to the North.

The Chief and Council at Vizagapatam in their letter dated 8th May, 1724, again, reported that one Hazi Hussain was appointed as Nawab of Chicacole which sparked off troubles in this region.¹³²

¹²⁹ William Irvine: *Op.cit*, pp. 420 - 430,

¹³⁰ *Ibid*: Vol. II, p. 1

¹³¹ Records of Fort St. George: *Pub. Cons.*, Dt. 2nd Sep. 1717, Vol. 48, 1717; Dt. 6-4-1718, Vol. 50 for the year 171, p. 245

¹³² *Ibid*: *Pub. Cons.* Vol. 54 for the year 1724, p. 101

NORTHERN SARKARS UNDER THE FIRST NIZAM (1724 - 1748)

During the war of succession at Agra in 1712, between Farukh Siyar and Jahander Shah, the Turani nobles led by Chin Qilich Khan stayed neutral which helped, indirectly, Farukh Siyar to win and become the Mughal Emperor. The new Emperor conferred on Chin Qilich Khan, the Viceroyalty of Deccan along-with the title, 'Nizam-ul-Mulk, Fath-e-Jung'.¹

But, this position was short lived. Before the Nizam could settle down in his position, he was replaced in 1715 by Hussain Ali Khan as the Viceroy of Deccan.² On account of differences between the Syed brothers and the Nizam, the latter was forced to leave Agra with his followers. The Nizam, on the way to Deccan, captured Burhanpur in 1720, and also defeated Dilawar Ali Khan who was sent by Syed brothers in his pursuit at Khandwa. Later, the Nizam defeated and killed Alim-Ali-Khan, the deputy of Hussain Ali Khan, the then Viceroy of Deccan, at Balapur in Berar.³ The Nizam, thus, became the virtual ruler of Deccan independent of the Syeds' influence. But, it seems that the Nizam was not reconciled with the Viceroyalty of Deccan. He could not keep quiet when things were taking unhappy turn at the Centre under the predominance of his rivals, the Syed brothers. So, he again marched to the North in 1719 when Farukh Siyar was deposed, leaving the Deccan to his deputy, Mubariz Khan.⁴

1. FOUNDING OF HYDERABAD STATE

The new Emperor, Muhammad Shah, having successfully conspired with the enemies of Syed brothers, including Nizam-ul-Mulk, could free himself from the tutelage of Syed brothers. The Nizam was appointed Vazir for his services to the Empire. But, he was disliked by most of the Court

¹ Sherwani & P.M. Joshi : *History of Medieval Deccan* 1973, Vol.I, p.614.

² Ibid: p. 615.

³ Ibid: p. 616.

⁴ Ibid: p. 617.

Nobles for his radical reforms in the revenue system to improve the economic conditions of the State. His rivals succeeded in poisoning the ears of Muhammad Shah against Nizam ul Mulk. So, Nizam, once again, set out of Agra, in Dec. 1723 under the pretext that he was going out, "for a change of air". The Nizam was intending to go to Deccan, but, before he could reach there, he was superseded in the Viceroyalty of Deccan by his own deputy, Mubariz Khan who was also given a grant of Rs.5 lakhs from the revenue to raise sufficient army to prevent the Nizam entering Deccan.⁵

Nizam ul Mulk, taking help from the Peshwa Baji Rao - I, defeated Mubariz Khan at Shakar Kheda, about 80 miles east of Aurangabad, on Oct. 1, 1724 and succeeded in establishing himself in Deccan. The Emperor, under these circumstances, confirmed him to the Viceroyalty of Deccan with the title, 'Asaf Jah'.⁶ Thus, the Nizam had, once and for all, settled himself in Deccan, independent of the Central Government. The Nizam kept no obligations for the Centre except accepting the Imperial directions if they were issued in his favour.

The Deccan was considered to be the most resourceful region in the Mughal Empire. It was consisting of six Subahs which were divided into 94 Sarkars and sub-divided into 1,281 Paraganas,⁷ yielding annual revenue of Rs. 18,23,20,756 - 91/2 a. The details of which are presented in the following table.

Sl. No.	Subah	Sarkars	Paraganas	Annual Revenue	
				Rs.	Annas
1.	Aurangabad	12	147	1,27,78,498 - 61/2	
2.	Berar	5	252	1,22,68,762 - 12	
3.	Khandesh	6	138	58,80,022 - 101/2	
4.	Bidar	7	83	69,42,102 - 0	
5.	Bijapur	18	252	7,84,40,147 - 12	
6.	Hyderabad	46	411	6,60,11,227 - 1/4	
Total		94	1,281	18,23,20,756 - 91/2	

⁵ Ibid : p. 618.

⁶ Ibid : p. 618.

⁷ Ibid : p. 625.

2. THE ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP OF THE FIRST NIZAM

Nizam ul Mulik Asaf Jah I overhauled the administrative set up of the Deccan Subah. Hafizuddin Khan and Mohammed Syed Khan were appointed as Foudjars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry Sarkars; Ihtida Khan for Masulipatam, Khwaja Rahmatulla Khan and Khwaja Abdulla Khan were appointed Divans of Chicacole and Rajahmundry Sarkars respectively; Ibadullah Khan, Faizulla Khan and Agha Muin Khan were appointed Foudjars of Murthuzanagar, Ellore and Mustaphanagar Sarkars respectively.⁸

Anvaruddin who was later posted to the Carnatic, was assigned the Nawabship of Rajahmundry and Chicacole Sarkars. His administration was strong and severe.⁹ He was helped by an energetic subordinate, Rustum Khan, also known as Kaji Hussain, as Jilledar and Sir-Lashkar.¹⁰ "Great were the benefits derived from the vigour and integrity of Rustum Khan who, from 1732 for seven years, ruled with the most ample delegated sway at Rajahmundry with the other four Southern provinces."¹¹

The First Nizam, though settled in the Deccan Subah once and for all, had, still, involved himself in the affairs of the Mughal Court until 1740 when Nasir Jung, his second son, who was appointed by him as his Deputy during his absence, revolted in Deccan. Even, during his short stay, he was pre-occupied with the Maratha and Carnatic Affairs.¹² Under these circumstances, it is understood that the Nawab's deputy Rustum Khan, had enjoyed considerable amount of freedom in the Northern Sarkars.

The Zamindars of Northern Sarkars, being encouraged by the death of Aurangzeb, the last great Mughal, and the succession of incompetent rulers, tried to ascertain their rights for the Zamindaries ignoring the Mughal Superintendents who were appointed over them.

These Zamindars defrauded the public treasury and reportedly oppressed the industrious husbandmen and manufacturers. So, Rustum Khan felt that it was his foremost duty to punish such refractory Zamindars with iron hand. In the process, he attempted at total extirpation of such 'merciless

⁸ Yusuf Hussain Khan: *Nizam ul Mulik Asaf Jah I*, p. 54.

⁹ R. Subba Rao : Some aspects of the History of Northern Sarkars (1724-1774) *Proceedings of the Deccan History Congress*:1945.

¹⁰ V. R. Jagapathi Verma : *Peddapur Samasthana Charitra* 1951, p.70.

¹¹ James Grant : *Godavari District Gazetteer*, p. 223.

¹² Yusuf Hussain Khan : *Op.cit.*, for details.

tyrants'. Those who escaped death, were proclaimed traitors and rewards were offered for their heads. He created a terrible atmosphere in the Sarkars by constructing *Kulla - Minars* (pyramidal structures) with the heads of all adherents of the rebelling Zamindars, on the lines of Nadir Shah, which were hitherto unknown in the Deccan. He appointed temporary managers in the Zamindaries replacing the Zamindars who revolted against the Nizam. ¹³

3. RESTORATION OF ORDER IN THE ZAMINDARIES

The local Kaifiyats, ballads and estate records do not speak of the oppressive rule of the Zamindars. However, the absence of the strong centre had resulted in a scramble for power among the local Rajahs. Rustum Khan's cruel treatment of the refractory Zamindars was not due to their maladministration, but, only to bring them under his control and to deter the other Zamindars from contemplating revolt. The Zamindars had to clear their feudal dues which had fallen in arrears since many years. So, the Zamindars wanted to check the entry of Rustum Khan.

In 1734, Kaladindi Rama Razu, the Zamindar of Mogiliturru, joined Rao Subbanna, Zamindar of Nuzividu, and fought Rustum Khan to prevent Khan from establishing himself at Rajahmundry. ¹⁴ These two Zamindars were said to have fought Rustum Khan more than once at Ellore. ¹⁵

But, their bid was unsuccessful and they fled with bag and baggage to Peddapuram where Rani Rangamma, widow of Vatsavayi Jagapathi Razu, gave them shelter. Rani Rangamma was the regent of her minor son, Timma Raju (1714 to 1734). ¹⁶

In the song of Rayaparaju, a local ballad, it is stated that Rustum Khan and his son were employed in the Peddapuram Samasthanam and left it for better opportunities and joined Nawab Anwaruddin. ¹⁷

Rani Rangamma encouraged her son Thimmaraju and Rao Venkata Krishna Rayanagar, the Zamindar of Pittapuram, to check the progress of Rustum Khan and see that he should not cross river Godavari and settle in Rajahmundry. Rustum Khan defeated these Zamindars more than once and Venkata Krishna Rao, Rao Buchanna, Rama Raju and Subbanna fled to

¹³ James Grant :Op.cit., p. 223.

¹⁴ Meckenzie's Kaifiyads. : *Mogiliturru, Nuzividu & Peddapuram*.

¹⁵ V.R. Jagapathi Verma : *Peddapur Charitramu*, p. 70

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ R. Subba Rao : *Op.cit.*

Thotapalli Manyam where they planned to raise a revolt with the help of Konda-Reddis.¹⁸ But, they were not habituated to live in this region where Malaria fever was rampant. All, except Rao Buchanna, died of fever.¹⁹ Rao Buchanna, a close relation of Rao Venkata Krishna Rao, the Zamindar of Pittapuram was arrested and killed by Rustum Khan.²⁰

Rustum Khan wanted to punish Rani Rangamma for her help and encouragement to the refractory Zamindars. But, the Fort of Peddapuram was too strong for him. So, he had recourse to a wily strategem. He lodged himself at 'Pandavulavarimetta' near Peddapuram and sent a letter with his son Nuruddin Hussain stating that he had great regard for her and her estate and he wanted to make a *Darshan* of her minor sons and confirm the Zamindary on them.²¹

Nuruddin Hussain was a playmate of her sons while Rustum Khan was in the service of Peddapur estate. So, Rani Rangamma could not suspect any treachery and sent her two sons, Timma Raju and Balabhadra Raju with only two or three attendants along with Nuruddin.

There are different accounts regarding the death of Timma Raju and his brother, Balabhadra Razu.²² Even Nuruddin Hussain was not aware of his father's treacherous designs.²³ On hearing the tragic end of her two sons, Rani Rangamma alongwith the other women performed *Jauhar* after sending out the infant son of her eldest son, called Jagapathi Raju, aged only 7 months, through a trusted Brahmin widow, by name, Komperla Mahalakshmi. She was to take this boy to Vizianagaram as Vijarama Razu was closely related to this family through his wife, Chandramma.²⁴ But, she was detected on the way and the boy was imprisoned in Pittapuram. The following year, the attempt of Rao Buchanna failed and he was arrested and later killed by Rustum Khan. The Peddapuram estate was directly administered by Rustum Khan through an *Amin* since 1734. Rustum Khan adopted the policy of blood and iron to curb any insurrection. His ruthless violence knew no bounds. *Kulla Minars* (*Kulla Minar* was a pyramidal structure built with the heads of those who were beheaded for their anti-government activities) were built in the important towns so that no one could dare rebel against the Government.

¹⁸ Ibid: V.R. Jagapathi Verma : *Peddapura Charitra*, p. 71.

¹⁹ Meckenjie's Kaifiyads : *Samarlakota*

²⁰ Ibid :

²¹ Meckenzie's Kaifiyad : *Kimoor*; V.R. Jagapathi Verma : *Peddapura Charitr*, p. 72.

²² V.R. Jagapathi Verma : *Peddapura Charitram*, pp. 71-75.

²³ Ibid :

²⁴ Subba Rao : *Op.cit*.

The *Kulla Minars* were not known to the people of this region, though they were not quite uncommon during the Muslim rule in Northern India. Thus, he became unpopular and his son, Nuruddin, also hated his father for his cruel deeds and caused his death in 1737. Nuruddin reported his father's death to Nawab Anwaruddin who appointed him in his father's place.²⁵

Though Rustum Khan was unpopular for his cruel ways, it must be admitted that he was an able administrator and it was only due to him the Nizam's power was restored in these parts. "Rustum Khan must be praised for his military exploits, clever tactics, and just and wise policy. He put down greedy Zamindars and helped the poor cultivators. He replaced the former *Amins* so that he might regularly get the taxes due. He made grants of lands to poets, village officers and other servants. The *Firman* of 1736 A.D. states that one, Atchanna Kulkarni, was rewarded probably for his loyal and faithful services. Atchanna, as well as Antanna referred to in the grant, seem to be related to famous poet Enugu Lakshmana Kavi. Rustum Khan announced rewards for the capture of rebels and conferred titles on such of the proprietors who promptly paid their taxes and helped him with men and supplies."²⁶

Nawab Anwaruddin informed Nuruddin Hussain that in case he (Nuruddin) could subdue the *Striker* of Kalinga, the administration of the country would also be entrusted to him. So, Nuruddin marched to Kalinga but while he was on the way, he was intercepted by Vijiarama Razu of Vizianagaram at Chebrole with 40,000 men. In the Battle of Chebrole, Nuruddin was killed and Vijiarama Razu took Thimmaraju of Peddapuram along with him to Vizianagaram rescuing him from the captivity. Vijiarama Razu, later, restored him to his Zamindary in 1749 by bribing the *Amildar*, Nizam Ali.²⁷

4. POSITION OF THE ENGLISH IN NORTHERN SARKARS DURING THE RULE OF THE FIRST NIZAM

The English, through out this period, kept themselves away from the local politics and their information regarding the local affairs was scant and insignificant. The English managed to get confirmed their trade privileges by the Nizam in 1725.²⁸

²⁵ Records of Fort. St. George : *Pub. Cons.*, Dt.2.1.1737, Vol.67, p. 33.; V.R. Jagapathi Verma : *Peddapuram Charitram* : p.79; Subba Rao : Some Aspects of the History of Northern Sarkars (1724-1774), *Deccan History Congress*, 1945.

²⁶ R. Subba Rao : *Op.cit.*

²⁷ V. R. Jagapathi Verma : *Op.cit.*, p. 83.

²⁸ *Ibid*: *Pub. Cons.* Dt.22.5.1725, Vol.55, p.119.

The Nizam directed his officials not to suffer the English affairs on the complaint lodged by the English about the haughty behaviour of the person appointed to reside at Ingeram.²⁹ Most often, the English were threatened by the local officials to receive presents.³⁰

Whenever the English did not meet their demands, the local Nawabs "laid the Madras *Pagodas* (A *Pagoda* was roughly equal to Rs. 31/2 or 4 *Varahas*) under discount".³¹

The English investments suffered due to famine conditions in the region,³² and the steps taken by the French who offered more wages to the labour and purchased cloth at a higher price than the English.³³

The English wrote a letter to Nawab Anvaruddin narrating their difficulties in business at Vizagapatam and Ingeram where they sustained loss in their *Pagodas* and assured the native government that the Madras *Pagodas* were of the same weight and finess. The English also wrote that they had been there for over a century by then and it was not their custom to alter their coinage.³⁴

To this letter, the Nawab replied that the Shroffs (Cashiers) collected *Batta* (discount) only on such Madras *Pagodas* which did not satisfy the necessary standards like weight and finess. He also deputed his *Vakil*, Muhammad Hussain, to Vizagapatam with some specimen coins for comparison and to the realisation of the English of their failure to keep uniform standards in their coinage.³⁵

The Nawab and his brother, Mohd. Muneeruddin Khan maintained good relations with the English. Mohd. Muneeruddin, the Nawab's Deputy at Chicacole, encouraged the English to establish their factory at Hayatpatnam near Mansoorkota in the District of Ganjam and assured the English of all possible help from his side.³⁶

Another difficulty which the English encountered, was that several

²⁹ Ibid : *Pub. Cons.* Dt.22.5.1725, Vol.55, p.119.

³⁰ Ibid : *Pub. Cons.*, Dt. 31-1-1737, Vol.67, p.43.

³¹ Ibid : Dt.11.10.1739, Vol.69B, p. 276.

³² Ibid : Dt.25.8.1737, Vol.67B, p. 293.

³³ Ibid : Dt.11.10.1739, Vol.69B, p.276.

³⁴ Ibid : *Pub. Cons.*,Dt.11.10.1739. Ibid : *Country Correspondence* : Pub. Department: Lr. to the Nawab, Dt. 8th March, 1740.

³⁵ Ibid : Lr. from the Nawab, Recd. 31 May, 1740.

³⁶ Ibid : Lr. from Md. Muneeruddin Khan, Recd: 8.6.1740

Indian traders evaded payment of their dues to the English by leaving the areas of the English settlements and taking protection from local Governors of the Nizam administration. The English wrote to Khwaja Abdul Rahaman Khan, Foudjar of Masulipatam on July 16, 1740 about their bitter experiences in Modapollam and Narsapur where the English resident, Goddard, reported that several persons failing to pay their dues to the Company, had taken shelter at Masulipatam. There was an understanding that the local officials of the Nizam should not protect such people.³⁷

It is received favourably by the Nizam's official, Khwaja Abdul Rahman, who ordered his *Naibs* (Deputies) "to deliver up all those persons to the Company" and assured the English of his co-operation in future. He, further, desired to see that the English resettled at Masulipatam and that he would procure a *Cowle* for that purpose from Nawab Anvaruddin who was then in Golkonda.³⁸

It is understood that the Pusapati family of Vizianagaram maintained good relations with the English since a very long time and helped the English settlements at Vizagapatam and Ingeram. The friendship was necessitated as the Rajahs of Vizianagaram were also maintaining their own ships for business. So, Pusapati family was always reminding the English of their long standing friendship with the English in each letter they wrote to the English. Vijarama Razu, the Rajah of Vizianagaram wrote a letter to the English through his *Vakil*, Kosachetti Adiyappa, with a request to help their *Vakil* at Madras in selling paddy.³⁹

The English were quite aware of the fact that their settlements at Vizagapatam and Ingeram might suffer if they were not to maintain friendship with this powerful Rajah. So, the English responded favourably to the Rajah's request promising to provide all the assistance to the Rajah's ships in their ports.⁴⁰

The local officials of the Nizam's Government were not sure of their positions when called back to capital. They were always kept in a dilemma whether they were going to receive rewards or punishments. So, they were

³⁷ Ibid: *Country Correspondence*, Public Department: Lr. to Khwaja Abdul Rahman Khan, dt. 16th July, 1740.

³⁸ Ibid: Lr. from Khwaja Abdur Rahman No.104, Dt.16th Aug. 1740, Recd. 18th Nov. 1740.

³⁹ Ibid: *Country Correspondence*: No.79, Lr. from Vijarama Razu, Recd. 7th Oct. 1740.

⁴⁰ Ibid: No.89, Lr. to Vijarama Razu, Dt. 20th. Oct. 1740.

taking precaution to protect their dependents and personal effects before they left their posts. Therefore, they were cultivating friendship with the foreign merchants.

On the other side, the foreigners were forced to win over some important officials of the Court to present their views before the Subedar. Due to mutual interests, the local officials and the English had come closer and developed intimate relations. One, Imam Saheb, Foujdar of Joar Bunder, was asked to return to Golkonda in 1740.⁴¹ He left the place keeping his family under the protection of the English at St. Thome:⁴² But, his fears turned false, as he was received well in the Nizam's Court and admitted to the order of the Nizam's favourites, a much coveted honour,⁴³ with a title, 'Gulam Imaam Hussain Khan'. The English had the benefit of a strong voice in the Court through him.⁴⁴ Subsequently, Gulam Hussain Khan was appointed as the Nawab and posted to Masulipatam with jurisdiction over Nizampatnam, Narsapur and several other places on the Coast. He ordered his deputies to assist the English in their affairs.⁴⁵

The English made best use of his friendship and requested him to turn Nawab Anvaruddin Khan in their favour so that their interests in Modapolam, Vizagapatam and Ingeram were served to their advantage.⁴⁶

But, gradually, these officials lost their pride and prestige. As it is, earlier said that the officials of the Nizam's Government were always kept in a state of uncertainty about their positions due to the fact that the favours of the Nizam were short lived. So, the officials were depending on the foreigners to protect their families during the unfavourable period. While the local officials were losing their power and influence, the English were gradually consolidating their positions. Thus, local officials lost their control over the foreign merchants and transformed themselves as the foreign agents in the native Court.

Gulam Imam Hussain Khan desired for an interview with the English Governor giving every liberty to the English to fix the appointment as,

⁴¹ Ibid : Lr. No. 46&47 from Imam Saheb: Recd.28/29, June, 1740.

⁴² Ibid : Lr.No.56 to Imam Saheb, Dt.5th Aug. 1740.

⁴³ Ibid : Lr. No.78 from Imam Saheb, Recd. 6th Oct. 1740.

⁴⁴ Ibid : Lr.No. 66 from Imam Saheb, Recd. 26th Aug. 1740; Lr.No. 78 from Imam Saheb, Recd. 6th Oct. 1740; Lrs. 99, 100, 101 from Imam Saheb, Recd. on 13th Nov. 1740, 14th Nov. 1740 and 15th Nov. 1740 respectively.

⁴⁵ Ibid: Lr.No.93 from Imam Hussain, Recd. Nov. 3, 1740.

⁴⁶ Ibid: Lr.No. 94 to Imam Hussain, Dt.7th Nov. 1740.

".....place it is entirely yours and I, only your deputy." ⁴⁷ The English started ascertaining their position by directing him (Khan) "to talk in person". ⁴⁸

During this period, the French had become more active and influential in the Nizam's court and outside. They were also trying to procure a grant of Divi Island, granted formerly to the English by Emperor Faruk Siyar. To counteract this, the English informed Imam Sahib of their right to the Island in order to embarrass the French in their attempt. ⁴⁹

Masulipatam had lost its importance in foreign trade during this period since the native industries could not flourish due to the unequal competition among the foreign traders and the disturbances in the area. The English had closed their business there since a long time. However, the French and the Dutch had their settlements over there. The appointment of Imam Saheb to that country, had encouraged them to resume their trade in Masulipatam. ⁵⁰

But, once again, the troubles started in the country. Alivardi Khan, after occupying Bengal, fell on Cuttack. The Nawab of Cuttack took refuge in Rajahmundry. The Nawab of Rajahmundry, Anvaruddin Khan left for Cuttack to occupy the territory being ordered by Nizam-ul-Mulk. ⁵¹

Alivardi Khan, having taken possession of the Cuttack country, was expected to march southwards. So, the Nawabs of Cuttack, Rajahmundry and Chicacole were collecting forces at Ichapuram to check his advance, but for years, they had maintained no regular troops. ⁵² Meanwhile, Ali Kuli Khan had become Nawab of Rajahmundry in the place of Anvaruddin. The departure of Anvaruddin from this region was very much regretted both by the merchants and the English as well. ⁵³

To make the situation still worse, the Marathas appeared at Ellore in the Sarkars and demanded 'Chouth' from Imam Saheb's revenues of the

⁴⁷ Ibid : Lr. No. 104 from Imam Hussain, Recd. 7th Dec. 1740.

⁴⁸ Ibid : Lr. No. 115 to Imam Saheb, Dt. 10.12.1740.

⁴⁹ Dodwell : *Calender of Madras Records* : 1740-44, Lr. No. 51 Despatch to the Company.

⁵⁰ Ibid : Lr. No. 346 from John Stratten at Vizg, Despatch: Dt. 14th Dec. 1741.

⁵¹ Dodwell : *Opcit.*, Lr. No. 348 from Richard Prince, at Ingeram, Dt. 24th Dec. 1741.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid : Lr. No. 93 from Richard Prince at Ingeram, Dt. 11th Feb. 1742.

country. But they were driven beyond the hills.⁵⁴ But it was feared that the Marathas might plunder Ellore, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry and Chicacole. Ali Kuli Khan had withdrawn himself into his fort. It was also understood that Nasir Jung requested the Marathas to assist the Nawab of Cuttack against Ali Vardi Khan. But, the Nawab of Cuttack, staying at the mango garden at Vizagapatam seemed alarmed at their approach. ⁵⁴ Marathas plundered Masulipatam. Ali Kuli Khan was reported to have agreed to pay them Rs. 45,000/- Imam Saheb had long been preparing to flee. The Rajahs had already sent their families to Vizagapatam for protection.⁵⁵

The Marathas, after destroying much of the Ellore countryside, attempted to enter Peddapuram, but were repulsed by the Rajahs and 200 or 300 of them were shut up in the forest nearby.⁵⁶ They were still threatening Rajahmundry, but, when they learnt that a large army was marching from Golkonda, they retired hastily.⁵⁷ The Marathas fled to the hills beyond Ellore.⁵⁸ They assaulted and took 'Oendie', a fort near Maodapollam. Then, they went to Masulipatam but were repulsed.⁵⁹

Though the Marathas retired, the merchants could not live in peace, as the Nawabs were asking for loans and the *Thanadars* were compelling them to advance loans. The English were forced to intervene on behalf of the Indian merchants.⁶⁰

The Nawab demanded a loan of 2,000 *pagodas* and Rs.30,000/- in exchange for Madras *pagodas* at Rs.3-13 annas. On the refusal of the English Resident, the *Thanadar* was ordered to obstruct the Company's business. The watchmen had been whipped and the merchants threatened. Hussain Kuli Khan, the Nawab's uncle, had already received the annual present and once again, demanded the same, threatening the English *Vakil* to punish him in the same way as he had done to the *Dubash* (translator) of the Dutch Chief at Kakinada. The country was plundered by the Nawab. ⁶¹ The Chief at Ingeram, Richard Prince, saw Hussain Kuli Khan when the latter visited Draksharam and complained of the *Thanadar's* misdeeds. Hussain Kuli Khan promised that nobody should trouble the Company's servants and

⁵⁴ Ibid. : Lr. No. 94 from Richard Prince at Ingeram, Dt.17th Feb. 1742.

⁵⁵ Dodwell : Op.cit., Lr. No. 99 from John Stratten at Vizag, Dt. 16th Feb. 1741.

⁵⁶ Ibid : Lr. No. 115 from John Stratten at Vizag, Dt. 13th March, 1742.

⁵⁷ Ibid : Lr. No. 121 from Richard Prince Ingeram, Dt. 23rd March, 1742.

⁵⁸ Ibid : Lr. No. 121 from Richard Prince at Ingeram, Dt. 24th March, 1742.

⁵⁹ Ibid : Lr. No. nil from John Hally Burton at Modapallam, Dt. 31st March, 1742.

⁶⁰ Ibid : Lr. No. 166 from Richard Prince at Ingeram, Dt. 11th May, 1742.

⁶¹ Ibid : Lr. No. 185 from Richard Prince at Ingeram, Dt.11th May, 1742.

granted a *Cowle* for a piece of ground and a small village.⁶² But the friendship did not last long. A fresh trouble crept up between Ali Kuli Khan, the Nawab of Rajahmundry and Richard Prince at Ingeram arising out of a forced sale of *Teak* to the English.⁶³

Hussain Kuli Khan, *Darogha* of the Nawab, Ali Kuli Khan, seized an opportunity to take revenge upon the English when a ship called, "Jagannath Prasad" wrecked off the shores of Vizagpatam in 1743. The ship was owned by one, Gopinath, a merchant of Balasore in Cuttack, who was trading with the Company. The ship was carrying goods belonging to Davis and Cotesworth, the servants of the English Company. Thomas Pitt, Resident at Uppada, informed this to John Stratton, Chief at Vizagapatam, who, there upon, got the Nawab's *firman* for her salvage. Pitt, however, offered the local Rajah (Rajah of Pittapuram) one-third of the salvage for his assistance; on which the Nawab's uncle, Hussain Kuli Khan imprisoned Pitt for two days and nights without food and drink and whipped him till he paid 1,700 *pagodas*. Pitt was also forced to sign two papers written in Persian.⁶⁴

Thus, the English suffered during the tenure of Ali Kuli Khan as Nawab of Rajahmundry and they felt greatly relieved when he was deprived of the Nawabship of Rajahmundry in 1744 and hoped for a better time under his successor.⁶⁵

In Chicacole Sarkar, Nawab Jaffer Ali Khan succeeded Mahfuz Khan as Nawab of Chicacole in 1742.⁶⁶ But, this appointment was opposed by Raja Vijiarama Razu of Vizianagaram. This dispute disturbed the peace in that region.⁶⁷ But, somehow, they were reconciled by 1744.⁶⁸

But, once again, the Maratha menace occurred. They assembled at Bhadrachalam and moved north of Chicacole.⁶⁹

Similarly, the English had a bad time in Masulipatam region after Imam Sahib's departure. The Company's goods were not allowed to be

⁶² Ibid : Lr. No. 250, from Prince at Ingeram, Dt. 13th Jun. 1742.

⁶³ Ibid : Lr. No. 152 from Prince at Vizag, Dt. 15th Nov. 1742.

⁶⁴ Ibid : Lr. No. 82, from Pitt at Upada to Richard Prince at Vizag, Dt. 18th Dec. 1743;
Ibid. : Lr. No. 170 from Prince of Vizag, Dt. 21st April, 1744.

⁶⁵ Ibid : Lr. No. 81 from Prince of Vizag, Dt. 8th July, 1742.

⁶⁶ Ibid : Lr. No. 249 from John Stratten at Vizag, Dt. 8th July, 1742.

⁶⁷ Ibid : Lr. No. 249 from John Stratten at Vizag, Dt. 8th July, 1742.

⁶⁸ Ibid : Lr. No. 144 from Prince at Vizag, Dt. 4th March, 1744; Lr. No. 265 from Prince at Vizag, Dt. 20th June, 1744.

⁶⁹ Ibid : Lr. No. 144 from Prince, Dt. 4th Mar. 1744

moved at Masulipatam without the *Fouzdar's* orders. The *Fouzdar* was facing disturbances from the *poligars* of the Sarkar of Murtuzanagar (Guntur) as the insurrection of the *poligars* were common in those days whenever a new *Fouzdar* was appointed.⁷⁰

Thus, this period was very discouraging to the English trade on the Coromandel Coast. Even in the South, the Maratha troubles prevented the English from acquiring bales of Salem cloth.⁷¹ In Vizagapatam and Ingeram, the French had obstructed the English investment by raising their prices. It was thought better to raise the prices of ordinary cloth rather than humour the merchants by taking in a larger proportion of fine cloth which the Company did not want.⁷²

After the fall of Qutb-shahi dynasty at Golkonda in 1687, the Mughals could not establish their authority effectively on the local chiefs who were in charge of local administration. The death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, had enfeebled the centre and the Subedars became too powerful for the Central Government. The successors of Aurangzeb became puppets in the hands of a few selfish ministers. So, the Subedars were also interested to fish in the troubled waters. They were closely watching the developments at the Centre and carefully scheming to get what they desired. The Nizam I was no exception to this general trend. The local administration was a neglected subject. In fact, there was no institution or established system or agency to dispense justice or to assess and to collect revenue at any level between the centre and the lowest unit, the village. Luckily, the villages were run on a community basis, the system known from time immemorial, had survived the wreck of a number of imperial dynasties.⁷³ But, a proper authority to check the intermediaries like Zamindars, renters and *Amaldars* (the revenue collectors) and to protect the peasants from oppression, was totally absent. After the death of Rustum Khan, the Nawab's deputy, in 1737, the Nizam's superintendents could never establish their authority in the region. The Nizam I did not give much thought to this aspect of administration. He was simply⁷⁴ appointing Nawabs or Superintendents of the Sarkars, on consideration of high offerings (*Nazaranas*) and the other local offices were filled by the highest bidders. This ill-policy of the Nizam had ruined the country beyond any doubt.

⁷⁰ Ibid. : Lr. No. 340 from John Hally Burton at Modapollam, Dt. 1st Sept. 1744.

⁷¹ Ibid. : Vol.I., 1744-45, p.7.

⁷² Ibid. :

⁷³ R.C Dutt : *Economic History of British India* (3rd Edn) 1908, p.117.

⁷⁴ Dodwell : *Calender of Madras Records* 1740-44, Lr. No. 379 from John Holly Burton at Modapollam, Dt. 12th Oct. 1744.

5. THE BEGINNING OF ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY IN NORTHERN SARKARS

The Nizam-ul-Mulk who founded the Hyderabad State in 1724, could only divert his attention to Deccan in 1743. He visited the Carnatic in 1743 and stayed there till 1744. During this period, he devoted much of his time in restoring order in the Carnatic. Taking advantage of the presence of the Nizam in the Carnatic, the French and the English tried to win over the Nizam to their side through their sympathisers in the court.

“The English and the French East India Companies on the Coromandel Coast tried to checkmate each other and secure power by allying themselves with the native powers of South India.”⁷⁵ The commercial rivalry had ultimately turned out to be a battle for supreme in power and influence on the Coromandel.

The news that war broke out between Spain and England reached Madras in June, 1740. The following year, France was also involved in the war. Then, an expedition under La Bourdanais arrived in the East which had been aimed at attacking the English, but it did not achieve anything except the relief of Mahe from the attack of the native princes.⁷⁶

Meanwhile, Dupleix succeeded Dumas as the French Governor in India which eclipsed the English sun on the Coromandel during 1744-1754.

Dupleix made the best use of the war of the Austrian succession. In 1746, the French under La Bourdanais captured Madras. The subordinate council at Fort St. David assumed the control of the English settlements in the South. The English made futile attempts to get back Madras through the intervention of Nizam-ul-Mulk. But, Nizam-ul-Mulk was preoccupied with the Marathas. The English appealed to Nasir Jung and the Nizam,⁷⁷ to restore Madras to them. Nizam-ul-Mulk gave a favourable reply to Commodore Griffin and sent a mandate to Nawab Anvaruddin, the Nawab of Carnatic to help the English.⁷⁸ But, the Nizam died in 1748 before he could do anything. Madras was, however, restored to the English only when the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed in Europe.

⁷⁵ Sarojini Regani : *Op.cit.*, p. 3.

⁷⁶ Dodwell : *Op.cit.*, Introduction xii.

⁷⁷ James Mill : *History of British India*, Vol.III, p.74.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

The First Nizam kept the English and the French guessing whom he favoured most. He suspected that these foreign settlers were going to take full advantage of the internal dissensions among the Indian princes and so, he tried to see that they did not take any advantage by keeping himself aloof from their quarrels.

“What he avoided, his descendents could not avoid. No sooner did his restraining influence disappear, than the whole of the Carnatic and later on the Deccan became a cockpit of Anglo-French struggle for power.”⁷⁹

The succession of Nasir Jung as the Nizam was strongly objected by Muzaffar Jung, the favourite grand son of the late Nizam. The French joined hands with Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahab who was claiming the Nawabs-hip of Carnatic. A series of events followed in the affairs of Deccan and Carnatic in a dramatic sequence.

Due to the Anglo-French conflict, business was the worst suffered, As Chicacole Sarkar was a good rice-producing area, paddy was being sent to the South in ships for sale. The native Rajahs like Vijiarama Razu and Neeladri Razu were personally involved in this trade. Some of their ships were burnt down and the money, goods and merchandise were taken away by the English in Madras. In this affair, Sampat Rao, *Divan* at Arcot, wrote a letter to the English to make good the loss occurred to the Zamindars.⁸⁰

The English replied that the grain was purchased by the French and then hired by them. As it was a practice to burn the enemy's ships, they were not answerable for the affair.⁸¹

Despite this affair, the Rajah of Vizianagaram sent his grain ships to Madras under the management of one, Jayanthi Ramaiah, with a recommendation from Sampath Rao, the *Divan* of Arcot, requesting the English to assist in the disposal of the grain.⁸² But, Sampath Rao had to write, once again, not to force Jayanthi Ramaiah to sell the grain to the English at a rate cheaper than the market rate.⁸³ The English wrote a discourteous letter to Sampath Rao stating that they could be of no service in the affair as it was not the

⁷⁹ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit., p. 17.

⁸⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, Pub. Dept. 62, Lr. from Sampath Rao, recd. 4th April, 1748, pp. 25 & 26.

⁸¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence: Pub. Dept. Lr. No. 66, Dt. 7th Apr. 1748.

⁸² Ibid. : Lr. No. 67 from Sampath Rao, recd. 7th Apr. 1748.

⁸³ Ibid. : Lr. No. 73 from Sampath Rao, Recd. 19th Apr. 1748.

Company's business but the King's since the war was in progress between the English and the French.⁸⁴

As the French supported the cause of Muzaffar Jung for the Deccan Subedarship, the English were to join Nasir Jung. On the arrival of 'great reinforcement' from England under the command of Admiral Boscawen, a brave and experienced officer. In July 1748, the English procured a *Firman* from Mohammed Ali, Nawab of Carnatic addressing all the *Poligars* in the South to stop all manners of provisions going into Pondicherry, the French Headquarters, from their places.⁸⁵ But, the English attack failed and in November the tidings were received from Europe that the hostilities between the French and the English had been suspended. This marks the close of the first phase of the conflict between the French and the English in South India, a period in which the balance of advantage had been largely on the side of the French.⁸⁶

6. RISE OF FRENCH INFLUENCE IN DECCAN VIS-A-VIS NORTHERN SARKARS

Due to internal feuds, Nasir Jung could not pay much attention to the administration in Northern Sarkars. Soon after his accession, he was involved in the Carnatic wars till he was treacherously killed in December, 1750. Muzaffar Jung who succeeded him, had also become a prey to the conspiracy of the Pathan Nawabs, within a period of two months since his proclamation as the Nizam. Bussy who was in command of the French body of troops kept for the personal guard of Muzaffar Jung on his march from Pondicherry to Hyderabad, soon after his proclamation of his accession to the Subah of Deccan, exhibited the highest order of diplomacy by installing Salabat Jung whom Dupliex was calling a 'Duffer' to the Deccan Subedarship.⁸⁷

These political disturbances following the death of the First Nizam, had, once again, encouraged the Zamindars and the Superintendents of the Sarkars under the Nizam's administration, to enjoy much liberty in their respective jurisdictions.

Vijiarama Razu, the Rajah of Vizianagaram, wanted to install Vatsavayi Jagapathi Razu to his ancestral Zamindary of Peddapuram. Jagapathi Razu

⁸⁴ Ibid. : Lr. No. 30 to Sampath Rao, Dt. 25th July, 1748.

⁸⁵ Records of Fort St. George. : Country Correspondence: Pub. Dept. Lr. No. 135, Nawabs' Farmana addressed to Poligars, Dt. 31st July, 1748.

⁸⁶ A. G. Garden : Introductory note to Country Correspondence for the year 1748.

⁸⁷ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit., pp.545-52.

was brought up in Vizianagaram by Vijarama Raju after he was rescued from the captivity of Nuruddin Khan, the then Nawab's Deputy in Chicocole and Rajahmundry Sarkars, during the Battle of Chebrole, in 1737/8. Vizarama Razu was successful in winning over Niamat Ali, the *Amin* at Peddapuram, by bribing him Rs. 90,000/- and got Jagapathi Razu reinstated in his ancestral Zamindary, in 1749.⁸⁸

Jaffer Ali Khan the Nawab of Musthaphanagar, Ellore, Rajahmundry and Chicacole Sarkars, was not in good terms with Vijarama Razu. So, he could not vouchsafe the illegal transfer of Peddapuram by his Deputy, Niamat Ali, but his attempts to take back the Zamindary by force were foiled by Jagapathi Razu for more than once.⁸⁹

Jaffer Ali Khan was not sure of his position under the new Nizam, Salabat Jung. Jaffer Ali was asked to return to Golkonda. However, Jaffer Ali succeeded in being reinstated in his previous position in 1751. He could not brook the haughty demeanour of Vijarama Razu of Vizianagaram and hence, their rivalry resumed.⁹⁰

The English were very much worried about the growing French predominance in Deccan. Though England and France were at peace in Europe, the internal dissensions in Deccan could not keep them aloof and peaceful.

