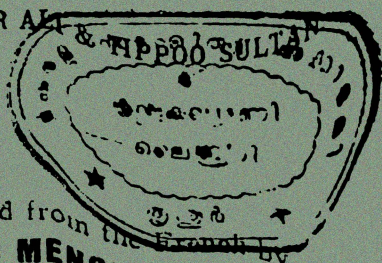


# MICHAUD'S HISTORY OF MYSORE

UNDER HYDER ALI



Translated from the French by

**V. K. RAMAN MENON M. A. (OXON)**

WITH

*a Foreword by*  
**THE RAJA OF PANAGAL**

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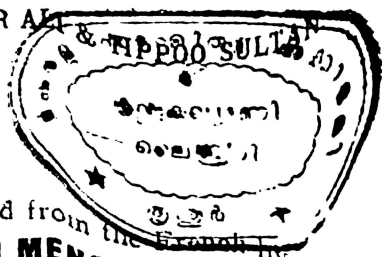
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# MICHAUD'S HISTORY OF MYSORE

UNDER HYDER ALI & TIPPUS SULTAN



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# FOREWORD.

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The author describes in elaborate detail the reigns of Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan and also traces the relations between Indian and European politics in the 18th century. His treatment of the history of Mysore is original and interesting. Phases of the South Indian life of the 18th century are minutely delineated. Throughout the work, one cannot help noticing the undercurrent of sympathy for the people of India and their ancient civilization. Tippu's reign forms the main theme. The author goes into every detail of his administration and is much impressed with the peace and prosperity of Mysore during his regime. The author's pity for Tippu's foibles is as great as his admiration for the statesmanship of Haider. On the whole, the work is one of the most unbiased contributions to Indian History.

I congratulate Mr. Raman Menon on his excellent translation. The style and diction of the English rendering are all that could be desired. I only wish that some more of our young scholars unearth similar works and publish them in readable forms.

(Sd.)

Madras,  
November 6th, 1924.

RAJA OF PANAGAL.  
Chief Minister.

## Joseph Michaud (1767—1839).

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Joseph Michaud (1767-1839), French Historian and Publicist, was born of an old family on June 19, 1767, at Albans, Savoy, was educated at Bourg-en-Bresse, and afterwards engaged in literary work at Lyons, where the events of 1789 first called into activity the dislike to revolutionary principles which manifested itself throughout the rest of his life. In 1791 he went to Paris, where, not without danger, he took part in editing several Royalist journals. In 1794 he started *La Quotidienne*, a daily, for his connexion with which he was arrested after the 13th of Vendemiaire; he succeeded in escaping his captors, but was sentenced to death for contumacy by the Military Council. Having resumed the editorship of his newspaper on the establishment of the Directory, he was again proscribed on the 18th of Fructidor, but at the close of two years returned to Paris when the Consulate had superseded the Directory. His Bourbon sympathies led to a brief imprisonment in 1802, and on his release, he for the time abandoned journalism and began to write or edit books. Along with his brother and two colleagues he published in 1806 a "*Biographic moderne*", the earliest work of its kind; in 1808 the first volume of his *History of the Crusades* appeared, and in 1811 he originated the "*Biographic universelle*." In 1814 he resumed the editorship of the *Quotidienne*, and in the same year was elected Academician. In 1815 his brochure entitled '*History of the last weeks of Bonaparte*' met with

extraordinary success, passing through twenty-seven editions within a very short time. His political services were now rewarded with the cross of an officer in the Legion of Honour and the modest post of King's reader, of which last he was deprived in 1827 for having opposed Peyronnet's "Loi d'Amour" against the freedom of the press. In 1830-31 he travelled in Syria and Egypt for the purpose of collecting additional materials for the History of the Crusades, his correspondence with a fellow explorer, Ponjault, consisting practically of discussions and elucidations of various important points in that work, was afterwards published (*Correspondence d' Orient*, 7 Vols, 1832—1835.) The *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, in four Volumes more contained the "pieces justificatives" documents, of the History. Michaud died on September 30, 1839, at Passy, where his home had been since 1832. His History of the Crusades was published in its final form in six volumes in 1841 under the editorship of his friend Ponjault. Michaud along with Ponjault also edited and in part wrote *Nouvelle Collection des Memoires pour servir a l' Histoire de France*, new collection of Memoirs to serve as basis for a History of France.

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# HISTOIRE

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DES PROGRES ET DE LA CHUTE

DE

L'EMPIRE DE MYSORE,

SOUS LES REGNES

D'HYDER-ALY ET TIPPOO-SAIB:

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Contenant l'historique des guerres des souverains de Mysore avec les Anglais et les différentes puissances de l'Inde; une esquisse de la conquête de l'Egypte, considérée par rapport à l'Inde; les lettres de Bonaparte au cherif de la Mecque et à Tippoo-Saib; les négociations de Tippoo avec le gouverneur de l'Ile-de-France, et sa correspondance avec le directoire; la relation du siège et de la prise de Seringapatam; le recueil des papiers trouvés dans le palais de Tippoo-Saib; des détails curieux sur la vie et la mort du sultan de Mysore; un examen des résultats de cette dernière guerre; la situation actuelle des principales puissances de l'Inde; le tableau de la religion, des mœurs, de la législation des Indous, et des relations commerciales et politiques de l'Europe avec l'Indostan, et de l'Indostan avec l'Europe. Orné de cartes, portrait, plans, &c.

*Par J. Michaud*

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À PARIS,

Chez Giguet Et Cie., Imprimeurs-Libraires,

Rue de Grenelle-St-Henri, No. 42.

1801—9.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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(By the Author).

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It is some months since I received from London the narrative of the last war of the English against Tippoo Saheb. I had previously commenced to translate it when I felt that such an isolated description would interest only a very few French readers who had lost sight of the affairs of India for a long time. I believe that I should add to the narrative of the capture of Seringapatam a short exposition of the events which had preceded it, and make the theatre of this war familiar, in order to put the public in a position to follow the march of events. I have considered that it is important to join to this English work a description of Hindustan and to trace the history up to Hyder Ali under whose reign the splendour of the Empire of Mysore had originated. The results of the fall of Tippoo Saheb are little known, and I wish to give some details to make them better known to-day. Now that we have begun to turn our eyes towards India, it is more than ever necessary to know what the relations are which exist between Europe and the banks of the Ganges. Although these relations are purely political and commercial, I think that some knowledge of the customs of India will not be

quite foreign to the purpose, and I have dealt with the religion, the usages and the legislation of the Indians in Part II. M. Henrichs who has served with distinction in India had collected much material. He was quite willing to unite his work with mine and it is to him that I am indebted for all that is found to be new in this work. I have been helped also by M. C. J. L. D. to whom I owe chapters XI and XII on the various powers in India and on the establishment of the English and the French on the banks of the Ganges. Trying to make this work as complete as possible, I have followed documents most up to date and authentic, in English as well as in French. I have profited by many manuscript notes which have been communicated to me by clever observers who had held distinguished offices in India for many years. The description of the siege of Seringapatam has been taken for the most part from the book which is to be published by Colonel Beatson, Aide-de-Camp to the Marquis of Wellesly. It is written with great care and the maps and sketches which are given in it make it very easy of understanding. It will be read with great interest by military men. At the end of the first volume, a large number of documents found in the palace of Tippoo Saheb are given. Some are not very important, but they are so curious that I should like to preserve them in tact so that each may supplement the other and make the whole appear true; they go to testify to the truth of those facts which are believed only with difficulty. I know that my work is far from

perfect. The style is not free from mistakes, but this history is not so much a literary production as a commercial and political memoir—a work whose publication the present circumstances demand, and in which, in my search for facts I have to take all the trouble which is usually bestowed on making the style agreeable in a literary work. People might find fault with me perhaps for some repetitions, but in a subject so little known, one finds oneself in the difficult alternative, of saying too much to well-instructed people, or saying too little to ordinary readers. I have tried above all to be clear, and I shall have attained my object if I am understood and have thrown some light on a matter which ought to excite the interest of the public and draw the attention of all Governments.

The book was finished in 1800;

Printed in Paris between 1801—9.