Muzaffar Jung, out of gratitude to the French for their assistance in the Battle of Ambur (Aug 3, 1749) had conferred on them the sea port of Masulipatam and Divi Island, an area of 22 miles yielding revenue of Rs. 8 lakhs per annum.⁹¹

In fact, Masulipatam and Divi islands were granted to the English formerly but they did not occupy the area. The subsequent elevation of the French in Deccan opened the eyes of the English who realised the imminent danger that the French might spread to other areas in the Northern Sarkars and the English had to wind up their business on the Coromandal Coast. This forced them to recultivate friendship with the local Zamindars and the officials of the Nizam in the Northern Sarkars.

⁸⁸ V.R. Jagapathi Varma : *Peddapura Charitramu*, p.83.

⁸⁹ Enugu Lakshmana Kavi : *Ramavilasam* gives a eulogy of Jagapathi Varma's valour.

⁹⁰ Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, (Pub.) Lr.No.51, to Jaffer Ali, Dt.4.4.1751.

⁹¹ Sarojini Regani : *Op.cit.*, p. 25.

The English wrote to Jaffer Ali Khan⁹², the Nawab of the four Sarkars to Vijiarama Razu⁹³ the most powerful Zamindar in the Sarkar of Chicacole and Niamat Ali Khan,⁹⁴ *Foujdar* of Masulipatam, cautioning them against the French who might occupy all the Sarkars 'little by little'. The Residents of Ingeram, Modapollam, Vizagapatam etc. were ordered to hoist their colours on all the sea-ports on the coast and cultivate good friendship with the Zamindars against the French.

The *Foujdar* of Masulipatam informed his inability to assist the English in hoisting their colours on the Port of Masulipatam, because the country was already in the hands of the French and he was there only to settle some accounts of revenue.⁹⁵ As a matter of fact, the English could not occupy this part by themselves by force since they were still preoccupied in the South (in the Carnatic affairs).⁹⁶

The French immediately retaliated to the action of the English. Jaffer Ali Khan was ordered by the Nizam, Salabat Jung, under the French influence, to demolish all the English settlements in the area. As Jaffer Ali Khan was recently reinstated in his position, he acted immediately by sending a force to Ingeram to demolish the English settlements over there.

The English, on hearing from Westcott, the Resident at Ingeram, wrote to Jaffer Ali enquiring about the cause of his action against the English settlements, reminding him of their age-old friendship.⁹⁷

Realising the futility of writing to Jaffer Ali, the English wrote to the Rajah of Vizianagaram who was an enemy of Jaffer Ali, imploring him to safeguard their interests in that region from the onslaught of the Nizam's forces with the connivance of the French.⁹⁸ The Madras Council ordered Westcott, the Resident of Ingeram, to see the Rajah personally and acquaint him with the latest developments.

Later, Jaffer Ali denied these proceedings against the English on his own accord. He wrote to the English that the French caused these orders

⁹² Records of Fort. St. George : Country Correspondence, Pub. Dept., Lr. No. 51 addressed to Jaffer Ali, Dt. 4th Apr. 1751, p.23.

⁹³ Ibid. : Lr. No. 52 to Vijiarama Razu, Dt. 4th Apr. 1751, p. 24.

⁹⁴ Ibid. : Lr. No. 53 to Nizam Ali Khan, Dt. 4th Apr. 1751, p.24.

⁹⁵ Ibid. : Lr. No. 55 (Pub.) to the *Foujdar*, Dt. 16th Apr. 1751, p.25.

⁹⁶ C.S. Srinivasa Chary : *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, pp.164-65; 169, 176-78.

⁹⁷ Ibid. : Country Correspondence, Lr.No.148, to Jaffer Ali, Dt. 29th Oct. 1751, pp. 68

issued to him through Ramadas Punt ⁹⁹ (Ramadas Punt or Ramadas Pandit who was appointed *Peshkar* of Nasir Jung, was a partisan of the French and elevated to the position of *Divan* during the period of Salabat Jung, on the recommendation of the French).

Jaffer Ali was, from the beginning of his career in the Northern Sarkars, a sympathiser of the English. But, he was forced to comply with the orders of the Court since the Nizam was a puppet in the hands of the French. When the Northern Sarkars were granted to the French in 1753, he attempted to oppose the French occupation of the Northern Sarkars. He had even gone to the extent of making friendship with his bitter enemy, Vijarama Razu to prevent the French entry into the Sarkars in 1753.

The Vizagapatam Council was very much afraid of Jaffer Ali who was insisting upon the removal of the English settlements. The Nawab, Jaffer Ali, was asking them to withdraw their business on the pretext that he was recalled by the court and a new Nawab might cause greater loss to their settlements. The Fort. St. David which was looking after the affairs of the English during the Madras was under the seizure of the French, felt that Jaffer Ali was only scheming to collect some presents under this threat.¹⁰⁰

Jaffer Ali Khan wrote to Westcott at Ingeram and Andrews at Modapollam that they should remove their effects and vacate the settlements immediately. Westcott withdrew to a small island at the mouth of the river Godavari and Andrews took shelter in Bandamurlanka. Bandamurlanka was better situated for trade since the French claimed an exclusive right to the Modapollam river. But, the Factory of the English at Modapollam was not destroyed by the Nawab's troops.¹⁰¹

Due to the rise of the French predominance in Deccan, the reputation of the English among the Zamindars has sunk too low. The English were also afraid that the French might also instigate the Zamindars of the Northern Sarkars to attack their other settlements on the coast.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Records of Fort St. George: Country Correspondence (Pub.) Lr. No.145 to Vijarama Razu, Dt. 28th Oct. 1751, p. 67.

⁹⁹ Ibid. : (Military Dept.) Lr. No.8 from Jaffer Ali, Dt. 27th Dec. 1753 and Recd. 7th Jan. 1754.

¹⁰⁰ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, p. 146.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. : p.146.

¹⁰² Ibid. : p. 149.

The grant of Masulipatam and Divi was a boon for the French as the area was of great strategic importance in the Sarkars. They fortified Divi and built batteries at the entrance to the river Modapollam. This had cut off the English supplies from North to the South or vice-versa. The English could not attack Divi as they had no forces to spare and they could support their claim to the area by force only when they succeeded in the Carnatic.¹⁰³

Since Jaffer Ali turned cold towards the English, they were forced to turn to Vijiarama Razu to strengthen him to counter-balance in the Sarkars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry.¹⁰⁴

However, Jaffer Ali became less offensive towards the English after his return from the Court in 1752. He withdrew his previous order relating to the demolition of the English settlements and restored Ingeram and Modapollam to the English.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, p. 149, for the year 1751-52.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* : p. 172

Three

THE FRENCH IN THE SARKARS

As the matters were conveniently accommodated between Salabat Jung and the Marathas after the murder of Ghaziuddin, the eldest son of Asaf Jah-I, Salabat Jung granted Kondavidu (Musthaphanagar) and territories around Masulipatam to the French.¹ Kondavidu was reputed as a wealthy district which bordered on the territory which the French already held (Masulipatam). The area was also important for supplying many varieties of cotton cloth which formed the main portion of the exports to Europe. Its acquisition was, therefore, mostly welcomed. On receipt of the news, Dupliex felt that "the Company had, then much territory that needed ... we should ... limit ourselves to what we possess in the North."²

Bussy managed to procure the Northern Sarkars for the French in 1753 in lieu of the arrears to be paid to the French by the Nizam for keeping the French regiment and the grant was confirmed by the Treaty of Aurangabad signed by Salabat Jung on 23rd. Nov. 1753.³ This can be considered as the first ever Subsidiary Treaty made by a native prince with a European power.⁴

1. THE INTRIGUES OF THE FRENCH IN NORTHERN SARKARS

Dupliex, the French Governor, was, from the beginning, aiming at the possession of the Northern Sarkars. Under his directions, Bussy, all the time, was insisting the Nizam to mortgage these Sarkars in lieu of his dues. Syed Lashker Khan, the *Divan*, was alive to the danger in allowing the French to

¹ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit., p. 62.

² Dodwell : *Dupliex and Clive* : The beginning of an Empire, p. 89.

³ W. Hollingberry : *History of his late Highness, Nizam Ali Khan*, p. 88, Col. G.B.

Malleon : *History of the French in India*, p. 160.

⁴ Briggs : *The Nizam - I*, Vol. I, p. 160.

possess such a long tract of the Coast. So, Syed Lashkar Khan offered Bussy a much larger tract of country in the winter land, provided Bussy agreed to give up his demand for the Northern Sarkars.⁵

Even before Bussy's requisition of the Sarkars, Dupliex was intriguing with Jamal Mohammed, the agent of Vijiarama Razu, the Rajah of Vizianagaram, who had previously helped the English when the latter's factories at Vizagapatam and other parts were attacked by Jaffer Ali under the instructions of Salabat Jung. The Rajah was promised more *mansabs*, *Jagirs* and honours and supply of powder, shot, cannon, if only he should destroy the English settlements in the region.⁶

Bussy sent the patents for the Sarkars to Moracin, the French Resident at Masulipatam, with instructions to take immediate possession of the Sarkars.⁷

Bussy appointed Moracin as his Deputy and opened his mind to Moracin that the French should support Vijiarama Razu by sending him ammunition instead of his adversary, Jaffer Ali. It was also hinted that the French should instigate Jaffer Ali's *sepoys* to desert him and join the Rajah.⁸ Bussy preferred friendship with the Rajah who was the most powerful of the local Zamindars and so, more effective in collecting the dues in those Sarkars. Jaffer Ali was a temporary deputy of the Nizam and had no support of the local chiefs.

The French thought that, once, they were safely settled in the province, they could tell the English, "I rule; the time to look into my rights is passed."⁹

On the other side, the English tried to unite Jaffer Ali and Vijiarama Razu against the French ever since they heard the plan of their European counterparts. Jaffer Ali and Vijiarama Razu had been quarelling since 1749 when Vijiarama Razu got Jagapathi Razu reinstated in Peddapuram Zamindary by giving illegal gratification to Niamat Ali.

⁵ C.S. Srinivasa Chary : Op.cit. p.253 Orme : *Military transactions*: Vol I. p. 334.

⁶ Ibid. : p.253.

⁷ Ibid. : p.253.

⁸ A. Martieau : *Bussy in Deccan* (1941), pp. 151 & 152; "I (Bussy) expect praise from the Nawab and Mohmadans for having saved these provinces and made them obliged to the French for having opposed the Rajah's invasion. You (Moracin) must intrigue so well as to lead Jaffer Ali almost at the edge of downfall. For the flames of discord, as much as you can between Jaffer Ali and Raj. It is to our interest that these two men should not agree."

⁹ Ibid.

The English wrote to Vijarama Razu on June 20, 1753 that Salabat Jung was not secure in his Government to turn off the French. Vijarama Razu was offered gunpowder and Pigot, the Chief at Vizagapatam, was instructed to be agreeable to him.¹⁰

The English hinted to Jaffer Ali to make friendship with the Rajah of Vizianagaram as early as in November, 1753.¹¹

Similarly, they wrote to Vijarama Razu that all differences between him and Jaffer Ali should be accommodated in the interests of all.¹²

But, they continued belligerency till Dec 1753 when Jaffer Ali was defeated and Vijarama Razu was at an advantageous position placing his guards in Chicacole, Yakapuram, Kasim Kota and Banapuram.¹³ Jaffer Ali Khan shut himself up in the Fort of Rajahmundry and Vijarama Razu arrived, in pursuit, within the distance of a *Coss* (two miles) from Rajahmundry.¹⁴

The situation was quite alarming to the English in the wake of the grant of the Sarkars to the French. The English Chief at Ingeram, Westcott, who was reported to have said that he would die rather than allow the French to be in possession of the Sarkars, was, however, successful in drawing both the belligerents to an agreement.¹⁵

Vijarama Razu wrote to the English that Jaffer Ali "with great civility and entreating" sent Ibrahim Ali Khan with some 'proper' persons of his own to visit him and to negotiate peace with him.¹⁶

Jaffer Ali Khan, when summoned to the Court, resolved not to resign the Sarkars and fight the French alongwith the Rajah of Vizianagaram, making peace with him forgetting all his differences for a common cause.¹⁷ This indicates the strong resolution of Jaffer Ali to keep the French out of the Northern Sarkars by working together with the Rajah of Vizianagaram.

¹⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence: Military Dept. Lr. No. 126 to Vijarama Razu, Vol. 1753, p. 79.

¹¹ Ibid. : Lr. No. 263 to Jaffer Ali, Dt. 8th Nov. 1753.

¹² Ibid. : Lr. No. 264 to Vijarama Razu, Dt. 8th Nov. 1753.

¹³ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence: Military Dept. Lr. No. 306 from Vijarama Razu, Recd. 15th Dec. 1753.

¹⁴ Ibid. : Lr. No. 24 From Vijarama Razu, Dt. 13th Dec. 1753, Recd. 14th Jan. 1754.

¹⁵ A. Martineau : Op.cit, p. 178.

¹⁶ Idem : Lr. No. 24.

¹⁷ Orme : Opcit., Vol.I, p.373.

Jaffer Ali, then, wrote to Westcott on Dec 27, 1753, that he had enlisted or gathered 5000 men, both old and new, with horse, and 20,000 peons. He, further, told that all Zamindars of Musthaphanagar, Ellore and Rajahmundry together with Vijiarama Razu and Ongole Rajah, "took an oath of Union to beat the French and hinder them from taking the management."¹⁸

Jaffer Ali Khan requested Westcott to write to the Governor at Madras to send military assistance to him with all possible speed. He, also, assured the English of his assistance and co-operation in developing their factories at Ingeram, Wupera, Vizagapatam and Modapollam and he also offered to let out the villages lying about these factories to the English.¹⁹ He wrote to the English that he collected 30,000 peons and 5000 horse and crossed river Godavari with a design to punish the French. He sent his family to Vizagapatam for protection and requested the English to help him with 500 English soldiers and two mortars immediately.²⁰

But, the English were prevented from helping Jaffer Ali and Vijiarama Razu owing to the situation prevailing in the Carnatic.²¹ The English forces available in the north were too scanty to be able to oppose Bussy with any hope of success. So, the Madras Council ordered Westcott's project to be abandoned with for the time-being.²²

Moracin, too, was not having troops enough at Masulipatam to reduce the united forces of the Rajah and Jaffer Ali. First, Moracin offered to make a strong pact with Jaffer Ali and to be the mediator of peace between him and the Rajah.²³

Vijiarama Razu responded to the French proposal for peace and sent Balabhadra Razu, one of his relatives, to inform the French at Masulipatam that he was not a friend of English Company though they had offered him 130 men in view of upsetting the designs of the French, but, the Rajah felt that it would be hard to conclude peace with Jaffer Ali.²⁴ As a matter of fact, Vijiarama Razu did not whole-heartedly agree to form a union with Jaffer Ali and Rajah Ranga Rao of Bobbili with whom he had ancestral enmity.²⁵

¹⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence: Military Dept. 1754, Lr.No.8 from Jaffer Ali, Dt. 27th Dec. 1753.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Dodwell : Op.cit, p. 218, Dt. 9th Mar. 1754.

²¹ Ibid. : Dt. 9th Mar. 1754, p.218.

²² Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 92.

²³ A. Martineau : Op.cit, p. 152.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ R.V. Jagapathi Varma : *Peddapura Samasthana Charitramu*, pp. 90 & 91.

So, Moracin, with the assistance of Panon, the manager of the French factory at Narsapur who persuaded the Rajah to come to Masulipatam, could easily make overtures to Vijarama Razu offering him to farm out the countries of Rajahmundry and Chicacole Sarkars at a lower rate than they had ever been valued at.²⁶ The provinces of Chicacole and Rajahmundry were rented out for 16 lakhs of rupees out of which 4 lakhs which Jaffer Ali had already collected was to be deducted.²⁷

The English tried till the last moment, (i.e., Jan 11, 1754) entreating Vijarama Razu to accommodate the matters between him and Jaffer Ali as the French were taking the advantage of their differences.²⁸ But, their inability to send him force turned the scales and Vijarama Razu had accepted the French offer.

The withdrawal of Vijarama Razu from the Union had a great effect on the other Zamindars and most of them deserted him (Jaffer Ali).²⁹ Another difficulty was that the payments to *sibbendy* (force) had fallen in arrears. Due to the efforts of Vijarama Razu and the French, most of his *sibbendy* also left his service. Finding himself abandoned by all, Jaffer Ali "quitted his country full of indignation" and determined to take refuge with the Maratha leader, Raghoji who was at Nagpur. He prevailed upon his son, Janoji, to make an incursion into the Chicacole Sarkar through the hills.³⁰

The Marathas ravaged the Sarkars. Janoji defeated Vijarama Razu at Vizianagaram who fled to Masulipatam for help. Later, Vijarama Razu with the help of the French under Moracin fought the Marathas at Tumapala. Here, the Marathas suddenly withdrew recrossing the river Godavari with enormous booty that they have collected by plunder and later, they showed little interest to the cause of Jaffer Ali. The Marathas also plundered the Dutch factory at Bimlipatam. Considering Jaffer Ali's friendship with the English, they spared the English factory at Vizagapatam from their plunder.³¹

²⁶ Orme : *Military Transactions* : Vol.I, Book V., p. 373; C.S. Srinivasa Chary : *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 344; Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive* : p. 93.

²⁷ A. Martineau : *Bussy in Deccan*, p. 192; The rent varies from source to source.

²⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence: (Military Dept.) Lr.No.11 to Vijarama Razu, Dt. 11th Jan. 1754, p. 6 of the Vol for the year, 1754.

²⁹ Records of Fort.S.George: Country Correspondence: (Military Dept.) 1754. Lr. No. 92, Recd. 13th Mar. 1754.

³⁰ A. Martineau: *Op.cit.*, p. 192; Orme: *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp.373 & 374.

³¹ Orme: *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.374.

By this time, all Zamindars joined the French and everyone styled himself to be *Naib* of a town as he pleased.³²

Thus dejected, Jaffer Ali proceeded to Aurangabad and surrendered himself to Salabat Jung. There he formed an anti-French party with Syed Lashkar Khan, the *Divan*, and tried to impress the Nizam against the French.³³

Ibrahim Ali Khan, Deputy to Jaffer Ali, was of the opinion, "If Vijiarama Razu had at first declared himself an enemy to us, we should not have been ruined in this manner."³⁴

Jaffar Ali also narrated to the English the insincerity of Vijiarama Razu with whom the English desired him to make friendship even at the loss of Peddapuram Estate.³⁵ He wrote that he was going to the Court to work for the extirpation of the French keeping his family in Vizagapatam under the protection of the English.³⁶

The English felt much for Jaffer Ali's fate and wrote that against their wish, Vijiarama Razu was blinded by his ambition and that 'he was grasping at a shadow' and 'will be deceived soon.'

The English were sure that the Rajah would quarrel with the French when the revenue was due for payment.³⁷

Though Vijiarama Razu joined the French for his personal benefit, he still maintained good relations with the English. He wrote a letter to John Andrews, Chief at Modapollam that he had taken charge of the country and warned them to be careful as the French might destroy their factories.³⁸ This communication removed the fears from the minds of the English who were assured that their settlement would not be disturbed on account of the present position of the Rajah.³⁹

³² Records of Fort. St. George: Country Correspondence:(Milit. Dept.) Lr. from Ibrahim Recd. 13. March.1754.

³³ Ibid: Lr. No. 91. From Ibrahim Dt. 20th. Feb, p.54; Orme:*Military Transactions*, p.375; C.S. Srinivasa Chary: *Ananda Range Pillai* : pp. 320 & 21; Lr from Ibrahim Khan: p. 55.

³⁵ Ibid: Lr. No. 95 From Jaffer Ali: Dt. 5th Feb. 1754, p. 57

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Fort. St. George: Country Correspondence.(Milit) Lr. No. 130 to Nawab Jaffer Ali, Dt. 4th Apr. 1754. p. 74; Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*. 1754, p. 219.

³⁸ Fort. St. George: Country Correspondence (Military) No. 9, p. 5.

³⁹ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*. 1754, p. 219.

Vijiarama Razu wrote⁴⁰ to the English on July 26, 1754 deploring the absence of correspondence between them, however he maintained contact, now and then, with the chiefs at Vizagpatam and Ingeram. He also declined the idea of occupying these places when proposed by the French and Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, their Deputy. Vijiarama Razu requested the English to help fortifying the Forts of Vizianagaram and Peddapuram.

He also said that he would pretend friendship with the French, till such time as he would receive an answer and military help from the English. But the English expressed their helplessness in the matter due to the French activity in Arcot and advised him to cultivate friendship with Nawab Jaffer Ali Khan forgetting the past.⁴¹ The Rajah was supplied with military requirements through the Chief at Vizagapatam on and often.⁴²

2. BUSSY'S REVENUE SETTLEMENT OF THE SARKARS

Sine Bussy was otherwise engaged at Hyderabad, he could not divert his attention to the administration of these parts till June 1754. After hearing the troubles with the Zamindars followed by the Marathas incursion, Bussy was asked by Dupleix to restore order in Rajahmundry and Chicacole Sarkars, to collect the *peshcush* from the Zamindars and arrange for prompt payment and return speedily to the Court of the Nizam.⁴³

Bussy left Aurangabad for the Sarkars on June 9, 1754 and met Moracin on July 5, at Bezwada and learnt from him 'the deterioration that had set in the administration of the Sarkars and the pecuniary difficulties of the French.' Vijiarama Razu had neither the inclination nor the means to pay the arrears to the French all the while, the energy and resources of the French troops under Dugrez were dissipated in an aimless manner in putting down the rebellious *Polygars*.⁴⁴

The news about the arrival of Bussy in the Sarkars had a marked effect. He left for Rajamundry via Ellore and held a *Durbar* there. Almost all the Zamindars hastened to offer their allegiance to him.

⁴⁰ Fort. St. George: Country Correspondence. from VijiaramaRazu No. 318 Dt. 26th July, 1754, Received 30-8-1754, p. 158.

⁴¹ Fort. St. George: Country correspondence.(Military) No. 326 to Vijiarama Razu, Dt. 7th Sept, 1754.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ C. Sreenivasa Chary: Op.cit, p. 279.

⁴⁴ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 81.

The arrangements made earlier by Moracin were not advantageous. Though the Sarakars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry were let out to Vijjar-ama Razu for Rs. 18 lakhs and the actual produce was less than Rs. 11 1/2 lakhs.

Bussy complained, in May 1754, that their troops were reduced to beggary and that he had had to sell his personal jewels to meet the expenses of his troops.⁴⁵

Bussy did not attempt a drastic change either in the internal administration or in the hereditary personnel employed for the collection of revenues.⁴⁶

The Zamindars "were generally permitted to enjoy under the French *sanads*, their *russoms* and *Saverums* or conditional hereditary privileges amounting to 8 to 12 per cent of the revenue collected."⁴⁷

Vijjarama Razu had resigned the posts of *Naib* for the two Sarkars. However, Bussy persuaded him to take Rajahmundry Sarkar for Rs. 13 Lakhs and he was made a *Mansabdar* of 2000 with the title, *Manna Sultan Mirza*. The Rajah of Bobbili and Peddapuram were made *Mansabdars* of 1000. Ibrahim Khan Gardi was made Deputy at Chicacole for Rs. 9 lakhs, and Ellore and Mustaphanagar were given to Hussan Ali Beg for a rent of 9 lakhs of rupees.⁴⁸

"The total yield of Rs. 31 lakhs was expected for the year 1754-55. But Bussy, in his own *Memoirs*, estimated the sum total of the agreements with the various Zamindars at Rs. 18 1/2 lakhs for the year 1754-55, a sum if fully realised would have just met the expenses of the Deccan army."⁴⁹

While returning to Aurangabad towards the close of the year 1754, Bussy had instructed for a general survey of the Sarkars and the *Hustabond* (assessment). The Zamindars were bound to maintain the public peace, defray all charges of collections and keep on foot a *sibbendy* corps or militia of 12000 infantry.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Dodwell: *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 93.

⁴⁶ Lanka Sundaram : Revenue Administration in Northern Sarkars: *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*: Vol. VII, Part-I, July, 1932, p. 34.

⁴⁷ James Grant : Op.cit, p. 14.

⁴⁸ Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive* : p. 93; Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 82

⁴⁹ C.S. Srinivasa Chary : Op.cit, p. 279; Dodwell : Op.cit, p. 93.

⁵⁰ James Grant : Op.cit, p. 14; Lanka Sundaram : Op.cit, July, 1932, p. 34.

Cap. Grant Duff wrote, in terms of praise, that during the French occupation of Sarkars, "the rent was moderate, enforced without rigours; accurate accounts were prepared, and most of the hereditary officers, if not those possessing rent-free lands, were confirmed in their property".⁵¹

Lanka Sundaram, comparing the French revenues with the collections of Hussain Ali Khan in the later period, concludes that even when allowances had been made for the presence of military expenses, the French revenue settlement of the Sarkars seemed excessive.⁵²

The Madras Council understood that Bussy could collect a handsome amount as he left the countries under the head of a well-appointed army which awed all the Zamindars in the Sarkars.⁵³

"For seven years, the completest anarchy ever recorded in the history of Hindoostan prevailed over all the five Sarkars. The forms, nay, even the remembrances of civil Government seemed to be wholly lost".⁵⁴

⁵¹ Col. G.B. Malleon : *The Decisive Battles of India : 1746-1849.* (914), p. 74, *History of the French in India*, p. 381.

⁵² Lanka Sundaram : *Op.cit*, JAHRS, Vol. vii, Part-I, July, 1932, p. 38.

Revenue in Rupees

Sarkar	Bussy's Collections	Hussain Ali Khan's Collections
Chicacole	11,50,000	5,00,000
Rajahmindry	16,75,200	11,44,000
Ellore	8,52,000	6,27,404
Mutaphanagar	6,16,000	4,46,800
Murtuzanagar	2,44,000	8,60,000

Different sources have given different accounts of revenue estimates during the French occupation of Northern Sarkars which are as follows:

Estimates of Gross Revenue (in Rupees)

1. Salabat Jung	:	to the King of France (Country Correspondence) No.174, for the year 1756, Page : 89.	32,00,000
2. Bussy	:	Memoir, Pages. 43, 44.	20,39,832
3. Madras Records	:	Military Consultations: 13th. Aug. 1764, Vol.51, P.598-605	52,37,200
4. James Grant	:	Political Survey : Firminger: Vol. iii, Pages. 51-53.	59,29,243
5. Hollingsberry	:	Nizam Ali Khan, Page. LVII	31,00,000

⁵³ Records of Fort St. George : Military Cons. Vol.51, Dt. 13th Aug. 1754, p. 598.

⁵⁴ James Grant : *Op.cit*, Vol.III, Appendix. 13.

3. PROPOSALS FOR PEACE BETWEEN TWO EUROPEAN POWERS TRADING IN INDIA

Despite the peace subsisting between England and France in Europe, they were running neck to neck in their rivalry in India. Both the Governments were anxious to arrive at an agreement with regard to their affairs in India. The Governments had, obviously, instructed their respective Companies to establish peace.

The French Company deputed one of their Directors, Duvelaer and his brother, Count du Lude, to London to meet the Secret Committee of the Company in May 1753. The peace question was also discussed between the French Ambassador, de Mirepix and the English Ministry. All parties, ofcourse, agreed on the necessity of re-establishing peace.⁵⁵

A Project of an agreement between the English and the French East India Companies was delivered to Duvelaer, on Nov 8, 1753,⁵⁶ that all hostilities should cease immediately, the Companies should confine themselves to commerce and should not take sides in any dispute arising among country powers; the orders should be passed immediately to stop all hostilities and withdraw their troops into their respective territories; all prisoners should on either side be restored; trade should be carried on the same footing as it was before 1744, and among other matters relating to the Carnatic, Divi Island and Masulipatam should be evacuated by whichever Company was in possession of them; and handover to the Nizam after demolishing all fortifications recently raised if the Nizam so desired and that without prejudice to the existing rights of other European Companies, they should be allowed to establish factories at Masulipatam but should not keep more troops there than might be agreed upon as absolutely necessary for their protection.

By this Scheme, the English aimed at striking the French predominance in Deccan. So, it was quite obvious that the French raised many objections in their 'Memorial of Observations' on the English Scheme, dated Feb 4, 1754.⁵⁷ The French were willing to make sacrifices but not at the cost of their dignity. The French refused to withdraw their troops which amounted to the instantaneous surrender of all their conquests. So, they presented a fresh Project of Convention on Feb 12, 1754,⁵⁸ in which the French accepted to evacuate Masulipatam and Divi, but, they wanted to reserve themselves

⁵⁵ Dodwell : *Dupleix & Clive* : (1920), pp. 76 & 77.

⁵⁶ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches* : 1753-54, pp. 234 & 235.

⁵⁷ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, pp. 234 & 235.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* : pp. 237 & 239.

all the other concessions made to them in the Deccan, and they proposed the retrocession of the several territories to the native powers should be made by the two Companies simultaneously after the destruction of all new fortifications.

The English, in their 'Observations on the French Project for Treaty', could not admit the French claim of over 12,734 Sq. Miles round Masulipatam.⁵⁹ The English preferred continuance of the war if the French confined to their old limits.

In fact, the main objective of the English was to evacuate the French from Masulipatam, the occupation of which entitled the latter to bring Northern Sarkars into their fold and exercise control on the Nizam.

On the other hand, the French were prepared to lose the right to occupy Masulipatam, Divi island with the surrounding countries provided the Subedar of Deccan acceded to the Treaty.⁶⁰

The French and the English Companies lacked sincerity in their intentions to make peace. All the while, they tried to bargain for advantage at the cost of the other.

While these peace negotiations were going on between the two Companies, the developments in India were taking altogether a different turn. While the French were losing ground in the Carnatic, Dupleix was recalled in 1754 before he could establish the French firmly in their recent acquisitions.

The English were intriguing with the Marathas against Salabat Jung so that they could strike at the root of the French predominance. They also prepared a plan for the preservation of the English Settlements in India on Dec 6, 1754.⁶¹ In this plan, the Company agents at Bombay and Madras were advised to concert measures in conjunction with the neighbouring Nawabs and especially with the Marathas in order to reduce Salabat Jung. They hoped that the Nobles, lately dispossessed of their employment by the French, would certainly join them. They planned that the Bombay army should join the Marathas in marching on Deccan, whereas, in Carnatic, a defensive policy was to be followed. To justify their attack, the English should demand

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, pp. 237 & 239.

⁶¹ Dodwell : *Op.cit*, 1754-55, pp. 20 & 21.

of Salabat Jung the restitution of Divi and the factories of Masulipatam etc. To add weight to their demand, the English squadron might lie off Divi on the East Coast. With this, they expected that either peace might be restored or the French might be rooted out of Deccan.

Irrespective of their intrigues against each other, Saunders, Governor of the English Company at Madras and Godeheu, the French Governor, however, signed the Convention of Sadras at the close of the year, 1754,⁶² which was later confirmed in the Treaty of Peace in 1755.

According to this Treaty,"the two Companies were; forever, to renounce all Moorish Government and dignity, were never to interfere in any differences that all might arise between the princes of the country and that all places excepting such as should be stipulated to retain the possession of each Company, were to be delivered up to the Government of Indostan.....If the English possessions in the kingdom of Tanjore and in the Carnatic together, were of more value than the French possessions in these countries, then the French were to be allowed on equivalent for this difference in a settlement to be choosen between the river Gondecama (Gundlakamma) and Nizampatam. The districts near Masulipatam were to be ascertained of equal value with island of Divi and of these districts and the island a partition was to be made as the two nations could agree in the choice, to the nothward of the districts of Masulipatam, in the Rajahmundry and Chicacole countries, each nation were to have four or five subordinate factories or simple houses of trade, without territorial revenues, chooses so as not to interfere with one another"⁶³

Though the Convention was much against the territorial interests of the French, if the articles were put to practice, it seems, no side had taken up steps for its implementation. Not a French garrison was withdrawn. Bussy, still, remained with Salabat Jung on the same terms as before. Every thing that Dupleix had contrived to secure was retained; and the French continued to enjoy territories alleged to have produced Rs. 68 lakhs.

In addition to this, they were relieved of the burden of the war which the English had imposed on them. Godeheu, thus, obtained all the material advantage which Dupleix had won, and escaped from the great disadvantage of the Dupleix's policy which placed the Company in a dilemma whether to give up its acquisitions or send such a force as would effectively break English resistance.

⁶² Ibid. : Vol.II, p.250; Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements & Sanads*, pp. 8-16, *Account of the War in India*, Vol.X, pp. 71-76.

⁶³ Orme : *Op.cit*, p. 375.

The day before the treaty was signed, Bussy got a letter from Godeheu, that "you (Bussy) need not be anxious about anything you see in it (treaty) for it is only intended to gain time and place the Company in a position to adopt the wisest course when it is informed of the actual state of its affairs, so far from surrendering any thing, we must put ourselves in a position not to lose an inch of territory."⁶⁴

Though Godeheu's diplomacy was not candid, it accorded very precisely with the French interests and enabled them to enjoy the territory which was acquired by Dupleix, till the out-break of war in 1756.

4. THE IMPACT OF THE TREATY OF SADRAS ON NORTHERN SARKARS

Bussy, after settling the affairs in Northern Sarkars arrived in Aurangabad in Jan, 1755; with the permission of the Governor, Godeheu, who saw no harm in the French maintaining normal relations with their Indian allies, as the Convention of Sadras was yet to be ratified by the respective Governments in Europe. But, the Convention had created suspicion in the minds of the native allies. The anti-French party under Shah Nawaz Khan and Ibrahim Ali Khan had become very active and poisoned the ears of Salabat Jung who forced Bussy to follow him to lay siege to Srirangapatam in March 1755. The Rajah of Mysore was an ally of the French. But, Bussy, by a master stroke of diplomacy, was successful in bringing out an agreement between the Nizam and the Rajah of Mysore.

As this attempt was foiled, the anti-French party at the Nizam's Court designed another expedition by the Nizam in alliance with Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao against the Nawab of Savanur and Murari Rao Ghorpade⁶⁵ in March 1756. Bussy was very much blamed by the hostile party that he was lenient towards Murari Rao. However, Bussy captured the Fort and arranged peace between the hitherto contending parties, the Nizam and Murari Rao.

Shah Nawaz Khan and Jaffer Ali Khan were very much disappointed with these incidents. They determined to work with perseverance until Bussy was dismissed. Shah Nawaz Khan justified his anti-French feelings in his letter to Dupleix.⁶⁶ He complained about Bussy's galling interference in administrative matters. Referring to, indirectly the grant of Northern Sarkars

⁶⁴ Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive* : Beginning of an Empire, p. 82

⁶⁵ Murari Rao Ghorpade was a Maratha Sardar in Gooty and an ally of the French who owed him a sum of Rs. 14 lakhs.

⁶⁶ Shah Nawaz Khan's Letter to Dupleix as presented by Yusuf Hussain Khan in *Deccan History Congress*.

to the French, Shah Nawaz Khan observed that it was against reason and expediency to give away portion of the state which 'was like a mole on the face of Deccan'. He strongly felt that it could be in the fitness of things to give them (Native Government) full authority as a free agent to do what was expedient in the circumstances.

Shah Nawaz Khan and Jaffer Ali Khan were inducing Salabat Jung to dismiss Bussy from service in the summer of 1756.⁶⁷ While Shah Nawaz Khan had enlisted the support of Marathas, Jaffer Ali Khan implored the English to send their 'troops with war-like stores' alongwith Moulvi Hamiduddin, 'to join the service in the court.'⁶⁸ He suggested to the English to send their troops through Ongole, Vinukonda, Chintapalli, Chelkur to Golkonda.⁶⁹

The Rajah of Ongole who was an ally of the English, was requested to assist the English troops on their way to Golkonda.⁷⁰ He responded favourably and advised Jaffer Ali to request the other Zamindars also in seperate letters, for assistance.⁷¹

The English Governor at Madras, Pigot, declared that the alliance with the Nizam might secure the Company 'all the advantages desired'.⁷² But, the troubles in Bengal prevented them from sending troops to the Deccan. Robert Clive and Kirpatrick were sent to Bengal at the head of the English forces. So, the English were forced to postpone the replacement of the French in the Deccan.

Despite unfavourable circumstances, Bussy succeeded in getting himself reinstated in his old position on Aug 20, 1756 and Salabat Jung restored to him all his former titles and honours.⁷³

But, soon, troubles started in the Northern Sarkars since all Zamindars excepting Vijiarama Razu refused to pay their dues to the French on the receipt of letters from Shah Nawaz Khan, the *Divan*, at the time of the dismissal of Bussy.⁷⁴ Even Bussy's own Deputy at Chicacole, Ibrahim Khan,

⁶⁷ C. Srinivasa Chary : Op.cit, p. 344.

⁶⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) 1756, No. 193, from Jaffer Ali Khan, Dt. 16th, Recd. 25th July, 1756, p. 99.

⁶⁹ Ibid. : Lr.No. 192, from Jaffer Ali, Dt.10th, Recd. 25th July, 1756, p. 99.

⁷⁰ Ibid. : Lr.No.199 to Rajah of Ongole, Dt. 29th July, 1756, p. 101:

⁷¹ Ibid. : Lr.No.249 from Rajah of Ongole, Recd. 31st Aug. 1756.

⁷² Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 102.

⁷³ Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 99-100; *Madras Despatches, 1754-1765*, p. 68.

⁷⁴ Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 100.

disavowed his authority.⁷⁵ Ibrahim Khan declared himself that he was a subject to Salabat Jung, as soon as, he heard that the French army was detained at Hyderabad.⁷⁶

Vijiarama Razu, judging with more sagacity than Ibrahim Khan, ordered his agents at Golkonda to assure Bussy of his fidelity and the regular payment of his tributes; and one night, "when little expected and most wanted, a man came to Char Mahal and delivered to Bussy a message from Vijiarama Razu and a sum of gold as much as he could carry concealed under his garments. It was sufficient for the present want and the same man afterwards furnished more as (and when) necessary".⁷⁷

Vijiarama Razu invited Bussy to the Sarkars to punish the recalcitrant Zamindars, one of them being his age old enemy, the Rajah of Bobbili (Ranaga Rao).⁷⁸

On Bussy's recommendations, Vijiarama Razu was made a mansabdar of 4000 and the title of *Bahadur* was presented to him by the Nizam, Salabat Jung.⁷⁹

Though Vijiarama Razu was on the side of the French, he continued his friendly relations with the English. He maintained great friendship with the English at Vizagapatam and he was receiving supplies of gunpowder, of course, on payment from the English.⁸⁰

The English at Madras were assisting him in his trade there.⁸¹ He was also conveying secretly court news to the English while assuring them of his friendship with them.⁸²

On hearing the success of Bussy at Hyderabad and the restoration of Sarkars to the French, Vijiarama Razu informed the English that he wished

⁷⁵ C. Srinivasa Chary : Op.cit, p. 344.

⁷⁶ Orme : Op.cit, Vol.II, p. 103.

⁷⁷ Ibid. : Vol. II, p. 103.

⁷⁸ Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 99-100.

⁷⁹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Mili. Dept.) Lr.No.335 from Vijiarama Razu, Dt. 25th Nov. 1756, p. 446.

⁸⁰ Ibid. : Lr.No.103, from Vijiarama Razu, Dt. 8th Jan., Recd. 1st May, 1756, p. 48

⁸¹ Fort St. George : Country Correspondence No.117, Vijiarama Razu, Dt. 15th May, 1756, p. 55.