## CONTENTS.

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CHAPTER I. A Survey of Indian History.

CHAPTER II. The usurpation of Hyder Ali; his conquests; his first war with the English; alliance with the Nizam and the Mahrattas against the English; the triumph of Hyder Ali in the Carnatic; the state of the French in India at this epoch. The death of Hyder Ali; the character of the ruler.

CHAPTER III. A portrait of Tippoo Sahib. The last instructions of Hyder Ali addressed to his son. The efforts of the English to profit by the death of Hyder Ali. The invasion of Canara by the English. The capture of Eumanpore and the danger to the royal family. The capture of Hyder Nagar. General Mathews besieged in Hyder Nagar; surrender of the English. Cruel treatment shown by the Indians to the prisoners. War between France and England. The Peace of Versailles; the Peace of Seringapatam. The portrait of Hastings.

CHAPTER IV. The method of warfare among the Indians, especially in the Empire of Mysore.

CHAPTER V. The happy state of Mysore during peace. A description of the court of Tippoo Sahib. Particulars concerning the domestic life and administration of the Sultan; his embassy to Louis XVI; he causes two of his ambassadors to be

assassinated on their return. New wars with the English during the years 1790, 1791 and 1792.

CHAPTER VI. The French expedition to Egypt. Negotiations of Tippoo Saheb with the principal states of India. Particulars concerning certain French adventurers at the court of Tippoo Saheb. The sending of two Indian envoys to the Isle of France; they obtain only a feeble help; their return to Seringapatam.

CHAPTER VII. The situation of the allies of the English in Hindustan. The critical state of the company. Letters of Bonaparte to the Sheriff of Mecca and Tippoo Saheb. Preparations of the English. Negotiations commenced between the Governor and Tippoo. The necessity for a new war.

CHAPTER VIII. Plan of the campaign of the English. Particulars concerning the equipments of an army in Hindustan. March of the English army; the march of Tippoo Saheb. The battle of Sedesear. Progress of the British army. Defeat of Tippoo Saheb. Arrival of the English before Seringapatam. Siege and capture of the city. Death of Tippoo Saheb.

CHAPTER IX. Interesting details regarding the sons of Tippoo Saheb. The funeral of Tippoo Saheb. New facts about the character and life of the Sultan. The book of dreams of Tippoo. Anecdotes about the Siege of Seringapatam.

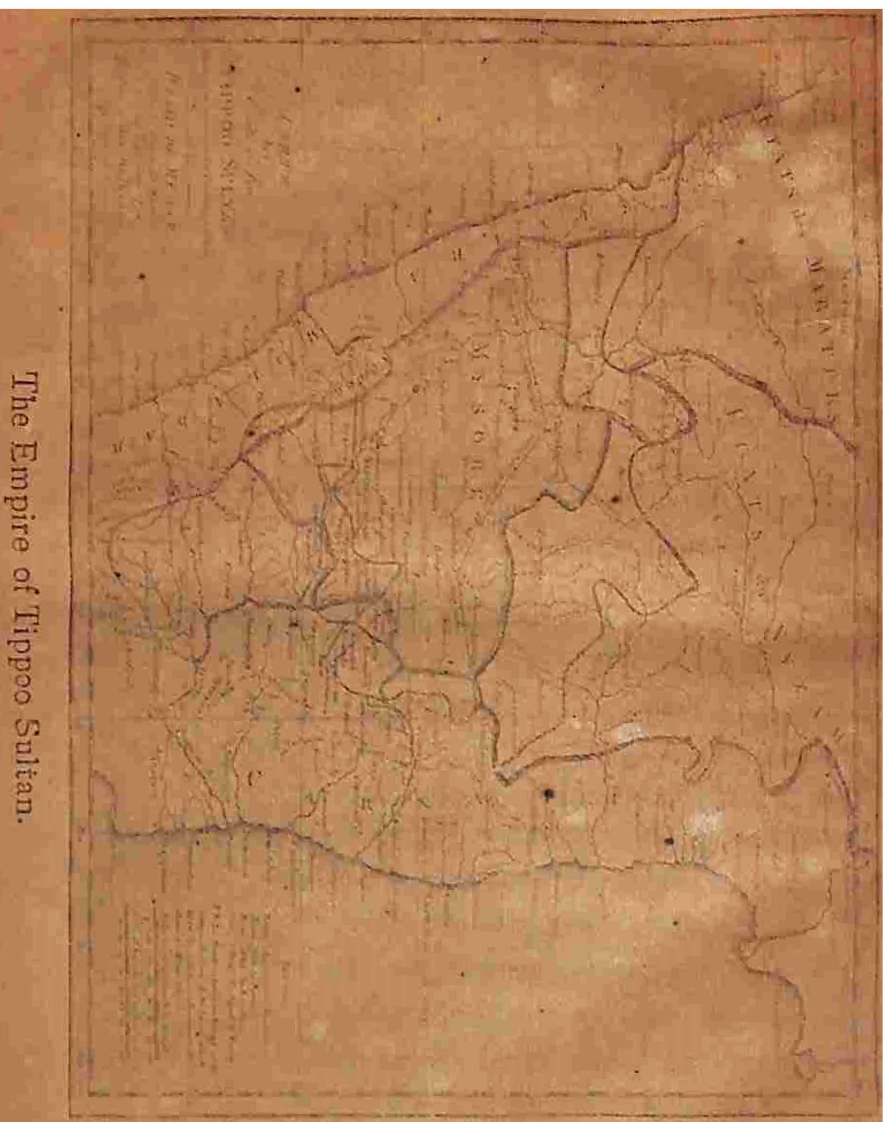
CHAPTER X. The Allies' partition. The conquests of Hyder Ali. The kingdom of Mysore is pre-

served and is restored to the ancient Royal family. The deplorable condition of the Rajah's family. Its genealogy. The coronation ceremonies. The sons of Tippoo Saheb were sent to Vellore.

#### APPENDICES.



The Empire of Tippeco Sultan.



## CHAPTER I.

### Historical Survey of Hindustan.

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When we cast our eyes over different regions of our globe, we do not see any region which combines all the advantages of civilisation and all the means of rendering the inhabitants happy, better than the fine climes of Hindustan. Nature has placed this vast country under a sky which is divided in a wise and periodic measure into fair days which embellish the land, and rains which make it fertile. There, one finds on all sides the rarest of Nature's marvels, as well as her most useful products, vast plains supplying, almost without tillage, all the needs of man, and long chains of mountains, which purify the air one breathes. This fertile land is traversed by several grand rivers such as the Ganges, and the Indus, which render communications easy. It is bounded on three sides by the waves of the Indian Ocean, and resembles a creditor destined to receive the riches of the world,

The affluence which the people of Hindustan enjoyed was not slow to make other nations jealous of them. Enervated by their own riches, they could not resist repeated enterprises of greedy invaders. Thus the people whose fate had been enviable for such a long time found in their prosperity itself, the cause of all the ills which had for such a long time ravaged and which still ravage their land.

be led to understand the relations which ought to exist between human beings. They had few desires, and consequently few passions. They found fewer obstacles than other peoples to attain the idea of social welfare, and for them, the benefits of civilisation seemed to have fallen from the sky.

But ere long these fertile lands created an ambition other than that of training the heart towards sublime ideas of Nature and that of understanding her mysteries. Hindustan after having been the beacon light of sages became the prey of conquerors, who ravaged her territories and made her peoples who took the first steps towards civilisation, fall back towards barbarism. Wars and devastations which followed made these civilised races lose their original customs, and, over a large portion of Hindustan, the armed doctrines of Mahomed took the place of the peaceful doctrine of Brahma. The conquests and the violences of war to which nothing was sacred but the principle of force made the Indians forget their principles of morality, and turned them towards the tumult of arms whom Nature had intended for peace. Discord shook all its wiles over this land where it had been for a long time unknown. The authority founded by the victors was not firmer than the legitimate authority of her old princes. The land was cut up into pieces, and the people were divided. And the anarchy which follows all revolutions, only completed the fatal work of the victor.

The most formidable and the most cruel of the conquerors of Hindustan whose gruesome memory

is preserved even to this day was the wild Tamarlane. After having subjugated Western Asia and Tartary he turned his arms towards Hindustan in the year 1393 A. D. So many massacres marked his invasion that history has given him the name 'Prince of Destruction'. More of a devastator than a conqueror, Tamarlane respected the order of succession to the throne; but he reigned not the least by the terror of his name. During his lifetime which ended only in 1405, they prayed for him in all the mosques in Hindustan, and coins bore his stamp. His family gave rulers for long to the banks of the Ganges and the Indus.

Hindustan had already some troubles to contend against before the invasion of Tamarlane, and the disorder was only increased by his victories. All the plagues spread themselves over this rich country in the wake of this terrible conqueror. The coarse customs of the Afghans and the Tartars caused the virtues of the Hindus to disappear, and banished for ever all sense of security from the heart of these nations who were governed thereafter only by the laws of war. A century of pillage, murder and revolutions ravaged this Empire; its provinces remained independent under rebellious chiefs, and it was reduced almost to the province of Delhi. It was long after the death of Tamarlane, during the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb that Hindustan recovered its former splendour. The latter subdued most of the lands which had detached themselves from the Mughal Empire; and with an able and vigorous hand he held, during 47

years, the reins of a vast monarchy which dictated the laws from the tenth degree of the latitude to the thirty-fifth, and whose extent was the same from East to West. Aurangazeb, whose exploits the Indians still relate, and the memory of whose crimes is still fresh, had come upon the throne by the murder of his brothers and the imprisonment of his father; and it was to these bloody hands that Hindustan owed a splendour mixed with calamities and reverses. All his life, Aurangazeb held, the sword of Mohamet suspended over the head of the unhappy Brahmins; for about half-a-century, the Mughal Empire lived shedding the blood of its sons in the name of a God for whom the despotism committed all its horrors. It was only at the moment when Death made him lay down the sceptre, that Aurangazeb himself perceived that he had done nothing for the welfare of his subjects. His remorse was expressed in two letters which he wrote to two of his daughters. 'How easily one' wrote the Emperor (when repentance had chastened his mind) 'how easily one forgets at the height of prosperity, that the day of reckoning would come sooner or later and that it is inevitable'. These words are remarkable from the mouth of a monarch who sat on an absolute throne, with no other check but fear of God. 'In whatever direction I may cast my eyes' he added, 'I see everywhere nothing but Divinity'. He feared that civil war would come after him and his last breath, in effect, gave the signal.

The members of his family quarrelled among

themselves for the Empire and Hindustan paid with the blood of 3,00,000 of its inhabitants, for the short-lived reigns of two Emperors. In the midst of these dissensions, Feroksere showed himself on the throne. He was the great grandson of Aurangazeb. It was in his reign that the English East India Company obtained the famous firman which they had put forth as the charter of their privilege in India as long as they had need of the protection of its rulers. An embassy of the English was at Delhi when the Emperor was attacked by the malady which his doctors had lost hopes of curing. He entrusted himself to the treatment of Dr. Hamilton, the surgeon to the embassy, who restored him to health. The rumour spread quickly that the Emperor had died at the hands of the English surgeon. A furious mob surrounded the residence of the embassy. At once Feroksere appeared on a palace balcony, and appeased the populace by assuring them that he owed his life to Mr. Hamilton. The hatred they felt for the English changed, from time to time, into veneration. Mr. Hamilton was overwhelmed with favours from the Emperor, and the English embassy obtained the firman it wanted. Lucky victory! which cost no blood, and which left to History neither treasons nor pillages to relate.

The Emperor was very sorry to part with Mr. Hamilton, whom he regarded as a guardian angel. He made him promise to come again to his court. But Mr. Hamilton died a few months thereafter, in the English possessions. Feroksere would not be-

lieve the news which was transmitted to him by the Governor. He sent thither an officer of high rank to assure himself of the fact. The particulars of this event are engraved on the tomb of Mr. Hamilton in Calcutta.

The Emperor Feroksere did not long survive his saviour. In 1717, the Seyds, two brothers united by Ambition, had made themselves masters of the Empire; who deposed the Emperor and deprived him of his sight. Two other princes were one after another placed on the Imperial throne by those who had brought Feroksere down and both the princes met their death with the sword of their blood-thirsty protectors themselves. Such was the effect of the revolutions which agitated Hindustan, that in the space of 11 years which passed after the death of Aurangazeb, 11 princes showed themselves on the throne to disappear immediately. The degradation of the royal authority encouraged everywhere sedition and revolt. The symptoms of dissolution manifested themselves in a terrible manner throughout the Empire, and seemed to invite anew foreigners to an easy conquest of Hindustan. A prey to dissensions, ravaged by the Sikhs, at war with the Mahrattas who had detached themselves from the Empire, and with the Dekhan whose Viceroy or the Nizam had also thrown off the yoke, this vast country, in 1738, saw entering in triumph to the capital, the Persian conqueror Nadir Shah or Thamas Kuli Khan. He had caused medals to be distributed to his subjects on which the following pompous inscription was

engraved 'Nadir is King over all the Kings of the world. He is the King of Kings, and rules for all times'. Very rigorous discipline had been observed by the Persians; but an unhappy event happened soon to trouble the peace which had come in for the first time in Delhi as a result of the victory. During the night which followed the entry of Nadir, a rumour spread itself that the victor had been assassinated by a wife of the Emperor. The inhabitants of Delhi took up arms and massacred all the Persians whom they came across in the town. The morning twilight lighting up the disorders of the night saw the vengeance of Nadir breaking out. He appeared as a veritable angel of destruction to the eyes of the terrified people, and his army received the terrible command of pillage and murder. A hundred thousand Indians perished. Famine added her horrors to those of war. Blood flowed in the streets and corpses were strewn in public squares. It was in the midst of these scenes of desolation and over the debris of the Capital of India that Nadir celebrated the marriage of his son with a grand-daughter of Aurangzeb. He caused all the Western provinces to be ceded to him, and placed Mahomet Shah, the ruling prince, again on the throne whose whole foundation he had contrived to shake. He then rushed his way to Persia burdened with the latest spoils of Hindustan, whose value historians estimate at more than a milliard (francs). After the invasion of Nadir, disorder grew from day to day. Nature seemed ever to have deprived Hindustan of those men whom Pro-

vidence destined for the preservation of Empires; The picture of one of the rulers of the land, said a writer, comprehends in general the life of all the others. His infancy and his early youth would pass away in the harem. He came out of it ignorant and effeminate. If a foreign war did not call him out, or if a restless spirit did not take him in the tortuous ways of intrigue, he would continue to languish in the sloth of the seraglio until a political commotion put into his inexperienced hands the sceptre of an assassinated father. Soon, himself the victim of a new intrigue, he perished by the dagger; or deprived of his sight by his ambitious successor came to pass his miserable life within the walls of a prison. Finally, if with rare luck he were to escape these dangers, he would fall under the power of a haughty mistress or of a minister haughty and vile. And rarely would he enjoy on the throne a portion of liberty equal to that of the meanest of his subjects. On every side were seen peoples and countries divided by their religions and by their prejudices and debased by long servitude. After so many revolutions they could not distinguish a usurper from the legitimate ruler; they prostrated themselves before anyone who appeared before them with weapons in his hands. He who made the greatest noise was for them the object of the most respectful homage. The symbols of destruction were revered as the signs of authority. It was enough to reign over a province to desolate it and submission came everywhere as a result of terror. The spirit of civil war multiplied the tyrants and

the provinces found themselves divided among Nawabs or Governors and some adventurers, whom victory, as blind as fortune, placed on thrones which she herself had founded.

The Province of Bengal which Aurungazeb called the paradise of the world was not long in severing itself from the yoke of the court of Delhi. Usurped by the Nawabs of Bengal, invaded by the Mahrattas by turns, it finally fell under the power of the English. The Mahrattas, a people warlike and powerful, having no trade but that of war and no wealth but their booty, could never be brought under the Mughal Empire. They took advantage of these dissensions to ravage it and to extend their dominions.