⁸² Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Mili.) No.205 from Rajah recieved 3rd Aug. 1756, pp. 103 & 104.

to cultivate Friendship with the French and also with the English at the same time.⁸³ The change in his policy towards the English was due to the helplessness of the English and of the French predominance in the Deccan. So, he showed and also proved his loyalty by sending his troops to assist Moracin to suppress the rebellion of the Rajahmundry *sepyos*. He wished to take the fullest advantage of his relations with the French by punishing his enemy, the Rajah of Bobbili, with the help of the French.

5. BUSSY IN THE SARKARS TO RESTORE ORDER

Bussy, on hearing the troubles in the Northern Sarkars, took leave of Salabat Jung on Oct 10, 1756 and left for the Sarkars with Law.⁸⁴

Bussy arrived at Rajahmundry in the third week of Dec 1756 with the object of collecting the balance due in the Sarkars and providing for the future regular payment of dues.⁸⁵

The Mackenzie's Kaifiyats⁸⁶ of Vizianagaram speak that, on hearing the march of Bussy into Kalinga (Chicacole) Sarkar, Vijiarama Razu intended to oppose Bussy and he even attempted to make friendship with the Zamindar of Bobbili. But, Ranga Rao was not prepared to join hands with Vijiarama Razu. Then Vijiarama Razu, taking an oath to destroy the fort of Bobbili, went to Rajahmundry to submit himself to the French authority. Vijiarama Razu was said to have won over Bussy to his side by bribing Dubasi Lakshamanna to report in his favour. Raja Ranga Rao did not visit Bussy because Vijiarama Razu was already camping there.

In the Kaifiyat,⁸⁷ it is mentioned that the Rajah of Bobbili was maintaining good relations with Moracin at Masulipatam and the Rajah tried to get a recommendatory letter to Bussy, in his favour. Vijiarama Razu could succeed in his designs by winning over Hyderjung, the *Diwan* of Bussy, with a bribe of Rs. 3 lakhs.

On the arrival of Bussy at Rajahmundry, all the Zamindars of

⁸³ Ibid. : Country Correspondence, No. 320 from Vijiarama Razu, received 10th Nov. 1756.

⁸⁴ Dodwell : Madras Despatches, 1756-57, p. 90.

⁸⁵ C. Sreenivasa Chary : Op.cit, p. 345.

⁸⁶ Mackenzie's Kifiyat, Vizianagaram, Vol.25, Vol. V, of Telugu Sahitya Akademi, p. 36-41

Rajahmundry and Chicacole excepting the Rajah of Bobbili, paid their homage to Bussy their leige Lord.⁸⁸

Rajah of Vizianagaram reached Rajahmundry with 40,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry.⁸⁹ But Orme mentions that the Rajah arrived with 10,000 men accompanied by several other Indian chiefs.⁹⁰

Besides Vijarama Razu of Vizianagaram, the following Zamindars visited Bussy at Rajahmundry to pay their obedience. Jagannatha Razu of Kakarlapudi, Ramabhadra Payaka Razu of Satyavaram; Hubli Kashipathi Raju of Sringavaram Kota; Raja Vatsavaya Rayapa Razu of Peddapuram; Linga Bhupathi of Madgul; Mandapathi Raghunatha Razu of Ponnamanda etc.⁹¹ So, the absence of Raja Ranga Rao was conspicuous.

Ibrahim Khan who had revolted against the authority of the French, fled on hearing the news of Bussy's arrival and took refuge in the Fort of Bobbili. When the Fort of Bobbili was about to be seized, Ibrahim Khan left the Fort on the advice of Rajah Ranga Rao and also of Vijarama Razu. Later, he reached Aurangabad and submitted himself to the Nizam.⁹² This shows that there were plans to oppose Bussy in the Sarkars under the leadership of Ibrahim Khan. The Rajah of Vizianagaram could not get help from his English friends in time owing to the outbreak of war in Bengal and also due to the seven years war in Europe when the French and the English were fighting against each other. So, the Rajah might have changed his mind and decided to submit to Bussy.

Bussy's recent success over Salabat Jung and his appearance in the Sarkars had scared the Zamindars who withdrew their support to Ibrahim Khan. Like his predecessor Jaffer Ali Khan, Ibrahim Khan also failed to free the Northern Sarkars from the foreign yoke.

⁸⁷ Katakam Kaifiyat as mentioned in Gurujada Srirama Murthy : *Ravu Vamsiya Charitramu* (Telugu) pp. 69-72; It is not confirmed by anyother authority that the Rajah of Bobbili was in good terms with the French at Masulipatam and tried to influence Bussy with Moracin's interference. But, Ananda Ranga Pillai, in his diary, refers to the preparations of Ibrahim Khan with the help of Rajah Vijiyarama Razu and Ranga Rao.

⁸⁸ Dittakavi Narayana : *Rangaraya Charitramu*.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Orme : Op.cit, Vol.II, p. 254.

⁹¹ Katakam Kaifiyat, G. Sreerama Murthy : *Ravu Vamsiya Charitra* (Tel.), p. 69-72.

⁹² C. Sreenivasa Chary : Op.cit, p. 340.

6. THE BATTLE OF BOBBILI

Unfortunately, one of Bussy's detachments was cut off in the woods in the neighbourhood of Bobbili. The Rajah of Bobbili turned down the proposal of Bussy to give up their ancestral Zamindary for other lands of greater value and extent in another part of the Sarkars. So, Bussy, out of anger, marched to the Fort of Bobbili and seized it on Jan 24, 1757. Robert Orme gave a very graphic picture of the defences of Bobbili. Raja Ranga Rao and his men fought bravely and were killed in the battle while the women conducted *Jauhar*. The tragedy of Bobbili was a momentous historical event in the annals of Northern Sarkars.⁹³

Venkata Rangarao, the son of the deceased Ranga Rao, was then a boy of five years. He was, however, favoured by Bussy who confirmed him to the Jagir that he proposed earlier to his father. Thus, Venkata Ranga Rao was given Kothapalli as *Jagir* under the protection of Vengala Rayudu, a brother of Ranga Rao. But after the death of Vengala Rayudu in 1756, Sitharama Razu, the then *Diwan* of Vizianagaram, occupied Kavita, Rajam and Kothapalli and imprisoned Venkata Ranga Rao. He, however, escaped from Vizianagaram and went to Hyderabad. In 1794, he was reinstated to his ancestral Estate through the intervention of the Nizam.⁹⁴

The fall of Bobbili taught the other Zamindars a lesson and all ideas of rebellion on the East Coast ceased. Bussy was able to collect Rs. 41 lakhs this year - a third more than what was agreed upon in 1756.⁹⁵ Bussy appointed Law to the Governorship of Ellore and Rajahmundry.

Vijarama Razu was killed by Ranga Rao's men in his own tent on the 3rd night after the fall of Bobbili (Jan 27, 1757). Bussy installed Ananda Razu, a son of Vijarama Razu's elder brother, to his ancestral Estate along with Bobbili. But, he was disappointed with the arrangements of Bussy and later turned hostile to the French. The reasons for turning hostile to the French might be due to the high handed behaviour of Bussy in depriving Ananda Razu of the management of Chicacole and Rajahmundry Sarkars.

On hearing about Vijarama Razu's death, the English sent a condolence message⁹⁶ to Ananda Razu and appealed to him to continue friendship.

⁹³ Orme : Op.cit, p. 254-260; Regani : Op.cit, pp. 104-106; C. Sreenivasa Chary : Op.cit, p. 340-343; Dodwell : *Dupleix & Clive*, pp. 99-100; Meckenzie's *Kaifiyat's*, V.R. Varma : *Peddapuram Charitram*, pp. 95-100; Dittakavi : *Rangaraju Charitramu*.

⁹⁴ G. Sreerama Murthy : *Sri Ravu Vamsiya Charitra* (1902), pp. 85-93.

⁹⁵ Dodwell : *Dupleix & Clive*, p. 100.

⁹⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Lr.No.93 to Anandarazu, Dt. 23rd March, 1757.

The English warned him to be cautious in his dealings with the French.

Early in June 1757, Bussy directed Law to take possession of all the English Ports, Vizagapatam, Melapalli, Kapulapaitem, Kotagiri and Bandamurlanka at the mouth of the river Godavari and ordered the white flag to be hoisted in those places.

Law was assisted by Rajah of Polavaram, Mangapati Dev; Nujiividu Appa Rao; Mogiliturru Venkata Razu; Peddapuram Jagapati Razu etc. He captured the English factories at Melapalli and Kapulapaitem and hoisted the French flag.

Vizagapatam was also occupied by Bussy and Law by the end of June. Earlier in May, Modaplham, Nellipalli and Bandamur Lanka were captured. Thus, the coast-line from Motupalli to Vizagapatam came into the hands of the French with much less effort and the English remained helpless spectators as their men were unable to return from Bengal. All their efforts to continue trade peacefully were foiled by the French.

After having settled the affairs of the Sarkars to his satisfaction and having successfully expelled the English by demolishing their settlements in all ports of Northern Sarkars, Bussy left for Aurangabad in Jan 1758 on the receipt of news that the Nizam was in troubles.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Dodwell: *Madras Despatches*: for the year 1757, pp.99, 102 and 105; Op.cit, Orme: Vol.II, p. 263; Op.cit., C. Srinivasa Chary: pp. 351-354.

EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH

Soon after the departure of Bussy, Ananda Razu made efforts to expel the French. He wrote to the English on Feb 4, 1758, that Bussy had come to know about his good relations with the English by seizing some of his friendly letters at Vizagapatam and conceived enmity against him. Bussy exhorted money from him more than what had been settled. Bussy left Chicacole appointing Anwarul Khan with a body of 500 *sepoys*. He felt it was the proper time to expel the French if Madras Council were to assist him with some troops.¹

Ananda Razu also wrote to Clive in Bengal acquainting him of the situation in the Sarkars. He appealed to the Madras Council to write to Clive to send a detachment of 500 soldiers and 1000 *sepoys* with a *Sardar*.²

But, he deplored that there was no response from the English. He had already gathered together all the Zamindars of Ichapuram, Ellore and Rajahmundry to clear the country of the French. He was irritated to see the negligence of the English because of whom he earned the displeasure of the French. He requested the Council to send atleast 200 soldiers.³

The Select Committee of the Company also felt that it was an opportune time to expel the French as the French force on the coast was just enough to enable them to keep possession of their grants in the North and the revenues of which would, in a few years, come into the treasury unless they (English) would raise a commotion among the Rajahs there.⁴

¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Mili. Dept.) Lr.No.37 from Ananda Razu, Recd. 4th Feb. 1756, p. 16.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. : Lr.No.97 from Ananda Razu, Recd. 17th May, 1758.

⁴ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, 1758, Dt. 13th Mar, p. 143.

So, the English at Madras sent a letter of appreciation to Ananda Razu for his valour and wisdom and assured him of sending the assistance when the troops arrived from Europe.⁵

Being impatient of the delay in getting the English help, Ananda Razu sent a detachment and took the Fort of Chicacole imprisoning the *Naib* there and hoisted the English colours on April 11, 1758. He wanted to march to the Ichapore country and hoped to clear the country of the French within 10 or 15 days and then, he planned to go against Rajahmundry and Ellore.⁶

The French Governor, Lally, was totally uninterested in the Deccan affairs. So, he wrote to Bussy, after reaching Hyderabad on July 15, 1758 who had no option but to leave Hyderabad on July 18, 1758, assuring the Nizam, Salabat Jung, that he would return soon, but that was never to be.

Bussy met de'Conflans at Bezwada on Aug 3, 1758 and handed over the charge of the Sarkars to him and set out for Pondicherry via Ongole. With the departure of Bussy, the prestige and power of the French waned.

1. OCCUPATION OF VIZAGAPATAM

Ananda Razu of Vizianagaram, single-handedly occupied Vizagapatam and very soon, he cleared Chicacole Sarkar of the French even before the English sent their help. He invited the English to reestablish their settlements in Vizagapatam.⁷ John Andrews was immediately sent by the Madras Council to Vizagapatam.

On hearing that Conflans was marching against him, the Rajah wrote an urgent appeal to Clive in Bengal for assistance.

The Bengal Council was not in favour of sending assistance to a rebel chief like Ananda Razu, leaving Bengal in danger on the event of a threat of invasion by the Mughal Government and besides this, the Murshidabad court was also hostile to the English. But Robert Clive took an exception to these views. He was induced by the prospect of a brilliant and promised results from the letters of Ananda Razu and took an independent decision to send assistance to Ananda Razu.⁸

⁵ Records of Fort St. George: Country Correspondence (Mil. Dept.) Lr.No. nil to Ananda Razu, Dt. 31st May, 1758.

⁶ *Ibid.* : Lr.No.110 from Ananda Razu, Recd. 13th June, 1758, p. 47.

⁷ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, 1758, p. 166.

⁸ Col. G.B. Malleon : *The Decisive Battles of India 1746-1849*, p.78; Briggs : *The Nizam* (1861), p. 178.

Meanwhile, Nizam Ali, brother of Salabat Jung implored Clive to assist him to subvert the latter's Government in his favour.⁹

He told the Bengal Council that the expedition to Northern Sarkars might succeed in expelling the French from those Sarkars. He anticipated that the English might not only procure those valuable districts on the Eastern Coast but also gain predominant position in the Deccan which was, hitherto, being enjoyed by the French.¹⁰

Clive contemplated to lead the expedition by himself, but, on further consideration, he commissioned Lt. Col. Francis Forde, overruling the advice of the Calcutta Council, to undertake it and wrote to Madras that their job might be done even if this expedition threw the country into such confusion as to prevent their enemies from collecting any revenues.¹¹

Col. Forde left Calcutta on Oct 12, at the head of 500 Europeans, 2000 *Sepoys* and 18 guns and reached Vizagapatam on Oct 20, 1758.¹²

It was not possible for the Madras Council to send their troops owing to Lally's designs on Madras. So, they informed Ananda Razu to act jointly with Col. Forde who was sent from Bengal.¹³

2. TREATY BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE RAJAH OF VIZIANAGARAM

Col. Forde, on his arrival from Bengal, met John Andrews and Cap. Calliaud. They, unitedly, went to Kasim Kota where Ananda Razu encamped at that time. As John Andrews was known intimately to Ananda Razu, it was mainly due to his efforts an agreement was reached with the Rajah on Nov 2, 1758.

The treaty¹⁴ stipulated, "that all plunder should be equally divided, that all the countries which might be conquered should be delivered to the Rajah who was to collect the revenues; but, that the sea-ports and towns at the mouths of the rivers should belong to the Company with the revenues of the districts annexed to them, that no treaty for the disposal or restitution whether

⁹ Lanka Sudaram : Op.cit., JAHRS, Vol. VI, Part 2, Oct. 1931, p. 90.

¹⁰ Col. G.B. Halleson : *The Decisive Battles of India*, p. 78.

¹¹ Lanka Sudaram : *Idem.*: JAHRS, Vol. VI Part 2, Dt. Oct., 1931, pp. 90 & 91.

¹² Col. G.B. Malleson : *History of the French In India*, p. 548.

¹³ Dodwell : *Dupleix & Clive* : pp. 175-76; Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondences (Mili.) Lr.No. 204 to Anandarazu, pp. 93 & 94.

¹⁴ Orme : Op.cit, Vol. II, p. 375.

of the Rajah's or the English possessions, should be made without the consent of both the parties; that the Rajah should supply Rs.50,000 a month for the expenses of the army and Rs.6,000 for the particular expenses of the officers to commence from the arrival at Vizagapatam. Orme hinted at the differences between Col. Forde and Ananda Razu even before this treaty was signed.

The treaty aimed at the acquisition of all strategic places for the English while Ananda Razu should be satisfied with the title. Bengal Council disapproved of this policy of Andrews and expressed that they preferred to play the role of auxilliary power.

Conflans who was at Masulipatam did not take immediate steps after hearing about Ananda Razu's rebellion in Chicacole. Instead, he allowed passing of time writing to Lally for help. Later, he moved towards Rajahmundry with much procrastination which proved fatal to the French power in the Deccan.

Conflans, by his slow march towards the place of rebellion, leisurely proceeded and captured Rajahmundry, thus, giving time to facilitate the plans of the English.¹⁵

The Rajah and the English marched against the French who were sighted at Gollaprolu on Dec 3, 1758. The English encamped at the village of Chandurthi and the French camp was only 4 miles away. The French selected Peddapur and entrenched there.¹⁶

3. THE BATTLE OF CHANDURTHI

Conflans had under him 500 Europeans, 6,000 *sepoys* and 500 cavalry while the English force consisted of 470 Europeans, 1900 *sepoys* while the Rajah brought alongwith him, 500 cavalry and 500 infantry and some local tribes with him.¹⁷

The English took the offensive and the Battle of Chandurthi went in their favour on Dec 7, 1758.¹⁸ The French fled from the field and shut themselves up in the Fort of Rajahmundry. As Cap. Knox pressed them further, the French fled to Masulipatam and the Fort of Rajahmundry was occupied by the English.

¹⁵ G.B. Malleson : *History of the French in India*, p. 548.

¹⁶ G.B. Malleson : *The Decisive Battles of India*, p. 81.

¹⁷ V.R. Jagapathi Varma : *Peddapura Samasthana Charitramu*, p. 103

¹⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. 7A, pp. 26-29; Lr.No.36 from Ananda Razu, Recd. 13th Mar. 1759.

Col. Forde wanted to chase the French out of Masulipatam without causing any delay. But, the differences between Col. Forde and the Rajah prevented him from doing so.

The real cause of the difference between Col. Forde and the Rajah is not known. Raya Jagapathi Varma mentions that the Rajah did not actively participate in the Battle of Chandurthi and he kept aloof from the field. When the English were marching to Rajahmundry pursuing the French, the Rajah engaged himself in fighting a petty quarrel on the country side.

Mahipathi Raju and Niladri Rao of Pittapur who were then at Samarlakota and Vatsavayi Jagapathi Razu of Peddapuram were prominent local chiefs who fought on the side of the French in the Battle of Chandurthi.

Ananda Gajapathi (Ananda Razu) had an old rivalry with Jagapathi Razu, though they were brought up together in Vizianagaram by the elder Vijiarama Razu.

On the approach of Ananda Razu, Jagapathi Razu fled from Peddapuram. Peddapuram Estate was, for sometime, under Vizianagaram. Later, Ananda Razu reached Rajahmundry and found to his surprise that the Fort was already occupied by the English.

Col. Forde was very much disappointed with the behaviour of the Rajah and recrossed the river Godavari out of disgust. So, Ananda Razu, being afraid of him, fled into the Manyam.¹⁹

Ananda Razu failed to give money as stipulated in the recent treaty. He had to pay Rs. 56,000. Besides this, the Rajah was to pay off a loan of Rs. 20,000 which Col. Forde had, previously, advanced to him. While Col. Forde suffered from paucity of funds, the Rajah declined to pay any money.²⁰

On his arrival at Rajahmundry, the Rajah demanded that the Fort should be given to him according to the treaty. But, Col. Forde did not hand over the Fort. Under these circumstances, the Rajah might have refused to fulfil his obligations.²¹

¹⁹ V.R. Jagapathi Varma : *Peddapura Charitramu*, pp. 109-111; Orme : *Op.cit*, Vol.II, p. 472; Orme also says that the Rajah delayed to meet Col. Forde after the defeat of the French at Peddapur.

²⁰ Col. G.B. Malleson : *The Decisive Battles of India*, p. 89.

²¹ R. Subba Rao : *Some Aspects of the History of Northern Sarkars, Deccan History Congress*, 1945.

But, Ananda Razu, in his letter to Madras,²² gave an entirely different account. According to him, the Colonel and himself took a joint offensive against the French at Chandurthi on Dec 7, 1758 and after 3-hour tense war, the French fled helter-skelter. There were 500 casualties on the French side and 400 on Rajah's side. They marched jointly to Rajahmundry on the following day itself and the French fled to Masulipatam. Colonel crossed the river to pursue them while the Rajah took the Fort under his control. From the other side, Colonel sent some Arabs to keep in his service, but he turned them out. The gate keeper did not allow them in without his permission. Colonel was displeased with this affair and demanded the Rajah to deliver the *Subedar* (the Head of his personal guards) upto him, who stopped the Arabs. The Rajah did not comply with his request and asked the Colonel to forgive him (the *Subedar*) for his (Rajah's) sake, Colonel, on the contrary, arrested his *Hircars* (message carriers or spies).

On the next morning, when the Colonel recrossed the river, the Rajah thinking that it might not be advisable to stay there as the circumstances might warrant a fight, retired to Woomekky, a hilly place under Totapalli Manyam, with a design to go away to Vizianagaram.

But, this reason does not sound true as Col. Forde might not stoop so low as to quarrel on such a petty issue with his ally who was the most powerful chief in those parts.

In the latter half of the letter, the Rajah expressed his grievance that the Fort was still in the hands of the English and that he could not collect the monthly expenses of Rs. 56,000 for the troops unless he occupied it. He also complained the unfriendly behaviour of Col. Forde to Clive at Bengal and said that Col. Forde sent guards to all ports including those belonging to the Nizam and, thus, broke the original agreement between them.²³

Another reason for their differences might be due to the fact that the Rajah was not interested in subjugation of other countries beyond Rajahmundry to its south at his cost and so he was not prepared to take pains in assisting the English in expelling the French from the Sarkars of Ellore, Mustaphanagar and Murtuzanagar. Even if they could occupy these areas, the Rajah thought that he might not retain them for long without getting the approval of the Nizam.²⁴

²² Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Mil. Dept.) Vol. 7A, pp. 26-29, Lr.No.36 from Ananda Razu recd. Dt. 13th March, 1759 (Partially damaged)

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ On close examination of the amended treaty as shown above, it may be understood that the Rajah was prepared to share the revenues of the country to the Nizam South-West of the river Godavari with the English.

So, the differences between the Rajah and the Colonel, were due to fiscal and political considerations but not certain petty discourtesies. However, these were settled on the intervention of Andrews, Chief of Vizagapatam, who arranged a meeting of the Rajah and Col. Forde at Peddapuram and the friendship between them was cemented.²⁵

Andrews altered the earlier treaty "that whatever sums the Rajah might furnish should be considered as a loan; and that the revenues of all the countries which might be reduced on the other side of Godavari excepting such as (those) belonged to the French either by establishment or grant in propriety, should be equally divided between him and the English."²⁶

Ananda Razu did not exhibit political sagacity by raising the English from auxilliary status to the position equal to him in the Sarkars. The Bengal Council proposed to send money for the expenses of the expedition if the Rajah failed to bear the cost of the expedition as per the agreement of Nov 2, 1758, between the English and the Rajah.

Ananda Razu, after coming to an understanding with Col. Forde, crossed the river Godavari and reached Ellore on Feb 9, 1759. But, the Rajah still complained to the English at Madras that Col. Forde, even after the second agreement, had not made over the Fort and town of Rajahmundry, though his guard was kept in the Fort. Forde proposed to settle these affairs only after occupying Masulipatam.²⁷

Col. Forde was justified in his action as it could not be construed a total extirpation of the French unless their strategic hold, Masulipatam, had fallen.

Ananda Razu, in fact, was not prepared to leave his country and go a long distance on an expedition on account of the outbreak of French troubles in the Chicacole Sarkar. On the request of 'Conflans, Salabat Jung wrote to the Zamindars of these Sarkars not to suffer the French and not to associate with the Rajah of Vizianagaram, a rebel Zamindar. Taking this as a privilege, Narain Dev, the Zamindar of Ganjam, who was an old enemy of the house of Pusapati, had plundered Chicacole and collected revenue. As usual, the Zamindars of Rajahmundry found this as an opportunity to evade payment

²⁵ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. 7A, Yr. 1759, pp. 36-39, Lr. from Ananda Razu recd. Dt. 9th, Recd. 18th Mar, 1759 (Partially damaged)

²⁶ G.B. Malleson : *The Decisive Battles of India*, p. 89; Orme : Op.cit, Vol. II, p. 472; Lanka Sundaram :Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol. VI, Part II, Oct. 1931, p. 92

²⁷ Idem.

to Ananda Razu.²⁸ Under these circumstances, Ananda Razu might have followed Col. Forde quite unwillingly.

As Col. Forde was a servant of the Bengal Council, the Madras Governor had no jurisdiction over him. To the protests of Ananda Razu, they could only advise him to maintain good relations with him (Col. Forde) lest a state of confusion and disturbances, as before, might help the enemy.²⁹

The French settlement at Narsapur had a contingent of 100 Europeans and 300 or 400 *sepoys*. Capt. Knox was sent to seize the place. He received the hearty co-operation of the local Zamindar, the Rajah of Mogilitturu.

The French deserted the place and fled to Masulipatam.³⁰ After subduing Narsapur, the joint army of the Colonel and the Rajah reached Masulipatam on March 6, 1759. But, Col. Forde was handicapped due to shortage of powerful cannon and the troubles from his own army since the payments of the army had fallen in arrears.

The army was kept inactive for more than a fortnight waiting for their heavy guns to come down from Vizagapatam. On March 8, the English army mutinied demanding the immediate payment of their fee and prize-money due to them. They insisted that, when Masulipatam was taken, the whole booty should be divided among the troops instead of half being reserved according to the Company's instructions.³¹ To make the situation still worse, the news came that Salabat Jung was marching towards Sarkars to curb the disturbances over there. Col. Forde, however, tided over the difficulty by convincing his army and opened the batteries.

It was learnt that Salabat Jung had come very close and arrived at Ibrahimpatam near Bezwada, 44 miles from Masulipatam. The Nizam sent an express message to Ananda Razu ordering him to quit the English Camp and join his standard.³² Besides this, the news also broke out that Lally, the French Governor had despatched a French detachment under the command of Moracin to rescue the French who were shut up in the Fort of Masulipatam.³³

²⁸ Records of Fort St. George: Country Correspondence (Mil. Dept.) Vol. 7A, pp. 36-39.

²⁹ Ibid. : To Ananda Razu, Dt. 30th March, 1759, pp. 49-50.

³⁰ V.R. Jagapathi Verma : *Peddapura Charitra*, p. 177.

³¹ Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 177.

³² G.B. Malleon : *Decisive Battles of India* (1914), p. 96.

³³ C. Sreenivasa Chary : *Op.cit*, p. 403.

4 THE FALL OF MASULIPATAM

Col. Forde laid siege to the Fort in a haste and resolved to take the place by an assault. On the night between 7 and 8 April, the allied forces broke the defences of the French and took the Fort. The Colonel took the Frenchmen as prisoners with all their stores and necessaries.³⁴ To win over Salabat Jung, they flew Salabat Jung's flag on the fort.³⁵

Col. Malleon, rightly, remarked, "Kondur and Masulipatam rank among the decisive battles of India. Few battles have produced more brilliant results. If Kaveripauk was the turning point in the contest between the French and the English for the possession of Southern India, south of Krishna, the capture of Masulipatam most assuredly secured for the authority they now command and the influence they now exercise in the provinces lying between that river and the Vindhya range."³⁶

The loss of Masulipatam was a serious blow to the French. 'Leyrit wrote to Lally at Wandiwash that his recall of Bussy and Moracin had lost for the French, the support of Salabat Jung and entirely ruined the French influence in Deccan and the Northern Sarkars.³⁷

The English at Madras advised Ananda Razu on March 30, 1759 (even before the fall of Masulipatam) to send his ambassador along with that of Col. Forde to Salabat Jung to pay homage to the Nizam and also to arrive at an agreement with the Nizam on reasonable terms to manage the Northern Sarkars which were recently freed from the French occupation. They also advised him to keep some force ready for any eventuality might arise in future due to the French and to maintain good relations with Col. Forde.³⁸

The English were very anxious to make an agreement with the Subedar of Deccan (Nizam). The Madras Council advised Col. Forde to win over Salabat Jung to their side and make Ananda Gajapathi acknowledge Salabat Jung as his suzerain. They directed him to propose reasonable terms

³⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr. No.75, Vol.7A, pp. 71-73, from Anand Razu, Dt. 10th and Recd. 25th April, 1759; Orme : *Military Transactions*, Vol. II, pp. 474-493; Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, p. 174; Malleon : *History of the French in India*, pp. 548-550.

³⁵ C. Sreenivasa Chary : *Op.cit*, pp. 403-409.

³⁶ G.B. Malleon : *The Decisive Battles of India*, pp. 106-107.

³⁷ *Idem.*, p. 403.

³⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.7A, pp. 49 & 50, Lr to Ananda Razu, Dt. 30th March, 1759.

and make use of the opportunities of securing for the Company such beneficial grants and privileges, as would make ample amends for the expenses of the expedition.³⁹

Salabat Jung was also equally anxious to come to an understanding with the English as he had already learnt the reverses of the French in Carnatic. By the time, he reached Bezwada, Masulipatam was captured by the English, by which the English supremacy was established in the Northern Sarkars. Besides this, he heard that Nizam Ali, his own brother, was intriguing against him, So, he wanted to return to Aurangabad as early as possible.⁴⁰

5. THE TREATY BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE NIZAM

Johnson, on behalf of the English and Mir Burhan Ali, the representative of the Rajah, went to the Court of Salabat Jung for compromising talks.⁴¹ As all the parties were anxious to end the troubles and accommodate one another, there was no further difficulty to conclude a treaty on May 14, 1759.⁴²

This treaty had cancelled all the grants made over to the French previously by Salabat Jung and the French would no more be kept in the service of the Nizam. The Nizam ceded to the English as free gift, the eight districts of the Sarkars of Masulipatam, Nizampatam and the district of Kondavidu and Akulamannadu. These acquisitions were yielding a revenue of not less than Rs. 4 lakhs per annum, besides the advantage of the exclusive trade of that place and the country around. The English on their part should not assist the enemies of the Nizam.⁴³

Being the first political agreement between the Nizam and the English, the treaty of 1759 may be considered an important landmark in the history of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. On hearing the conclusion of this Treaty, the Councils at Madras and Bengal were both jubilant on the success of Col. Forde and congratulated him for his services to their nation. The ambitions of Dupleix passed entirely into the hands of the English and "thenceforth, the fate of the French in India was sealed."⁴⁴

³⁹ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 119.

⁴⁰ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches* (1759) Dt. 28th July, 1759, p. 179

⁴¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.7A, Lr.No.75 from Ananda Razu, Dt. 10th April, 1759, pp. 71-73.

⁴² Dodwell : *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 178.

⁴³ L. Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol.VI, Part 2, Oct., 1931, p. 93

⁴⁴ G.B. Malleon : *History of the French in India*, p. 550.

Ananda Razu who was chiefly instrumental in replacing the French by the English in Northern Sarkars, was very much disillusioned by the Treaty of 1759 between the English and the Nizam, which had clearly violated the former Treaty between the English and the Rajah. According to their understanding, the English were to give away the country, north of the river Godavari, and to share equally the revenues of the countries south of the river Godavari. But the Treaty of 1759 recognised the suzerainty of Salabat Jung on the Northern Sarkars and thereby the Rajah had to lose his claim over these parts. Besides, the English induced the Rajah to submit himself to the Nizam so that they would gain favours from the court for making a rebel chief to submit. However, the English were able to convince the Nizam to pardon the Rajah for his recent activities against the Nizam and the Nizam agreed not to demand more than the customary tribute from Ananda Razu and also not to put up any claim for the money which the Rajah had collected from the Chicacole Sarkar upto Masulipatam. In fact, the Rajah, though he collected money from the Zamindars, was still hard pressed for money as he had heavy commitments to meet owing to the recent expedition. However, the Rajah was conferred the Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Chicacole and Ellore for the time being.⁴⁵

Since the Rajah was away from his country for a long time, the disturbances were caused by the Zamindars there and this required his physical presence in that area.

While settling the accounts after the expedition to Masulipatam came to a successful conclusion, the English charged Ananda Razu heavily towards the military expenses.

Further, Col. Forde's arrogant behaviour hurt the Rajah much. The Colonel did not show the minimum courtesy to see him off while he was returning from Masulipatam where he exerted himself, risking his own life and fortune, in restoring Masulipatam to the English. He strongly protested that Col. Forde should be replaced by any other *Sardar*. He also deplored the inaction of the English as Nizam Ali Khan, the *Diwan* and brother of Salabat Jung, had dismissed him and appointed Ibrahim Khan to the management of the Sarkars.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, (Milit.) Lr. from Ananda Razu, Dt. 10th, recd. 25th April, 1759, Vol. 7A, pp. 71-73.

⁴⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.279 from Ananda Razu, recd. 11th Oct, 1759, Vol.7B, pp. 288-291.

Reacting to the feelings of the Rajah, the Madras Council appointed Andrews as the Chief Manager of the Company's affairs in the Northern Sarkars since Andrews happened to be a good friend of the Rajah.⁴⁷

Soon a conflict crept in between Col. Forde and Andrews over the affairs in the Sarkars. The Madras Council protested to the Bengal Council about Col. Forde and the latter instructed Col. Forde to allow Andrews settle the country and take charge of civil and mercantile affairs of Masulipatam.

Col. Forde, then, resigned and gave charge to Cap. Fischer. After his departure, Andrews was able to control the affairs and retained Bengal army for a considerable time.⁴⁸

6. THE LAST EFFORT OF THE FRENCH TO REGAIN THE SARKARS

The French did not yet cease their activities in the Northern Sarkars. Moracin who was despatched by Lally, the French Governor, at the head of the French contingent to rescue the French at Masulipatam arrived there only after the place was captured by the English. So, he sailed towards north and reached Ganjam where he hoped to intrigue with the local Zamindar, Narain Dev, to capture the Sarkars.⁴⁹

But, preparations of Moracin were not satisfactory and Narain Dev was not very much inclined to help him against the English. However, Narain Dev followed Moracin towards the South on an expedition. But, when the party reached Burhanpur, the Rajah, surprisingly, turned hostile to the French and induced the French contingent to return to Ganjam. Then, Narain Dev besieged Moracin and his party in their factory at Ganjam and wrote to Clive at Bengal to send an English detachment so that he could help the English in the destruction of the French force. Clive responded to this call immediately and sent a body of 60 and persuaded Moracin to withdraw himself from Ganjam.

But, Moracin, instead of going back to Pondicherry, landed at Kakinada where he had, still, held hopes to work against the English with the help of Jagapathi Razu at Samarla Kota and other Zamindars who were the enemies of Anada Razu.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid. : Lr.No.350 to Ananda Razu, Dt.23rd Nov. 1759, Vol.7B, pp. 348-349.

⁴⁸ L. Sundaram : Op.cit., JAHRS, Vol. VI part 2, Oct. 1931, p. 93.

⁴⁹ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, 1759, Dt.28th June, 1759, p. 174.

⁵⁰ C. Sreenivasa Chary : Op.cit, p. 416

The English advised Ananda Razu to cultivate friendship with ^{Ni} Dev who was his bitter enemy, so that they could give a finishing blow ^{by w t} to the French.⁵¹ _e

This shows that the English did not give any respect to Ananda Razu's personal prestige and sentiments. Always, they worked only for their interests.

Neeladri Rao, The Zamindar of Pittapur, residing at Samarla Kota, joined by Jagapathi Razu, started creating troubles in the Sarkars against the Rajah of Vizianagaram. Moracin, stopping at the Dutch Settlement at Kakinada, tried to expel the English from the Sarkars with the help of the enemies of Ananda Razu, in Nov 1759. Having failed in his attempt, he sailed back to Pondicherry. But again, the French contingent consisting of 50 Europeans and 100 *sepoys* arrived at Kakinada in Dec 1759. They were negotiating with Rao Neeladri Rao and Jagapathi Razu through the Dutch at Kakinada. Ananda Razu set out for Kakinada to suppress the trouble once and for all.

Fortunately, the Bengal army under Capt. Fischer, while returning to Bengal, heard about the French manouvers when they (the English contingent) reached Rajahmundry. They immediately marched towards Kakinada and joined Ananda Razu. The French who took refuge in Dutch Fort, however, surrendered later while those on the ships retreated hastily to Pondicherry.⁵²

Ananda Razu marched to Samarla Kota where the French took refuge with Jagapathi Razu of Peddapuram, Rao Neeladri Rao of Pittapuram and the Zamindar of Kakarlapudi collected 10,000 *sepoys* and attacked the Rajah of Vizianagaram near Chalukya Bheemavaram. But, some force deserted the allies and Rao Neeladri Rao anticipating the trouble, fled from the field and collected his family from Samarla Kota while retreating. He hid himself in Raghavapuram in the Estate of Jupalle.

Raja Jagapathi Razu was killed in the Battle on Dec 27, 1759 and Ananda Razu gained complete victory over his age old enemy. Ananda Razu

⁵¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Militt. Dept.) Lr. No. 350 to Ananda Razu, Dt. 23rd Nov. 1759, Vol. 7B, p. 349, Lr. No. 351 to Narain Dev. Dt. 23rd Nov. 1759, Vol. 7B, pp. 349 & 350.

⁵² Orme : Op.cit, Vol. II, p. 55.

captured Samarla Kota and expelled the French from that place. With this event, the expulsion of the French from Northern Sarkars was complete.⁵³

Soon after his decisive victory over his enemies, the Rajah went to Rajahmundry where he engaged himself collecting revenues and settling the affairs.

The Rajah complained that Cap. Fischer harassed him whole collecting the balances of the amounts due to the English on account of the expedition against the French. Capt. Fischer was reported to have plundered Vizianagaram at the time of his departure from that place to Bengal. The Rajah also complained against Andrews that he was interfering in all the sea-ports disregarding their earlier agreement.⁵⁴ This, perhaps, was the last protest from Ananda Razu to the English.

While Ananda Razu was at Rajahmundry, he died of small pox on Feb 25, 1760. Rani Chandramma, wife of the elder Vijiarama Razu had adopted the second son of her close relative, Pusapati Ramabhadra Razu of Tallapalem. At the time of the death of Ananda Razu, this boy, Venktapathi Razu, was only 12 years old. Rani Chandramma named him, Vijiarama Razu and installed him on the Zamindary of Vizianagaram.⁵⁵

Ramabhadra Payaka Razu, Zamindar of Anakapalli and Burra Buchanna, Zamindar of Satyavaram, being chief lieutenants of Ananda Razu, convinced Rani Chandramma to instal Thimma Jagapathi, a minor son of Jagapathi Razu, in his ancestral Zamindary of Peddapuram.⁵⁶

The death of Ananda Razu had great repercussions in the Northern Sarkars. The demise of this powerful Rajah had weakened not only their family-position but also their prestige before the other local chiefs. This had also facilitated the gradual penetration of the English into the Sarkars.

⁵³ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.8A. of the year 1760, pp. 88-90, Lr. from Ananda Razu Recd. 12th March, 1760; V.R. Jagapathi Varma : *Peddapura Charitramu*, pp. 114-18.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.8A, pp.178-180; Lr.No 201 from Vijiarama Razu, Recd. 24th March, 1760; VR. Jagapathi Varma : *Peddapura Charitram*, p. 121.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

TRANSFER OF NORTHERN SARKARS

Salabat Jung was forced to resign his powers to his brother, Nizam Ali Khan, soon after his arrival in Hyderabad in 1759. Since then he was only a nominal ruler till he was thrown into prison on July 6, 1762.¹

Nizam Ali Khan wanted to avenge his defeat at the hands of Marathas which resulted in the shameful Treaty at Udgir in 1760. According to this Treaty, the Nizam promised to cede to the Marathas the Fortresses of Doulathabad, Sewneree, Asirgarh, Bijapur, a part of Bidar and also the Subah of Aurangabad excepting the city and two *parghanas*, Sittara and Harole. These territories yielded an annual revenue of more than 62 lakhs of Rupees. So, he was willing to make friendship with the English at any cost and left for the Northern Sarkars with an idea to bring the Sarkars under his control and also to negotiate with the English at Masulipatam. Though he was holding office of the *Diwan*, he was possessing almost all the powers for all practical purposes.²

The death of Ananda Razu, the most powerful chief in the Sarkars, was the most welcome sign to Nizam Ali Khan to subdue the whole province. So, Vijarama Razu II, having heard of Nizam Ali's march towards that country was very much afraid that his own credit and prestige were at stake. He implored the English to come to his rescue by sending a party of 200 soldiers and 1000 *sepoys* with two guns and a *Sardar*, so that, Nizam Ali Khan, on hearing of the arrival of the English detachment, might make some easy terms.³

¹ Sarojini Regani : *Op.cit.*, pp. 120, 124, Nizam Ali got his brother murdered after 15 months and declared himself, the Nizam.

² Dodwell : *Madras Despatches (1759-1760)*, p. 209.

³ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, Lr.No.210, from Vijarama Razu, Recd. 24th March, 1760, Vol. 8A, year 1760, pp. 178-180.

Failing to get a ready response from the English and having learnt that Nizam Ali Khan had arrived at Khanmam, Vijarama Razu-II wrote another pressing letter to the English,⁴ that Nizam Ali Khan, having lost his country (around Doulatabad) to the Marathas, was desiring to occupy the two Sarkars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry and aiming at the destruction of his House. Vijarama Razu sent one Sunderappa to Masulipatam to acquaint Andrews who was leaving for Madras. Andrews assured some military help after his arrival in Madras.

The English assured him not to worry about Nizam Ali Khan's march into the Northern Sarkars since the Nizam was coming over there only to seek the assistance of the English against his enemy, the Marathas. So, the English hoped that the Nizam might not do any harm to the Rajah who was very friendly with the English.⁵

Nizam Ali Khan stopped at Kovvur and all the Zamindars, as usual, rushed to that place to pay their homage and clear their accounts.

Rani Chandamma along with her minister, Burra Buchanna and other officials, brought her adopted son, Vijarama Razu, to Kovvur. Nizam Ali Khan conferred the Zamindari of Vizianagaram on Vijarama Razu, on payment of a huge sum which the Rajah had to borrow and also entrusted the revenue collections of Chicacole Sarkar to him.

Similarly, Nizam Ali Khan confirmed the accession of Thimmarazu to Peddapuram Zamindari and old Mahipati Rayudu to Pittapur Zamindari.⁶

1. APPOINTMENT OF HASSAN ALI KHAN

On the eve of his return, Nizam Ali Khan appointed his trusted official, Hassan Ali Khan, as the *fouzdar* of Rajahmundry, Ellore, Mustaphanagar and Murtuzanagar with a title, "Qutbuddoula Hassan Ali Khan Bahadur Intazam Jung."⁷

⁴ Ibid. : Lr.No.181 from Vijarama Razu, Dt.22nd April, Recd. 7th May, 1760, pp. 162-164.

⁵ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) No.207 to Vijarama Razu, Dt.3rd June, 1760, Vol.8A, pp. 183 & 184.

⁶ Ibid. : Lr.No.196 from Vijarama Razu, Recd.26th Nov, 1761, Vol.9, Yr.1761, pp. 151-153.; V.R. Jagapathi Varma : *Peddapura Samasthana Charitramu*, pp. 121 & 122.

⁷ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.Dept.) Lr. from Hassan Ali Khan, Recd. 18th Oct, 1760, Vol. 8B, pp. 345, 346.

Hassan Ali Khan had descended from a noble family of Persia. Amir Yawar Ahma Nazmai Sani was the Emperor of Persia in about 16th century. His son Bewuir Khan Nazmai Sani came to Delhi and served Emperor Jehangir. He married a neice of Nurjahan and became a powerful noble at the Mughal Court. His only son Faiyuz Khan Nazmai Sani served as Governor of Gujarat and Orissa for some time and died in 1637 as the Subedar of Allahabad. He was survived by two sons, Ali Quli Khan who served as *wazir* to Aurangazeb and another Askar Khan Nazmai Sani as Subedar of Gujarat. The descendents of Askar Khan had settled as Nawabs of Combay. Mohd. Beg Khan alias Kaiz Ali Khan, the eldest son of Ali Quli Khan, had procured a Jagir of Benaganapalle in Kurnool District while his younger brother Yusuf Khan's son, Md. Taki Khan obtained a Jagir in the Godavari District. Md. Taki Khan had two sons the eldest, Hussain Ali Khan died young without a child and the younger one, Hassan Ali Khan, now, became the Amildar of Northern Sarkars. Hassan Ali Khan played a prominent role in shaping the destiny of the British Empire in India. Mir Alam, grand father of Sir Salarjung, had praised him as a General and administrator in his Persian History.⁸

The Council at Madras instructed the Chief at Masulipatam, Alexander, to pay a courtesy call on Nizam Ali Khan and induce him to confirm the grants made by Salabat Jung to the English. However, the English were not hopeful of getting any favour from Nizam Ali Khan who already loathed the concessions given by his brother.

Hassan Ali Khan introduced Alexander to Nizam Ali Khan. Alexander was not successful in getting the *Sarads*. Instead, Nizam Ali Khan made an alternate proposal to the English that they should defeat the Marathas and restore his lost possessions in case he offered to them the middle Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustaphanagar.⁹

The offer of middle Sarkars would show that Nizam Ali Khan did not like to benefit the English with the Coastal Sarkars. However, the English did not agree to this offer though the countries would yield Rs. 20 lakhs per year apart from Rs. 2 lakhs for expenses, on furnishing 700 Europeans and 1,500 *sepoys* to Nizam Ali Khan.

As the seven-years war was still in progress, the English at Madras were not prepared to part with even a small detachment of their force since

⁸ Gordon Mackenzie : *A Manual of the Kistna District*, 1883, pp. 293 & 294.

⁹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.406, from Hassan Ali Khan, Recd. 18th Oct, 1760, Vol.8B, pp. 345 & 346.

such a step would be suicidal for them in the Carnatic. But they wanted to keep Nizam Ali Khan in good humour all the time. As negotiations bore no fruits, Nizam Ali Khan left the Sarkars empowering his *Naib*, Hassan Ali Khan, to negotiate with the English.¹⁰

The English, once again, sent Andrews to Masulipatam as their chief in those parts as he had good experience and close acquaintances in that region. Soon after his arrival, the negotiations were activated. Karim Khan, Hassan Ali's deputy, handed a letter from Nizam Ali Khan to Andrews and assured him of Hassan Ali's cooperation in all Company's affairs.¹¹

Hassan Ali Khan also wanted to see Andrews personally when he was going to settle the affairs at Mustaphanagar. On the insistence of Nizam Ali Khan, Hassan Ali personally called on Andrews at Masulipatam and implored the English to furnish him with the European contingent immediately to be used against the Marathas. Nizam Ali promised to appropriate Rs.3 to 4 *lakhs* from the revenues of Northern Sarkars towards the charges of the English contingent.¹²

Though the English should have jumped at this opportunity, they were held up by the war still going on between the French and the English in Europe. Hence, they could not move their troops from the sea-coast. They also hinted in their reply, point-blank, that the expenses of European troops would be very expensive and they could not move without a handsome ready cash in advance. This hint was given keeping in view of their experience with the native princes who were never prompt in their payments. The English, however, assured Nizam Ali that he could use the English troops as his own after the peace was made at the home-front (Europe)¹³.

The situation in the Sarkars was also disturbing. Vijarama Razu was very much disappointed to lose the Sarkar of Rajahmundry to Hassan Ali. He had created some troubles to Hassan Ali by disturbing the Sarkar and plundering the area with the help of the English at Vizagapatam. Hassan Ali

¹⁰ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, 1759-60, p. 209; Lanka Sundaram : Revenue Admn. in Northern Sarkars, JAHRS, Vol. VI, Part2, Oct, 1931, p. 95.

¹¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.133 from Karim Khan to Andrews, Vol.9, Yr.1761, p. 77.

¹² *Ibid.* : Lr.No. from Hassan Ali Khan, recd. 14th July, 1761, p. 82.

¹³ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.143 to Nizam Ali Khan, Vol.9, Yr.1761, pp. 84,85.

Khan, finding himself helpless, was forced to implore Andrews at Masulipatnam to write to the Chief at Vizagapatam to withdraw his support to Vijiarama Razu.¹⁴

Vijiarama Razu, owing to his heavy commitment to the Nizam, had no other way but to plunder the two Sarkars to collect money. He was also troubled by Narain Dev of Ganzam who was plundering the Sarkar of Chicacole whenever it was convenient.¹⁵

Vijiarama Razu's succession to the Zamindary of Vizianagaram was questioned by his elder brother, Sitharama Razu, who with the help of some disgruntled Zamindars in the Sarkars caused much headache to his younger brother. Under these circumstances, Vijiarama Razu, was forced to make compromise with the internal enemy, his own brother, Sitharama Razu, by offering him the office of *Diwan* and resigning himself to be a nominal ruler.¹⁶

Sitharama Razu, on taking the affairs of the Zamindary into his hands, had to face many difficulties. The arrears of revenue to be paid to the Nizam were mounting up; the payment to *sibbendy* (establishment) had fallen in arrears since a long period and he had to pay a considerable sum for *Sowcar* bills (*Sowcar* bills are the credits drawn in advance from the *Sowcars*, the bankers on anticipated revenue collections). He wrote to the English that the situation was due to the mismanagement of his brother during the past two years. He, referring to their age-old friendship, appealed to the English to help him tide over this situation.¹⁷

Since he failed to get any response from the English, Sitharama Razu wrote another letter to the English complaining that the English had neglected his request. But, the English turned a deaf ear to the numerous appeals made by him for help.¹⁸

¹⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.9, Yr.1761, p. 99, from Hassan Ali Khan to John Andrews Lr.No.156, Recd. 6th Aug, 1761, from Hassan Ali Khan No.157, Dt 22nd Aug, 1761.

¹⁵ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.196 from Vijiarama Razu, Vol.9, Yr.1761, Recd.26th Nov, 1761.

¹⁶ Lanka Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol.VI, Part 2, Oct, 1931, pp. 95 & 96; Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. 10 of 1762 Lr.No.39 from Sitharama Razu, Recd. 4th Apr, 1762, pp. 80-82.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. : Lr.No.82 from Sitharama Razu (undated) Vol.10, Yr.1762, pp. 165-166.

2. HASSAN ALI'S VISIT TO MADRAS

NizamAli Khan's eagerness to avenge his defeat at Udgir had clouded his political sagacity and induced him to send *Sanads* renting all the five Sarkars to the English. He sent the *Sanads*, in anticipation of troops, to Hassan Ali Khan with instructions to proceed personally to Madras and to procure military assistance against the Marathas.¹⁹

The English were not, still, prepared to send any help to the Nizam as they wanted to make their position in the Carnatic impregnable. Notwithstanding the fact that they could not send any help to the Nizam, the Madras Council published the *Sanads* pending Nizam Ali Khan's decision. The English proposed to take the Sarkars under the Company's management and pay the Nizam for the value realised from the revenues of the Sarkars. Besides this, they have also started the collection of revenues from the local Zamindars²⁰ on the east coast.

The Madras Government also instructed the Chief of Masulipatam to "depend chiefly on the voluntary submission of the Zamindars, but should the greater part of the most powerful of them prove disobedient it would not by any means advisable to attempt to reduce them."²¹

The English wanted to employ every means to retain the Sarkars other than declaring war against the non-obliging Chiefs, as the grant of *Sanads* was not confirmed yet.

The English tried to win over the Zamindars to the side by instigating Vijiarama Razu in Chicacole Sarkar to rebel against the Nizam. They expected that the two brothers would join the English in their endeavour to possess the country.²²

Hassan Ali Khan's stay in Madras caused much anxiety to Seetharama Razu who wrote a letter to the English reminding them their old friendship during the times of Ananda Razu and reminded them of their obligations to assist the Rajah to possess the Sarkar of Rajahmundry. He intended that the two Sarkars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry should be hand-

¹⁹ Lanka Sundaram : Op.cit., JAHS, Vol. VI, Par 2, Oct, 1931, p. 96.

²⁰ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, Lr.No.9, 1762, p. 310.

²¹ Consulations Military Department, Vol.38, Yr.1762 (Madras to Masuli) 343-47.

²² Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, Dt.9th Nov, 1762, pp. 310,305.

ed to him and he sent his personal secretary, Narsanna, to Madras to explain the English about the importance of his request.²³

On receipt of this letter, the English addressed two separate letters to Seetharama Razu and Vijarama Razu to settle their mutual differences, if there were any, and to work unitedly. The Madras Council expressed its wish to conduct the affairs in the Sarkars as agreeable to the brothers. Fairfield, the Chief of Masulipatam, was instructed to consult the brothers concerning the affairs of the Sarkars.²⁴

The *Vakils* of Vizianagaram, Avasarala Narsayya and Pentapalli Chinnayya, represented to the English that the Rajah would pay only Rs. 5 *lakhs* in respect of arrears accumulated till the end of the year 1761 to the Nizam for which the English should procure clearance from the Nizam. They also proposed that the Rajah would pay Rs 5 *lakhs* for the current year (1762) towards the annual *peshcush*.²⁵ The English promised to get a release from Nizam Ali Khan as the brothers desired and accepted the offer of Rs. 5 *lakhs* as rent of Chicacole Sarkar for the current year, in consideration of their friendship though it was a very small amount.

Thus, the English rented out Chicacole Sarkar to Vijarama Razu of Vizianagaram for Rs. 5 *lakhs* for the current year on taking assurance from Vijarama Razu to pay Rs. 5 *lakhs* to the Nizam towards arrears.²⁶

The term of agreement which the *vakils* had proposed for the payment of the dues was that the rent of the current year of 1762 was to be paid in two equal instalments in Sep 1763 and Dec 1763. The English warned the Rajah to be punctual in the payments according to the European custom. The Council also instructed the brothers to stipulate to the renters to whom they let out the Port of Ganjam that all the Import and Export duties were reserved to the Company as the Council wanted to reestablish a factory in the Port where their previous factory stood.

On settling the affairs with the Rajah, the Council addressed separate letters to all the Zamindars of Chicacole Sarkar to obey the Rajah to whom they let out the Sarkar.

²³ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.10, Yr.1762, pp. 223-224; Lr.No.114 from Seetarama Razu, Recd. 14th Sep, 1762 (partially damaged).

²⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Yr.1762, Vol.10, pp.232-234 to Seetarama Razu, Dt.23rd Sep, 1762.

²⁵ Milit. Dept., Lr.No.142 to Razu, Vol.10, Dt.27th Oct, 1762, pp. 257-259 (damaged)

²⁶ *Madras Despatches*, Dt.9th Nov, 1762, pp. 310 to 315.

Similarly, the English addressed letters to the Zamindars of Rajahmundry and Ellore Sarkars that the Sarkars were transferred to the English towards the expenses of the English troops and demanded them to settle their dues immediately. The English also informed that their troops were entering Sarkars to assist Hassan Ali Khan.²⁷ Promptly enough, the Zamindars responded favourably to the English appeal.

Raja Appa Rao, Zamindar of the Sarkar of Mustaphanagar and Ellore;²⁸ Valuki Sanjiv Rao and Venkat Krishna Rao, Zamindars of Maddorgal and Jamulvoi under the Sarkar of Musthaphanagar²⁹ Pathan Rao, Zamindar under Murtuzanagar.³⁰ Wasareddy Naganna, Deshmukh under Murtuzanagar;³¹ Keasar Venkatram, Deshmukh of Munagala;³² Harishchandra Razu and Thirupathi Razu, Deshmukhs under Sarkar of Ellore;³³ Vadigonda Veesam Razu, Deshpande of Jammulvoi;³⁴ Kalvakolu Thimma Rao and Venkat Rao, Zamindars of Bezwada;³⁵ Linga Rao and Venkat Rao, Zamindars of Chintalpudi under Ellore Sarkar³⁶ Jupalle Narsing Rao; Zamindar of Chinthalapudi under Ellore Sarkar;³⁷ Kondandaram, Deshmukh of the Sarkar of Musthaphanagar³⁸ Reddy Lachanna Narayan Dev of Kovade and Gurrampalli under Musthaphanagar³⁹ Rajah Mahipathi Rao, Zamindar under Rajahmundry Sarkar⁴⁰ Reddy Ramal Devoo, Zamindar of Kovada and Gurrampalli;⁴¹ (belonging to Rajahmundry Sarkar); Neeladri Rao, Zamindar of Samarlakota belonging to Rajahmundry Sarkar;⁴² Rajah Thirupathi

²⁷ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.144 to the Zamindars of Chicacole Sarkar, Dt.27th Oct. 1762, pp. 267, 268; Ibid. : Lr.No.125 to the Zamindar of Rajahmundry Ellore, and other Sarkar, Vol10, 1762, pp. 238, 239.

²⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept) Vol 10 for the year 1962, Lr.No.146, p. 269, Recd. Dt.1st Nov, 1762.

²⁹ Ibid. : Lr.No.147, p. 270, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³⁰ Ibid. : Lr.No.148, p. 271, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³¹ Ibid. : Lr.No.149, p. 272, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³² Ibid. : Lr.No.150, p. 273, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³³ Ibid. : Lr.No.151, p. 274, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³⁴ Ibid. : Lr.No.152, p. 275, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³⁵ Ibid. : Lr.No.153, p. 276, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³⁶ Ibid. : Lr.No.155, p. 277, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³⁷ Ibid. : Lr.No.156, p. 278, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³⁸ Ibid. : Lr.No.157, p. 279, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

³⁹ Ibid. : Lr.No.158, p. 280, Recd. 1st Nov, 1762.

⁴⁰ Ibid. : Lr.No.159, p. 280, Recd. 11th Nov, 1762.

⁴¹ Ibid. : Lr.No.160, p. 282, Recd. 11th Nov, 1762.

⁴² Ibid. : Lr.No.161, p. 283, Recd. 11th Nov, 1762.

Razu, Zamindar of Korukonda under Rajahmundry Sarkar; ⁴³ Jagapathi Razu, Zamindar of Peddapuram under Rajahmundry Sarkar; ⁴⁴ and Rajah Ramachandra Razu and Venkatapathi Razu, Zamindars of Domakal under Rajahmundry Sarkar, ⁴⁵ were among those who expressed their immense joy on hearing the transfer of Sarkars to the English. The general feeling of all of them seemed in favour of the English to take over the Districts. They had arranged to hoist the English colours and distributed sweets.

4. TEMPORARY GRANT OF THE SARKARS TO THE ENGLISH

The present grant of the Sarkars, though short-lived, had given the English an opportunity to assess the behaviour of the native chiefs in case the English took the management of these districts. Perhaps, the natives might have felt greatly relieved to free them selves from the central authority which these Zamindars were attempting, time and again. They might have also hoped that the English might not stay for a longer period.

The English were so hasty in settling the affairs of the Sarkars that they had already rented out Vennakota paraganah in Guntur District to one Mongu Pant. ⁴⁶

But, Nizam Ali Khan, notwithstanding the fact that he had already let out the Sarkar of Murtuzanagar to his brother, Basalat Jung, for life to woo or silence him while Nizam Ali usurped the Hyderabad State, Karim Khan was appointed Fouzdar of Kondavidu by Basalat Jung. ⁴⁷

Karim Khan also extended his co-operation to the English who reciprocated the same. ⁴⁸

The English wrote a letter to Basalat Jung that they would be friendly with him by allowing him to enjoy Murtuzanagar though it was also included in their *Sanads*. ⁴⁹

⁴³ Ibid. : Lr.No. 162, p. 283, recd. 11th Nov, 1762.

⁴⁴ Ibid. : Lr.No. 163, p. 285, recd. 11th Nov, 1762.

⁴⁵ Ibid. : Lr.No. 164, p. 286, recd. 11th Nov, 1762.

⁴⁶ Sarojini Regami : Op.cit, p. 127.

⁴⁷ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No. 117 from Karim Khan of Kondavid, Recd. 18th Sep, 1762.

⁴⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Mil. Dept.) Vol.X, Yr.1762 to Karim Khan No.122, p.235, Dt.23rd Sept, 1762; Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.X, to Karim Khan, No.127, pp. 240,241, Dt. 20th Sept, 1762.

⁴⁹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.), Lr.No.178 to Basat Jung, Dt.20th Sept, 1762, p. 241.

The English had to reconcile to the loss of this district considering their weak claim to the Sarkar and also to make friends with Basalat Jung who was greatly inclined towards the French.

5. A TREATY BETWEEN HASSAN ALI & THE ENGLISH FOLLOWED BY THE WITHDRAWAL OF NIZAM'S SANNAD

The English, knowing that they could not comply with the request of Nizam Ali at that juncture and expecting that they would be asked to return the *Sannads* any time, entered into an agreement with Hassan Ali Khan according to which the English would supply a body of 1000 troops to assist him in realising the revenues of the Sarkars and Hassan Ali was to bear the expenses. Hassan Ali was deprived of any control in the internal administration, but, he would be consulted only in matters of revenue administration. This was a subtle treaty of the English who knew well that Hassan Ali had no authority to make such an agreement.⁵⁰

Hassan Ali, perhaps, entered into an alliance with the English to retain his position in the Sarkars in any way. While he was still at Madras, Hassan Ali directed his deputy, Sultan Muhammad Khan at Rajahmundry to settle the country with the help of the British troops.

Fairfield, Chief at Masulipatam, sent European contingent to Rajahmundry. On the arrival of this contingent, Sultan Muhammad Khan hoisted English colours and tied *Toranams* celebrating the take over by the English. But, the English troops did not help him to march against the rebelling Zamindars, stating that they wanted further instructions from their Chief.⁵¹

Meanwhile, the affairs in the Sarkars were far from being peaceful. Vijiarama Razu caused the death of Rani Rangamma. Displeased by this heinous crime, a number of Zamindars joined together against the two brothers and arrived with their forces at Lakavaram Kotah with a design to oppose the Rajah and his brother. They wanted to set up Ramachander Razu a close relative of deceased Vijiarama Razu. These Zamindars appealed to Sulthan Mahmood Khan for help.⁵²

⁵⁰ Lanka Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHS, Vol. VI, Part 2, Oct, 1931, p. 97; Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 126.

⁵¹ Records of Fort St. George : Vol.X, Yr.1762, Lr.No.154, pp. 276-279.

⁵² Records of Fort St. George : Country Corr., Lr.No.154, Vol.X, Yr.1762, pp. 276-279.

While the affairs of Northern Sarkars were at its worse, Nizam Ali Khan, on realising that no exact help was forthcoming from the English, demanded them to return his *Sanads* immediately. ⁵³

The failure of Hassan Ali to negotiate an alliance with the English created a hostile party for him in the Court. Consequently, Hassan Ali was dismissed from the service. Nizam Ali questioned the propriety of the Madras Council in making an independent agreement with Hassan Ali. He appointed Abdul Rahman Khan alias Sulthan Muhammad Khan, a former *Bakshi* of Hassan Ali Khan, as the manager of the three Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustaphanagar. ⁵⁴

Nizam Ali Khan also demanded that the British troops should be recalled immediately from the Sarkars. But, the Madras Council, though it surrendered the *Sanads*, decided not to recall their troops from the Fort of Rajahmundry until and unless the cost of the expedition had been fully reimbursed. ⁵⁵ Abdul Rahman Khan who refused at first to pay for the expedition had to accommodate the English demand through the exertions of Jogi Pantulu.

According to this understanding, John Pybus, Chief at Masulipatam, promised that he would not assist any local Zamindar in the Sarkars against the *Naib* and agreed to evacuate the Fort of Rajahmundry. ⁵⁶

The three sections of Mustaphanagar, Ellore and Rajahmundry as granted to Badezaman Khan yielded revenue from three Sarkars as shown in the table. ⁵⁷

⁵³ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, p. 311.

⁵⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.XI, pp.13,14, Nizam Ali Khan's Sanad, Dt.19th Dec.; Lanka Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol. VI, p.2, Dt.Oct,1931, p. 99.

⁵⁵ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, p.311.

⁵⁶ L. Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol. VI, Part2, Oct, 1931, p. 100.

⁵⁷ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.XI, pp.13 & 14, Nizam Ali Khan's Sanad, Dt.19th Dec, 1762.

1.	Rajahmundry Sarkar : 26 Districts :		Rs. Annas 6,86,529 - 11/2
2.	Ellore Sarkar. : 12 Districts : Deduct : (-) a) Hassan Ali's Jagir b) The English possessions	5,63,645 14,125	5,49,520 - 0
3.	Musthaphanagar : 24 Districts : Deductions under various heads : (-)	12,29,823 1,99,573	10,30,250 - 0
The net revenue of these Sarkars :			22,66,299 - 11/2

As Hassan Ali Khan was deprived of the management of these Sarkars, he was to depend on his *Jagir* in Ellore and Mustaphanagar Sarkars yielding a meagre income of Rs. 34,470 (Rs. 9,625 under Ellore Sarkar and Rs. 24,845 under Mustaphanagar Sarkar). He was maintaining a huge *sibbendy* (establishment) of about 20,000 peons. The *sibbendy* caused him great worry as they were not paid their salaries regularly. Hassan Ali tried his best to get financial aid from the English but in vain. But, through their mediation, he could procure *Sowcar* bills for Rs. 4 lakhs in Arcot and send the amount to the Court alongwith a mercy petition. Rajah Watan Das, the *Diwan* of Nizam Ali, had worked in his favour and assured him of reinstatement in his previous position.⁵⁸

6. THE RISE OF SITHARAMA RAZU

Sitharama Razu of Vizianagaram ably subdued the Zamindars of these parts who joined 'like ants' against him. No sooner did he come out of the troubles created by these Zamindars than the Marathas, being instigated by Narain Dev, marched towards Ichapuram with 1000 horse, 1500 peons and artillery besides the auxiliary troops of some of his opponent Zamindars. They raided the country and ruined it from Chicacole to Vizianagaram. But,

⁵⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dpet.), Lr.No.25 from Hassan Ali Khan, Vol.XI, Yr.1763, p.29, Revenue 4th Feb, 1763.

the Marathas retreated in panic to Cuttack after an engagement with Sitharama Razu in Feb 1763. He also punished the Zamindar of Sattavaram who was the main cause of all these troubles.⁵⁹ These successes marked the beginning of the ascendance of Sitharama Razu in Chicacole Sarkar.

Sitharama Razu was very much displeased with Nizam Ali Khan who was demanding the payment of the "pretended balances" not withstanding the fact that he incurred so much loss due to the Nizam's visit to the Sarkars followed immediately by the Maratha raid. He complained that he was rewarded, for all his good services, in the shape of dispossession of the Sarkar of Chicacole. So, Sitharama Razu proposed to settle four Sarkars with the help of the English troops and to divide equally the sum collected after settlement. These districts would, later, be managed by the Rajah for the English.⁶⁰

On the other hand, Nizam Ali Khan having scented the designs of Sitharama Razu, appointed one, Pattan Ahmed Khan Bahadur Shahbuz Jung alias Bade Zaman Khan, to the Sarkar of Chicacole and directed the Rajah to settle his accounts with him. The new Amaldar alongwith the enemies of the Rajah was planning to march into the Sarkar. Under these disastrous circumstances, Sitharama Razu opted to take offensive according to the age-old custom and belief that whoever marched first would preserve his credit. He marched to Rajahmundry and requested the English to help him against Nizam Ali Khan. He was over anxious in his designs to occupy the country up to Golconda while Nizam Ali was away in the Carnatic. This would be possible by their joint effort. Sitharama Razu strongly pleaded for their unity by quoting a proverb, 'If two heads are united, they can split a rock to pieces.'⁶¹

Suprisingly enough, the Nawab also applied for the help of the English against the rebel Sitharama Razu. Raya Dev Chand, *Diwan* to the new *Nawab* or *Fouzdar* of Chicacole, wrote⁶² to Pybus about his intentions to visit Masuiliipatam personally and seek help. But, before he could reach there, Sitharama Razu forced the *Nawab*, Bade Zaman Khan, to retreat to the Fort of Ellore. Sitharama Razu occupied the Fort of Rajahmundry. This period, obviously, indicates the zenith of power of Vizianagaram.

⁵⁹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.), Vol.XI, Yr.1763, Lr.No.73 from Sitharama Razu, Recd.23, Mar, 1763, pp. 115-119.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. XI, Yr. 1762, Lr.No.114, from Sitharama Razu, Recd. 24th Apl, 1763, No.128 from Sitharama Razu, pp. 181,182, 194, Recd. 3rd May, 1763.

⁶² Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. XI, Yr. 1763 from Devochand, Recd. between 21 and 26 of Aug., p. 226.

Nizam Ali Khan, having heard of Sitharama Razu's exploits had no other recourse but to require the English troops to assist his deputy, Bado Zaman Khan, in subduing Sitharama Razu who showed so much of ingratitude taking advantage of his absence from the field. ⁶³

The English expressed their inability to assist the Nizam owing to their commitments at Bengal and Manilla. The English had some troubles with Yusuf Khan in the Carnatic, who was boasting of having the support of the Nizam and requested the Nizam to discourage the said Yusuf Khan so that they could spare some troops as he required. ⁶⁴

To make the situation still worse for Nizam Ali Khan, Basalat Jung pillaged the Sarkars of Mustaphanagar and Ellore and collected *Chouth* from various Zamindars. He even compelled the Chief at Masulipatam to supply him with boats to cross Krishna in order to make common cause with Sitharama Razu and subvert the authority of Nizam Ali Khan. ⁶⁵

So, Nizam Ali Khan had grown impatient to wait as suggested by the English Governor, Palk. The Nizam was even prepared to allow the English officer whoever deputed to help him, to enjoy the similar position and prestige as Bussy did. ⁶⁶

This was so alluring an offer that the English could not withhold their assistance any longer. The Madras Council instructed Pybus, Chief at Masulipatam, to help Nizam's deputy at Chicacole. Nizam Ali Khan also addressed a letter to John Pybus requesting him to assist the *Amildar* in 'extirpating and destroying the rebel'. ⁶⁷

Sitharama Razu making himself master of the Fort of Rajahmundry, proceeded against the Fort of Mogiliturru since the Rajah of Mogiliturru was his enemy and helped the Nizam administration against him. But, the Rajah of Mogiliturru was a very considerable renter of the English possessions depending on Masulipatam. So, the English interfered on his behalf and wrote a harsh letter to Sitharama Razu instructing him not to "molest the Rajah of Mogiliturru". The Madras Council also hinted that any hostilities committed against the Rajah of Mogiliturru might be "treated in the same

⁶³ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. XI for the year 1763, Lr.Nos. 184, 185, 186 from Nizam Ali, Recd. 8,9,10th Nov, 1763, pp. 244-245.

⁶⁴ Ibid. : Lr.No. 190 to Nizam Ali, Dt.19th Nov, 1763, pp. 246-247.

⁶⁵ L. Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol.VI, Part 2, Oct. 1932, p. 102.

⁶⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.), Vol.12A, Yr.1764, Lr.No.37 from Nizam Ali, Recd.20.2.1764, p. 43.

⁶⁷ Ibid. : Lr.No. 32 from Nizam Ali to Pybus undated, p. 45.

light as if immediately done to the English." ⁶⁸ John Pybus, Chief at Masulipatam, also warned him in a stronger tone, on hearing the "unwarranted behaviour of Ibrahim Beg" (one of the Rajah's officers) to the inhabitants of the town of Bhimavaram belonging to the Company, that should he receive any such complaints of misbehaviour, he might no longer hesitate in taking effective measures to put a stop to such irregularities. ⁶⁹

The English assured Nizam Ali Khan of their support and also informed him that the English wrote to Sitharama Razu more than once to desist from any further hostilities, otherwise he might be considered as a declared enemy of the Company. As the Madras Council could not spare their troops at the moment, the Government suggested to take the help from Masulipatam. ⁷⁰

But, Nizam Ali Khan could not postpone the issue for a longer period since Basalat Jung, a rebel brother, was marching Northwards. So, he had no other alternative left but to issue a *Sanad* in favour of Sitharama Razu at the request of one, Meer Moshin Khan Bahadur. Sitharama Razu was forgiven for his faults and ingratiude. He was required to send the revenue collections immediately to the Government and instructed Sitharama Razu to expel Basalat Jung from there. Nizam Ali Khan also expressed the possibility of granting three Sarkars to him soon after the bill for the *Peshcush* was paid. ⁷¹

Sitharama Razu was offended by the letters from Madras and Masulipatam. He wrote two letters to Madras ⁷² justifying his action against Venkata Rama Razu, the Zamindar of Mogiliturru, who defrayed expenses of Bade Zaman Khan and Fakruddin Mohmad Khan; enlisted some troops himself and came as far as the banks of the river Kortu, a tributary to the Godavari, with body of 20,000 with a view to enter the Sarkars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry to create disturbance. Sitharama Razu while answering to the complaint of the Chief of Masulipatam, stated that he had taken all precautionary measures to protect the interests of the English and the inhabitants under their protection except those who fled from his country to avoid payment of some dues, and settled in those parts.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.74 from Masulipatam to Sitharama Razu, Dt.8th Apr, 1764, Vol. 12 A.

⁷⁰ Ibid. : Lr.No.55 to Nizam Ali Khan, Dt. 29th Mar, 1764, pp. 71 & 72.

⁷¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.), Vol. 12 A, pp. 115-119, Lr.No.81 from Sitharama Razu, Recd. 19-4-1764. (a copy of the Sanad from Nizam Ali Khan to Sitharama Razu was also enclosed)

⁷² Ibid. : Lr.82 from Sitharama Razu, Recd. 19th Apr, 1764, pp. 119 & 120.

The English were worried about the rapport between Nizam Ali Khan and Sitharama Razu. The fact that Sitharama Razu was endeavouring to obtain the Northern Sarkars had, still, annoyed them while their negotiations with Nizam Ali Khan through their *Vakil*, Jogi Pantulu at the Nizam's Court, were not progressing to their satisfaction. So, the Government at Madras wrote a conciliatory letter to Sitharama Razu expressing their surprise on learning that the Rajah was concerting measures at Court for obtaining a *Sanad* without giving them prior information. The Government felt that Sitharama Razu "would do nothing but in concert with me" and suggested that the "benefit which was to accrue to the either could not be lasting unless it was mutual" ⁷³ Thus, the English proposed a joint effort to obtain the Northern Sarkars.

Sitharama Razu, respecting the wish of the English, withdrew his action against Venkatapathi Razu of Mogiliturru and asserted his right to possess the Sarkars of Rajahmundry and Chicacole as they were possessed by the deceased Rajah (Ananda Razu). ⁷⁴

The English were not prepared to send troops in aid of Nizam Ali Khan fearing that the Nizam might use the force against Marathas and thereby prejudice the affairs of the English on the Western Coast. Their principal object was to procure a net revenue for the Company and to prevent the French from getting the Sarkars. So, they wanted to rent the Sarkars for a certain period on condition of paying a stipulated sum annually to the Nizam's treasury. The English offered Rs. 5 *laks* for the first year, 10 for the second and 15 for subsequent years. ⁷⁵ Jogipantulu was sent to the Court of Nizam Ali Khan to procure Sarkars on the said terms.

The British Company gave greater importance to the negotiations with the Nizam, but, they felt that the acquisition of Northern Sarkars might be welcome only if it was not full of hazard. They instructed the Council at Madras to "avoid endangering what we have by grasping at too much". They, further, thought that the security of the Company's present possessions might first be looked into and, if and when that had been done, sufficient force could be spared for Nizam Ali to procure a grant of Sarkars. ⁷⁶ So, the Company instructed the Council to be extremely cautious in engaging a new scheme of

⁷³ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. 12, Yr.1764, Lr.No. 88 to Sitharama Razu, Dt.25-4-1764, pp. 131 & 132.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* : Lr.No.134 from Sitharama Razu, Recd.27-6-1764, Vol. 12 B, p. 244.

⁷⁵ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, 1764-65 Despatch from Robert Palk, Dt.20th Oct. 1764, p. 399.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* : Seperate Despatch to Robert Palk, Dt. 4th Jan, 1764, p. 427.

war since Nizam Ali might desire the English troops to assist him against the Marathas which might endanger their position in Bombay.⁷⁷

Jogipantulu who was sent to Hyderabad for negotiations with the Nizam, was not able to impress upon the Nizam with the offer of the English. Hassan Ali Khan, former *Amildar*, was, however, successful in winning back the favour of Nizam Ali Khan. Nizam Ali Khan appointed Hassan Ali Khan to the three Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Mustaphanagar and Ellore in October, 1764. Sarkar of Murtuzanagar was given to Basalat Jung as a *jagir* for life and Sarkar of Chicacole was to be managed by Sitharama Razu.⁷⁸

This arrangement had disappointed Sitharama Razu as he had to lose the Sarkar of Rajahmundry. Similarly, the English were also disappointed since their mission to the Nizam met with a total failure. The Madras Council felt that Nizam Ali might have thought that they would not easily restore the Sarkars after they had once been in possession of them. But, Nizam Ali Khan requested the English to help Hassan Ali in reducing the Sarkars to obedience. Nizam Ali Khan proposed to defray the expenses of the English supply and their garrisons at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam and further he offered the revenues of Rajahmundry etc. as security. This offer was too tempting to be rejected by the English. The English were of the opinion that the Sarkars could be reduced to subjection without any engagement. Sitharama Razu who was the only powerful Rajah in those parts to protest against Hassan Ali's management, might also surrender on seeing the English support to the Nizam's deputy.⁷⁹

7. REAPPOINTMENT OF HASSAN ALI KHAN

The English wrote to Sitharama Razu that Nizam Ali Khan had lately made choice of Hassan Ali Khan for the management of those Sarkars and requested them to render military assistance to his (Nizam Ali's) deputy. They, however, assured the Rajah of the peaceful possession of Chicacole Sarkar at a proper rent, but advised him to deliver the Fort of Rajahmundry and the countries under the Sarkar immediately to Nizam's deputy.⁸⁰ A copy of this letter was sent to Hassan Ali Khan with an advice to wait for some time to make sure of the designs of Nizam Ali. The Madras Governor proposed

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* : Despatch to Robert Palk, Dt. 12th Apr, 1765, p. 433.

⁷⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. 13A, Yr. 1764, Lr.No.4 from Jogipantulu to Pylon at Masulipatam, Recd. 22nd Dec, 1764, p. not known.

⁷⁹ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches* : Despatch from Fobert Palk to the Company, Dt. 27th Mar, 1765, p. 412.

⁸⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.13A, Yr. 1765, Lr.No.37 to Sitharama Razu, Dt. 16-3-1765, p. 43.

to make available for him two companies of infantry, 40 artillery, 500 *sepoys*, field pieces and necessary stores from Masulipatam.⁸¹

But, Hassan Ali could only collect 100 infantry, some artillery, four companies of *sepoys* and 20 small pieces of cannon after his visit to Pybus at Masulipatam. He arranged for the regular payment to the English through a *Soucar* (Banker).⁸²

Sitharama Razu did not surrender so soon as expected by the English. He also received the *Sanad* from Nizam Ali Khan granting four Sarkars to Hassan Ali Khan and ordering him to march out of the Fort of Rajahmundry. So, he proposed to send his *vakil*, Gurazala Venkat Rao to Cap. Madge and wished the Captain to send Mosalikanti Kannoji, the *Dubhashi*, since Kannoji used to come to the Rajah previously on Company's business.⁸³

The British had a trying time to settle the issue between Hassan Ali and Sitharama Razu who were bitter enemies since the beginning of their careers in the Sarkars. Sitharama Razu yielded to the friendly counsel of Cap. Madge to deliver the Fort of Rajahmundry and to retire to a place some 8 or 10 *Coss* away from the Fort, provided he was not troubled by Hassan Ali's men and that the rent of Chicacole Sarkar was settled moderately.

Sitharama Razu delivered the Fort of Rajahmundry to Cap. Madge and signed an agreement with him that he would retire to his Zamindary on the condition that the English should see that Hassan Ali Khan should not disturb him any further in the management of Chicacole Sarkar and that it should be rented out to him on reasonable terms writing off all the arrears.⁸⁴

Sitharama Razu knew clearly that he could not retain both the Sarkars of Rajahmundry and Chicacole without the sanction of the Nizam. He thought that it would be possible to bring the other party to terms by keeping the Fort of Rajahmundry to himself. He could, thus, bargain to get Chicacole Sarkar by using his influence on the English while the English were very eagerly trying to avert the use of arms against their "age-old friend", Sitharama Razu. They were, all the time, trying to dislodge him peacefully from the Fort.