The Dekhan, famed on account of the ancient realm of Golconda which became one of its provinces, severed the imperial yoke and recognised the laws of the Nizam or Viceroy; Abdala, a Persian General, made himself master of the provinces to the west of the Indus, ceded to Nadir. The Jats, an Indian tribe, founded a state in the province of Agra and were in their turn driven out by new usurpers. The rich country of Oudh, the land of Allahabad, the realm of Ajmere, the territory of Delhi, were by turns a prey to the bold warrior or to the crafty minister. In the midst of so many disorders some provinces had thrown off the yoke of the Musalmans. The realms of Tanjore, Villapore, Mysore, &c., regained once more, under the rule of their Rajas, the Patriarchal Government of the Hindus. The inhabitants of

these countries saw without concern the storms of civil war gathering but they collected in peace their harvest of rice in the neighbourhood of fields of battle. But all the countries of Hindustan were soon to be enveloped in the disorder which had become general. History could hardly follow all the events of which the banks of the Ganges became the theatre and the compass of the geographer goes astray over the routes of the ambitious fury which changed incessantly the boundaries of empires and realms. So many divided states needed a supreme chief who could reunite them. But the Imperial sceptre had crumbled in the hands of the children of Tamarlane. The Head, once so redoubtable, of the Mughal Empire was nothing more than an Emperor without an empire, invested with the most pompous titles, but despoiled of all his power. The name of the Emperor retained still its old influence over the spirit of the subjects.

But what could sentiment do against force? The old tributaries of the Empire bought his influence to consecrate their usurpations. The power to stop such acts of brigandage was taken away from the grand Moghul; only the power to approve of them was left to him. The Emperor offers, even in our days (1801-9) the bizarre phenomenon of a prince without subjects, who distributes crowns, but who has no further powers, and who sells to adventurers the right to make themselves obeyed. Money is still stamped with his effigy, in all the provinces of Hindustan, but the prince is obliged

to beg the meanest help from the rulers who ostentatiously called themselves his vassals.

It is over the ruins of the ~~the~~ of Hindustan that nations should learn to ~~depr~~ the glory of conquerors. So many provinces devastated by anarchy, rent by war, invaded ~~by~~ usurpers, ought to offer a terrible lesson to chiefs of nations who wish to conquer more lands than they could govern. In the midst of so many devastations there is no longer any father-land for the Indians. Nor is it surprising that they show to-day so much indifference over the progress and conquests of the Europeans, who have little by little mixed in their domestic quarrels and who have extended their possessions in Hindustan as dissensions extend over the Empire.

In this rapid sketch one should distinguish two grand epochs. The first was the golden age of India. The Indians then enjoyed eternal peace: the world had not yet become jealous of their learning and their virtues. If I should show something of these primitive times I would abandon the spectacle of so much brigandage by recounting a reign dear to humanity. I would delight the soul of the reader with very comforting images. But history is silent over the fortunate epochs of empires. The second epoch of the history of India is only too well known. War and the fury of revolutions have left behind very sad memorials, and heart-rending souvenirs. With our century seems to have begun a new epoch for Hindustan; could it repair the

evils of the second, and recall something of the first?

For long Hindustan had not attracted the eyes of sages, if one excludes some English savants who had traversed these lands for learning the usages and customs thereof. One comes to buy spices in the celebrated city of Benares, where the philosophers of Rome and Athens came to study the mysteries of Nature. The ambition of the chiefs of Asia does not covet any more the treasures of Delhi, so many times given up to pillage. But European merchants flowed into these lands to collect the products of the soil and industry. The conquest of this beautiful part of the globe is destined to-day for the active genius of commerce, more eager to enrich the world than to illumine it, which knows better than warriors how to use victories to advantage. Already the Ganges flows under the same law as the Thames, and if the most fatal divisions do not continue to agitate Europe, it would not be surprising if one day Europeans come to have the same influence over the destinies of Asia as they have over those of America.

For 30 years the history of Europe mixed itself with that of India. The latest events in Hindustan in the eye of politics are connected with those we have been witnessing. They influenced all the ideas which governed the majority of European Powers, and the calculations which are made to-day in the Council of Princes, as well as in the Counting House of merchants. It is not any more the same interests which move the Governments in our

days. It is 200 years since Honour had the voice in making war and peace. The ancient peoples had ambition. The modern have only avarice. That thing has become a deciding factor in the political balance since one does everything with gold and the means of obtaining it 'make up all the wisdom of' states. The majority of wars which are made in our century, have had for their object the advantages of commerce which gives gold. And ere long, perhaps, it will suffice to put certain figures to write the history of nations. France so rich by her soil, so well provided by nature with the means of extending her empire beyond the seas had known this source of public prosperity. But the carelessness of her old minister, and the Revolution above all, have put up for a long time a barrier between us and Hindustan.

England which had realised more than France the importance of the commercial conquest of India, has followed it with more obstinacy. Her system of commerce is, moreover, more profoundly conceived. It is vaster, more coherent, more favoured by Government, and more in conformity with the taste, spirit, and habits of the nation. Even in the midst of this war of extermination which desolates Europe, England has forgotten her own dangers to occupy herself with her calculations. The English cleverly took advantage of the divisions which the Revolution had created in Europe as well as of those which ambition had raised among the Governments of Hindustan. While the troubles of France relieved them of a powerful rival in their

proximity, those troubles would themselves give them motive and facility to rid themselves of a dangerous enemy in India. Now in Hindustan, there are only those states whose alliance is advantageous to the English and from whose hatred they have little to fear. In adding their produce to that of the Cape of Good Hope, they have doubled their forces in our Continent and the treasures of Asia have served, in this war, to re-make Europe according to their wishes.

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## CHAPTER II.

### Hyder Ali

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The Empire formed of the conquests of Hyder Ali, which was to fall during the reign of the unfortunate Tippoo Saheb, was in latter days one of the vastest and most formidable in Hindustan. But in the moving theatre of India, in the midst of wars which the ambition of the usurpers kindled without cessation in this unfortunate country, in the midst of all the passions of Asia and Europe, the most flourishing empire, which was itself the fruit of a usurpation, could only throw a passing brightness. Towards the middle of the century, Hyder Ali was only a simple officer in the army of Mysore; and 40 years had sufficed to show to India the royal sceptre reposing in the hands of a fortunate soldier, to be snatched away, afterwards with violence from the hands of his family, and relegated



Hyder Ali

to its former obscurity. It is these events, which followed the rise, the progress and the fall of this empire, that I am attempting to describe now. Surrounded for 10 years with all the horrors of the wars of the Revolution, I know that there remain to us few drops of tears to give to strangers. But the miseries of the Indian Prince who has had numerous relations with the French, have some right to touch us; and in Europe itself, still disturbed by the fall of many Governments, the tragic end of Tippoo Saheb ought to awake some interest among those who examine the political consequences of grand events and the dependence they must necessarily find between the latest wars in Hindustan and that which carries now its ravages over the seas and among the European Nations.

Hyder Ali was the son of a cavalry officer of the Mughal Empire. He passed a part of his childhood at Delhi and he found himself in this capital of India when the celebrated Nadir carried thither the terror of his arms. The sight of the triumphs of Thamas Kuli Khan kindled his ardent imagination and he appeared armed with a sword, at an age when others are acquainted only with the toys of the nursery. His father had fought several campaigns in the pay of the Raja or King of Mysore. Having distinguished himself by a victory against the Mahrattas, he got as his reward the fortress and the district of Bangalore. These possessions became the heritage of Hyder Ali. His father left him moreover the example of his courage to enlarge them. At the age of twenty, young Hyder

had made a campaign on the Coramandel Coast and his name was already famous in the peninsula of India. The Raja of Mysore placed him at the head of his troops. In a country where authority always goes with power, and empire with triumphant valour, it was not far from the title of 'general of the army' to that of 'sovereign'. Ever since Hyder became the chief of the army, he dreamt of becoming the chief of the State. He was found out by Canere\* the minister of the Raja. But he was already so powerful that it was found necessary to call in the Mahrattas to besiege him in his fortress of Bangalore. He had the good fortune to repulse the Mahrattas and he came to besiege the Raja himself in Seringapatam. He found the means of persuading the Prince that he did not aspire to royal power. He settled it with him to open the gates and deliver Canere to him. The young Raja whom inexperience of youth had made too confiding, had not long to wait before he repented of having listened to Hyder Ali. Hyder at first showed marks of submission; but soon he deprived the Raja of his treasures and his empire. Canere was judged by a council of Brahmins who offered his head to the victor. Hyder wished to let him live as a token of his triumph. The minister of the Raja was shut up at Bangalore in an iron cage where he remained two years exposed to the insults of the populace who, in all lands, likes to feed its gaze with pictures of death and sights of torments. Canere expired in this narrow prison

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\* Khanda Rao

and his bones remained hanging many years over the fort of Bangalore where they became the dread of the enemies and rivals of Hyder. Canero was the only victim that this warrior sacrificed for his ambition. Putting on an appearance of moderation in the midst of his triumphs, he left the Raja in his palace and provided for the up-keep of his family. He disdained the appearance of grandeur, and contented himself with assuming the title of regent of Mysore. It is true that he compensated himself for it by exercising all the authority of a King. The army overwhelmed with gifts found his conduct admirable, and no one either among the polygars or among the people dared to find his Government unjust.