⁸¹ Ibid. : Lr.No.39 to Hassan Ali, Dt.20th Mar, 1765, p. 44.

⁸² Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.13A for Yr. 1765, Lr.No.53 from Hassan Ali, Recd.16-4-1765, pp. 56-58.

⁸³ Ibid. : Lr.No.54 from Sitharama Razu to Pybus, Recd.18-4-1765, pp. 58 & 59; Lrs.No.78 & 79 from Sitharama Razu, Recd. 3 & 4 May, 65, pp. 101-105.

⁸⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. 13A, Yr.1765, p. 114, Lr.No. 90 copy of the agreement, Dt.14th May, 1765.

Hassan Ali who wanted to destroy Sitharama Razu with the help of the English, was much disappointed. He created problems to the English in arriving at a compromise with Sitharama Razu. So, Pybus had to warn him in strong terms to accept the 'just demands of Sitharama Razu.'⁸⁵

In fact, Hassan Ali Khan needed the English help only to put an end to Sitharama Razu once and for all. He was not happy with the agreement between the English and the Rajah. After the peaceful occupation of the Fort of Rajahmundry, Hassan Ali Khan wanted the English troops to vacate the Fort and retire to *Petah*. He, also, withheld the payments to the English. However, under the pressure of Cap. Madge, he signed an agreement so that he would not create troubles on his retreat. Regarding the management of the Sarkar of Chicacole, he promised to write to the Nizam to grant the Sarkar to the Rajah.⁸⁶

Hassan Ali Khan was never prepared to grant concessions to Sitharama Razu, while Sitharama Razu expressed his inability to pay the arrears concerning the Sarkars of Rajahmundry and Chicacole. Further, Sitharama Razu wanted to settle the rent of Chicacole at the old rate as allowed by the previous *Nawab*, Anvaruddin Khan.⁸⁷ His demands were supported for having obliged the request of the English in vacating the Fort of Rajahmundry.

So, Hassan Ali Khan accused the English for the non-cooperation of Cap. Madge and their inadequate supply of men and material. Hassan Ali had to increase his *sibbendy* (force) enormously and he felt that Sitharama Razu had retreated only on seeing his force. He also insisted that Sitharama Razu should either pay what he had collected from the Zamindars of Rajahmundry Sarkar together with one-thirds of his *sibbendy* expenses, or retain his personal *Jagir* and leave the rest of the country for him. Hassan Ali Khan requested the English to replace Cap. Madge by one, Cap. Hart, so that he could force the Rajah to come to terms. He also tried to break the relation subsisting between the Rajah and the English by writing that the Rajah was conspiring with the French against the English.⁸⁸

The English advised Hassan Ali that Sitharama Razu could be tackled through fair means and warned him not to march into Chicacole Sarkar since

⁸⁵ Ibid. Lr.No. 83 to Hassan Ali from Pybus, Dt.10-5-1765, pp. 100-102.

⁸⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol. 13A, p. 114, A Copy of the agreement, Dt.13th May, 1765.

⁸⁷ Ibid. : Lr.No. 95 from Sitharama Razu, Recd. 27th May, 1765, pp. 118-121.

⁸⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.13 A, pp. 141-144; Lr.No.109 from Hassan Ali Recd. 1st June, 1765.

it might involve him in more difficulties. Capt. Hart was sent to replace Cap. Madge as per Hassan Ali's request. The English, further, advised Hassan Ali to cut down his expenditure on *sibbendy* as it would be a waste.⁸⁹

By all means, the English wanted to prevent Hassan Ali from marching against Sitharama Razu since the hostility between them might cause great loss and inconvenience to the English on the coast.

Hassan Ali Khan, having been disappointed by the indifference of the English towards Chicacole affair, had taken recourse to instigate his Zamindars against the English. The English protested that the Zamindar of Mogiliturru did not pay his tribute to the English due to the ill-advice of Hassan Ali.⁹⁰

Hassan Ali Khan continued his efforts vigorously against the Rajah of Vizianagaram by complaining to the English that Sitharama Razu was staying, still, in the Sarkar and negotiating with the Zamindars. Sitharama Razu left his troops at Wuddernagar, Pulwale and Pingunkal. To attract the English to his side, Hassan Ali Khan offered the country around Vizagapatam with an annual income of Rs. 50,000.⁹¹

Hassan Ali Khan was hard-pressed for money. He could not collect money from Sitharama Razu for Chicacole. The Rajahmundry Sarkar's revenue for the current year also was already collected by Sitharama Razu during his occupation of the country. So, Hassan Ali had only to depend on Ellore and Mustaphanagar which would only meet the expenses of his *sibbendy* and the Company's charges. Hassan Ali Khan had to pay Rs. 2 lakhs a year to the English towards military expenses. All the time, the English were insisting upon regular monthly payment.

⁸⁹ Ibid. : Lr.No. 112 to Hassan Ali, Dt.3rd June, 1765, pp. 143-144

⁹⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.), Lr.No.128 to Hassan Ali, Vol.13A, Dt. 6th June, p. 160; Lr.No.129 to the Rajah of Mogiliturru, Dt.6th June, 1765, p. 161.

⁹¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, Vol.13A, Yr.1765, Lr.No.133 from Hassan Ali Khan, Recd.17th June, 1765. List of the villages near Vizagapatam (Overleaf). Situated about four cross.

Folloor, the Salt included	Rs.	30,000	
Ponedee		10,000	
Customs on vessels, there		5,000	
Cittool		1,000	
Bizwanda		2,000	
Wuddeelumegam		1,000	Rs. 50,000

Besides, Nizam Ali Khan, on his way to Carnatic, stationed at Bezwada and demanded the payment of Rs. 13 lakhs. Nizam Ali also threatened to camp at Rajahmundry for winter in case of non-payment. So he was forced to borrow money from *Sowkars* and pay the Subah.⁹²

Despite Hassan Ali Khan's protests, the English advised him to accept the rent from Sitharama Razu at the old rate for the Sarkar of Chicacole. Capt. Hart made it clear to Hassan Ali that he had no orders to move against Sitharama Razu. Hassan Ali felt that Sitharama Razu would not pay dues unless he approached the Rajah with an effective force. He also complained to the English that the purpose for which he took assistance from the English on heavy payment was not achieved.⁹³

The English advised Sitharama Razu to send a *Vakil* to Nizam Ali Khan and settle the rent of Chicacole Sarkar directly.⁹⁴

Hassan Ali reported that Sitharama Razu was unable to control his *sibbendy* who had mortgage his patrimony for two years pay and that all the Zamindars ceased their affiliation with him. Under these circumstances, the Rajah was not able to create any trouble to the Company's business if the English marched into the country alongwith him. He implored to send orders to Capt. Hart to assist him against the Rajah. Hassan Ali was very much worried that the Rajah might collect the revenues for the year, 1175 *Fasli* also (1765) if delayed further.⁹⁵

Thus, being pressed by Hassan Ali Khan for an immediate settlement, the Madras Council directed Pybus at Masulipatam to bring about an accommodation between the two rivals. The English assured Hassan Ali Khan of their support if Pybus failed in his attempt.⁹⁶ Meanwhile, Sitharama Razu succeeded in getting a *sanad* from Nizam Ali Khan for the Sarkar of Chicacole.⁹⁷ But, Madras Council advised him to send a *Vakil* to Hassan Ali

⁹² Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, pp. 414, 415; Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.181 From Hassan Ali, Recd. Dt.29th July, 1765, Vol.13B, Yr.1765, pp. 239-244.

⁹³ Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, Dt.8th Aug., 1765, pp. 414,415.

⁹⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, Lr.No.188 to Sitharama Razu, Vol.13A, Dt.4th Aug., p. 250.

⁹⁵ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.205 from Hassan Ali, Recd. Dt.5th Sept, 1765, Vol.13B, Yr.1765, pp. 273-280.

⁹⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence : Lr.No.210 to Hassan Ali, Vol.13B, Yr.1765, Dt.13th Sept., 1765, pp. 289-290.

⁹⁷ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.216 from Sitharama Razu to Capt. Hart, Recd. Dt.19th Sept., 1765, pp. 298, 99.

to finalise the business of Chicacole as Hassan Ali was the deputy of the Nizam. The English chided Sitharama Razu for having directly approached Nizam Ali ignoring the deputy.⁹⁸ They also wrote to Hassan Ali Khan to wait till such time as he received a *Vakil* from Sitharama Razu.⁹⁹

Sitharama Razu had to face troubles since he left the Fort of Rajahmundry. He had a heavy *sibbendy* in his service and he could not pay their salaries regularly. Since management of Sarkars was granted to Hassan Ali Khan, he lost influence and control on his Zamindars who crossed over to the otherside. Even the loyal supporters of Vizianagaram Zamindary turned hostile to him as it was believed that he caused the death of Rani Rangamma, the widow of the elder Vijiarama Razu. This shows the decline of the power and prestige of Vizianagaram.

Hassan Ali, though he agreed to wait for the *Vakil* of Sitharama Razu to come, wished to take advantage of Sitharama Razu's difficulties. He alleged that Sitharama Razu sent a Sardar with 4000 force to occupy the Fort of Samarla Kota with an intention to cause disturbances in Rajahmundry.¹⁰⁰

Fazul Beg Khan alias Ibrahim Beg, a Sardar of Hassan Ali's contingent, as Hassan Ali reported, joined (without the express order of his master) by the Zamindars of Margul, Bobbili with a body of 7000 peons, Mukund Razu with 5000, Sivadeva Razu, brother-in-law of the Late Vijiarama Razu with two or three thousand, and Zamindar of Anakapalli, pursued Sitharama Razu from Margul to Sarpavaram and from there, Sitharama Razu fled to Kasimkota. Under these circumstances, Hassan Ali Khan wished to place the Sarkar of Chicacole, excepting the Zamindary of Vizianagaram, under the management of his deputy, Ibrahim Beg.¹⁰¹

The troubles in the Chicacole Sarkar were also confirmed by the letter of Sitharama Razu to the English and he reported that the loss to his country

⁹⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.221 to Sitharama Razu, Dt.24th Sept, 1765, Vol.13, pp. 312, 313, Vol. 13B, Yr.1765. The Madras Council formerly advised Sitharama Raju to send a *Vakil* to Nizam Ali Khan to obtain a *Sanad*. This contradicition might be due to Sitharama Razu's reluctance in sending a *Vakil* to Hassal Ali or perhaps, due to ignoring the proper channel.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* : Lr.No.222 to Hassan Ali, Dt. 24th Sept., p. 314, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence: Lr.No.240 from Hassan Ali to Pybus, Recd. Dt.8th Nov., 1765, Vol.13B, pp. 336-337.

¹⁰¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.241 from Hassan Ali Khan, Recd. Vol.13B, Yr.1765, Dt.12th Nov., pp. 227, 40; Lr.No.248 from Hassan Ali Recd. Dt.19th NOV., 1765, pp. 348-353.

due to these disturbances, was to the extent of Rs. 3 lakhs. He was so desperate to quote that "misfortunes seldom come in single."¹⁰²

8. AGREEMENT BETWEEN HASSAN ALI AND SITHARAMA RAZU

The Madras Council was very much disgusted with Sitharama Razu's reluctance to strike an agreement with Hassan Ali Khan and fixed the whole responsibility of the situation on the Rajah. Further, they were of the opinion that Sitharama Razu failed to act according to his agreement with Col. Madge. However, as the last opportunity, they advised him to accommodate the issue with Pybus,¹⁰³ to settle the matter. With the mediation of Pybus, the two parties sent their *Vakils* for arriving at an agreement.

Sitharama Razu, according to an earlier agreement with Hassan Ali Khan for the year 1169 *Fasli* (1759 AD) had to pay Rs. 10 lakhs a year (i.e. Rs. 8,50,000 towards the rent of the Sarkar of Chicacole plus Rs. 1,50,000 for *Durbar* charges) which had fallen into arrears for the last five years. So, he had to pay Rs. 50,00,000 towards arrears and Rs. 10 lakhs for the current year. But, this time, Hassan Ali Khan wanted to raise the rent upto Rs. 16 lakhs a year for the whole of the Sarkars or otherwise, he should retain his Zamindary and clear off the arrears due to Nizam Ali Khan.¹⁰⁴

Pybus paid his personal attention to bring about an agreement between them. According to the Agreement, Sitharama Razu had to pay Rs. 4 lakhs for the whole of Sarkar for the year 1175 *Fasli* (1765) and Hassan Ali Khan should not insist on the payment of arrears upto 1174 *Fasli* (i.e. from 1759 to 1764).¹⁰⁵ By this agreement, Hassan Ali was forced to sacrifice a handsome amount on account of arrears from Chicacole for a period of five years.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Ibid. : Milit. Dept., Lr.No.242 from Sitharama Razu, Recd. 12th Nov., Vol.13B, Yr.1765, pp.340, 43,

¹⁰³ Ibid. : Lr.No.246 to Sitharama Razu, Dt.16th Nov.,1765, p. 346.

¹⁰⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence : (Milit. Dept) Vol.13 B, Yr. 1765, Lr.No.258.

¹⁰⁵ Sitharama Razu had to pay Rs. 1,30,000 on account of the Zamindary Dist. together with securities after deducting the Jagir and Rs. 2,70,000 on account of the Sarkar.

¹⁰⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.46 from Sitharama Razu, Recd. 28th April, 1766, Vol.14, pp. 50-64.

The agreement was, obviously, made to the advantage of Sitharama Razu and the English did him great favour in forcing Hassan Ali to accept this.

But, Sitharama Razu, still, had a number of grievances. He felt that the rent was too heavy for his means. He put forth his claims to his *Jagir* of Perrur in Rajahmundry Sarkar and a village called Kotapalli on the banks of the river Godavari.

The arrival of Law revived the fears of the English that the aggressive activities might be renewed by the French in India. So, the English were very anxious to come to some understanding with regard to the Northern Sarkars.¹⁰⁹

9. MOGHAL FIRMAN REGARDING THE NORTHERN SARKARS

The Madras and Bombay Councils impressed upon the Home Government, the necessity of procuring a contiguous territory, from Bengal to Madras by the acquisition of the Sarkars and Orissa. The select Committee of Fort William also decided to carry the measure into action but resolved not to attempt for gaining the advantage by violence or force of arms.¹¹⁰

The President of the Madras Council convinced Clive who arrived in Madras in 1765 of the necessity of obtaining a grant for the Northern Sarkars from the Mughal Emperor.¹¹¹

On hearing that the English were trying to obtain the Royal *Firman* to acquire the Northern Sarkars, Sitharama Razu, unhesitatingly, offered his assistance to the English and expressed his preparedness even to oppose the Nizam.¹¹²

In 1765, the Mughal *Firman* for five Sarkars was granted to the English for their services in Bengal, but, the English decided to publish the *Firman* only when the time was opportune, since the Madras Government were not prepared to assert their claim to the Sarkars on the grant of Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam. The English were well aware of the fact that the

¹⁰⁹ Sorojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 129.

¹¹⁰ Auber : *Rise and Progress of the British Power*, Vol. I, p. 153.

¹¹¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (1765), Lr.No.235, Vol. 13 B, p. 209.

¹¹² Ibid. : Milit. Dept., Lr.No.262, from Sitharama Razu 2nd, Vol.3B, Recd. 24th Dec., 1765, pp. 398-400.

authority of the Mughals was quite nominal and in practice, it was non-existent in the South as Nizam-ul-Mulk being avowedly independent of the Court of Delhi, was paying neither tribute, nor obedience, nor service to the Mughal Court. So, their claim to the Sarkars through a Mughal *Firman* was only pretentious.

While the Nizam was pre-occupied with the Marathas and away from Hyderabad, John Pybus found it an opportune time and urged upon the Madras Council to take steps for publication of the *Sanads* and occupation of the Sarkars. The famine conditions prevailing in the region at that time and the unreliable Zamindars would be a further check to the Nizam's designs.¹¹³

In agreement with the views of John Pybus, the Madras Council resolved to direct Pybus and Gen. Caillaud to publish the Mughal order and to bring about the submission of the Zamindars of the region.¹¹⁴

A letter was addressed to all the Zamindars of the five Sarkars on Feb 10, 1766 appending a copy of the Mughal *Firman* dated Aug 12, 1765 that the Sarkars were granted to the English by the Emperor and demanded their compliance with the order. The English, however, assured the Zamindars of the Company's favour and protection and their enjoyment of all just rights and privileges, but the Zamindars were directed to disband their *sibbendi* at once and clear all the dues payable to the Nizam and *sowkars* from the revenues of the year 1766. The Company wished to occupy these Sarkars only after the expiry of the year 1766.¹¹⁵

To facilitate the peaceful occupation of the Sarkars, the Madras Government wanted to satisfy the key persons, viz., Sitharama Razu and Hassan Ali Khan. Sitharama Razu was asked to send the particulars of the *Jagirs* belonging to his family independent of the Sarkar of Chicacole, (*Amaldar* of Chicacole), he was offered the management of Chicacole after 'the things were settled in proper manner'.¹¹⁶

Gen. Caillaud was sent into the Sarkars with proper force to secure the obedience of Zamindars. Hassan Ali Khan was asked to assist the Genera

¹¹³ Records of Fort St. George : Madras to Masuli, Vol.57, Dt.25th Jan, ppp. 32,33; L. Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRs, Vol.VI, Part 2, Oct, 1931; Auber : Op.cit, Vol.I, p. 208.

¹¹⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Madras to Caillaud and Pybus, Vol.57, Dt.12th March, pp. 71-72;

¹¹⁵ Records Fort St. George : Country Correspondence: Vol.14, Addressing all Zamindars, Dt.10th Feb., 1766, pp. 17 & 18.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* : Lr.No.14 to Sitharama Razu, Dt. 10th Feb, 1766, Vol.14 for the Yr. 1766, pp. 15 & 16.

in bringing the Sarkars into the Englishfold. He was offered handsome money in place of his *Jagirs* since he would not entitle to hold *Jagirs* granted to him by Nizam Ali Khan. The English proposed to give him Rs. 1 *lakh* annually and that he need not maintain any troops since he would be under the protection of the English.¹¹⁷

Hassan Ali Khan welcomed the take-over of the Sarkars by the English, but expressed his dissatisfaction over the English offer of Rs. 2 lakhs a year. he had a large contingent of dependents on him. So, he urged upon the Madras Government to confer the whole *Jagir*, consisting of 8 taluks which he was enjoying and to receive Rs. 1 *lakh* a year as *nazar* from him, or to confer upon him the three taluks as proposed by Gen Caillaud and Pybus later and add Chellapalli and five villages which he enjoyed for a long time.¹¹⁸ But, the English were not prepared to grant more concessions than what was necessary.¹¹⁹ So, Hassan Ali implored the English to allow him 4 taluks at least considering his expenses which would be Rs. 2 *lakhs* per year.¹²⁰

Hassan Ali Khan delivered the whole country to the English and discharged his *sibbendi* paving the way for a peaceful submission of the country.¹²¹

Most of the Zamindars of Murtuzanagar, Ellore, Rajahmundry and Mustaphanagar welcomed the orders of the Mughal Court and responded immediately to the letters of the English by expressing their willingness to remain in sincere obedience to the English.¹²²

Gen. Caillaud did everything in his power to induce the Zamindars and others by fair means to pay due obedience to the Royal *Firman*, but the *Qiledar* of Kondapalli, Raja Madansingh, refused to submit and offered resistance to the General. He showed great spirit and bravery to defend the

¹¹⁷ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, Lr.No. 15 to Hassan Ali, Vol.14, Yr. 1766, Dt. 10th Feb., 1766.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. : Military, Lr.No.25, Vol.14, Yr. 1766, Recd. 3rd March, 1766 from Hassan Ali, pp. 34-38.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. : Lr.No. 30 to Hassan Ali, Dt. 18th March, 1766, p. 44, Vol. 14, Yr. 1766.

¹²⁰ Ibid. : Lr.No. 39 from Hassan Ali, Recd. Dt.7th April, 1766.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Mililit.) Lr.No.35 from Raja Wasooreddy belonging to Sarkar of Murtazanagar, Recd. 26th March, Vol.14, Yr.1766, pp. 447 & 48; No. 36 S. Vrom Cosara Venkatramana of Munapal, Recd. 26th March, p. 48; Lr. 37 s. Narsimma Rao of Kavali, Circar of Mustaphanagar, Recd, 26th March, pp. 48, 49; Lr.No. 42 Timanaji Circar of Bundar, Dt.5th April, pp. 55, 56; Lr.No.43 Eadogola Narsing Rase, Dt. 7th April, p. 56.

Fort against the onslaught of the English. He was wounded in this incident. The English, of course, took care of him.¹²³

The English sent the copies of the Emperor's *Firman* to Basalat Jung, the Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and to other Poligars desiring them to obey the *Firman* if they wanted to be friendly with the English.¹²⁴

The publication of *Sanads* and the consequent occupation of Kon-dapalli created great panic in Hyderabad. The *Qiledar* of Hyderabad wrote to the Nizam who was at Berar to return to Hyderabad soon.¹²⁵

Though, they occupied the Sarkars without the Nizam's permission, the Madras Government were anxious to win his goodwill from the beginning. They sent a formal letter to Nizam Ali on Feb 10, 1766 i.e. the day on which they decided to publish the Mughal *Firman*, imploring him to write letters to the Zamindars for smooth submission.¹²⁶

The Madras Government also deputed one, Mutabir Khan, to Hyderabad to get the Mughal *Firman* confirmed by the Nizam in lieu of their military assistance.

The Nizam was constrained to give ear to the English proposal since he was planning to invade Mysore along with the Peshwa after defeating Janoji Bhonsley. Ruknuddowla, the *Diwan*, strongly protested to the English and objected to listen to Mutabir Khan who was much inferior in his rank.¹²⁷

Then, the Madras Council authorized Gen. Caillaud with full discretionary powers to arrive at an agreement with Nizam Ali provided it was not dishonourable and disadvantageous to the Company.¹²⁸

But, the English could not wait till they made an agreement with Nizam Ali. The Madras Government summoned Hassan Ali Khan and Jogi Pantulu to Madras and handed over the management of the Sarkars of Musta-

¹²³ Ibid. : Milit., Lr.No.29 to Nizam Ali Khan, Vol.14,Dt. 17th March, 1766, pp. 43, 44.

¹²⁴ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 130.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 130.

¹²⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, Lr.No.13 to Nizam Ali Khan, Vol.14, Yr. 1766, Dt. 10th February, 1766, p. 14.

¹²⁷ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 130.

¹²⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Madras to Caillaud and Pybus (Milit) Vol.57, Dt.14th Aug, pp. 222-25.

phanagar, Ellore and Rajahmundry, which were let out to them (Hassan Ali and Jogi Pantulu) the Sarkars for three years.¹²⁹

A sub-committee consisting of John. Pybus and John Call was appointed to report on the feasibility of taking the direct management of the Sarkars. The Committee recommended for renting to Hassan Ali.¹³⁰

The English were not prepared to take the direct management of Sarkars due to too much dependence on the *Dubashees*, secondly the Company's authority was not sufficiently established in the region, and finally, they thought that appointment of Hassan Ali as the Company's renter would not result in direct repudiation by Nizam Ali; even though, it might not invoke his warm welcome. The English preferred to maintain *status-quo* till they could have complete control over the Sarkars. Hassan Ali was so amiable that he was engaged by a private agreement with the President, to put the English in possession of the Sarkars whenever required in exchange for a personal *Jagir*.¹³¹

A personal *Jagir* consisting of Talipata and Purur was conferred upon Hassan Ali and later he was also granted the rent of Vallur, Duvva and Elakata which he could enjoy during his good behavior.¹³²

According to the new agreement, the Sarkar of Rajahmundry was let out to Hassan Ali Khan and Srinivasa Jogi Pantulu jointly for 3,83,500 Madras Pagodas a year, and the Sarkars of Ellore and Musthaphanagar were let out to Hassan Ali Khan independently for 4,16,500 Madras Pagodas a year. The two renters agreed to pay 6,500 M.P. a year for the support of the Company's troops detained to assist them in the administration.¹³³

By this time, Pybus was replaced by Smith as the Chief at Masulipatam. Smith was instrumental in settling this agreement. The Madras

¹²⁹ Lanka Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol.VI, Dt. 2nd Oct, 1931, p. 110; Meckenjie's M.S. T.S. Akademi, Vol.7, pp.48,49, Rajahmundry.

¹³⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Military Consultations, Vol.57, Dt.20th Oct., 1766, pp. 311-315.

¹³¹ Lanka Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol.VII Part3, Dt. Jan, 1933, p. 135.

¹³² Records of Fort St. George : Military Consultations; Madras to Caillaud, Dt.20th June, 1766, Vol.57, pp. 184, 185.

¹³³ Ibid. : Smith to Madras, Dt. 8th Nov., 1766, Vol.57, pp. 333-37.

¹³⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Military Consultations, Dt. 17th Nov., 1766, Vol.57, pp. 337 - 8.

Government ratified the agreement regarding these middle Sarkars on Nov 17, 1766 with the special provision that Hassan Ali should pay at least half of the outstanding balances by January 1767.¹³⁴

We find a bitter critic of this transaction in Francis Russel who wrote, "Their (English) forces were already on the spot to maintain or enforce the claim. War, however, was, if possible, to be avoided, treachery chicanery and bribery were substituted as the safer instruments. Hassan Ali, the manager of the Suboh, was in the first instance dealt with successfully to betray the interest of his master and for the promise of a *Jaghir*, a promise of support and protection and also of being continued in his rentership, he agreed to act with the Company."¹³⁵

Gen. Caillaud visited Nizam Ali Khan on Oct 27, 1766 and he could bank upon the unfavourable circumstances of Nizam Ali Khan. The Treaty was signed on Nov 12, 1766 according to which all the five Northern Sarkars were given as a free gift to the British East India Company in conformity with the perpetual friendship.¹³⁶

In consideration of the free gift of the Northern Sarkars, the Company had to pay Rs. 5 *lakhs* for the middle Sarkars i.e. Ellore, Rajahmundry and Mustapahanagar and Rs. 2 *lakhs* each for Chicacole and Murtuzanagar Sarkars. The submission of Chicacole Sarkar was the responsibility of the English while the Sarkar of Murtuzanagar (Guntur) was to be handed over to them only after the death of Basalat Jung, the younger brother of the Nizam, to whom the Sarkar was given as a life *Jagir* or when Basalat Jung proved to be disloyal to his brother, the Sarkar might be taken over by the English.

The English and the Nizam agreed to "treat one's enemies as the other's enemies and one's friends as the other's friends." The English were also bound by the agreement to keep a body of troops to assist Nizam Ali whenever required against any one and the expenditure was to be met out of the rent of the Northern Sarkars. In case, the expenses exceeded the rent, Nizam Ali had to make good the difference.

The treaty had, further, written off all the previous demands and arrears from the Sarkars. This could benefit Sitharama Razu and Hassan Ali Khan to a great extent as huge sums were due from them to the Nizam. The English could now, count upon their fidelity for the great favours done to them.

¹³⁵ Francis Russel : *A Short History of the East India Company*, pp. 67-68.

¹³⁶ C.U. Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol IX, Part I, p. 22.; H.G. Briggs : *The Nizam*, vol.I, Appendix A, pp. 226-230.

The English were permitted to garrison the Fort of Kondapalli (which was taken by assault injuring the *Qiledar*) by the English troops and Nizam Ali could place a *Qiledar* on his part. The English agreed to cede the usual *Jaghir* to the *Qiledar*.

Immediately, necessary *Sanads* were granted to the English requiring the Zamindars of all the five Sarkars to obey the English Company hereafter.¹³⁷

Soon after receiving the *Sanads* from Nizam Ali the first and the foremost task of the English Company was to see that the authority of the English Company and its renters was firmly established in the Sarkars by reducing the Zamindars to obedience and bringing them to terms with the nominees of the Company.

The Zamindars under Ellore and Musthaphanagar Sarkars had readily agreed to pay their obedience to Hassan Ali as the renter of the Sarkars.¹³⁸

Hassan Ali and Jogipantulu, the joint renters of the Sarkars of Rajahmundry faced some difficulty since the Rajahs of Peddapuram and Samarlakota refused to acknowledge them as their overlords.¹³⁹

Since the Rajah Jagapathi Razu of Peddapuram was, still, a minor, the family was divided and refused to come to an agreement. The other Zamindars tried to take advantage of this situation. So, on the request of Hassan Ali, Smith, Chief at Masulipatam and Quintin Crauford, a member of the Masulipatam Council, visited Rajahmundry on Jan 6, 1767¹⁴⁰ and ordered a detachment under Col. Hart which was kept there in Nizam Ali's service, to procure the surrender of the Fort of Peddapuram. The Fort was surrendered without any use of force. But Neeladri Rao, the Rajah of Samarlakota, surrendered only after his fort was stormed.¹⁴¹ These two incidents made the other Zamindars pay their obeisance to the Company renters and thus the English obtained the peaceful possession of the middle Sarkars.

¹³⁷ Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements, Sanads*, Part I, Vol. IX, p. 25

¹³⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Masulipatam to Madras, Dt. 31st Dec. 1766, Vol. 58, Military Consultations, Dt. 5th Jan, 1717, pp. 3-6.

¹³⁹ Military Consultations, Vol. 58, pp. 72-73.

¹⁴⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Smith to Madras from Rajahmundry, Vol. 58, Dt. 22nd Jan, pp. 68-72.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* : Country Correspondence, from Hassan Ali Lr. No. 52, Vol. 15, pp. 72-73.

The English thought it wise to leave all the matters of administration in the hands of the renters and interfere only to check the renters if guilty of any grievous oppressions.¹⁴²

The Guntur Sarkar was not touched by the English as it was the *Jagir* of Basalat Jung while the Sarkar of Chicacole proved to be a real problem owing to the indifference of Sitharama Razu.

The sum due to Hassan Ali from Sitharama Razu as per the previous agreement was not made good to the English who advanced the sum. Secondly, they could not settle the rent for the year 1766-67 with Sitharama Razu.¹⁴³

Sitharama Razu was very much disappointed by the English. He was very anxious to manage the Sarkars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry. But, the action of the English was not in his favour. He suffered at the hands of Hassan Ali and Narain Devo of Kimidi who ravaged his country in the year 1765 and 1766. Most of the Zamindars of Chicacole also deserted him.

Under these circumstances, the English rented the Sarkar of Chicacole to one, Rangarazu for Rs.2,65,000, who also proved disobedient. Ranga Razu, having failed to pay the dues, went to Vizianagaram and took asylum with Sitharma Razu. So, Jogipantulu had to visit Vizianagaram to impress upon Sitharama Razu either to hand over Ranga Razu or to arrange for the payment of his dues.¹⁴⁴

10. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE NIZAM

Meanwhile, the English troops were dismissed by Nizam Ali after he had come to terms with Hyder Ali in 1767 despite the remonstrances of the English General, Col. Smith and Bouchier. Being disgusted with the behaviour of Nizam Ali, the English procured a blank *Firman* from the Emperor, so that they might confer the Subedary of Deccan on a candidate of their choice and also ordered the English troops in the Sarkars to move to

¹⁴² Dodwell : *Madras Despatches*, Vol.IV, Dt.24th March, 1768, p. 262 para 46.

¹⁴³ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.14, Lr.No.100 to Sitharama Razu, Yr.1766, Dt.28th Nov., 1766, p. 121

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* : Lr.No.201 from Jogipunt to Smith at Masulipatam, Vol.14, Dt.25th Oct, 1767, pp. 337-339.

the borders of Hyderabad.¹⁴⁵ Sitharama Razu wanted to take advantage of the differences between the English and Nizam Ali Khan. He expected that the English should be exterminated from the Sarkars since he believed that the English were too weak to oppose the Nizam. It was understood that Nizam Ali instructed the Zamindars of the Sarkars to oppose the English.¹⁴⁶ Nizam Ali also proposed to grant the Sarkars to Sitharama Razu if he resisted the English.¹⁴⁷ The Rajah of Ongole, Ramachandra Razu, also visited Vizianagaram to muster the support of Sitharama Razu against the English.¹⁴⁸ But, Sitharama Razu did not act in a hasty manner. He patiently waited to see to which side the scale tilted.

But, Nizam Ali Khan could not wait any longer. He sent *Sannads* for the Sarkars to Narain Devo, the Rajah of Kimidi and a bitter enemy of Sitharama Razu. Narain Devo acted immediately after the receipt of the *Sannads* from Nizam Ali and ravaged the whole country. However, he was pushed back effectively by Capt. Casemore in conjunction with Sitharama Razu and his brother Vijarama Razu.¹⁴⁹

Similar disturbances were also noticed in the Sarkar of Guntur. Rajah Ramachandra Razu of Ongole had instigated the Zamindars and *poligars* of the Sarkar of Guntur to revolt against the English. Cap. Davis could effectively bring the Sarkar under the control of the English and the Zamindars of the region offered their submission pretending that they were associated always with the English and never tried to help the rebels against the English and those who were directly associated with the Rajah of Ongole pleaded for pardon for the unhappy past.¹⁵⁰ They had also deserted him soon after the settlement was reached between the English and the Nizam.¹⁵¹ Ramachandra Razu was deprived of his Zamindari after the Treaty was signed in 1768.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 134; Fort William India House Correspondence : Vol. V, for the Yr 1767-68, Lr.No.181, p. 146.

¹⁴⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Mililit.) Lr.No.224 from Jogi Pantulu, Dt.25th Nov., 1767, Vol.15.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. Lr.No.135 from Sitharama Razu, Vol.16, p. 228.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. Lr. No.203 from Jogipunt, Dt.3rd Nov., 1767, Vol.15, pp. 340-343.

¹⁴⁹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Mililit.) Lr.No. 203 from Jogipant, Dt.25th Nov. 1767, Vol.15 for Yr. 1767, pp. 340 - 343.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. : Lr.No.53 from Zamindar of Bellamkonda and Vinukonda to Davis, Recd. 4th Mar, 1767; Lr.No.54 from Rajah Balwant Bahadur to Cap., Recd.4th Mar, 1767, Vol.16, pp.89-90.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. : Lr.No.58 & 59 from various Zamindars to Capt., Vol.16, pp. 97 & 98.

¹⁵² The District of Thirupathi, Nellore including Ongole and Macheral were given away to the English by the Nawab of Arcot for Rs. 4 lakhs in lieu of payment of the amounts he

The English could successfully win over Jafer Beg Khan, the Nizam's Commandant of the Fort of Khammam who agreed to surrender the Sarkar of Khammam and Warangal for a personal *Jagir*.

After hearing the fall of Khammam, Nizam Ali Khan returned from the Carnatic and sent proposals of peace to the English while camping at Cuddapah.¹⁵³

The rebel Zamindars particularly Sitharama Razu and the Rajah of Ongole did not believe the news of the success of the English since they considered that the reports were publicised for the Company's benefit.¹⁵⁴

Jogi Pantulu stationed at Chicacole and tried to settle the Sarkar of Chicacole on any Zamindar, but none came forward with an offer as they were afraid of Sitharama Razu and Narain Devo. They were not prepared to administer the Sarkar of Chicacole unless the English should protect them in case of war with either of them and make them reasonable allowance for any deprivations they (rebels) might commit in the Districts under their management. With great persuasion, Jogipantulu could get an offer of the rent for Chicacole Sarkar exclusive of Woratlah and Zamindaries of Sitharama Razu and Narain Devo. The offer came jointly from Akkaji Pundit and Jagapathi Razu for Rs. 2,40,000.

The amount was less than the rent of the previous year by Rs. 25,000.¹⁵⁵

Later, Jogipantulu visited Vizianagaram to collect the First and Second *Kists* (Instalments) of revenue from Sitharama Razu and ensure the deliverance of Ranga Razu.

Sitharama Razu, under the influence of Ranga Razu, seemed to put off the payment of *Kists* for a few months longer in a friendly manner, by which time the English might be driven out by the Nizam in alliance with the Marathas and thus, he thought, he could save money he owed to the English for his last year's assessment. Sitharama Razu also refused to deliver Ranga Razu who took shelter with him, but, promised to arrange for the payment of the amount that was due from Ranga Razu after his examination. Later,

¹⁵³ Lanka Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol.VII, Partt 3, Jan, 1933, p. 140; Sarojini Regani : Op.cit, p. 134.

¹⁵⁴ Records of Fort.St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.203 from Jogi Pantulu to Smith, Dt.3rd Nov, 1767, Vol.15 for the year 1767, pp. 340-343.

¹⁵⁵ Records of Fort.St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.203 from Jogi Pantulu to Smith, Recd. 3rd Nov, 1767, Vol.15, Yr. 1767, pp. 340-343.

Sitharama Razu informed Jogipantulu that Ranga Razu would pay the amount deducting the dues from Narain Devo of Kallikota and some of the Ichapur country and that he would not pay for the English troops which did not assist him in reducing Tellimoor or to prevent the ravages of Narain Devo.¹⁵⁶

Considering the disturbances in the country, and further delay would cause more difficulties, Jogipantulu conceded the deduction of Rs. 35,000 on account of the rents of Kimmidi and Ichapuram belonging to Narain Dev and the expenses of the English troops as demanded by Ranga Razu.¹⁵⁷

Jogipantulu got an assurance from Narain Devo for the payment of his dues to the tune of Rs. 13,000 soon after receiving his usual present (which was customary with the Hill-chiefs).¹⁵⁸

Jogipantulu was, however successful in inducing Sitharama Razu to pay the rent for his country as per the previous year and Rs. 10,000 more for Woratlah ; but, Sitharama Razu did not agree to rent the Sarkar of Chicacole for fear of Narain Devo. Sitharama Razu again appealed to grant the Jagir of a few villages under Rajahundry Sarkar. Jogipantulu recommended his request stating that "well-being of everything here depends upon his friendship". Akkaji Pundit, though agreed to rent the Sarkar of Chicacole, could not procure the *Sowcar Bills* for the first *Kist* since the *Sowcars* refused on account of the rebellion of Narain Devo. The prospective renters insisted that the losses should be made good to them in case of external disturbances. So, Jogipantulu desired the Chief of Masulipatam to retain Capt. Casemore in the Sarkar, lest Narain Devo might undoubtedly enter and lay waste the Sarkar of Chicacole.¹⁵⁹

Jogipantulu also faced some difficulty with Payak Rao of Anakapalli in collecting dues from him. His rent was decided on the previous year's rate,¹⁶⁰ despite his protests for the reduction.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.: Lr.No.217 from Jogipantulu, Dt.14th Dec, 1767, Vol.15, Yr.1767, pp.360-363.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.224, from Jogipantulu, Dt.25th Nov. 1767, Vol.15, Yr.1767, pages not known (damaged)

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. : No.14 from Jogipantulu, Dt. 22nd Jan, 1768, Vol.16, Yr.1768, pp. 30-35

¹⁶⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.21 from Jogipantulu, Dt.6th Jan, 1768, Vol.16 for the year 1768, pp. 47-49.

11. THE TREATY OF 1768

On Feb 23, 1768, a treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance was concluded between the British Company and Mohammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot on one side and Nizam Ali Khan, on the other.¹⁶¹

The present Treaty had confirmed the previous treaty of 1766 regarding the rendering of Northern Sarkars. For the first time, the *Firman* of the Mughal Emperor of 1765 was referred to and confirmed by this Treaty, and thus, the English were made real masters of the Sarkars. Regarding the Sarkar of Guntur, the English had gracefully agreed not to take possession of the Sarkar till the death of Basalat Jung or till, he broke the friendship with the English Company, but, the company ascertained its just right to take the possession of the Sarkar in the same manner as the other four, if Basalat Jung continued his friendship with Hyder Ali who was an enemy of the English.