Hyder Ali found himself master of one of the fairest realms formed out of the ruins of the Mughal Empire. The plains of Mysore are the most beautiful habitation Nature could offer to men on this earth. Situated near the Equator, the heat would have been intolerable if they were not cut off north and south by the mountain chains of the Ghats which separate the Coromandel from Malabar and which cause the monsoons so famous in the Indian Seas. These mountains seem to have been placed as a barrier between summer and winter. A Hindu of Cape Comerin, says a historian, with his eyes fixed on the Equator, sees, alternately summer on his right and winter on his left. This phenomenon, the natural result of the winds which blow six months of the year, acts with a suddenness as if the sovereign arbitrator of things turned all at once

the balance of weal and woe which he holds in his hands. From the top of the Ghats which are the Alps of India, numerous streams rush down as rivulets, as torrents, and as rivers, which under forests always green, temper the heat of the day and bring fertility to distant parts. The realm of Mysore furnishes an abundance of rice for the food of its inhabitants. Numerous flocks of the best sheep of India grow up amongst its grassy pastures. The products of Indian industry bring riches into the villages while plantations of cocoanut palms, aloes, and sandal wood make up the riches of the country-side. Far from Delhi, the province of Mysore was rarely exposed to the troubles which in the capital caused the partition of the Empire. The Mysoreans were paying a tribute to the Mahrattas and with a little gold they had bought a century of tranquillity. This long peace had enervated the inhabitants. The ancient religion of Brahma, little fitted to make fighters, had softened them. Hyder Ali deprived them of nothing which Nature had heaped on them. But he wished them to undertake to defend themselves against the ambition of the neighbouring nations and against the cupidity of the Europeans. The Government and the country of Mysore took on from the commencement of his reign a military form and spirit. The conquest of Sirpi, the country situated between Mysore and the Mahrattas, increased much the dominions and the power of Hyder Ali; and the fair realm of Canara subjugated by his arms was united to that of Mysore.

The realm of Canara, like that of Mysore was happy under the parental government of its Rajas. A young Prince, 9 years of age, had been recognised on the death of his father, and the realm was governed in his name. The queen wished to make an attempt on the life of her son, in order to elevate another prince to the position. But a friend of the young prince found the means of frustrating the plans of an unnatural mother, and of sending him secretly to a loyal poligar who lived in a desert valley of Canara. The young prince had passed 8 years in his retreat when it was troubled by the tumult of Hyder Ali's arms. Hyder entered conquering into the realm of Canara and promised to give the fugitive monarch his usurped throne back. The young prince tempted by these promises quitted his solitude and advanced with the Mysore troops towards Bednore, which was the capital of his kingdom. He displayed all the paraphernalia of oriental princes; mounted on an elephant, he attracted attention on all sides, and during his passage evoked affection and respect everywhere. The people of the land brought provisions to the army which accompanied their legitimate sovereign. Fortified towns opened their doors to him. The mother of the young prince and the usurper of the throne took to flight, and the capture of Bednore was not so much the result of a siege as a triumphal entry. The Raja took up the reins of his kingdom; but his authority was soon overthrown by him who had reinstated him. This young prince, 16 years of age, given up to all the

illusions of youth, had known love in the valley where they had hidden him in his infancy. This sentiment had followed him from the depth of his solitude into the festivity and noise of his new court, and the woman who was the object of that love had accompanied him to Bednore. Hyder, young, boiling, and impetuous, saw her and became the rival of the Prince who owed his kingdom to him. He demanded her as the price of his conquest. The young Raja still at an age when one prefers the heart of a woman to a kingdom, dared by his refusal, to expose himself to the danger of losing his crown again. Hyder being angered employed violence and carried away the young favourite of the Raja. This first injustice did not wait long to lead to another. Having become the possessor of the wife of the young monarch Hyder wished to remain the master of his realm, The Raja was arrested in his palace and conducted to Maddegurrey. This fort is situated in the kingdom of Mysore on a steep and inaccessible rock. The king of Canara, twice dethroned, spent his unhappy life in this prison, and his kingdom became a province of Hyder Ali's dominions. After this conquest, where he showed little generosity and in which he added to his empire only at the expense of glory, Hyder marched with rapidity towards the district of Sonda, some little distance from Goa, and he made himself master of it. The terror of his arms preceded him everywhere and he marched almost without obstacle, from battle to battle, from victory to victory. A clever statesman as

well as an intrepid warrior, he knew how to retain the Mahrattas in their homes, from where they were quiet spectators of his progress, and he carried war suddenly to the coast of Malabar. He came to lay siege to Calicut, the capital and residence of the king of the Nayars. This city fell under the power of Hyder Ali, and the Zamorin, or the king of Calicut, became his prisoner. This prince belonged to the religion of the Brahmins, and as it was his custom to feed a large number of the poor of his own religion, he sent to demand provisions from the victor so as to be able to keep up his usual charities. Hyder wished to have an interview with the king of the Nayars, but the latter, true to the principles of his sect which did not permit holding discourse personally with Mahomedans, declined the visit of Hyder Ali. The victor remained in his camp and sent to the king of Calicut a quantity of grain sufficient to feed 500 people. The next day the Zamorin got provisions again. But later on, it became impossible for Hyder to deprive himself of provisions which became more and more necessary for his army. The poor who were living on the charities of the king of Calicut, were from this moment, deprived of his generous help, and the cry of famine made itself heard in the Palace of the chief of the Nayars. Hyder sent some Mysore Chiefs to this prince to visit him. They returned to inform him that they suspected some extraordinary happening. They had noticed on the face of the king a sombre and sinister air. He had already been fasting for three

days and was preparing for a religious ceremony. They learned, ere long, that the unlucky Prince had collected together all his family, and after having recited prayers in the presence of the principal Brahmins, had set fire to his own palace and had thrown himself in the fire. Hyder Ali remained master of the realm of Calicut. He distinguished himself again by other conquests on the Malabar coast, and rich with the spoils of his enemies he returned to Seringapatam where he made his entry with all the pomp of Asia and with all the paraphernalia of victory. Master of many realms, he now returned into this city which had seen him as a mere officer, less than a year ago. This spectacle was not new in India. But he excited not a little enthusiasm in the people of Mysore and thence forward nothing seemed impossible to the valour of Hyder Ali. It was in the midst of the festivities which followed his return to Seringapatam that the new sovereign of Mysore formed the project of gathering the dispersed ruins of Aurangzeb's empire. In the course of his early victories he imagined that it would be easy to subjugate the nations of India, but he had to conquer more formidable enemies. The English had made themselves the masters of many provinces in India, and they must necessarily be against the execution of his grand plans. Brought up, so to say, in the camps of the French and a comrade-in-arms of the celebrated Bussy, Hyder Ali had many a time exhibited his courage against the English. The hatred he had conceived against them grew with

his power. He resolved to fight them, and it was he who called this terrible storm and who planned various attacks on the British possessions in Hindustan. He addressed himself to the Nawabs and poligars of the states of the Deccan and the Coromandel coast. He persuaded them to form a confederation against the English whom he represented to them as the enemies and the plague of Hindustan. "They have come", he told them, "to exchange their productions. They have despoiled the country of its riches, of its inhabitants, of its fertility, of its glory. In exchange for the treasures they export, they have brought into Hindustan their vices, their maladies, and their miseries. The princes whom credulity or misfortune has thrown into their hands have been treated as objects of commerce which one exposes in the market, and they are valued so long as they can serve the interests of these greedy foreigners. The extent of their treachery and their perjuries, equals that of their treaties and their promises". This description which was not then altogether devoid of truth, was well devised to unite under the banner of Hyder, the powers of Hindustan. The sentiments of a common danger persuaded them no less than his letters, his envoys, and his eloquence. Soon one came to regard him as the saviour of India, Hyder Ali, the master of Mysore and of Bangalore, possessed in addition those vast mountainous regions which extent from Ampoor up to Madura. He was sovereign absolute of the realms of Balapour, Bisnagar, and Canara, of the coast

of Malabar and of the Maladives. Ere long he saw his camp full of numerous swarms of Indians hailing from all over the vast country. His army grew up to two hundred thousand men, of which twenty thousand were cavalry, and 750 good European troops commanded by General Lalley, a clever officer who had been sent to Hyder by M. De Bussy and who assisted at all military councils of the prince. The Subhedar of the Deccan joined the Mysore troops, with an army of a hundred thousand men.

The power of the English in India was then at its highest. They were the masters of Bengal, the richest, the most fertile, and the most populated of the provinces of Hindustan. They possessed the coasts of Orissa and of Coromandel; the big towns of Cambay and Surat; the Island of Bombay and the Island of Salsette on the Mahratta frontier. They had moreover many forts on the Malabar coast and certain settlements on the Island of Sumatra. Their forces in these different possessions rose up to ninety thousand men, a very large number of whom was composed of European soldiers and sepoys, i. e., Indian soldiers trained in European fashion. The troops of the Allies of the English Army amounted to twenty thousand combatants. The Mysore army carried with it a large number of guns, but the artillery of the English was better suited for manoeuvres. The Indians had the superiority in numbers, the English (had it) in tactics. Ardour, animosity, and hope of plunder were equal on both the sides. At the head of

the two armies were two chiefs equally remarkable for their courage and for their exploits. Hyder Ali was full of that impetuosity which characterises the heroism of the people of Hindustan. The chief of the English Army, General Smith, had the prudence and sang-froid of an experienced officer. The first depended for victory on his valour, the second on a profound knowledge of the resources of military art.

The town of Caveripatam situated on the banks of the Pallier, was obliged to be ceded to the forces of Hyder at the beginning of the campaign. This intrepid prince pursued the English army and forced it to retire into regions inaccessible to cavalry. Several encounters took place on the hills which bordered upon the Pallier, and they often ended with an advantage which was long contested and which was almost always equal. The two armies were advanced towards Trinomaly, and General Smith having received a strong reinforcement gave at last a general and decisive battle. Hyder led his infantry himself with much firmness and in perfect order. His artillery was served with great regularity and quickness. But a large part of his cavalry was obliged to remain immobile on account of the difficulties which the uneven battlefield offered. The Indians sustained for sometime the fire of the English with courage. But their army was soon nothing more than a confused multitude where disorder augmented fear. The courage of Hyder was useless, and he learnt with

sorrow that the European discipline which he had introduced into his army, had not made progress sufficient to put it in a condition to resist the tactics which wisely guided the English. His army was completely defeated. A part of the Nizam's artillery and a large number of prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy. While General Smith was obtaining this victory over the Indians a detachment of Mysore cavalry under the command of Tippoo Saheb, the son of Hyder Ali, advanced towards the capital of the English possessions in the Carnatic, and Madras trembled to see its country houses ravaged by an enemy whose march and progress they had not been able to foresee. It was in the midst of these alarms which the presence of Tippoo caused, that a discharge of 104 salutes from Fort St. George re-established order and security in the town. Tippoo Saheb anxious for the safety of Hyder returned in haste to the army where he was expected with great anxiety, and where he was received by his father as a young hero whose exploits would one day avenge the defeat of the Indians.

Hyder Ali profited by the lesson he had received at Trinomally in changing his tactics and the course of the operations of the campaign. He avoided as far as possible attacking English troops in defiles where his own troops could not act with ease. He took as much care to avoid a general action as General Smith took to make him engage in one. His principle was to attack detached parties and intercept the convoys of the enemy;

This manner of fighting assured success to Hyder Ali, but he thereby demoralised his soldiers. Proud of his new victories, he conceived all at once the bold plan of carrying war into his enemies' territories. Profiting by the superiority of his cavalry, he rushed down into the Carnatic where he carried plunder and fire all around. The English abandoned the possessions of Hyder at once to fly to the help of their own. The prince, by this clever move, recovered without a single battle all he had lost. He was no longer a fugitive monarch unable to defend his dominions. He became an avenging hero, a redoubtable conqueror who carried abroad the plagues and fears which had, a moment ago, desolated his own empire. His army which was languishing before and was enfeebled from day to day by the fatigue and ennui of a defensive war which had no attraction for troops guided only by the hopes of plunder, recovered all its force, all its energy, in a new kind of warfare, in which a soldier could indulge in his tastes and follow the impulse of a courage more greedy of booty than of glory. In these happy circumstances the successes of Hyder augmented the number of his allies and redoubled the terror of his name, created division among his enemies and deprived the English of their principal resources for waging war.

Hyder Ali having advanced up to the 7th league of Madras, the English prepared themselves to dispute his passage of the St. Thomas River. But he disappeared all of a sudden, and while they were searching for traces of his march, he presented

himself at the gates of the city and dictated peace to the British Councillors. Peace was concluded on the 3rd of April 1769. They agreed to restore mutually the forts and places taken by each, to exchange prisoners and to declare free trade in the Carnatic and in the Mysore dominions. Thus terminated a war which desolated India for two years and in which each belligerent party often saw reverses mixed up with triumphs. This war was very unlucky to the English. It taught Hindustan that the English were not always invincible. They made the Indian princes feel the necessity of a general confederation, and it gave Hyder Ali sufficient preponderance to become the centre of their union. Hyder had been often victorious, but even in defeats he had learnt the art of success; He had perfected the discipline of his troops, he had found officers and he had trained soldiers. But of all the gains from this war what touched the heart of Hyder was that he saw the young Tippoo Saheb grow up under his eyes in the school of victory. He distinguished himself in numerous exploits, and he announced himself to the people as the worthy inheritor of the glory and of the projects of his father.

The Council of Madras which had made peace and had delivered the Carnatic from the horrors of war, went back to their countries, and resumed the course of their work and their prosperity. Bengal which had heard the rumbling of the storm brewing against it from afar, could only escape into another veil which improvidence, cupidity, and bad admini-

stration rendered only too frequent in a large part of the rich provinces of India. An extraordinary draught which had dried up the humidity of the fields and had changed the well-watered plains into sandy deserts, caused the harvests of 1769 as well as that of the following year to fail. The distress became so general that, although they had harvested much rice on the hills, there was not enough for the consumption of the natives of the country. The Famine which they experienced then marks an epoch in the recent annals of India. Though it has no direct relation with the events I propose to recount, it is too important to be passed over in silence. Besides, it carried its ravages to a province from which the English used to draw their best resources to attack the kingdom of Mysore. And from this point of view a description of this extraordinary visitation would not altogether appear foreign to my subject.