The Fort of Kondapalli which was allowed to be kept under a *Qilledar* of Nizam Ali in the earlier Treaty, should hereafter remain in the possession of the English. The Nizam agreed to send letters to all the Zamindars to obey the English and not to raise disturbances hereafter. To this effect, the Nizam issued a *Sannad* on March 12, 1768¹⁶² from Pilleru, to the Zamindars of five Sarkars directing them to look upon the East India Company as their masters and to be in every respect, obedient to them.

As reciprocal gesture of friendship, the English agreed to withdraw their forces from Khammam and Warangal enabling the Nizam's deputy to possess the country peacefully and the English also agreed to pay Rs. 2 lakhs in two half-yearly instalments (on 31st of March and 31st of October) per annum and one lakh more soon after the possession of Kodavidu Sarkar (or Mustaphanagar). This meant a reduction of 2 lakhs in the annual payment to the Nizam in respect of the Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Mustaphanagar and Ellore. The present rate of payment would be effective for six years from Jan 1, 1768. The English agreed to pay a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs per year in two equal instalments and Rs. 2 lakhs for Kondavidu Sarkar from Jan 1, 1774, provided Nizam Ali did not create any trouble in the Sarkar of Kondavidu, Rajahmundry and Murtuzanagar.

The annual tribute of the Sarkars, as worded in the Treaty, was paid to the Nizam by the English in consideration of their friendship with the former, but not because of their holding the Sarkars. This would show that

¹⁶¹ Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*: Vol.IX, p. 27.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* : Vol.IX, p. 35; H.G. Briggs : *The Nizam*, Vol.I, pp.243-24.

the English did not like to recognise the Nizam's authority over the Sarkars at all and that they were very eager to throw it off at the earliest opportunity.¹⁶³

Obviously, the Nizam was not prepared to give up his claims over the Carnatic and the Northern Sarkars. As soon as he returned to Hyderabad, he tried to nullify the agreement at the earliest opportunity. He also corresponded with the Marathas but they were preoccupied with the intrigues of Raghunatha Rao and so, his plan did not materialise. The Nizam also felt that the Treaty was a disgrace to him and he started disliking his *Diwan*, Ruknud Doula, who was instrumental in concluding this Treaty.¹⁶⁴

The Fort of Kondapalli and its adjacent villages were ceded to the English by this Treaty, which were incorporated with the Mustaphanagar Sarkar and placed under Hassan Ali.

12. THE DISTURBANCES IN THE NORTHERN SARKARS

But, very soon, the disturbances broke out in the Sarkar of Kondapalli due to some turbulent members of the family of the deceased Zamindar of Mylavaram of Kondapalli *Jagir*. Capt. Billingham was sent to suppress the revolt by the Masulipatam Council on the request of Hassan Ali.¹⁶⁵ This incident brought significant change in the British attitude towards the Zamindars of Northern Sarkars. The Masulipatam Council explained the issue to the Madras Government that the numerous forts were a great problem to them in the Sarkars. The Zamindars built these forts taking advantage of a weak central Government. As the forts were generally stocked with provisions, the reduction of these Zamindars to obedience had always become a serious problem consuming time and energies. So, the Masulipatam Council opined to demilitarise these Zamindars and demolish the forts, one after the other, at an opportune time without depriving the Zamindars of their lands and other privileges, which they had been enjoying since a very long time. To make the Zamindars reconcile to the administration of the Company, the Council suggested to win their confidence and affection "by well-timed marks of reward", and their defenceless position did not allow them to revolt against the English Company¹⁶⁶ in future.

¹⁶³ Forrest : *Bombay and Madras Papers, 1757-1790*; Sarojini Regani : *Op.cit*, p. 135.

¹⁶⁴ Records of Fort William (Bombay Castel) Public Department Diary, Vol.52, pp. 324-25, Dt.17th Sept, 1768m pp. 441- 2.

¹⁶⁵ Records of Fort St. George : Masuli to Madras, Dt.28th Oct, 1768 (Military Consultations) Dt.8th Nov, Vol.63-1, pp. 460-61.

¹⁶⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Masulipatam to Madras, Dt.9th Nov, 1768 (Military Consultations), 21st Nov, Vol63-1, pp. 552-7.

This policy of demilitarisation and demolition of the Forts was approved by the Madras Government and the Masulipatam Council was directed to demolish the Fort of Mylavaram and to destroy the others at an opportune time.¹⁶⁷

The Madras Government wanted to appoint a Commission to enquire into the rights of Zamindars, when Aswa Rao, the Rajah of Palwancha who was dispossessed of his Zamindary by Ibrahim Beg Khan, the Nizam's Deputy of Khammam and Warangal, took shelter with the Rajah of Peddapuram.

But, the Masulipatam Council strongly objected to the inquiry on the grounds that it would weaken the authority of the Company in the region.¹⁶⁸

The English realised that the Zamindars would not hesitate to distress the Government at every opportunity though they gave assurances of fidelity and attachment. So, they resolved to remove the intermediary institution of rentership so that they could maintain direct contact with the Zamindars and thereby acquire "Competent knowledge" of the affairs, though it would be less advantageous since the plan "might not answer our expectations". The English preferred to make a trial in this regard.¹⁶⁹

Keeping in view of the expiry of rentership of Hassan Ali and Jogipantulu in Sept 1769, the Madras Government surveyed the revenue position of the middle Sarkars in June 1769, and then decided to advertise the lease of the Sarkars in piecemeal.¹⁷⁰

At the time of expiry of rentership, Hassan Ali had fallen in arrears to the Company for the Sarkars of Ellore and Mustaphanagar to the tune of 50,500 Madras pagodas and 49,500 Madras pagodas for the joint rentership of Rajahmundry for the year 1767-68. The Rajahs of Nuzividu, the Charmahal, Vuyyur, Peddaporam, Pittaporam Domahal, Kota Ramachandrapuram, Korukonda, Polavaram and Guntala were due to the renter to the tune of 63, 112. M.P.

They were to pay this amount in two equal instalments on Feb 20, 1768, but, they were in default.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Resolution in Military Consultations, Vol.63-1, pp. 558, Masuli to Madras, Dt.23rd Nov, Vol.36, pp. 674-676.

¹⁶⁸ L. Sundaram : *Op.cit*, JAHRs, Vol.VII, Part 3, Jan, 1933, p. 142.

¹⁶⁹ Records of Fort St. George : *Pub. Cons.*, Dt.9th June, 1769, Vol.28, pp. 367-69.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Records of Fort St. George : *Military Consultations*, Dt. 2nd Nov, 1768, Statement of balances due to the Company, Vol.63, pp. 133-97.

13. TERMINATION OF HASSAN ALI

Hassan Ali Khan delivered the Sarkars to the English without causing any difficulty to the English as was expected of him by the English. He, further, cleared all the dues he owed to the Company on account of the rent of the Sarkars. Though most of the amount was due to him from the Zamindars, he met the commitment out of the revenues of his own *Jagir*. But, he expected that the English would definitely reward him for his loyalty. He was attached to these Sarkars for more than a decade by now. Though he wanted to continue the rentership further, and desired to wait upon the Governor at Madras for a personal communication, the English brushed him aside stating that they decided to take the administration into their own hands so that they could develop personal contact with the local chiefs and advised him to defer his visit to a future date since his visit would not serve any purpose, for him at this juncture.¹⁷² The English advised him further that he could convey his proposals by a letter if the matter was so urgent.¹⁷³

Then, Hassan Ali Khan narrated his financial difficulties since he was forced to pay the Company's dues from the current year's revenues of his *Jagirs* and that the Zamindars who were due to him had not cleared their balance so far. He appealed for the extension of his service so that he could collect his dues from the defaulters and also serve the British interests.¹⁷⁴

But, the British Company turned down his request for an extension of rentership since it was the policy of the Company to administer through their own servants. The Governor, however, tried to console him that his services would be utilised when 'warranted by greater affairs befitting his abilities.' Wynch at Masulipatam was requested to assist Hassan Ali Khan in collecting his dues from the defaulting Zamindars.¹⁷⁵

Though his appointment was not considered for the year 1769-70, he hoped that he would be taken into service in 1770-71 at least. But, the Company was not likely to revert its policy. Wynch was going himself for *Jamabandi* (Revenue collection). Hassan Ali being disappointed, wrote a letter, once again, to the Governor to let out the Sarkar to him or direct Wynch

¹⁷² Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Vol.18, Yr. 1770: Lr.No.82 from Hassan Ali, Recd. 1st Apr, p. 82; Lr.No.86 to Hassan Ali, Recd. Dt.16th Apr, pp. 88, 89; Lr.No. 92 from Hassan Ali, Recd. 19th Apr, p. 98.

¹⁷³ Ibid. Lr.No.105 to Hassan Ali, Dt. 33rd May, pp. 111 & 113.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. Lr.No.147 from Hassan Ali, Recd. 31st July, pp. 156 & 158.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. Lr.No.151 to Hassan Ali, Dt. 10th Aug, p. 160.

to collect the revenues due to him from the defaulting Zamindars at the time the Company's revenue was collected.¹⁷⁶

The English reiterated their stand to manage the Sarkars through the Company's servants for a few years more so that they could get the knowledge of the affairs and that Hassan Ali Khan could not be taken into service that would result in undermining his rank and abilities and he should wait, patiently, till the "occasion of importance" to rise in the course of time.¹⁷⁷ The English also expressed that they could not suffer their current year's revenue by forcing the Zamindars to pay Hassan Ali Khan's dues. But, to the misfortune of Hassan Ali Khan, such "occasion of importance" did never rise in his life time. He spent a miserable time before his death. A sum of 1,00,000 pagodas was due to him from the Zamindars and his personal *Jagir* could not support his huge establishment.

He realised the difference between the native and the foreign rulers. He felt that Nizam Ali would not have deserted him, in this manner, if he had served him, loyally. The indifference of the Company ached his heart and his health failed him for more than a year. He died on the evening of Aug 26, 1771 at a place called Nagur in his *Jagir*. He left behind a large retinue. His sons and daughters were too young to support themselves and inherited a huge debt from his father. The English withdrew the grant of *Jagir* on the event of Hassan Ali's death, since it was granted to him for his life when he left the service of Nizam Ali. Hassan Ali's request for a hereditary *Jagir* was not respected. Under these circumstances, Hassan Ali's eldest son, Zainulaboddin, appealed to the English to restore the *Jagir* to the family referring to the Muslim custom that on the death of a man of distinction, his son or his brother would inherit the rank, title and *Jagir* of the deceased. In the original *Sanad* granted to Hassan Ali by the Nizam, it was clearly stated, according to him, that the *Jagir* was hereditary.¹⁷⁸ Zainulaboddin presented the *Sanad* of Nizam Ali to Wynch at Masulipatam for examination, but to no avail. Mobarakud Dowla, alias Zainulaboddin, corresponded to the Chief of Vizagapatam regarding the debts of his father, Hassan Ali. At last, the Madras Government guaranteed the payment to some extent, of the various creditors of Mubarakud-Dowla.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.18 for the year 1770; Lr.No.200 from Hassan Ali Recd. 2nd Dec. 1770, pp. 304, 305.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. : Lr.No.212 to Hassan Ali, Dt. 28th Dec. 1770, pp. 330 - 331.

¹⁷⁸ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No. 139 from Zainulaboddin, Dt.15th, Recd. 20th Sept, 1771, pp. 226-28.

¹⁷⁹ Fort W. India House Correspondence, Vol.XVII, Pol., Lr.No. 23, Dt.28th Oct, 1793 Para 8 of Cons., Dt.13th Sept, No.1,2,3, p. 297.

Hassan Ali's services could not be under-estimated for the gradual penetration of the English into the Sarkars and by the time, he was asked to retire, the authority of the English was well-established in Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustaphanagar.

The transfer of power in the Northern Sarkars would reveal the higher diplomatic ability of the English. When the Sarkars were transferred to the French Company, the English successfully instigated the powerful Zamindars of the region to rebel against the French and to exterminate them. Later, they established the Nizam's authority over the Sarkars and attempted to win over Nizam's Deputy in their favour. The English entered the Sarkars under the pretext of assisting the Deputy in revenue collections and later succeeded in renting the districts. For the first three years after the Treaty of 1766, they could reap the benefit of Hassan Ali's rich experience in the region by appointing him as the renter. When they became capable of managing the Sarkars by themselves, Hassan Ali was asked to retire. The English, thus, succeeded in establishing their authority in the region through a consistent policy followed by rigorous implementation.

Hassan Ali Khan was the first who suggested to the English to obtain Kondapalli and Ellore Sarkars from the Nizam. Till the transfer of the Sarkars, he was treated as "the Right hand of the Company", but, later, he was thrown aside, "almost with contemptuous indifference."¹⁸⁰

He was survived by five sons, two daughters, a mother-in-law, two sisters, a brother's widow, two brothers-in-law, a son-in-law and a hereditary tutor.¹⁸¹

His great grandson, Nizam-ud-Doula was however granted a monthly pension of Rs. 1,183 and the English withdrew the title of Nawab of Masulipatam from his family pedigree.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Henry Morris : *Manual of Godavari Dist.* (1878) p. 225.

¹⁸¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milil.) Lr.No.1399 from Zainulaboddin, Dt.15th and Recd. 20th Sept, 1771, pp. 226-28.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

NATIVE RESISTANCE

Though the English claimed that their occupation of the Sarkars was, by all means, constitutional, they had to face much resistance from the native chiefs in the Sarkars. The following are a few incidents of heroic resistance offered to the foreign government which would justify that the take over of the Sarkars, though legal as they claimed, was not possible without applying physical force.

1. CHICACOLE SARKAR

While the sarkars of Ellore, Mustaphanagar and Rajahmundry were settled to the satisfaction of the English on account of the cooperation of Hassan Ali Khan, the case of Chicacole Sarkar was a different one. During the period of conflict between the Nizam and the English which culminated in the Treaty of 1768, the Sarkar was subjected to the ravages of Marathas and Narain Devo of Kimidi. With great difficulty, Jogipantulu could collect some amount towards the rent of Chicacole from Payak Rao with the help of Sitharama Razu. The English knew it from the beginning that the cooperation of the house of Vizianagaram was indispensable to possess the Sarkar of Chicacole. Sitharama Razu assisted Cap. Casemore in reducing Narain Devo and establishing peace in the Sarkar.

Soon after the Treaty of 1768 was signed confirming the grant of Northern Sarkars to the English, Tandra Narsa Rao, *Diwan* to Vijjarama Razu, wrote to the English insisting on the restoration of the *Jagir* under Rajahmundry Sarkar to Vizianagaram though he agreed to accept the rent as per the last year.¹ Vijjarama Razu petitioned to the English to confirm the *Jagir* yielding Rs. 24,000 which was granted to him by Salabat Jung in 1165 *Fasli* (1755) and enjoyed by the family till 1766 and, in turn, he expressed his preparedness to assist the English with his force whenever there was any trouble in the Sarkar. Vijjarama Razu implored the English to grant him

¹ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.143, from Tandra Narsa Rao, Vol.16, pp. 226-7.

Kotapalli village under Rajahmundry Sarkar which was yielding a paltry sum of 600 *pagodas* per year, to enable him perform religious rituals on the banks of the river, Godavari. He protested also against the interference of Cap. Madge while the Rajah was trying to collect the arrears of revenues from the Zamindar of Kallikota under Ichapuram district who was evading payment of his *Peshcush* to Ranagarazu, the previous renter of the Chicacole Sarkar, to whom the Rajah stood surity for the payment to the English on his behalf, because Rangarazu was a close relative of the Rajah.²

The English did not intend to revert to the unified management of the Chicacole Sarkar since the Rajah of Vizianagaram might not submit to the authority of a renter. Obviously, the Madras Government were not prepared to entrust Sitharama Razu with 'any real' power at this stage. They determined to weaken the strength of Vizianagaram.³

So, the individual agreements were concluded with Sitharama Razu and Payak Rao for the year 1768. Cotsfort and Col. Peach could establish peace gradually in the Sarkar. Narain Devo, the Company's enemy was routed and the Rajah of Tekkali was humiliated. Ramajogipatro, a former *Diwan* of Narain Devo, was appointed to manage the Zamindary of Kimidi for the time-being till the English could establish themselves there.⁴

Narain Devo fled and took shelter in the hill region. He had still the support of the Hill-chiefs and so, he could at any time cause disturbance in the Sarkar. Under these circumstances, Cotsford invested Narain Devo's legitimate son (as against his illegitimate son) as the Rajah on the advice of the *Diwan*, Ramajogipatro.⁵

Ichapuram was separated from Kimidi and made as Company's *haveli* land. This was placed under Akkaji. Zamindaries of Tekkali and Jalmeer were restored to the respective Zamindars raising their tributes.⁶

But, Narain Devo took Kimidi and drove out Ramajogipatro.⁷ So, the English decided to find an end to these disturbances in the Sarkar by 'crushing' Narain Devo. First, they wanted to isolate him by capturing the supporters,

² Ibid. : Vijiarama Razu. p. 228.

³ L. Sundaram : Op.cit, JAHRS, Vol.XII, July, 1938, p. 142.

⁴ Ibid.

^{5 & 6} Ibid.

⁷ Records of Fort St. George : Masuli to Madras, 6th Jan, 1769, Lr.No.45 Military Consultations, Dt.12th Jan, Vol.65, pp. 19-20.

Goman Isi, and Rayagudi Isi, both the hill-chiefs with the help of Ramajogipatro and Linga Bhupati, the Rajah of Madgallu with the help of Sitharama Razu. The English succeeded in their attempt. Narain Devo, being deserted by his close followers, had, however, won the support of one, Vikrama Devo, the Zamindar of Saloor and Rayagarh. Both of them planned to bring Marathas through the passage of Rayagarh. On receiving this intelligence, Smith and Col. Peach requested Sitharama Razu to oppose them. Sitharama Razu sent Payak Rao to Vikaram Devo and succeeded in breaking the friendship between Narain Devo and Vikram Devo.⁸

Under these circumstances, Narain Devo tried to reconcile with the British Company and wrote a letter to Charles Bouchier, Governor at Madras, to excuse his past misdeeds which he committed on the ill-advice of certain enemies.⁹ He also wrote a letter to Cotsford at Vizagapatam requesting him to recommend his case to Madras Council to settle the affairs of his Zamindary.¹⁰

But, the English were not prepared to pardon him for his crimes and directed Ramajogipatro to take the most expedient measure in conjunction with Andrews for putting Narain Devo into our hands.¹¹

The English protested against the action of Sitharama Razu who tried to molest the Polygar of Saloor under the pretext that he helped Vikram Devo and Narain Devo. The English wanted to protect Vikram Devo after he had ceased his relations with Narain Devo.¹²

Sitharama Razu sent his *Diwan*, Jagannatha Razu, to Madras to acquaint the Madras Government with the particulars of the dispute of his Zamindary.¹³ Woratla district belonging to Peddapuram Zamindary was annexed to Vizianagaram by Vijarama Razu (the elder) before he restored

⁸ Ibid.: Country Correspondence, Vol.17-2, Yr.1769, Lr.No.1st from Sitharama Razu to John Levin Smith, Dt.24th April, 1769, pp. 269-71, Lr.No.213 from Vijayarama Raju to Jagannatha Razu the Diwan at Madras, Dt.22nd May, 1769, pp. 310, 11.

⁹ Ibid.: Vol.17-2, Lr. from Narain Devo, Dt.17th August, and recd. Dt.24th Sept, No.293, pp. 435-36.

¹⁰ Ibid.: Vol.17-2, Lr.No.294 from Dev to Cotsford, Dt.17th August, pp. 436-437.

¹¹ Ibid.: To Ramajogipatro, Dt.21st November.

¹² Ibid.: Vol.17-2, Yr. 1769, Lr.No.181 from Sitharama Razu to John Smith, Dt.24th April, 1769, pp. 269-71; Lr.No.213 from Vijarama Razu to Jagannatha Razu, Dt.22nd May, 1769, pp. 310-11.

¹³ Ibid.

the Zamindary of Peddapuram to its hereditary ruler. Thimma Razu after the Battle of Chebrole. This was protested by Jagapathi Razu alias Thimma Razu of Peddapuram who requested the Madras Council to grant him a *Sanad* for the *paragana* of Woratla and other five *Mahals* in consideration of his hereditary right and his unflinching loyalty to the English.¹⁴ The enmity between Vizianagaram and Peddapuram was continuing from the accession of Ananda Razu to the Zamindary of Vizianagaram after the Battle of Bobbili since Ananda Razu did not like the restoration of Thimma Razu to Peddapuram by his predecessor.

Meanwhile, Bouchier, on his resignation, was replaced by Dupre as the Governor at Madras.¹⁵

Sitharama Razu had yet another claim on the *paragana* of Peroor and Impaloor dependent on Rajahmundry Sarkar presently enjoyed by the Kalidindi family of Mogilituru.¹⁶

But the English were not inclined to concede to the claims of Sitharama Razu as a step to diminish the power and influence of Vizianagaram. The English felt that the Rajah of Mogilituru had stronger claim over the *paragana* than the Rajah of Vizianagaram despite the numerous protests.¹⁷

Further, the English wanted to stop the incursions of Vizianagaram into Kimmidi and Ichapuram territories. On the death of Narain Devo, the countries of Kimmidi and Koppunur were kept under the charge of Gajapathi Devo, son of Narain Devo, and Prathap Dev, younger brother of Narain Devo respectively. Sitharama Razu tried to seize this opportunity and marched into these territories under the pretext of collecting dues from them. Gajapathi Devo and Prathap Devo fled to the forests and appealed to Cotsford at Ganjam to grant a *Cowle* for these *paraganas*. Cotsford supported the cause of Prathap Devo and granted a *Cowle* against the wishes of Sitharama Razu.¹⁸ However, the affair was settled between Vijarama Razu and Prathap Devo. The Madras Government sent Andrews to Vizagapatam

¹⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.322 from Jagapathi Razu, Recd. 12th Nov, 1769, Vol.17-2, Yr. 1769, pp. 499-501.

¹⁵ Ibid. : Lr.No. 13 to Sitharama Razu, Dt. 5th Mar, p. 24.

¹⁶ Ibid. : Lr.No. 160 from Sitharama Razu, Vol. 19, Yr.1771, pp. 259, 260.

¹⁷ Ibid. : Lr.No.187 to Sitharama Razu, Dt. 17th Dec, 1771, pp. 297, 298.

¹⁸ Ibid. : Lr.No.51 from Prathap Devo, Dt.17th Feb, 1772, Vol. 21, Yr. 1772, p. 106.

on the request of Vijarama Razu. However, the Rajah was advised to keep himself away from the affair of Kimidi Zamindary.¹⁹

Throughout this period, the English maintained cordial relations with the Nizam Government. On the request of the *Diwan* of Nizam Ali, Ruknuddoula, the English restored the *Kasba* (the right to collect the customs and other duties to the highest bidder) of Rajahmundry to Khwaja Nurulla Khan, nephew of Salabat Jung who was enjoying the *Kasba* for a term of more than 60 years till it was rented out to one, Thimma Razu for a higher rent. The English also averted a skirmish by restoring the idols of Bhadrachalam temple which were forcibly taken out by the Zamindars of Gutala and Polavaram under Rajahmundry.²⁰

2. SEQUESTRATION OF VIZIANAGARAM ZAMINDARY

Since the Nizam was deprived of all his claims over the Northern Sarkars, the English were freed from external danger. But, they had some difficulty with the Zamindar of Vizianagaram whose power was to be reckoned within the Sarkar of Chicacole.

The English were always suspicious about the fidelity of the Rajahs of Vizianagaram. According to two papers in the French language, one entitled "Copy of Instructions given to Mons. de Bussy" and the other "Copy of a project given by Sieur de Busy" procured by the English in 1783, Vijarama Razu was reported that "he was a party to determine upon the most secret ways of acting in concert (with the *Vakils* of Basalat Jung and the Rajah of Carnatic) to produce the revolution proper for the free independence of India and for the reciprocal pretensions of their Masters". So, the Bengal Council resolved to watch carefully the conduct of the family of Vizianagaram "in order to prevent any detriment to the Company's interests in the Sarkars."²¹

Jogipantulu and his brother Venkatapati Rayulu who enjoyed the offices of *Mazumdar* and *Shiristadar* respectively till 1781 and rented several

¹⁹ Ibid. : Lr.No.88 from Vijarama Razu Recd. 24th Apr, 1772, Lr.No.93 from Sitharama Razu, Red. 20th Apr, 1772, Vol.211, pp. 167 & 168 respectively.

²⁰ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Vol.19 for the year 1771.; Lr.No.110 from Jalabat Jung, Recd. 25th June, 1771, p. 180; Lr.No.111 from Ruknuddoula, Recd. 25th June, 1771, p. 181; Lr.No.153 to Ruknuddoula, Dt. 4th Nov, 1771, p. 248; Lr.No.190 from Ruknuddoula, Recd. 20th Dec., P. 301.

²¹ Fort William - India House Correspondence (Foreign & Secret) Vol.XV, 1782-86, (1963) Lr. from the Court, Dt.9th Sept, 1783, pp. 52 & 53.

farms and enjoyed *Russome* and other gifts till their abolition in 1786, were, from the beginning, working against the Rajah of Vizianagaram.

The internal disputes in the Zamindary of Vizianagaram provided sufficient opportunity to the English to diminish the power and influence of Vizianagaram before the end of the 18th Century.

Internal troubles of Zamindar

The misunderstandings between Vijarama Razu and Sitharama Razu were caused by one, Jagannatha Razu who worked for a long time in the service of the Zamindary and later procured *Havelilands* under the British Company. The English interfered in the affairs of the Zamindary when Sitharama Razu got Jagannatha Razu arrested for some dues to his Zamindary and kept in the Fort of Vizianagaram. The English claimed the release of Jagannatha Razu on the pretext that he was a Company's servant. The Chief of Vizagapatam also charged the Rajah of Vizianagaram that he was raising troops and that he had invited Marathas into the Sarkar to create disturbances. The English also protested against the adoption of the son of Sitharama Razu to succeed Vijarama Razu without obtaining prior permission of the English Government, his overlords.²²

Col. Braithwite arrived at Vizagapatam to ensure Jagannatha Razu's release. Vijarama Razu complained that Johnson, the Chief of Vizagapatam, had misreported about him and hence, he expressed his desire to go over to Madras personally to explain every thing to the Governor.²³

Later, Col. Braithwite, with a company of *sepoys*, arrived at Vizianagaram to press for the payment of arrears of tribute. Vijarama Razu was not prepared for this onslaught and expressed his willingness to deliver up all his territories and to go to Madras with his family. But, Col. Braithwite had only come over there to take the Rajah of Vijianagaram to Vizagapatam so as to arrange for a meeting between the Rajah and the Chief of Vizagapatam to wipe out the differences between them.²⁴

Jagannatha Razu 'poisoned' the ears of the Chief of Vizagapatam that the Rajah was paying only 4 1/2 *lakhs* as annual rent (tribute) whereas he was

²² Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.82 to Vijarama Razu, Dt.14th July, 1777, Vol.26, Yr. 1777, pp.174-176; Mackenzie's Mss. Vizianagaram : Telugu Sahitya Akademi, Vol.25, p. 205.

²³ Ibid. : Lr.No.98 from Vijarama Razu, Dt.4th Aug, 1777, pp.215-216.

²⁴ Ibid. : Lr.No. 99 from Vijarama Razu, Dt.7th Aug, 1777, pp.217-220.

collecting about 18 lakhs towards revenue from his districts.²⁵ Vijiarama Razu and Sitharama Razu felt that Jagannatha Razu might do more harm to the Zamindary being outside of it. So, they pardoned him for his misconduct and persuaded him to join the services of the Zamindary and later deputed him to Vizagapatam to settle the *peshcush* with the English as per the previous rate. But, the English were not prepared to accept the old rate and Johnson, the Chief of Vizagapatam, seized the Fort and later handed over to Vijiarama Razu only after settling the tribute at a higher rate. During this period, Jagannatha Razu was, however, successful, in separating the two brothers.²⁶ Vijiarama Razu removed Sitharama Razu and appointed Jagannatha Razu as his *Diwan*. The Rajah wrote to Madras that it was only due to the mismanagement of Sitharama Razu, his country was ruined and ' he got nothing but a bad name'. He sent Jagannatha Razu to explain his affairs, to the Madras Government. Jagannatha Razu could procure *Sanads* in favour of his master, Vijiarama Razu.²⁷

Sitharama Razu in Exile

During the period of exile, Sitharama Razu went to Madras and won the sympathies of the Madras Government. The Madras Government entrusted him with the *Haveli* lands in Nellore District and the *Diwanship* of Guntur Sarkar when the English rented the Sarkar from Basalat Jung in 1779.²⁸

Sitharama Razu tried to get Jagannatha Razu arrested while he was in Vizagapatam to procure *Sanads* in favour of Vijiarama Razu. But Jagannatha Razu escaped from Vizagapatam.²⁹

But, very soon, the Sarkar was restored to Basalat Jung and Sitharama Razu could not discharge his obligations to the English on account of the territory leased to him in Nellore. He was also charged with misappropriation of funds and the English lost confidence in him.³⁰

²⁵ Mackenzie's Mss. : Kaiyyat : Vizianagaram

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit.) Lr.No.48 & 47 from Vijiarama Razu, Dt.1st March, 1778 & 28th Feb, 1778, pp.80 & 79, Vol.27 for the year 1778.

²⁸ Talbot Wheeler : *Handbook of Madras Records* (1907) Chronological annals, p. XI.

²⁹ Mackenzie's Mss. : Vol. 25, Vizianagaram.

³⁰ Records of Fort William : Foreign and Secret Consultations, Dt.5th Aug, 1782, App.2 from Venkat Rao Anvil of Nellore, Dt. 5th July, 1782, Recd. 8th July.

Jagannatha Razu helped the Chief of Vizagapatam in arresting Sitharama Razu while he was taking refuge in Anskapalli. Sitharama Razu appealed to his brother, Vijarama Razu, who was staying at Simhachalam to come to his rescue. Accordingly, Vijarama Razu marched with some force and rescued his brother. Vijarama Razu and Sitharama Razu thrashed out their differences which were created by Jagannatha Razu and once again worked together.³¹

Though the English were not happy with the behaviour of Vijarama Razu, they could not react immediately due to their commitment in the Carnatic. Eyre Coote was marching from Bengal to the Carnatic with a contingent. Since the English were interested to curb the power of Mysore, they were in need of help from the Zamindars of Northern Sarkars. So, they addressed letters to all of them to join Eyre Coote with their native contingents and Vijarama Razu and Sitharama Razu expressed their readiness to co-operate with the British army.³² Besides this, the two brothers helped the British fleet under Col. Jones in destroying a French fleet on the coast. The English appreciated the services of these brothers.³³ However, the English were never prepared to allow a discount in the payment of dues by the Rajah in consideration of his services. The Rajah was never punctual in his payments. He paid the dues only on the approach of Col. Cookerell's detachment in October, 1792.³⁴

The Bengal Council advised Madras Government to instruct Vijarama Razu to remove Sitharama Razu from the office of *Diwan* since they felt that he was the real cause of trouble in those parts. The Madras Government was advised to take adequate steps "to bring Vijarama Razu to senses".³⁵

³¹ Meckenzie's Mss. : Vol. 25, Vizianagaram.

³² Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Milit. Dept.) Lr.No.136 to Vijarama Razu, Dt.5th Dec, 1780, Vol.29, pp. 260-61, Requesting the Razu to supply thousand Cavalry, 2,000 Sepoys, 4,000 peons; Jagapathi Razu was asked to supply 2,5000 peons, Thirupathi Razu 1,000 peons, Venkat Rao for 1,000 and Appa Rao for 1,000 peons; Lr.No.10 from Vijarama Razu, Dt.7th Jan, 1781, pp.37 to 39 of Vol.30 for the Yr. 1781; Lr.No.36 from Jagapathi Razu Dt. 8th Jan, Vol.30A, pp.103, 104; Lr.No.37 from Narsing Appa Rao, Dt.8th March, Vol.30A, p. 104; Lr.No.38 from Thirupathi Razu, Dt.8th Mar, Vol.30A, pp.104-5 responding favourably to the English appeal and showing their readiness with the *sepoys* on a short notice.

³³ Ibid. : Lr.No.21 from Vijarama Razu, Dt.27th Jan, 1782, pp.26,27; Lr.No.34 from Vijarama Razu, Dt.20th Feb, recd.7th Mar, 1782, Vol.32 for the Yr.1782, pp.26,27

³⁴ For William - Indian House Correspondence, Lr.No.17, Pol. Letters to the Court, Dt.14th Dec, 1792.

³⁵ Ibid. : Vol.XVIII, Lr.No.208, p.248, Pol.letters of Dt.18th May, No.1,2,3, on the instructions from the Court, Dt.19th Sept, 1792, Cons. 3rd May, No.I.

Despite the repeated instructions from the English, Vijiarama Razu continued the services of his brother Sitharama Razu. So, the Madras Government was left with no alternative but to write a harsh letter to Vijiarama Razu that his Zamindary would be sequestered and held by the Company until their demands upon it were fully discharged. The Madras Government also promised to provide for an adequate allowance for the maintenance of his family with permission to reside wherever he might think proper excepting Vizianagaram or any other place within the Zamindary if he submitted to the English peacefully. The English also proposed that an allowance would be granted to Sitharama Razu also if he surrendered to them unconditionally.³⁶

Vijiarama Razu was to pay dues to the Company to the extent of Rs. 6 lakhs of which Rs. 2 lakhs were collected by the English from the renters. The Rajah claimed Rs. 30 lakhs from the English on account of *Russome* of Sea and land customs for the foreign trade in his Zamindary towns and ports. But the English rejected the claim. Then Vijiarama Razu sent his brother Sitharama Razu to Madras for negotiations.

Meanwhile, Vijiarama Razu had to vacate the Fort and surrender the Zamindary to the English. He encountered with numerous difficulties in the surrender of the Fort since he was due to his *sibbendy* for quite a long time. He was afraid that they would not allow him to go to Vizagapatam without paying their arrears. But, the English assured him safe conduct to Vizagapatam by providing an English contingent to suppress any revolt from his *sibbendy*. Vijiarama Razu wrote to the English that it would be "impropriety and indeed injustice" to withhold the pay for which they had served and said, "nevertheless to whatever hitch of adversity I may be reduced whilst my heart throbs in my bosom, I shall not withdraw from the Fort and from the path of Duty."

The English strongly protested against the 'naughty' behaviour of Vijiarama Razu and demanded him to withdraw from the Fort without resistance and the English would take care of his *sibbendy*.³⁷

Vijiarama Razu could not resist further and the Zamindary was taken over by the English and he was sanctioned a paltry allowance of Rs. 12,000³⁸

³⁶ Records of Fort St. George : Country correspondence (Milit.) Vo.44, Yr. 1793, No.106, pp.220-223 to Vijiarama Razu, Dt. 22nd May, 1793.

³⁷ Ibid. : Lr.No.80 to Vijayarama Razu, Dt. 31st May, 1794, pp.146,148 in reply to his letter Dt.17th May, 1795.

³⁸ Taraporewala : Fort William India House Correspondence (Foreign & Pol.and Sec.) Vol.XVIII (1955) Meckenzie's Mss. Vizianagaram.

per month. The Rajah's request to increase his monthly allowance to Rs. 30,000 was turned down.^{38 A}

The Battle of Padmanabham

Sitharama Razu betrayed his brother after he went to Madras for negotiations. He procured a *Sanad* in favour of his son, Simha Gazapathi to succeed to the *Zamindary*.³⁹

The very presence of Vijiarama Razu in the *Zamindary* was causing much trouble to the English in their administration. No one was coming forward to rent the lands for the fear of the Rajah. Besides, the Hill *Zamindars* dependent on Vizianagaram were supporting the cause of Vijiarama Razu. So, Col. Pendergast instructed Vijiarama Razu to leave his country for Madras. This infuriated the Rajah. He pretended to be marching towards Madras with his small retinue and later changed his route suddenly towards Padmanabham. He was joined by his sympathisers and the famous Battle of Padmanabham was fought on July 10, 1794. The skirmish lasted for 3/4 an hour in which the Rajah was killed. Others took refuge in nearby hills alongwith Narayan Gajapathi, son of Vijiarama Razu.⁴⁰

The heroic death of Vijiarama Razu caused surprise to the English Colonel who expected the Rajah to flee for life. He ordered for a state funeral for the dead hero.⁴¹

Sitharama Razu, on his return journey, died at Alivelu Mangapuram and his wife performed *Sati*.⁴² Thus, the two brothers who were so prominent in the region for more than four decades died one after the other in quick succession and the English were freed from all worries.

Narayan Gajapathi and the Hill Chiefs offered resistance till May 12, 1795 when Narayana Razu surrendered. The English freed all the Hill Chiefs from the Rajah and they were brought under their direct control. Thus, the power and influence of Vizianagaram waned.⁴³

^{38A} Vizagapatam District records : Vol. 3700 Cons., Dt. 10th May, 1794, pp. 129-30.

³⁹ Meckenzie's Mss. : Vol. 25.

⁴⁰ Fort William India House Correspondence (Foreign Pol. & Sec.) Vol. XVIII Introduction, p. 39, p. 297, 393-4 Pol. letters to Court Dt. 18th May, 1793, para 2-7, 28th Oct, 1793, para 7, 18th Aug, 1794, para 2-6 and 12th May, 1795, para 3.

⁴¹ Meckenzie's Mss. : Vol. 25, Telugu Sahitya Academi.

⁴² Fort William - India House Correspondence, Vol. VII Pol. letters, Lr.No.40, Dt.12th May, 1795, p. 541, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXV, (Oct, 1908) p. 341.

⁴³ Idem.

Narayan Razu Gajapathi was reinstated to Vizianagaram Taluka much less in extension than before. This territory had an estimated annual yield of Rs. 12 *lakhs* of which the Rajah was to pay Rs. 6 *lakhs* as his tribute to the English.⁴⁴

3. TOTAPALLI AFFAIR

Though the transfer of the Sarkars appears to be peaceful outwardly, it was not without resistance from the local Chiefs, particularly Hill Chiefs. The Revolt of Totapalli Zamindar serves as a good illustration of tribal resistance to the British Colonialism.

The Totapalli Estate was a small district about 40 miles from Samarlakota dependent on Peddapur Zamindar paying 500 *pagodas* annually to the Zamindar of Peddapur as a tribute. The Chief of the district at the time of transfer of the Sarkars was Juggappa Dora. He defied the authority of the British official at Samarlakota, Captain Madge, who directed him to supply some bamboos and timber for the construction of public buildings at his headquarters (Samarlakota)⁴⁵. Totapalli Zamindary was well known for its exports of timber and bamboos. In fact it was the only source of revenue to the Zamindar. Owing to the special circumstances, the Zamindar never used to pay the tribute promptly to the Zamindar of Peddapuram and in turn, the Zamindar of Peddapuram never took the matter very seriously, since it was not thought worthwhile and economically viable to take the district under their own management. Capt. Madge complained to Wynch that the *Poligar* refused the supply on the advice of Raghava Razu, the *Diwan* of Peddapuram. He reported that Raghava Razu warned the *Poligar* that there would be no end to such demand in future if, once, he accepted this demand. The demand was unprecedented since he was not under the direct control of the Company.⁴⁶ Capt. Madge described the *Poligar* as 'Truly troublesome fellow' and required 2 to 3 companies of *sepoys* besides the army of Peddapuram to reduce him.⁴⁷

Alexander Wynch at Masulipatam opened negotiations with Juggappa Dora to answer for his behaviour. Juggappa Dora informed Wynch

⁴⁴ D.F. Carmichael : *Manual of Vizagapatam Dist.* (1869).