The sombre images which poets use to depict famines are too feeble to give an idea of the miseries which accumulated over Bengal. One could see, say the English historians, in the whole of the city of Calcutta and in the neighbouring villages, crowds of weak creatures, fighting amongst themselves in their anguish ; others quitting with a contented air, a life full of sorrows ; others begging the passers by to have pity on them, raising to the sky their dull and languishing eyes and employing the little strength which remained to them in softening the sufferings of the hopeless sick. The whole country resounded with their groans and it

seemed to be covered with the wandering shades of those who were already dead. Villages and hamlets were de-populated, towns were deserted. Famine chased crowds of Indians from their homes; fields, trunk roads, and public places were full of the pale victims of this visitation. Some of these unfortunates, exhausted with fatigue, fell here and there on the roads, and stretching their lean limbs awaited with impatience the symptoms of dissolution developing. The hope of death was the only thing which gave them some joy. Others dragging painfully the remains of a sorrowful existence marched side by side in gloomy silence in a state of horrible stupidity. All natural feelings seemed extinct, all ties of blood seemed broken. Too much absorbed in their own miseries and in their own needs, each one was indifferent to those of others. In this horrible confusion, where each one reserved one's pity and care to oneself, children deserted their parents, and mothers their children. One could not find a place in the city or in the neighbouring villages of Calcutta, where one did not see a terrifying crowd of living, dead, and dying people. Heaps of those who succumbed every hour, were taken away in waggons to the Ganges into which they were thrown pell-mell, without prayers of funeral rites. The waters of the stream were corrupted by the heaps of corpses; the town and suburbs were infected with mass of pestilential fumes. It was on account of the large numbers of birds of prey, insects and carnivorous animals which covered the unhappy banks that

they happened to escape the pest which threatened to join its horrors to those of famine.

In the midst of these devilish and frightful scenes there was one thing which no one could see without a mingling of pity and admiration. That was the unshakable constancy of the Hindus in refusing all animal food. One saw them expose themselves to all the pangs of hunger rather than abandon the precepts of their religion. Religious ideas were the only sentiment which towered over this abyss, where all that characterises man had disappeared. Fear, which accompanies great human revolutions, had also its victims in this terrible catastrophe, and one saw many people whom their wealth put beyond need, dying of fright at the sight of such calamities. The desolation, add the English historians, was as sudden and as frightful as it would be if England were to lose in a few weeks half its inhabitants. More than three million men perished from want of food. How much ought this picture of so many combined evils to affect humanity ? But it is very sad that during the famine, greed calculated the results and increased the horrors to accumulate riches. One saw at Calcutta and in all the towns of Bengal greedy monopolists build their fortunes on this public calamity, and the love of gold added still more to the ravages of hunger.

This famine was very fatal to the English settlements in Bengal. While the company tried to repair its losses, Hyder Ali found himself entangled in a new war with the Mahrattas. This

nation animated with the hope of plunder, entered the dominions of Hyder. The prince was completely beaten some miles from Bednore, his capital. The Mahrattas, less disciplined than the Mysore troops, had the superiority in numbers. Their army, composed largely of cavalry, surrounded the troops of Hyder, cut off his food supplies and forced him to make his retreat. The Mysore army formed an immense square, very deep, and marched surrounded by the enemy. When the advanced guard marched too fast and separated itself from the body of the army, the Mahrattas penetrated into the space left empty and caused disorder among the troops of Hyder Ali. It was not without great difficulty that he managed to throw himself into Bednore. He stood the attacks of his numerous enemies who knew nothing of the art of sieges and who lacked everything necessary to carry on sieges with vigour. The Mahrattas ravaged the country which surrounded the capital of Hyder. But their troops who lived on pillage only and who never carried with them provisions to make a long campaign, were soon obliged to abandon a devastated province, and famine became an ally of the Regent of Mysore in driving them back to their mountains.

The retreat of the Mahrattas brought peace to the state of Mysore. Hyder Ali utilised the happy influence which it had given him, to consolidate his authority in the minds of the people. He sent the family of the Raja whose crown he had usurped to the island of Seringapatam, and he gave to the

town of Bednore the name of Hyder Nagar. It is in this town that he had his palace, and the principal officers and nobles of his empire resided. One could form an idea of the splendour and magnificence of the old town of Bednore by the size of its streets some of which were 6 miles long and perfectly straight. All the riches of nature and of art were there brought together. Its inhabitants were rich and polished, and their manners were sweet and pure. A display of architecture, noble yet simple, embellished the city. Bednore having become the centre of numerous conquests of Hyder Ali was the home of pleasures, of brilliant festivals and of arts, which are so much cultivated in India. Hyder Ali occupied himself in repairing the woes of the war through the benefits of a sage administration. Under the auspices of justice and peace, the towns regained their commerce; the provinces their fertility; and the whole empire its splendour. But in these lands where the principles of public law are ignored, where one is sure of keeping the crown only so long as it is protected by force, the resources for making war are the first consideration in policy. Hyder Ali occupied himself in fortifying places and in training his troops and the security which his dominions enjoyed for some time gave him before long the power to extend them by new conquests over the Mahrattas themselves, who had made him tremble for his capital. War broke out again between the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali. Only a few events of note took place. The Mahrattas were the rivals of Hyder; but his veritable enemies

whose power he wished to destroy, were the English. This prince had tried his powers with Indian peoples only in order to learn how best to deal with a very powerful enemy ; and he did not seek to extend his dominions by conquest, but only to convey the most destructive of elements into the British possessions. As soon as he saw the possibility of raising his standard against the English he gave his hand to the Mahrattas on the field of battle, and he offered them his gold and his armies to attack his common enemy. The Nizam of the Deccan had formed the project of a general confederation of the states of Hindustan against the English, whose usurpations and excesses he represented in very odious colours. The object of this Coalition was to render Hindustan independent of the British power. To accomplish this bold design it was agreed that Hyder and the Nizam should attack the Carnatic ; that the forces of the Mahrattas should be employed on the coast of Surat and of Guzarat and that the Raja of Berar whom common hatred had led into the league should invade the province of Bengal. Never have the Indian Powers appeared to have better realised their true interests ; never was formed in Hindustan a confederation more formidable against the power of Britain. Meanwhile, the revolt of the United States kindled the torch of war, between England and France. They took up arms in Europe and in North America. The fleets of both nations sought and attacked each other in the most distant seas. The Indian Ocean became the scene of very

bloody combats: If the French had preserved their ascendancy in India, they would have profited by the league formed against the English possessions. But the good days of the rule of Dupliex were no more. The French were almost reduced in India to the position of store-keepers or merchants. Timid spectators of the dissensions in Hindustan, they had no advantage to put in the balance against their enemies. Even before the Indian confederation could act against the English, the settlements of Chandranagore, Yaman, Karikal, and Musilipatam fell in their power. Pondichery was besieged, taken and destroyed within a few weeks. The English had no more European rivals in Hindustan, and Hyder Ali lost an ally with whose aid he hoped one day to chase the English out of Indian Territory.

The councils of Madras and Calcutta pressed by the confederation of Indian Princes despaired of conquering them, but it might be possible to divide them. They undertook it and easily brought it about at last. The danger of all coalitions is want of unity and harmony. The divergent passions of all who compose them do not take long to sow disorder. Everyone forgets the common danger to occupy himself with his own interests. The Nizam and the Mahrattas had to complain about Hyder. The English rekindled their former hatred; they flattered their ambition; they provoked their jealousy. The Indian princes forgot that their most pressing interest was to chase out of India the European conquerors. They did not renounce, it

is true, the confederation at once ; but they made only feeble efforts to make it triumph, and the English brought in the forces of Hyder Ali to fight in earnest. The English company counted so much on the efficiency of their negotiations that it neglected military preparations. And it was only at the moment when the army of Mysore had carried fire into the Carnatic that they thought of the means of defending this province. This campaign was one of the most bloody which had desolated Hindustan. Here is a picture which an English writer drew of it.