⁴⁵ Selections from the Records of Godavari Dist. : Report of the Totapalli Estate (8th April, 1770- 12th March, 1771) Kakinada 1912; Lr. from Wynch to Governor Josias Du Pre, at Fort St. George, Dt. 5th April, 1770, p. 865.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* : Lr. from Capt. Madge to Wynch, from Samarlakota, Dt.17th April, 1770, pp.16, 17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* : Lr. from Capt. Madge to Wynch from Samarlakota, Dt.3rd April, 1770, p. 15.

that he would only be answerable to Wynch if he was freed from the Zamindar of Peddapuram. Wynch could not bear the insolence of a petty Hill Chief and wrote to the Council at Madras⁴⁸ to permit him to send Captain Madge along with Timma Razu, the Zamindar of Peddapuram, to reduce Juggappa Dora to subjection. He, further, wrote to Thimmarazu of Peddapuram that he should assist Capt. Madge in reducing the Totapalli Estate, otherwise, this estate would not be added to him after it was seized from Juggappa Dora.⁴⁹

Thimmarazu of Peddapuram has shown interest in this affair in the initial stage only to see Juggappa Dora submitted to his authority. He expressed his willingness to expel Juggappa Dora from Totapalli.⁵⁰ He proposed that Juggappa Dora should handover the plain parts of his Estate to the Company and some Hill parts to his brother Rajanna Dora who joined the side by the Rajah.⁵¹

But, the Council at Madras had already resolved to take action against Juggappa Dora for his refractory behaviour. The Government at Madras felt that they should take this matter very seriously and set an example by punishing him so that the other Zamindars should learn a lesson. The Council was prepared to proceed in this affair whether they received help from the Rajah of Peddapuram or not.⁵² The motive in taking up arms against Totapalli *Poligar* was to convince the other Zamindars that the English Government would not tolerate any refractory behaviour among them to go unpunished.⁵³

Meanwhile, Raghava Razu was able to win over Timma Razu, the Rajah of Peddapuram, who showed disinterest in the whole affair and suggested to Captain Madge to stop their efforts for the present and wait for a more favourable opportunity when the *Poligar* settled down in Totapalli, and disbanded his troops expecting peace. The Rajah, further, warned that the *Poligar* would cause much disturbance in all the surrounding *parganas*.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Ibid. : Lr. from Alwxander Wynch at Masulipatam, Dt. 8th April, 1770, to Governor Josias Du Pre Esq. at Fort George, pp. 1 & 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid. : Lr. from Wynch to Cap. Madge, Dt. 23rd April, 1770, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Ibid. : Lr. from Wynch to Governor, Dt. 3rd May, 1770, p. 67.

⁵¹ Ibid. : Lr. from Wynch to Governor, Dt. 29th May, 1770, p. 68.

⁵² Ibid. : Lr. from Governor Du Pre to Wynch at Masulipatam, Dt. 1st May, 1770, pp. 70 & 71.

⁵³ Ibid. : Lr. from Governor to Wynch, Dt. 22nd May, 1770, pp. 71, 72.

⁵⁴ Ibid. : Lr. from Capt. Madge to Wynch, Dt. 28th Apr, 1770, from Samarlakota, pp. 18

Wynch, the Chief at Masulipatam, warned the Rajah of Peddapuram that the subjugation of Totapalli would be done by the English alone if the Rajah did not accept to cooperate with them and in such case, Totapalli would not be given to the Rajah.⁵⁵ Further, the English were very much worried about the negotiations between the Rajah and Juggappa Dora. Though Totapalli was deserted by Juggappa Dora, the Rajah was not able to administer the area due to the depredations of Juggappa Dora along with his brother Rajanna Dora. So, Alexander Wynch instructed Capt. Madge to induce Rajanna Dora to come over to their side.⁵⁶

Cap. Madge felt that the operations against Juggappa Dora would be 'tedious and expensive' and suggested to make peace with him. The Rajah of Peddapuram was never serious in reducing the *Poligar*. Besides this, Juggappa Dora had the sympathies of nearby Hill Chiefs and other Zamindars. He was getting material assistance from the *Poligar* of Jiddengy.

But, the Madras Council induced the Rajah to march with the Captain along with 500 Matchlock and about 400 pikemen under the command of Raghava Raju. The other petty Zamindars, Niladri Rao, Ramachanra Razu and Konnoty Thirupati, also joined them. The Captain was heading 3 complete companies of *sepoys* with two battalions of field pieces. The English expected that the *poligar* could mobilise 2000 men, one thirds of whom would be without arms and another third of whom were inhabitants of Peddapuram and Pittapuram towns who would not long adhere to Juggappa Dora's cause.⁵⁷

Their march was disturbed by the overflow of certain rivulets on account of heavy rains while on their way and so they could not reach Totapalli before 9th May. Rajanna Dora, the lieutenant of Juggappa Dora, was persuaded to join and he joined them in the last minute and so, the *poligar* was induced to retire to Gulgonda. The country was entirely deserted. The Captain proposed to appoint Rajanna Dora to the management of Totapalli and to pursue Juggappa Dora.⁵⁸

Timma Razu was not very serious to expel Juggappa Dora. The *Poligar* of Gulgonda offered mediation between the Rajah and Juggappa Dora to the satisfaction of the Rajah. The Rajah was willing to reinstate

⁵⁵ Ibid. : Lr. from Wynch to the Rajah Peddapuram, Dt. 23rd April, 1770, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Ibid. : Lr. from Wynch to Madge, Dt. 7th July, 1770, pp. 8 & 9.

⁵⁷ Ibid. : Lr. from Capt. Madge at Samarlakota to Wynch, Dt. 28th April, 1770, pp. 18

⁵⁸ Ibid. : Lr. from Capt. to Wynch, Dt. 9th May, 1770, pp. 21 & 22.

Juggappa if he submitted himself. The Captain realised that the Rajah pretended to have been convinced to put Rajanna Dora in charge of the management of Totapalli. When the party left for forests to pursue Juggappa Dora, the Rajah followed with 300 men and did not keep any detachment at Totapalli. Because of the Rajah's inclinations, the English feared that Rajanna Dora might defect to the side of Juggappa.⁵⁹

On hearing this, Alexander Wynch reprimanded the Rajah in a strong letter that he should not come to terms with Juggappa Dora in a mediation meeting with Gulgonda Rajah at Reetalapudi. The Rajah was, then, prepared to assist the Captain in constructing two temporary *Redoubts*, one in the valley of *Shankaram* and the other in the valley of *Lampagotam*. These villages which were too remote to be defended from these redoubts were to be destroyed so that the *Poligar* would be left with no source to support his followers after the little money he had, was spent. Capt. Madge wanted to see that the inhabitants should be deterred from cultivating the country as long as they adhered to the cause of Juggappa Dora under the fear that their crops might be destroyed or plundered by the Rajah's people, till they might be reduced either to sue for protection and submit to the Rajah's government or to retire out of the country for want of subsistence.⁶⁰

Very soon, Rajanna Dora joined the cause of Juggappa Dora. He repaired the barrier at Totapalli and placed felled trees across the defile leading from Wakapalli into the valley of Shankharam "with intention to shut us (the English) up within the hills". He placed bamboos and thorns on the way. So, the Rajah and the Captain had to return from Reetalapudi to Pollam where they exchanged fire with Rajanna Dora. The English troops burnt the town since the people could not come to terms while the Rajah's troops did not fire at them. Capt. Madge cleared the road from Pollam to Shankaram by engaging sufficient number of wood cutters and tank diggers and raised a redoubt there with one company of *sepoys* and 500 men of the Rajah. Another redoubt at Smpagotava was to be maintained by 500 matchlock men of the Rajah. Raghava Razu with 1000 men would keep supplies to redoubts and watch the movements of the *Poligar*, The *Poligar* of Gulgonda did not heed to the request of the English to expel Juggappa from his areas.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Selections from the Records of Godavari District : Report on the Totapalli Affair; Capt. to Wynch, Dt. 21st May, 1770, pp. 23 & 25.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* : Lr. from Capt. Madge to Wynch, Dt. 5th June, 1770, from camp at (near to) Totapalli, pp. 26-28.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

The Madras Government, on being informed by Alexander Wynch of the foul play of Raghava Razu, felt that it might be better had the expedition never been undertaken, and that "We have gone too far in the affair to recede without a resque of lessening out consequence in the Eyes of several Zamindars." The Madras Government directed Wynch that Raghava Razu might be arrested if it was necessary to prevent him from helping the rebel, indirectly, and Rajanna Dora should be won over to their side by "assuring him that he would be given Totapalli alongwith the independent position off Peddapuram."⁶²

But, Rajanna Dora had become more hostile by now. He crossed over to Kottayam paragana by blocking up the defiles and stationed his troops on Hills, still attempting to communicate with Juggappa Dora. Capt. Madge wanted to catch the *Poligar* if he came in person to talk to Raghava Razu or Venkatapathi Razu, the *Qilledar* of Peddapuram, who were friends of Juggappa Dora. Meanwhile, Capt. Madge sought additional supplies from Masulipatam through Jagannatha puram.⁶³

Conciliatory talks with Juggappa

The Rajah and the Captain could not procure men to build the redoubts since the *Poligar's* men were attacking every one. So, they retired to Dughards leaving Raghava Razu at Shankaram who promised to catch Juggappa in person when he came there from conciliatory talks with him, but, he could not imprison him since Juggappa came to meet him well-guarded. Raghava Razu, then left for Womangy on June 26, where he would be meeting Juggappa to finalise the affair and promised to deliver him to the English if he was caught hold of.⁶⁴ But Juggappa came to Womangy with 2000 men, two thirds of whom were matchcock men. So, this plan also failed. Juggappa again retired to hills. But, Juggappa's financial position was far from satisfactory. Though he wanted to disband his *sibbendy*, Rajanna Dora prevailed upon him to keep them so that Peddapura country could be looted.⁶⁵ But, Juggappa wanted to arrive at a compromise with the Rajah of Peddapuram. He sent his *Vakil* to the Rajah for negotiating the terms. The Rajah insisted to make good the expenses for this expedition in addition to

⁶² Selections from the Records of Godavari Dist.: Report of the Totapalli Estate; Lr. from Governor to Wynch, Dt. 6th June, 1770, pp. 72 & 73.

⁶³ Ibid. : Lr. from Capt. Madge to Wynch from Camp at Shankharam, Dt. 16th June, 1770, p. 30.

⁶⁴ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Shankharam on 1st July, 1770, pp. 32, 33.

⁶⁵ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Shankharam on 1st July, 1770, p.

6000 *pagodas* for the last year's rent along with an assurance of his good conduct and regular payments in future. But, Juggappa could only offer Rs.7,600 in all.

As these negotiations failed, the English planned to reduce Jiddengy *Poligar*, Eriya Reddy, from whom the *Poligar* was receiving material assistance, to cease his relations with Juggappa. Otherwise, the English felt "it would be difficult to reduce Juggappa though it would stake the Company's honour"⁶⁶ So, the Captain and the Rajah left for Lampagalova where they expected to speak terms with the Jiddengy *Poligar*. Meanwhile, Captain Madge collected additional supplies from Kaikinaram. He left 200 *sibbendy* with one company of *sepoya* under Ensign Wilson at Shankaram.⁶⁷ Jiddengy *Poligar* demanded 'rent-free' holding of his country as he was enjoying under Juggappa, otherwise he expressed his willingness to maintain neutrality in the affair and honour the future terms between the Rajah and Juggappa. This attempt of the English to reduce Jiddengy *Poligar*, also, failed.⁶⁸ But, Captain Madge came to know, later, that the Rajah's meeting with Jiddengy *Poligar* was false, when he sent his own man to the *Poligar*.⁶⁹

Juggappa went to Gulgunda for supplies leaving his men in the hills. The English were entertaining a fond hope that his men were in distress owing to sickness and lack of provisions and so, his men might desert him soon. Besides, the English hoped that Juggappa would not get assistance from Gulgunda. So, they imagined, 'he may not return, lest his *sibbendy* should be so much exasperated at his disappointing them as to resolve to deliver him up to the Rajah.'⁷⁰

But, Juggappa was able to get supplies from Gulgunda Rajah on the insistence of Sitharama Razu of Vizianagaram and returned to his men. He distributed money among his faithful followers, Rajanna Dora and Jiddengy *Poligar*. Immediately he occupied Totapalli and settled down in that territory.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Selections from the Records of Godavari Dist. : Report of the Totapalli Estate; Lr. from Wynch from Madge from Shankaram, Dt. 26th July, 1770, pp. 34-36.

⁶⁷ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Samarlakota, Dt. 12th Aug, 1770, pp.37, 38.

⁶⁸ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch Samarlakots, Dt. 22nd Sept, 1770, pp. 38, 39.

⁶⁹ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Shankaram, Dt. 28th Sept, 1770, pp.39,40,41.

⁷⁰ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Samarlakota, Dt. 22nd Sept, 1770, pp.38, 39.

⁷¹ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Shankaram, Dt. 28th Sept, 1770, pp. 39,40,41.

Captain Madge realised that the Rajah of Peddapuram and Raghava Razu, his *Diwan*, and other native chiefs were misleading him in this affair and also felt that it was not easy to reduce this hill-chief. He wrote to the Chief at Masulipatam to permit him to March to Shankaram to enter into a treaty with the *Poligar* 'at his own terms or to dislodge him from Totapalli.' The Rajah of Peddapuram, having left his place for long, wanted to make peace with the *poligar*, if Juggappa offered Rs. 10,000 towards arrears and expenses.⁷² The Madras Government instructed the Chief at Masulipatam "to act as principals in the affair". In their secret message, the Madras Government authorised the Chief to allow peace with Juggappa if he offered submission in person and "then resentment should fall on Raghava Razu" who was the main architect of the foul play.⁷³

Juggappa, also, seemed to have expressed his willingness to make peace with the English if he was given protection by the English. Captain Madge suggested to the Chief of Masulipatam, "it were much to be wished he was still allowed sovereignty of the District on any terms the *Poligar* may be prevailed upon to submit to before the country is assumed by the Company as that measure can be adopted after every other method of reconciling him to Timma Razu may have proved ineffectual."⁷⁴

The Rajah of Peddapuram was extending half hearted cooperation in this affair. The English suspected a foul play on the part of the Rajah and his *Diwan*, Raghava Razu. The English felt that the Rajah of Peddapuram was not showing much interest in reducing Totapalli though it was his own affair. So, the English surprised, "Peddapuram Rajah instead of acting principal in his affair, is appearing as luke-warm auxiliary" and they determined, "The country is to be settled on any other terms than that of an accommodation with Juggappa, notwithstanding he has offered every kind of submission in his power that justice tempered with clemency can require". The English were depending on paid guides to get the knowledge of hills, but following them blindly resulted in "fatal consequences". The English felt that driving the enemy out of hills would be a prosperous beginning of restoring peace in the districts. To achieve this end they wanted "effective vigilance and the assistance of principal inhabitants".⁷⁵

⁷² Selections from the Records of Godavari Dist. : Report to the Totapalli Estate; Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Shankaram, Dt. 28th Sept, 1770, pp. 39,40,41.

⁷³ *Ibid.* : Letter from Governor, Dt. 1st Aug, 1770, p. 73.

⁷⁴ *Idem.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* : Lr. from Capt. Madge to Wynch from Shankaram, Dt. 9th Oct, 1770, pp. 42-44.

For the execution of the above plan, Capt. Madge requisitioned for 4 companies of *Sepoys* drawn from Ellore and Kondapalli Sarkar. The Rajah was to send 600 matchlock men under Raghava Razu (Jogi Razu). They expected the strength of their enemy to be 1000 to 2000 fighting men. Juggappa had fortified his Pollam taking advantages of their inactivity. So, Captain Madge proposed to keep one company of *Sepoys* from the side of Jiddengi, another from the front barrier side leading to Wakepalli and the last from Shankaram side. Thus, the enemy would be left with only chance of taking refuge in the Rampa country of Gulgundah. The Rajah of Gulgundah was asked, already in advance, to deliver him over to the English or at least not to entertain him. In such a case, they anticipated that the *Poligar* might escape to Margole or Sitharama Razu's camp which were not in the jurisdiction of Masulipatam to pursue.⁷⁶

The climate of this hilly area was not conducive to the health of the European army. They fell sick in large numbers. This created an alarming situation in the English camp.

The Rajah requested the Captain to stop the execution of plan till he got a reply from the Chief at Masulipatam on the terms of peace with the *Poligar*. According to these terms, Juggappa was to pay Rs. 8 to 10 thousand towards arrears and expenses and to retain the management of Totapalli in obedience to Peddapur. The *Poligar* had to pay Rs. 6,000 annually to the Rajah and allow the Rajah's garrison at Shankaram. The *Poligar* should also honour the *Dustacks* of supplies (indents) of the Company. In case of any dispute in future between the *Poligar* and the Rajah, the English had the right to adjudicate.⁷⁷ Captain Madge also sent a favourable report on the *Poligar* to the Chief of Masulipatam, Alexander Wynch who had approved the provisions of the Treaty and required the Rajah and the *Poligar* to visit him at Rajahmundry.⁷⁸ But, the *Poligar* required a son of the Brahmin who was sent to him by the Rajah of Peddapuram as a hostage with him if he was asked to go to Rajahmundry. Juggappa was not sure of the protection as promised by the English.⁷⁹ Since the *Poligar* had not offered his submission, the Government of Madras instructed the Chief at Masuplitam 'to reduce him entirely'.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Selections from the Records of Godavari Dist. : Report of the Totapalli Estate; Lr. from Cap. Madge from Shankaram to Wynch, Dt. 9th Oct, 1770, pp. 42-44.

⁷⁷ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Shankaram.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

So, the English decided to employ 'most spirited efforts' for this service. Captain Marchand with the detachment of 6th Sarkar Battalion was asked to take charge of Samarlakota so that Captain Madge could concentrate on the execution of the plan.

Preparation for the Final Attack

Captain Madge was allotted 6 companies of *sepoys* for the expedition. The English procured provisions for six months to be kept at Shankaram ⁸¹ and a surgeon also to stay with them.⁸² The Rajah of Peddapuram was required to supply 400 matchlock peons, 30 *Hircars* (informants) of reliance and 1,00,000 laden iron bullets.⁸³ Later, Lt. Paik also joined Madge to assist him.⁸⁴

Juggappa had increased his *sibbendy* besides having fortified Pollam, his present abode. The *Poligar* of Gulgunda who was depending on Vizianagaram Zamindar was continuously extending his cooperation to Juggappa. He also gave shelter to families of *Poligar* men in his country.

Since Vizianagaram was beyond the jurisdiction of Masulipatam Council, Alexander Wynch requested the Madras Government to warn Sitharama Razu not to assist Juggappa. Since Sitharama Razu was not in good terms with Gulgunda *Poligar*, he had encamped nearby. So, the English offered their assistance to him in reducing Gulgunda Rajah so that Juggappa would be deprived of the only assistance.⁸⁵ Juggappa made another request to Alexander Wynch to send English officers to conduct him to Rajahmundry to pay his submission which was considered as 'ridiculous' by the Masulipatam Council. The Madras Council assured him a *cowle* of safety but Juggappa did not respond to this.⁸⁶ Perhaps, Juggappa had come to know about the English plan as suggested by Captain Madge to Wynch. He wrote to Wynch, "he is so notorious a raskal that it could be wished he were brought over to the Rajah's interest through his means only; and then seized by the

⁸¹ Selection from the Records of Dist. Godavari : Report of Totapalli Estate; Lr. from to Wynch Samarlakota, Dt. 27th Jan, 1771, pp. 50,51.

⁸² *Ibid* : Lr. from Madge to Wynch from Camp near Samarlakota, Dt. 8th Feb., 1771, p. 54.

⁸³ *Ibid* :

⁸⁴ *Ibid* : Lr. from Wynch to governor from Rajahmundry, Dt. 7th Feb., 1771, pp.77,78.

⁸⁵ *Ibid* : Madge to Wynch from Camp near Samarlakota, Dt.8th Feb, 1771.

⁸⁶ *Ibid* : Lr. from Wynch to governor from Rajahmundry, Dt. 7th Feb, 1771, pp. 77, 78.

Company for contempt of their government and disrespect of your former *Cowle*, the moment he made his appearance."⁸⁷

Captain Madge sought assistance from Maseniah, Jogi Razu, Venkatapathi Razu and other local chiefs. He thought that one, Jagannatha Razu, a son of former *Poligar* of Totapalli, was 'the fittest person' to manage the area.⁸⁸ He was mostly dependent on the Rajah of Peddapuram for "his men are essential without them European army can not do any thing." He also tried to win over Rajanna, who had, hither-to, been the right hand man to Juggappa, Luckily for the English, Rajanna Dora's quarrels were so frequent and sudden with Juggappa as his reconciliations were.⁸⁹ The Rajah of Peddapuram was successful in getting his defection from Juggappa's Camp. Rajanna accepted to go to Rajahmundry to make his submission to Alexander Wynch, followed by one hundred Rajah's men. He also accepted to keep his family at Peddapuram as hostages for his proper behaviour. He was assured of the management of Totapali after the expulsion of Juggappa.⁹⁰ Rajanna, along with another hill chief, Rama Razu, met Wynch at Rajahmundry. He was able to draw the cooperation from the other hill-chiefs, Jagannatha Razu, Venkatapathi Razu, Ramaiah etc. who declined their assistance previously when the English wrote for their help.⁹¹

The Rajah of Peddapuram also succeeded in winning over the principal inhabitants of the region ⁹² He sent Jagannatha Razu to Rajammamet, a *mile* away from the English Camp, to assist Madge by providing guides and to assemble ' the hill people at Ragampattam to persuade them to accept the Rajah's *cowle* and to submit to his Government.' The Rajah sent Jogi Razu also with money for making ' usual trifling presents to the hill-peoples to win them ' over to the Rajah's side.⁹³ The partisans of the *Poligar* were also active in their propaganda to continue their obedience to Juggappa and people were also responding to them favourably. The hill people blockaded the roads ' so effectually that it took them (the Rajah and the English) several hours to

⁸⁷ Ibid. : From Madge at Camp near Samarlakota to Wynch, Dt. 13th Feb, 1771, p. 55.

⁸⁸ Ibid. : From Madge to Wynch, from Samarlakota, Dt. 5th Feb, 1771, pp. 52 & 53.

⁸⁹ Ibid. : From Madge to Wynch, Dt. 13th Feb, 1771, pp. 57, 58.

⁹⁰ Ibid. : Lr. Madge near Samarlakota to Wynch, Dt. 17th Feb, 1771, p. 58.

⁹¹ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch, from Agaraom, Dt. 20th Feb, 1771, p. 61.

⁹² Ibid. : Lr. from Madge to Wynch, from Samarlakota, Dt. 27th Jan, 1771, pp. 50 &

⁹³ Ibid. : Lr. from Madge from Samarlakota to Wynch, Dt. 17th Feb, 1771, p. 58.

clear them.’⁹⁴ Ramaiah and Rajanna joined the Captain at Ragampatam on March, 3.

The presence of Ramaiah and Rajanna at Ragampatam had the desired effect. They could manage to get the hill people reconciled to the Rajah of Peddapuram.⁹⁵

Having been deserted by many of his close associates Juggappa hid himself in hills with his faithful followers. The English employed native *Hircars* (spies) to watch his movements. On March 1, 1771, he left Jiddengy with the intention to retire into the Rampa country, but on account of some ceremony, he halted at Kridlah, a village 16 *cose* from Ragampatam, with 22 followers. Juggappa wanted to stay there for two days. Considering the number of hills between Ragampatam and Kridlah, the ruggedness of the roads and the distance involved, Juggappa thought that his stay there might be safe. He had the least suspicion of the English intention to capture him. The English thought that it was the most opportune moment to capture Juggappa.

Fall of Juggappa

An English detachment under the command of Lt. Palk left Ragampatam at about 6 p.m. on Mar 1, 1771 and marched through the hills throughout the night and reached Kirdlah at day break on following day. But, Juggappa had already left the place the evening before for Krubb about 3 *coses* from there. The English detachment marched to Krubb without any delay through the hills without being recognised by a body of people Juggappa had posted at some distance from the village for his security. The English entered the village unperceived. The *Hircars* pointed out the Poligar while he was entering the village from another quarter. Lt. Palk marched towards him with his advance guards. When they had come within 100 yards, Juggappa came to know about the danger and fled to the hills nearby as fast as he could. The English army surrounded the hill and both sides exchanged fire. Juggappa fell a prey to the English bullets after being fired at three times. His followers seeing their leader dead, fled leaving the body behind and 15 others who were either killed or wounded. Dossara Appa Rao, *Diwan* of Juggappa, escaped with a body of people left at the entry of that village. Lt.

⁹⁴ Selections from the Records of Godavari Dist. : Report of the Totapalli Estate; Lr. from Madge at Ragampatam to Wynch, Dt. 25th Feb, 1771, p. 58.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* : Lr. from Madge at Shankharam to Wynch, Dt. 6th Mar, 1771, p. 63.

Palk returned to Ragampatam with the head of Juggappa severed from his body, so as to convince the people of Totapalli 'the certainty of his fate'.⁹⁶

Thus came to an end another heroic story of native resistance to the gradual penetration of the English power into the Northern Sarkars. Though Juggappa was a petty hill chief of a negligible territory, the reduction of him had become a prestigious issue for the English. They learnt a lesson not to interfere in the affairs of hill-chiefs hereafter.

The management of Totapalli was given to Rajanna on payment of Rs. 4,000 towards the expenses and Rs. 6,000 towards annual rent. Jagannatha Razu, the son of the former *Poligar*, was given Ragampatam area free of rent. Rajanna was made to keep his family at Peddapuram for one year and his brother was to attend on the Rajah of Peddapuram constantly.⁹⁷

The English did not attempt to bring these hill areas, viz. Gulgunda (Rampa), Jiddengy and Totapalli under permanent settlement for the fear of disturbances in the area which might not be quelled easily.

4. POLAVARAM

On the death of Venkatramulu Devo, the Zamindar of Polavaram, the disturbances occurred in these parts on account of the Zamindary being claimed by a number of heirs in 1771.⁹⁸ The Madras Council confirmed the Zamindary on Nagapathi Devo which caused incursions by Venkatrayudu who was also one of the claimants to Zamindary.⁹⁹

Venkatrayudu was a chieftain of Kotapalli district. He fled from Kotapalli before the English appeared there.¹⁰⁰ The District of Kotapalli was then added to Polavaram Zamindary.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Selections from the Records of the Godavari Dist.: Totapalli Estate Affair; Lr. from Madge at Shankharam to Wynch, Dt. 6th Mar, 1771, pp. 63 to 65.

⁹⁷ Ibid. : Lr. from Wynch to Governor, Dt. 22nd Feb, 1771, p. 81.

⁹⁸ Ancient Records in Godavari Collectorate : Correspondence regarding the Polavaram Zamindary (1772-1790); Lr. from Masulipatam to Fort St. George, Dt. 30th July, 1771.

⁹⁹ Ibid. : Lr. from Madras to Masulipatam, Dt. Nil April, 1773.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. : Lr. from Masulipatam to Madras, Dt. 10th Aug, 1781.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. : Lr. from Masulipatam to Madras, Dt. 1st July, 1781.

5. MOGILITURRU

Tirupathi Razu, the Zamindar of Mogilituru under Rajahmundry Sarkar, was in revolt in 1787-1790 against the English. The Zamindary was rented out to one, Bhoopaiah, who was assisted by Ranga Razu and Venkatapathi Razu. Thirupathi Razu carried out his rebellion by taking refuge in the forests of Bhadrachalam since Bhadrachalam was falling beyond the jurisdiction of the English. Thirupathi Razu was trying to unite the rebels against the English, but, his attempts proved futile and he was completely exhausted; so, he wished to return to his Zamindary if the English permitted him. The Madras Council permitted him to come back to his place provided he disbanded all his armed following.¹⁰²

The Madras Council did not decide whether to sanction an allowance of 2145-12-59 Madras *Pagodas* per month as claimed by the Rajah.¹⁰³ Besides, the Madras Government ordered to recover from Thirupathi Razu's property the arrears due to the Company in the event of the Rajah's death.¹⁰⁴

Meanwhile, the rebellion in Mogilituru area was carried by one, Nallapa Razu Jagga Razu, *Poligar* of Koppuram dependent on Mogilituru. The English despatched a company of *sepoys* for service at Mogilituru and warned all the Zamindars, renters and inhabitants not to assist Jagga Razu and directed them to seize the rebel and his armed people.¹⁰⁵

Taking advantage of the situation in the Carnatic, Nallappa Razu Jagga Razu declared himself as 'a servant of Tippoo Sulthan'. So, John Braithwite, the Manager at Ellore, requested the Council at Masulipatam to send more military assistance 'to nip the insurrection in bud'.¹⁰⁶ Consequently, Lt. R. Barclay was sent to Mogilituru with a company of 26 Battalion.¹⁰⁷ Lt. R. Barclay preferred the services of Bhoopaiah, the renter, and his men to search the houses in Koppuram for Nallappa Razu Jagga Razu, lest the inhabitants might destroy their families to save their prestige and honour if Europeans were ordered to search the houses.¹⁰⁸

Bhoopaiah's men successfully dispersed Jagga Razu's men and

¹⁰² Ibid. : Lr. from Masulipatam to Madras, Dt. 17th Feb, 1790.

¹⁰³ Ibid. : Lr. from Masulipatam to Manager at Mogilituru, Dt. 5th July, 1790.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. : Lr. from Madras to Masulipatam, Dt. 15th Feb, 1791.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. : Lr. from Masulipatam to Manager, Mogilituru, Dt. 1st Feb, 1791.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. : Lr. from Ellore to Masulipatam, Dt. 2nd Feb, 1791.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. : Lr. from Mogilituru to Masulipatam, Dt. 3rd Feb, 1791.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. : Lr. from Koppuram to Masulipatam, Dt. 6th Feb, 1791.

secured the person of Jaggarazu who was wounded.¹⁰⁹ The whole village of Koppuram was set on fire and Jaggarazu was, later, brought to Penumada and he was kept a prisoner till he was released in 1793.¹¹⁰

Thirupathi Razu's adopted son, Venkatarama Razu, was to inherit his property on his death. But, the Madras Government disapproved the adoption and ordered seizure of all his property after his death.¹¹¹ Thirupathi Razu died in 1791. The Madras Government published that the Zamindary of Mogiliturru was assigned to the Company by the late Rajah for liquidation of arrears and since he left no legal heir, the Zamindary was merged in the Sarkar.¹¹²

When the Zamindary was brought under the administration of the Collector, in 1795, the displaced renter, Bhoopaiah, rose in revolt against the English, with the help of Ashwa Rao, the Zamindar of Palwancha and Bhadrachalam. The relatives of Bhoopaiah were seized by the Rajah of Kalaparti to secure the surrender of the rebel. One, Galib Sahib, the *Nawab* of Khammam, offered his services to seize the person of Bhoopaiah if he was given the assistance of European *sepoys*.¹¹³

However, nothing was heard of Bhoopaiah after this offer. But, the disturbances continued for a long time in the region.

6. GUNTUR SARKAR

Though the English agreed to the retention of Murtuzanagar Sarkar by Basalat Jung during his life time, they were not satisfied with the arrangement since Guntur formed a continuous link between the other four Sarkars and the Government of Madras. They were anxious to obtain this Sarkar from Basalat Jung and opened negotiations with him in 1772, but, the talks proved abortive. They were more worried when they found that Banepant, the *Diwan* of Basalat Jung, was employing the French and other Europeans in his service contrary to the English interests. This was the real cause for strained relations between Basalat Jung and the English. When Nizam Ali Khan wrote a letter to Alexander Wynch of Madras Government to hand over one,

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. : Lr. from Koppuram to Masulipatam, Dt. 9th Feb, 1791.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. : Lr. from Perumandle to Masulipatam, Dt. 8th Feb, 1791; Dt. 9th Feb, 1791 and 10th Feb, 1791.

¹¹¹ Ibid. : Lr. from Masulipatam to Ellore, Dt. 2nd Nov, 1793.

¹¹² Ibid. : Lr. from Madras to Masulipatam, Dt. 23rd Aug, 1791.

¹¹³ Ibid. : Lr. from the Resident at Hyderabad to Fort St. George, Madras, Dt. 25th Oct,

Vasareddy Ramanna, the Zamindar of Nandigama under the Sarkar of Murthuzanagar, the English refused to interfere in this matter, since the accused was staying peacefully with his brother and the English came to know of Banepant's anti-British activities through him.¹¹⁴ Basalat Jung ordered Banepant to expel the Europeans particularly the French from the Sarkar and tried to make friendship with the English when he feared that Hyder Ali of Mysore might commit aggression against him.

But, once again, the English had to protest against the employment of the French in the Sarkar. They requested Nizam Ali Khan to instruct his brother to expel the French from his service, lest, they might take over the Sarkar by force.¹¹⁵

But, Nizam Ali Khan tried to appease the English to desist from any such action since Basalat Jung was keeping the French in order to control the powerful Zamindars under the Sarkar and that he had employed other European nationals also besides the French. However, he assured the English that he would warn his brother to disband the European contingent.¹¹⁶

Nizam Ali Khan sought the assistance of the English against a Maratha chief, Mudhoji Bhonsle of Cuttack. Since the English did not respond to his request, he did not further press his brother, Basalat Jung, to disband the French contingent.

Take over of Guntur Sarkar

Madras Governor, Thomas Rumbold, decided to take Guntur at any cost and his plan was approved by the Bengal Government.¹¹⁷ An Agreement was signed by the English and Basalat Jung on Jan 27, 1779.¹¹⁸ According to this agreement, the English rented the Sarkar of Guntur from Basalat Jung for a sum annually collected in the previous years and the English guaranteed

¹¹⁴ Records of Fort St. George : Country Correspondence (Militt. Dept.) Vol.21, Yr. 1772, p. 171; Lr.No.97 from Nizam Ali Khan to Wynch Recd.13th May, 1772; Lr.No.99 to Nizam Ali, Dt. 21st May, 1772, pp. 171-173.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. : Lr.No.100 from Basalat Jung Recd. 14th June, 1772, pp. 180, 181.

¹¹⁶ H.G. Briggs : *The Nizam*, Vol.I, p. 184; Yusuf Hussain Khan : *Anglo Hyderabad Relations 1772-1828, Islamic Culture*, Jan, 1953, XXVII; Basalat Jung was maintaining a French contingent under the Command of Lally.

¹¹⁷ Forrest : *Selections from State Papers* (Foreign Dept.) Vol.II, p. 271.

¹¹⁸ Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* : Vol.IX, No.IV, p. 38; H.G. Briggs : *The Nizam*, Vol.I, p. 186.

protection to Basalat Jung for which purpose a British contingent would be kept with him and the expenditure was to be met from the rent of the Sarkar. In case the English needed an Indian contingent, Basalat Jung had to supply to them on their requisition. This reciprocal arrangement was made without the knowledge of the Nizam who strongly protested to such arrangement and even prepared himself for a war with the English.

Thomas Rumbold was so haste in his action that he actually let out the Sarkar to the *Nawab* of the Carnatic for the coming ten years and appointed Sitharama Razu as the *Diwan* and sent a force on April 19, 1779 under Capt. Harper to Guntur. The Supreme Court alleged that Rumbold, taking bribe from Sitharama Razu, had installed him as the *Diwan* who was already deserted by his brother, Vijarama Razu, the Rajah of Vizianagaram. So, Thomas Rumbold had to resign the Company's service and left for England in 1780.¹¹⁹

The Madras Council sent Holland to Hyderabad to entreat Nizam Ali Khan to approve of the take over of Guntur Sarkar and to remit the *Peshcush* due from the English to the Nizam on account of the Northern Sarkars. This infuriated the Nizam and he joined a confederacy with Hyder Ali, the ruler of the Carnatic (Mysore) and Marathas against the English. Holland conveyed these latest developments to Bengal and recommended the restitution of Guntur Sarkar to Basalat Jung. Of late, Basalat Jung also appealed to the English to restore the Sarkar of Guntur to him, but, the Madras Council turned down the request of Basalat Jung and besides this, the Council also dismissed Holland from the service since he had communicated directly to the Bengal Council. But, he was later reinstated by the Bengal Council and the Bengal Council also directed Madras to restore the Sarkar of Guntur to Basalat Jung immediately.¹²⁰

The Madras Council was not willing to comply with the orders of the Bengal Government. After a lapse of three months, President White Hill using the casting vote resolved to hand over the Sarkar of Guntur to Basalat Jung. This had a great impact on the Nizam-British relations, because Nizam Ali Khan immediately withdrew from the Confederacy and joined the

¹¹⁹ J. Tolbooy Wheeler : *Handbook of the Madras Records (1907) Chronological Annals*, p. XI; H.G. Briggs : *The Nizam*, Vol.I, p. 186; Mill : *History of British India* : Vol.II, p. 4711.

¹²⁰ Fort William Records : (Foreign Dept.) Select and Secret Cons. : Fef.No.4, Dt. 22nd Jan, 1781, Bengal Select Cons. : Vol.55; Lr. from Holland to Bengal, Dt. 12th May, p. 400; Lr. from Bengal to Madras, Dt. 12th June, pp. 421, 426; Lr. from Bengal to Holland, Dt. 12th June, 1780, p. 428; Lr. from Bengal to Holland, Dt.31st Dec, 1780, p. 500.

English.¹²¹ White Hill was suspended from his office for his delayed compliance of the instructions of the Bengal government.

Proposals to restore the Northern Sarkars to the Nizam

The timely intervention of Warren Hastings had prevented an open rupture between the English and the Nizam. Had the Nizam continued his friendship with Hyder Ali and the Marathas, the very foundation of the British Empire might have been shaken.

Warren Hastings was so much interested in maintaining friendship with Nizam Ali Khan, that he sent a despatch to the Madras Government proposing retrocession of the Northern Sarkars on the grounds that "their claim to the Sarkars on the grant of Shah Alam (1765) was a pretension; the possession of Northern Sarkars was not advantageous since the annual revenue was only Rs. 43,310; the extent of the sarkars was like the definition of a Mathematical line, length without breadth; the Company's investment, the primary motive for their acquisition of the Sarkars was completely lost on account of the investment going down considerably; the defence of the Sarkars was very brittle and it always was at the mercy of the Nizam." Warren Hastings contended that the retrocession of the Sarkars would be "the sacrifice of nothing but a name".¹²²

Warren Hastings proposed to Macartney to make Nizam Ali Khan accept to send a body of horse to assist the Company in the Carnatic whenever required. The Company was to retain all such factories, forts and ports in the Sarkars as were in their possession prior to the Treaty.¹²³

But Macartney totally disagreed with Hastings and denied that the grounds for retrocession of Sarkars were not correct.¹²⁴ He, moreover, preferred the Sarkars to the Carnatic. However, the idea of retrocession of Sarkars, once and for all, was abandoned.

¹²¹ Lanka Sundaram : *Op.cit.*, JAHRS, Vol.VI, Para 2, 2nd Oct, 1931, p. 116.

¹²² Fort William Records : *Misc. Series*, Vol.246, pp. 183, 187 & 188; Hastings to Challes Smith, Dt.2nd July 1781; Lanka Sundaram : *Op.cit.*, JAHRS, Vol. VI, Part 2, Oct, 1931, p. 117.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Mac Cartney to Hastings (Private No.3) Dt.10th Aug, 1781, *Home Miscellaneous Series*, Vol.246, pp. 199-207.

The Transfer of Guntur Sarkar

The question of Guntur Sarkar was re-opened following the death of Basalat Jung in November 1782. Nizam Ali retained the Sarkar contravening the treaties of 1766 since the Madras Government withheld the payment of *Peshcush* to the Nizam due on account of the Northern Sarkars.¹²⁵

Grant, the English representative in the Court, being convinced that Nizam was rightly possessing the Sarkar of Guntur, resigned on this account in 1784. The Madras Government, then, sent Johnson to the Court to demand restoration of the Sarkar and sign an agreement with regard to the payment of arrears of tribute. The Nizam proposed to Johnson to resolve Guntur Sarkar foregoing all the arrears of tributes on the condition that the Carnatic was returned to him on payment of one crore rupees.¹²⁶

The proposals with a strong note of recommendations by the Bengal Council was turned down by the Court of Directors and Johnson was recalled. The negotiations were suspended for few more years.

Cornwallis succeeded Warren Hastings. The new Governor General had the express instructions to take up the question of Guntur Sarkar for its strategic importance and due to its nearness to the port of Motupalli. But, Cornwallis was not prepared to take immediate action in this respect being apprehensive of the likelihood of outbreak of hostilities between the French and the English, and of the French assisting Tippu Sultan against the English. Under these circumstances, he was not prepared to embitter the feelings of the Nizam by reopening the question of the Guntur Sarkar for the fear that the Nizam might join Tippu. So, Cornwallis was forced to wait patiently till 1788 to demand the cession of the Guntur Sarkar.

The moment Cornwallis felt that he was free from the fear of Tippu, he sent Captain Kennaway to Nizam in July 1788, demanding the cession of Guntur, taking all precautionary steps not to allow the Nizam any time to consult his neighbours on the means of opposition, Cornwallis also took care to see that his demand had sufficient force behind it with the necessary military preparations.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Briggs : *The Nizam*, Vol. I, Chap. IX, p. 192.

¹²⁶ Sarojini Regani : *Op.cit.*, p. 143.

¹²⁷ Ross : *Cornwallis*, Vol. I, pp. 537 - 38.

Being left with no alternative, the Nizam ceded the Sarkar of Guntur to the English and sent Mir Alam alias Abdul Kasim to Calcutta to settle the issue of arrears of tribute due to him. ¹²⁸

After allowing for the revenues which had been irregularly collected from Guntur by the Nizam, the arrears due by the British Government were reduced to a sum of Rs. 9,16,665. ¹²⁹

Coming to a verbal agreement with the Nizam's deputy, Cornwallis wrote a letter to the Nizam which was deemed equivalent to a Treaty, on July 7, 1789. This was declared to be binding on the British Government as a regular treaty wherein a new interpretation was given to the article VI of the treaty of 1768. The words in this article "wherever the situation of affairs will allow of such abody of troops to march into Deccan", should be understood to mean, "whenever the Nizam should supply for it provided that it should not be employed against any power in alliance with the British Government". ¹³⁰

The Nizam's suggestions to mortgage a portion of Sarkars to ensure regular payment of tribute (*Peshcush*) in future or to cede the Sarkars of Ellore and Murtuzanagar instead of money, were turned down and his claim of tribute on account of Carnatic Balaghat was also rejected on the plea that the said territories were in the possession of Tippu Sultan. ¹³¹

With the acquisition of Guntur Sarkar, the transfer of Northern Sarkars was complete and the question was never afterwards raised by any of the two parties. But, Nizam Ali Khan was not reconciled with the loss of Guntur for a long time. He was very bitter for having lost a strategic place and the manner in which Guntur Sarkar was taken away from him created many apprehensions in the minds of Indian Princes that the British were aiming at weakening the position of every Indian Prince of some consequence. ¹³²

¹²⁸ Sarojini Regani : Op.cit., p. 143.

¹²⁹ C.U. Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements & Sanads*, Vol.IX, p. 3.

¹³⁰ Ibid. : p. 40.

¹³¹ J. Talbot Wheeler : *Handbook of Madras Records* (1907) Vol.VII, Milit. Dept. Sundria, p. 74.

¹³² Meckenzie's : *Ms. Vol.XVI, Col. Recd.* says, "I believe it is the received opinion among the princes of India that we have a desire to enfeeble every power in connection with us".

The Nizam also opened correspondence with the French Governor Cossigny at Pondicherry and sent emissaries to Tippu Sultan. But, the English were successful in winning him back to their side with a bait that the Carnatic Balaghat would be given to him after seizing this territory from Tippu Sultan. The Nizam entered into a Tripartite Alliance with the Marathas and the English in 1790 against Tippu. The Nizam-British friendship was further cemented by the Subsidiary Treaty of 1800 by which the Nizam lost his external sovereignty. The death of the Nizam in 1803 had great impact in reducing the size of the Hyderabad State. The Nizam finally surrendered his claims to the nominal Peshcush of the Northern Sarkars to the British on Nov 4, 1823.¹³³

¹³³ Sarojini Regani : *Op.cit.*, p. 235.

Seven

BEGINNINGS OF THE RAJ

After the expiry of Hassan Ali's term of office as *Amildar* (for the English East India Company) of the Northern Sarkars, excepting Chicacole and Guntur Sarkars, the Madras Government had decided to administer these Sarkars through their provincial councils at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam.

Since the primary interests of the Chiefs and their Councils at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam were commercial, they were incompetent to manage even the *Haveli* lands because they had no knowledge of the local affairs, country, people, produce etc. They did not know the regional language and they were dependent on *Dubashis* (Interpreters).¹ Secondly, after the death of Aurangazeb, 'not only the forms but even the remembrances of civil authority seemed to be wholly lost' in this region.² And the Government of the Nizam had hitherto been little more than nominal. So, the English East India Company experienced much difficulty in consolidating their authority in these Sarkars.

Surprisingly enough, the villages were not much affected in any way while the transfer of power was taking place in the region on earlier occasions. The "village communities remained in exactly the same condition as they had been in from time immemorial. Each village constituted in itself a perfect whole. Unheeding the changes which may have taken place in the government above them, the cultivators of the ground quietly continued their avocations. They yoked their bullocks to the plough and followed them in their uneven course. They drew the scanty supply of water from the neighbouring stream or tank, and wrangled over the precious liquid. They sowed seed in the saturated soil and transplanted the tender spouts of the growing paddy. They gathered the harvest and tendered their bullocks as they

¹ *Vizagapatam Dist. Guide to Records (1769-1835)*, 1934, p.2.

² *V th Report of the select Committee*, p. 211.

trod out the grain. The simple household routine went on as quietly and swiftly then as now. The women met at the village well, and joined in the petty gossip of the day. The only excitement occurred on the occasion of some feast in their own or in a neighbouring village or of a journey to the festival at some sacred shrine. The village shop-keeper sat crosslegged behind his stone, and offered loans at an extravagant rate of interest. The village scribe and accountant was employed in writing the accounts on palm leaves, in drawing up the simple documents and bonds executed by the ryots and in assisting the village Magistrate in his rude administration of justice under the spreading branches of the village tree, where all trials were held and all business was transacted. The rent was paid by the heads of the village in money or in kind and the villagers were seldom troubled in the smooth course of their existence, excepting when the Zamindar's peons might make their appearance to demand more money on the occasion of some petty warfare or some extra-ordinary magnificent ceremonies in their master's house hold."³

On account of the transfer of Sarkars to the Company, the Chiefs had two-fold functions, to supervise the commercial affairs of the Company and to carry out revenue and judicial administration of the country.

The Court of Directors ordered the Madras Government to appoint a Committee of Circuit in 1775 comprising of five members to "inquire into the state of Northern Sarkars by ascertaining with all possible exactness, the produce of the country, the number of inhabitants, the state of the manufacturers; the fortified places, the military strength of each Rajah, the Zamindar or land-holder, the expense of his household and troops and the means by which was he defraying those expenses. The gross amount of the revenues, the articles from which they arose, the mode by which they were collected and the charges of 'Collections'." The Court of Directors made it clear that they did not desire to deprive the Zamindars of their revenue but to ensure the collection of it without recourse to violence. They expressed their strong determination to protect the ryots from undue oppression and exaction. ⁴

COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT

Though the Committee was originally proposed in 1775, it was not constituted until 1777. This committee was, however, abolished owing to the

³ Godavari District Manual, pp. 246-47; Appendix to the report of the Estates Land Act Committee, Appendix III, p. 18.

⁴ Ibid. : pp. 246-7, Appendix to the Estates and Land Act Committee: Appendix III, p. 248.

differences between Thomas Rumbold, the then Governor at Fort. St. George and the Court of Directors. Thomas Rumbold ordered the Zamindars to come to Madras to make settlements. Among the Zamindars who were called to Madras, Vijiarama Razu was the most prominent one.⁵ Thomas Rumbold ill-treated and coerced the Rajah of Vizianagaram to appoint Sitharama Razu as his *Diwan*.⁶

Thomas Rumbold was dismissed by the Court of Directors in Jan 1781.⁷ for corrupt practices and also for having favoured Sitharama Razu. Soon after his departure to England, the Committee of Circuit was reconstituted with William, Edward Saunders, Edward Frown and William Oram. They presented their report on Kassimkota Division of Chicacole Sarkar on June 22, 1781.⁸ The Committee appreciated the assistance of Vijiarama Razu in preparing the Report. The other Reports of the Committee suffered from inadequate or false information from the *Poligars* and Zamindars who for the fear of over assessment, did not cooperate with them.

The Committee of Circuit had done a very good job for the Company. It had finished its work in 1788 excepting a few areas (mostly *Havelies*) here and there. The Committee suggested the appointment of European Superintendents in the Zamindary and *Havali* lands and the continuance of renting and subrenting of lands. It also suggested that the Government should take, as in prior times, a share of the crop in kind or a fair valuation of it in cash.⁹ As a result of these recommendations William Oram was appointed as Superintendent of Revenue Inspection, he worked for a brief period. The findings of the Circuit Committee were useful only when the permanent settlement was initiated in these parts in 1802.

While the Committee of Circuit was, still, collecting relevant information in the Sarkars. The Board of Revenue was constituted by the Madras Government on the lines of its counterpart in Calcutta, in 1786. The Board of Revenue was vested with the superintendence of the whole administration, settlement and receipts of the revenue and the Chiefs and Councils in Northern Sarkars were directed to correspond with it and obey its instructions.¹⁰

⁵ Mill : *History of British India*, Vol.IV, p.142.

⁶ D.F. Carmichael : *Manual of Vizagapatam District*, p. 196, Committee of Secrecy (Second Report), 1781, Appendix 153.

⁷ Records of Fort.St. George : *Despatches to the Court of Directors*, Dt. 10th Jan 1781.

⁸ A Manual of Vizagapatam, Dt. , p. 199.

⁹ Appendices to the report of the Estate Land Act Committee, Appendix III, p. 18.

¹⁰ A *Manual of Vizagapatam*, p. 199.

THE BOARD OF REVENUE

The Board of Revenue was constituted through the Governor's instructions dated June 20, 1786 with Alexander Davidson, Charles Oakeley, David Haliburton and George Mowbray. The Board had studied the institution of Zamindar. The Zamindar's were maintaining Forts and armed people. "Their authority within their respective areas was so absolute that it united all the powers of Magistracy and of collection, without admitting the smallest check or influence from the supreme governing power of the country."¹¹

In 1771, the Chief at Masulipatam observed, "the Zamindari are not other than feudal districts for which the Rajahs, who are the proprietors of them, pay a tribute to government in proportion to their value and if called upon, ought to attend in time of war with a certain number of their troops"...."the principal Zamindars are the descendents of those family who enjoyed the same districts under the first Mohammedan Conquerors, and were afterwards confirmed by Aurangazeb". But, the Board had realised that holding a Zamindary also meant holding "offices of trust" and that the possessors of them were considered as accountable managers and collectors and not as lords or proprietors of the lands allotted to them. The money they found paid to the government was not in form of a tribute or mere acknowledgment of subjection but a Jama or Revenue annually calculated upon the produce of the several Zamindaris, for which purpose the *Fouzdar* or Deputy of Suboh who having, at the proper season, obtained accounts from the Government offices, of the past and present state of the districts, formed the *Jamabandi* (Revenue Settlement) of the year, a tribute supposes a small fixed sum, but the *Jamabandi* constantly varied and was in general proportioned to the estimated value of the harvest, and that no fraud or deceptions committed to the injury of Government or the inhabitants, Revenue officers and Accountants of all descriptions were kept in the several districts and paid as Government servants out of the revenues."¹²

The Zamindars were entitled to certain fees or emoluments drawn from the land revenues, customs and quit rents. Though the *Sanads* were granted to Zamindar as an inheritance, the *Firman* of confirmation would speak that the Zamindary was to be enjoyed so long as the Zamindar behaved

¹¹ General reports of the Board of Revenue to Government Council sent to the Court of Directors from 25th Sept, 1786 to 5th Oct, 1794, Vol.1,2 & 3-Report Dt. 25th Sept, 1786, pp.1-3.

¹² *Ibid.*

well with his suzerain. The *Sanads* and *Firmans* granted to these Zamindars did not grant any proprietary right or any power to administer the affairs of the District or to dispense justice independent of his superior.¹³

Further, the Board of Revenue found a number of irregularities in the system of Revenue collections. No distinction was made between the arrears and the current dues. The amount due each year was not settled till the succeeding year. Thus, exclusive of the old balances, a year's revenue was always in arrear. So, the Board directed that the debt of each Zamindar should be made up to the previous September and the amount carried to his account as 'balance' and that, hence forward, it should be regularly debited in a new account for his current revenue as the *kists* (instalments) became due.¹⁴

The Board also realised that the additional assessment which was decided in 1778 was never collected from them even in part. So, a fresh enquiry to know the ability of the individual Zamindar was ordered.

The Board had also felt that the extension of settlement with the Zamindars year to year was erroneous and it proposed a three-year term. The Zamindars were expected to come to Masulipatam for settlements. The Board also suggested coercive measures to realise the commitment.¹⁵

Earlier, the Chief and Council at Masulipatam felt that the time was not ripe for permanent settlement with the Zamindars. The Madras Government was asked to introduce the permanent settlement of revenue on the lines of Bengal. But, the Council at Masulipatam opined that it was not advisable to determine on payment of revenues on permanent basis as it was necessary for the ryots or Zamindars to acquire a habit of considering themselves more immediately dependent on Government and that the authority of the Zamindar should be better limited and defined. So, the Chief preferred calling all the Zamindars to Masulipatam to enter into temporary settlements. They also thought that "annual settlement was liable to draw the Zamindars too often from their estates and dissolve that bond of Union between the Company and themselves which they ought to respect". Thus the Board of Revenue was of the opinion that the Zamindars should not hereafter consider themselves as a power when they deal with the Company and they (the Board) wanted to establish a new relationship between the Company and the Zamindars, hitherto unknown, that is the relationship of a master and servant. To achieve

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. : Vol. I, pp. 10, 16 & 22.

¹⁵ Ibid. : Yr. 1871, Vol. I, p. 22.

this, the Board felt that the armed forces of the Zamindars should be reduced first and this would enable the Company to implement the permanent assessment in the Sarkars. Besides this, the rights of the Zamindars to their Zamindaries should be abolished and the possessors brought to accustom themselves to a different mode of living. So, the introduction of Permanent Settlement in Northern Sarkars was put off for the time being.¹⁶

Hence, the Board of Revenue considered a *via-media* in suggesting the settlements for a term of 3 to 5 years and to restrain the Zamindars and under-renters from oppressing the ryots. The Council felt that the Zamindars could be able to pay two-thirds of gross revenue to the state and one-third was sufficient to meet their expenses.¹⁷ On the above terms, the Settlements were made with the Zamindars and for the *Havelies*, the European Superintendents were appointed for revenue administration.

But, the year 1786 witnessed a calamitous situation in the Northern Sarkars. An unprecedented storm and inundation of the sea on the coast in the month of May of that year caused considerable loss of life and property. Westcott, a member of the Board was appointed to enquire into the actual loss, who reported heavy loss in the Zamindaries of Peddapuram, Ramachandrapuram and Kota in Godavari Districts. But, the Board felt that these Zamindars were not entitled to any remission of revenue in consequence of such accidental losses as such contingencies were not included in the terms and conditions of their tenure.¹⁸ But, they only extended the time for payment of dues. Again in 1791, the area was under the grip of a famine and the whole of the land was laid waste, but no record of losses of each Zamindar was maintained. However, the Board had allowed one-fifth remission to the Zamindars.¹⁹

Since the establishment of Board of Revenue which had employed coercive measures to realise the dues from the Zamindars irrespective of the natural calamities prevailing in the region, a steady increase in the annual collections was made possible. But, the increase in the gross collections had been quite nominal.

¹⁶ Appendices to the Estates Land Act Committee Report, 1871, Appendix II, p. 255.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ General Report to the Governor in Council from the Board of Revenue, Dt. 8th Oct, 1787 as appended to the Report of the Estates Land Act Committee, Appendix III, p. 23.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* : Appendix II, p. 257

**Comparative statement ²⁰ showing the particulars of
Revenue Collections from 1785 to 1789.**

Year	Masulipatam	Vizagapatam
1785 - 1786	7,83,464-21-23	2,40,340-20-66
1786 - 1787	9,26,704-33-11	2,45,941-35-58
1787 - 1788	8,03,564- 5-54	3,35,681- 3-76
1788 - 1789	10,66,395-28-16	3,35,127-34-24

Note: Gross collections under the two Councils in Madras Pagodas.

The higher assessment had an adverse effect on the conditions of Zamindars who fell in arrears to the Company. The Government had resorted to manage the Zamindaries by appointing the European Managers taking assistance from the Zamindar's *Diwan*. This had served the cause of the English in many ways. By appointing their own men as Managers, the Company could build up a cadre of their own with all the necessary knowledge to rule the country in future without depending on the native middlemen viz. the Zamindars. Secondly, they could achieve the desired effect by weakening the position of the Zamindars so that their power could directly penetrate into the country. Thirdly, the system helped the English by creating a consciousness among the people of direct dependence on the Company. Thus, the system had paved way for the permanent settlement in the Northern Sarkars.

COLLECTORATES

The office of Collector was already functioning in the *Haveli* lands before the system was extended throughout the Sarkars in a larger scale, in 1794. The collectorates in the *Haveli* lands had to serve two masters at the same time, viz. the Chief and Council at Masulipatam or Vizagapatam as the case may be and the Board of Revenue with the ultimate loyalty to the Madras Government. When the collections were disappointing in 1791 owing to severe famine conditions in the region, the Chiefs at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam were threatened to be dismissed if they failed in collections. In turn, the Chiefs had pressurised the Collectors for the fulfilment of their commitments. Thus, the days of the Councils numbered. The Madras Government decided to abolish the regional Councils and divide the region in Collectorates. The Collectors were directly brought under the jurisdiction of the Board of Revenue by removing the bottleneck in the administration in

²⁰ Estates Land Act Committee: Appendix III, p. 54.

the shape of regional Councils. The territory under Vizagapatam was made three divisions: 1) South Division containing Vizianagaram 2) Central Division containing Vizagapatam and Kasimkota and 3) North Division with Kimidi and Tekkali. The Godavari District under Masulipatam Council which was constituted by the earlier sarkars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustaphanagar, was made three divisions and the Masulipatam farms and Guntur Sarkars (Excepting Palnad which was under the Nawab of Arcot) were constituted as separate divisions.²¹

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN SARKARS

The Court of Directors were, all the time, insisting on the introduction of Permanent Assessment in the Northern Sarkars. So, Lord Wellesley directed the Madras Presidency in 1798, to introduce "the Bengal System of Revenue" in the Northern Sarkars. Consequently, the Madras Government constituted a special committee to report on the feasibility of adopting such system. The Committee submitted its report in September 1799 and opined that "the new system should be introduced at once but with a difference. In Bengal, the whole territory was in the hands of Zamindars at the time of permanent settlement but, in Northern Sarkars, major portion was under the direct management of the Company."²² So, the Board of Revenue recommended that the *Havelies* should be formed into Estates or *Mootahs* yielding a revenue of 1000 to 5000 *pagodas* annually. These estates should be sold or granted to individuals who should be called "Proprietors". This recommendation was approved by the Madras Government. The Governor General, while approving the above proposal, restricted the rights of the Proprietors so that they would not override the rights of the ryots and the future legislations.²³

The Board of Directors warned that "the spirit of rebellion and insubordination in the Northern Sarkars should be suppressed and all subordinate military establishments were to be annihilated..... the Countries were to be brought to such a state of subjection as to acknowledge and submit to the principle that they might be indebted to the beneficent and wisdom of the British Government for every advantage they were to receive, so, in like manner, they must feel indebted solely to its protection for the continuance and enjoyment of them."²⁴

²¹ Records of Board of Revenue: Report of the Estates Land Act Committee, Appendix III, pp. 54, 260.

²² Ibid. : p. 275.

²³ General Report of the Board of Revenue, Vol. V, p. 104; Vol. VI, pp. 70, 145.

²⁴ V. Report of the Select Committee, p. 309.

Lord Wellesley paid his personal attention to this matter. He came to Madras and presided over the Madras Council and passed orders to the Board of Revenue for the introduction of the new system in Northern Sarkars.²⁵ The Collectors were ordered²⁶ to get the settlement based on a "principle of permanency" calculating on "equitable and moderate" terms with regards to the "resources of a district" combining "its present state and probable improvement" and such fixation should be declared "unalterable". For fixation of assessment, the Collectors ordered to take the Reports of Circuit Committee as basis. The Collectors were also provided with the details of collections for the past 13 years. After the settlement was done, each zamindar was to get a *Pattah* and ryot, in turn, would be granted a *Pattah* by the Zamindar.

The Madras Government had instructed²⁷ the Collectors how they should implement the system. The objects of Permanent settlement were to constitute the Zamindars, proprietors of their estates, to make them responsible for the revenue and to ensure security to person and property. Since the ancient tenure of the Zamindars was "so precarious as scarcely to convey an idea of property in the soil, the assessment was arbitrary and fluctuating and many Zamindaries, overwhelmed with arrears, have come into the Collectors's hands". The new system, was designed to stimulate industry and promote agriculture. The new assessment would exclude receipts from Salt, Bayer and Abkari. Government would pay all allowances to revenue and village officers. The uncultivable arable lands and the waste lands would be given to Zamindar free of any additional assessment. But, the Zamindar's private lands would be considered as Government lands and so they were to be assessed. In case of default, a portion of Zamindary might be sold for the realisation of arrears of revenue.

Since the Zamindar was declared proprietor of the land, he had the right to transfer his lands by sale or gift or otherwise in accordance with the Hindu or Muslim law.

The *Haveli* lands were to be formed as Estates yielding 1000 to 10,000 pagodas annually and sold as Zamindaries.

²⁵ *Wellesley's Despatches*, Vol. II, p. 248.

²⁶ *Vizagapatam District Records* - Vol. 821, pp.1-49, Boards Instructions to Collectors regarding the Permanent Settlement with the Zamindars year 1799 (Pub.1932) Lr. Addressed by the Board to Collectors with a government order from Fort St. George, Dt. 4th Sept, 1799 to the Board.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

According to the permanent settlement, the Zamindar had to collect one-half of the total produce of the ryot and out of his collections, the Zamindar had to pay two-thirds as *peshcush* retaining one-third for his expenses and enjoyment.

Besides these instructions the Madras Government had appointed a special Commission on Feb 9, 1802 to look into the business of arranging the settlement of a permanent land revenue by applying the material collected by the collector under the above instructions. The special Commission was discontinued on September 12, 1803 after much of the work was finished leaving the remaining districts to the Board of Revenue for settlement. Thus, Northern Sarkars were settled on the lines of Bengal, between 1802 and 1804.²⁸

The Effects of Permanent Settlement

The Permanent Settlement aimed at inducing the then existing Zamindars and *Poligars* to acquiesce in the loss of their military power and to become obedient subjects of the Company. The Permanent Settlement in Madras was a complete success. The realisation of public revenue was fairly satisfactory since it was collected with greater steadiness and regularity. But, the settlement had an adverse effect in the Northern Sarkars. As early as 1807, it was felt that the principles of Permanent Settlement were erroneously applied and it needed revision. Since 1812, the deficiencies in collections in the Districts of Vizagapatam and Godavari occurred. "The errors of the assessment by which a sufficient profit was not left to the Zamindary to whom the lands had been conveyed to enable them to fulfil the engagement into which they had entered and the rents of ryots having been left at too high scale, and the ignorance of speculators without stock and capital who purchased the estates, contributed to its failure."²⁹

The Board of Revenue in its minutes dated Jan 5, 1818, opined "the error was in over assessment but not in any other part of the Plan." They felt that the failure was not due to erroneous principles.³⁰

²⁸ Report of the Estates Land Act Committee: Appendix IV, p. 28.

²⁹ *Ibid.* : pp. 37, 38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

The gross revenue collection³¹ as received at Madras Presidency were as follows

1805 - 06	Rs. 2,38,27,063
1814 - 15	Rs. 2,40,67,512
1829 - 30	Rs. 2,26,46,797

The previous Chiefs and Councils were, ofcourse, corrupt, and received bribes from the Zamindars, but they did not interfere with the local administration except when the Company servants or weavers were involved.³²

The appointment of Collectors to superintend the revenue collections and administer the division, and the reduction of Zamindars to a position of mere landholders (proprietors), had a drastic effect on the governance of the country. No consideration was given to the character of those ancient Zamindars which rendered it impossible to expect that an aristocracy so rude and powerful should at once conform themselves to the exigencies of the new system.

The Zamindars, in the opinion of The English, were "indolent, ignorant, superstitious, expensive, dissipated, haughty, suspicious of Sarkar officers" and they considered themselves "rather tributary Chiefs than common subjects". Intrigues, injuries and sometimes insults, produced naturally the most violent effects on such men. "Fear and suspicion particularly, and some times anger, take possession of them, they, then do something desperate, and must be considered mad. a wise government must, if possible prevent such explosions."³³

The Chiefs, in fact, were never subdued. The authority of the English in the Sarkars in general, and Vizagapatam District in particular, had always been weak and corrupt. Owing to the Permanent settlement, the agency of the Zamindars through which they were governing the country, was set aside unceremoniously and their estates were declared liable to immediate attachments and sale on default of a single instalment of the public demand; a new government police substituted for the ancient institution and civil and criminal courts were set up with "more complicated processes, which gave room to various vexations and hardships" unknown in the "good old days."³⁴

³¹ Ibid. p. 40.

³² *Wellesley's Despatches*, Vol. I, p. 223.

³³ *Manual of the district of Vizagapatam in the Presidency of Madras*, p. 227.

³⁴ Ibid. : p. 228

The establishment of Civil courts, and the reduction of Zamindars to mere "proprietors" of land had resulted in a number of civil suits owing to divisions and subdivisions of their estates. The Zamindaries, hitherto, been very powerful, had been reduced to negligible status. In this regard, the districts of Krishna and Guntur were the worst affected.

The Collector was made a magistrate only in 1816. Till that time, he had duties and obligations without any means to perform them. He was a stationary officer, but his *daroghas* (inspectors) and peons were causing oppression. These *daroghas* were generally "low men such as cutwals (Kotwals), turned off writers, *dubashees* and butlers, the drags of the courts and *cutchury*, their peons good for nothing *batta* peons sending such men to Zamindars was like a dozen London attorney clerks with some Bowstreet runners to the Highlands of Scotland to control those proud chiefs and establish a good police in that country." The Zamindars were irritated with the petty tyrannies of these *daroghas*. They were in "chronic state of discontent and disaffection", unhappily also, they were as poor as they were proud. This caused much disturbance in the region, and the attempts to maintain law and order against the turbulent chiefs were not totally successful. As usual, the Zamindars were neglecting the payment of *Kists*.³⁵

In the district of Vizagapatam, the introduction of Permanent Settlement was described as "Permanent resignation of power" since the Zamindars, though they were deprived of police functions nominally, were left with the management of the revenue; the true source of information and influence was therefore, handed over to them in permanency. The Chiefs in these districts were, always, treated by former governments as feudatories rather than as mere Zamindars, they were expected to keep the hill tribes in order, and had therefore always paid a light *Peshcush*. While the permanent *Peshcush* was fixed, the English were wise enough to tax them lightly "but the changes in other respects which transferred them, at one sudden, bound, from the political to the judicial department....resulted in anything but benefit to themselves or to the cause of law and order for the succeeding quarter of a century atleast".³⁶ So, in Chicacole Sarkar the system was a complete failure and the lands were reverted to the Government and the system of "agency" was introduced in the District. The Collector acted as Agent to the Governor with extraordinary powers in his hands.

³⁵ *Manual of the district of Vizagapatam in the Presidency of Madras*, p. 229.

³⁶ *Ibid.* : p. 227.

But the Government contended that the superintendence of collections had been excellent and the Company had no need to use force to realise the payments. So, fraud or embezzlement of public funds did occur when money was spent for the repairs of reservoirs. Owing to the establishment of regular law courts, the rights of the ryots were not safeguarded. The new system had confirmed and upheld their rights in a manner which was unknown before the British rule. The failure of the system in some districts was only due to erroneous application of the principles. They, however, agreed that the general error for the failure of system in Bengal was under assessment, but here the case was otherwise.³⁷

Another cause for its failure, according to the Board of Revenue, was that the demand of the state was limited in perpetuity while the expenses of Government continued undefined and unlimited. So, they felt that some advantages might be obtained by limiting the demand of the Government for a long but definite period in place of the Permanent Settlement.³⁸

Though the English claimed partial success in some places atleast, the objective of the system as the Court of Directors, were optimistic in the beginning that "it contained in its nature a productive principle and would stimulate industry, promote agriculture, extend improvement, establish credit and augment the general wealth and prosperity"³⁹ was, however, totally lost beyond any doubt.

³⁷ Appendices to the Estates Land Tax Act, Appendix IV, pp. 38, 39.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Board's Instructions to the Collectors on Permanent Settlement with the Zamindari 1799, p. 10.

Eight

CONCLUSION

The study of political dynamics of a micro region, Andhra, during a transitory period may not allow us to draw a convincing conclusion on the contemporary political scenario. However, certain hypothetical formulations may be attempted on the beginnings of colonial rule and its ramifications. This academic exercise may enable us to correlate them to the developments in other regions and to form the basis for further enquiry.

Andhra was ruled by a number of dynasties from outside its region fairly wide spaced between one another over the historical period. But the period under study is significant because the political power changed hands from the natives to a foreign trading company. The interplay of the local and external political forces, thus, offers an interesting study to observe the political process through which the real transfer of power was effected.

I

Andhra region seemed always under pressure from the rising dynasties in the hinter land. The Gajapathis of Orissa to its north, the Cholas from its South, the Kakatiyas and Qutb shahis from its west competed with the other contemporary dynasties to subjugate and bring the region under their direct control during the medieval times.

The Qutub shahi rule over Andhra contributed to the economic development in the spheres of industry and trade since their rule continued for more than one and a half centuries through a well-knit administrative network. They brought the region under their firm control by instituting the Zamindari system to look after the revenue administration, justice and law and order besides maintaining sufficient force to combat the external enemy. The Zamindars were granted personal *jagirs* either for life or on hereditary basis for their loyal service to the state. However, these Zamindars were also

kept under the regular surveillance of the state officers such as *Amildars*, *Nawabs*, *Naibs*, *Quilledars*. The internal peace and the absence of considerable external threat promoted economic growth and congenial circumstances were prevailing in the region for overseas trade on a large scale. Therefore, European settlements were set up on the Coast paving way for a fruitful interaction between the local chiefs and the officials of various European companies trading with the East. The prominent Zamindary houses in the region developed intimate friendship with the Europeans to facilitate their personal trade. Costly gifts of rarities were exchanged between them in mutual interest. These Zamindars and officials were also procuring favourable audiences at the Court for the Europeans.

The prominent Zamindaries on the Coast like Bobbili, Vizianagaram, Poddapuram, Pittapuram, Nuzividu, were engaged in mutual bickerings and their rivalries were more beneficial to the Qutb shahi rule since none of them could over power others in order to carve out an independent kingdom on the Coast.

II

The fall of Golkonda created a void in the political control of the region from the hinter land as Aurangazeb had little time to consolidate the Mughal rule in the Deccan Suba. His Subedar was also least interested in the Deccan affairs because he always preferred staying in and around the Mughal Court for the fear of court intrigues or for more favours from the Court. The death of Aurangazeb in 1707 had further deteriorated the power and prestige of the Mughal Emperor. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Subedar of the Deccan, tried his level best to grapple the situation and enjoy the unquestionable authority in the court. But he was disillusioned by the Syed brothers and found no alternative to come and settle in the Deccan as Subedar. He founded the Hyderabad State in 1724 and turned his attention to establish his authority over the entire suba.

During the Mughal rule, the Zamindars enjoyed autonomy due to the absence of any control from the Imperial authority. The Zamindars were always kept in good humour through the titles of *Rajahs* and *Bahadurs* to revive their loyalties to the ruling dynasty and the revenue collections were made on the suggestions that the Subedar was planning to visit those parts for a holiday which meant unbearable burden on the Zamindars.

Through repression and coercion, the region was, once again, brought under the direct control of the Nizam I. Though the ancient Zamindari's were confirmed to the respective houses and their privileges were intact. The region suffered from the arbitrary rule of the Nawabs and their deputies. Again, the death of the Nizam I revived the hopes of these Zamindars to enjoy autonomy. They cultivated friendly relations with the Europeans, particularly the French and the English through whom they expected to procure ammunition, weapons etc.

III

The English and the French companies became bitter rivals competing for more advantageous trade concessions in the South. Besides this, both the European nations were engaged in frequent wars in Europe which also reverberated in their colonies. Even though they were at peace in India, the international situation was causing disturbances in their colonies. However, the First Nizam was able to check their ambitions and from time and again warned them not to wage war in his territory. He successfully kept them at a distance from his court.

But his death in 1748 resulted in a war of succession and the political instability prepared a favourable ground for the English and French to interfere in the local affairs by taking sides with the rival factions.

The French influence reached its heights during the rule of Muzaffar Jung though he was replaced immediately and were also confirmed by his successor. The new Nizam granted Northern Sarkars (Andhra) to Col. Bussy as his personal *jagir* towards the expenses of the French contingent retained by the Nizam. This arrangement sowed the seeds for policy of subsidiary alliance adopted by the English after the fall of Mysore.

The rise of the French power in Deccan became an eyesore to the English who were waiting for an opportunity to strike at the French predominance. Bussy's visit to the Andhra region for revenue collections helped Vijjarama Raju (Elder) of Vizianagaram to settle his score with his traditional enemy, Ranga Rao of Bobbili. Bussy expressed his unhappiness to Vijjarama Raju for involving him in such a devastating battle. Vijjarama Raju was also slain soon after the battle by one of the close relatives of Rang Rao. Thus, the battle reduced both the powerful Zamindari's to the state of dependency.

IV

Ananda Raju succeeded Vijarama Raju to the Vizianagaram Zamindar. He was not happy with the arrangements made by the French in the Sarkars ignoring his preferences and interests. He corresponded with Madras and Bengal Councils to help him with an English contingent to expel the French from the sarkars. Thus, he wanted to unite the entire Andhra region upto Masulipatam under his sway independent of the Nizam. Ananda Raju turned the table in favour of the English and Clive was shrewd enough to take advantage of this proposal. Ananda Raju was assisted by Col. Forde to expel the French from the Sarkars.

However, the English outwitted Ananda Raju with their superior diplomatic talents. The English came to terms with the Nizam and handed over the sarkars to the Nizam and forced Ananda Raju to restrict himself to the Chicacole sarkar. Thus, the lone attempt of Ananda Raju in founding an independent state in the Andhra region met with a crushing defeat. As the region was cleared of the French and the French influence waning even in Europe, the English rose to a predominant position in India both in Bengal and in the Carnatic as well.

V

The English procured a Mughal grant for the Northern Sarkars from the Emperor Shah Alam knowing prettily that the Emperor had no jurisdiction over the Andhra. The English took this opportunity to feel the pulse of the ruling class in the region who readily responded to the publication of the grant by the English. But the English did not want to displease the Nizam and waited patiently till 1768 when he offered these sarkars to the English on the condition that they support his cause against the Marathas. Thus, Northern sarkars were transferred to the English with the connivance of the Nizam's deputy, Hassan Ali Khan, who was instrumental in building the British empire in India. Northern Sarkars became the first ever region regarding which the English could justify their claim on legal grounds. The transfer of the sarkars had far-reaching effect on the Nizam's State which became a land-locked country. With the loss of Andhra region, the Nizam had become a virtual prisoner surrounded by the English dominion. All his attempts to get back his sarkars on some pretext or the other failed.

VI

The takeover of the Northern Sarkars was not a smooth affair for the English. Even those Zamindars who were friendly with the English were also harbouring suspicion. The Nizam's deputy, Hassan Ali Khan, was discarded unceremoniously after three years when the English took the entire region under their direct control through the European officials. The tribal chiefs were the first to express their resentments against the English. The heroic resistance of the tribal chiefs led by Juggappa of Totapally Estate had its telling effect on the English policy towards the tribals. The tribal chieftains were exempted from the payments of usual *peshcush* and other *nazaranas*. The English contingents tasted bitter reverses in subduing them. Therefore, the English pursued an appeasement policy towards the tribal estates.

Vijiarama Raju (Younger) and his brother Sitarama Raju of Vizianagaram who were responsible to a great extent for the expansion and consolidation of the English power over Andhra region also realised their folly. Vijiarama Raju led the other chiefs of Chicacole region against the English. The Battle of Padmanabham decided the destiny of the English possessions in India while the native chiefs proved no match to the superior artillery of the European contingent. The English pursued a vigilant policy towards the native chiefs and initiated efforts to demilitarise them on the plea that there was no need for any native *sibbendy* for them to collect revenue from their estates because the English would help them in the realisation of their dues. The demilitarisation of native estates had removed the threat to the British power from within. Further, the disbanded *sibbendy* had become a menace to the native chiefs as they lost their employment and could not be rehabilitated in any other remunerative occupation.

VII

While demilitarising the Zamindars, the English pursued a consistent policy to reduce their influence in their estates through over assessment of *peshcush*. Initially they appointed Hassan Ali Khan, former *Amildar* of the Nizam, for three years to oversee the collections from the estates and the *Haveli* lands as the English were not prepared to take the administration directly into their hands. Later, the English managed the affairs through the Councils at Vizagapatam and Masulipatam. To acquaint themselves with the local affairs, the Circuit Committees made extensive survey of the Northern

Sarkars. The reports prepared by these Committees formed the basic information for the Presidency Government to revamp the administrative setup in their territorial possessions.

The Board of Revenue at the Presidency and the Collectors in the districts took over the revenue administration as a beauracratc model and soon the Councils disappeared from the scene. The Councils because of their earlier relations with the local gentry, were charged for their lenient attitude towards them in collecting dues. The new system of the Collectorates treated the Zamindars as land owners and created *mootahs* out of *Haveli* lands giving place to new renters in the setup. Though the Zamindars were demilitarised, they still continued to enjoy certain immunities as it was not possible for the Collectors to summon them to their headquarters in case they failed to clear the demand. Therefore, the Collectors were granted magisterial powers to summon the Zamindars to their courts and to award penalties for the non payment of revenues.

Though permanent settlement was introduced in the sarkars after a lot of procrastination by Madras Presidency, the basic principles of the new settlement were already implemented after the Circuit Committees submitted their reports.

The permanent settlement ruined the ancient Zamindaries which were auctioned a number of times to realise the dues after pensioning off the heirs. Soon permanent settlement proved counter productive in all respects. As the Zamindars were acknowledged with property rights, their Zamindaries fell in unending litigations in the new courts established for the purpose. Besides the new judicial system, the permanent settlement also introduced a new system of police administration to aid and assist the civil authorities. In a span of two decades, the English Government stabilised itself in the sarkars with a firm grip over agriculture and industry.

VIII

The analysis of political developments in Andhra during the eighteenth century would reveal the weakness of the native administration to foresee the impending peril which shook the entire edifice of local systems giving place to a colonial structure.

The Zamindars and other important functionaries on the Coast helped the English to establish themselves at the cost of the native ruler, the Nizam, but they realised their short-sightedness only when the nooses were tightened around their necks through a well-thought-out and neatly executed policy of the English Government.

A closer examination of the English rule in the Sarkars would reveal that all the seeds of colonialism had germinated during the early decades of nineteenth century. The Andhra region became the laboratory of political and administrative experiments which were later applied to the entire British dominions in India. Thus, Andhra served as the launchings pad of British imperialism.

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