He (Hyder Ali) resolved in the gloomy recess of his mind to make the whole of the Carnatic an everlasting monument of his revenge, and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and the English. He had for that end so much confidence in his own resources (he gathered up almost the whole of his strength) that he did not any more make a secret of his terrible resolution. He drew from all parts of India new lessons in the art of destruction, and enveloped himself in a heavy cloud formed of all the elements of desolation and carnage. The chiefs of the English company whom all accused of having provoked these ills, were looking stupidly on this menacing meteor which covered with a sombre night all their horizon, when Hyder appeared all of a sudden and inundated the plains of the Carnatic. The effect of this deluge made one of those catastrophes which imagination cannot conceive and which language cannot express. All the horrors of war so far known and

reported are only child's play in comparison with this horrible havoc. A tempest of fire burned whole harvests, consumed all habitations, destroyed all temples. The miserable inhabitants driven by flames cut of their villages were massacred without distinction of age, sex, rank, or profession; fathers torn from the hands of their children, husbands carried off from their wives, were surrounded by thousands of cavalry, goaded on by spurs, carried under the heavy hoofs of irritated horses and later on carried away as captives, into a strange land. (c. f. Burke's speech on Nawab of Arcot's debts)

From all sides came to Madras news of the progress of Hyder Ali, of his devastations and of his approach. From all parts, villages, fortresses, provinces, one and all asked for help. The army of Mysore was composed of a hundred thousand combatants. Hyder defeated the English twice before Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic and took possession of this important place after a siege of some days. Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib in various bloody encounters taught the English that they were not strangers to combinations of military art and exploits of valour. Hyder combined cleverly political expedients with those of war; he provoked everywhere hatred towards the English and caused himself to be proclaimed as the saviour and the avenger of India. The English, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, hastily brought troops and munitions from Bengal. Sir Eyre Coote who took the command of the forces of the Company, found the mountain posts deserted, troops

dispersed, with no provisions in Fort Saint George, the field guns were without carriages, the soldiers were discouraged; he found complete desertion among the natives of the country, no means of communication, no preparation, and no resources. Hyder profited by this state of neglect and distress in achieving his conquests, and if fortune had helped his courage Hindustan would have regained its old independence.

In such difficult circumstances Sir Eyre Coote took measures to foster the safety of the British possessions. Hyder Ali at the head of the army of Mysore was attacked, and fortune declared herself against him. This victory of the English arrested the progress of their enemy, but it had not dispirited him. Hyder Ali in the space of a few days lost several battles without losing his superiority or his glory, conserving always his immense resources and proving himself, in reverse as in success,—the most famous among the warriors of India by his bravery and by the sagacity of his manoeuvres.

Civil war happened to break out in Bengal now governed by Mr. Hastings. The French under the command of Bailli de Suffren had appeared in the Indian Ocean with a great superiority in forces, and menaced the English possessions on the coromandel coast. They made themselves masters of Trinomaly, they had penetrated into the coast of Sumatra; they were expecting from France several ships of the line with five thousand men under the command of M. De Bussy, a train of artillery such as had never been seen in India before, with pro-

visions of all kinds. Some French detachment had already joined the army of Hyder Ali. Beaten in four successive battles, and still remaining master of the Carnatic, he seemed to have become more formidable than before and he prepared himself anew to lay siege to Madras. Tippoo Sahib put General Mathews to complete rout on the coast of Malabar. At last Hyder saw again the prospect of the most brilliant success opening before him. But at the very moment he reached out to victory the object of his wishes receded from him once more, and the adroit diplomacy of the English came even on the scene of his glory to render his courage and his exploits useless. Discord continued to disperse the relics of the confederation formed against the English under the auspices of the Nizam. Hyder Ali was left entirely to his own resources, and he found himself on the point of seeing the arms of his old allies turn against him who loved more to defeat a successful rival rather than an enemy who cleverly worked upon their passions and who seemed to associate themselves with their interests. The Mahrattas made a treaty of Alliance with the English. The British troops now having to fight only with the forces of Hyder Ali made a clever diversion into Malabar; and although they were beaten in several encounters by Tippoo Sahib who flew in pursuit of them, they threatened to invade the rich province of Canara and the realm of Mysore. The perfidious desertion of the Indian Powers, the withdrawal of the help Hyder Ali had expected, and the unhappy turn which his affairs

began to take forced him to abandon his favourite projects and put him into a fit of the darkest despair. A cruel malady whose symptoms had been manifesting themselves for a long time, developed in a very alarming manner in the midst of disappointments, and his death which knocked him off on the 9th December 1782, deprived Hindustan of its liberator and delivered the English from the most formidable enemy they ever had in the East Indies. Hyder Ali was a new man in India; endowed with lively passions, his youth which was stormy and full of incidents contained more romance than History. The many misfortunes which happened to him towards the end of his infancy, gave him a precocious experience. The frequent obstacles which he found in his career excited his courage early and developed in him that high spirit which he carried into the administration of his State and on to the field of battle. His mind was little cultivated, but he had the right perspective. He had above all that power so rare yet so necessary in kings: he understood men and knew how to put them in their places. Enterprising and marching to his aim by ways unknown to the ordinary man, contemptuous of Asiatic pomp and full of admiration for European tactics, he profited by all the usages and all the ideas which might be useful to him. He put himself often beyond the prejudices of his religion in conciliating all sects and managing all parties. (Note, In all his campaigns he showed always the greatest respect towards the temples and the religion of the Hindus. The

English have profited many a time by his tolerance and their spies were always from among Brabmins who were at the court of Hyder Ali).

Some writers have called him Frederick (the Great) of Hindustan. He has lacked only a historian to justify this title in the eyes of posterity. He was true to his engagements and implacable in his vengeance. Certain actions of his had given him in civilized Europe the air of a wild despot; but when one compares him with the other Indian Princes; one admires his moderation and sees in him only a generous Prince.

In 1767 Hyder was at Coimbatore and came out at 5 o' Clock in the afternoon, with a big retinue to go out for an airing. An old woman prostrated herself and cried 'Justice!' Immediately Hyder stopped his carriage and beckoned her to come near. "I have only one daughter", she said to him, "and Aggi Mamout has taken her away from me". "But" replied Hyder, "it is a month since Aggi Mahmout went away. Why have you waited so long to complain?" "I have sent several petitions to Hyder Shah and I have received no reply for them". This Hyder Shah was the Chief of the Souquedars. He stepped forward and said to the Prince, "This woman leads a bad life, so does her daughter" Hyder returned to the palace and commanded the old woman to follow him. Every-body trembled for Hyder Shah; the commander of the Europeans, begged for his pardon. But Hyder Ali refused it, brusquely saying that the greatest of crimes was to hinder communication between the

king and his subjects. "Princes" he added, "exist on earth only to render justice to the weak. The king loses the love of his subjects by acts of injustice committed in his name". Immediately he ordered Hyder Shah to be conducted to the public square and to be given a hundred strokes with the whip. In the meantime he called one of the officers of his Abyssinian Horse-Guard and ordered him to bring the head of Aggi Mahmout and to give back the daughter to her mother. The daughter was found and was given back, and the head of the guilty was brought to Hyder Ali. One finds in this action a mixture of equity and barbarism which perhaps may not thrive in European States, where one appreciates justice less than the manner of administering it. But in the despotic States of the East where the hearts have incessantly to be aroused from slumber and held by fear, where public opinion is only an impotent sovereign, it is often necessary to be cruel to be just.

Against the usage of Hindustan, Hyder showed himself almost always generous towards his defeated and disarmed enemies. More than once he sent away prisoners of war on parole, a thing so rarely done in Asiatic wars. In the earlier campaigns against the English, he welcomed deserters and used them for recruiting and reforming his army, but in the end having got many adventurers who were only spies that caused disorder among his troops, he refused to receive deserters and he pushed severity even up to the point of inflicting the penalty of death on all Europeans who came

into his camp after deserting their flag. Two Hanoverian soldiers who were in the pay of the Raja of Tanjore, an ally of the English, ignorant of the rigorous punishment inflicted on deserters by Hyder Ali, resolved to go and seek their fortune in the army of Mysore. They carried with them their sergeant also who tried to stop them. All the three having reached the camp of Hyder Ali, were seized, put into irons and condemned to be beheaded. The two soldiers had already suffered their punishment, while the Corporal was recognised by a European Officer in the Mysore army. This officer put off the execution, and the corporal was taken before Hyder Ali who reproached him for his cowardliness and his desertion. "I am not a coward, nor a deserter. The soldiers whom you caused to be executed have brought me by force into your camp". Hyder Ali was struck by the countenance of the European Corporal and offered him the post of an officer, but the latter refused it. Hyder then made much better offers which brought him a further refusal. At last astonished to find so much nobility in a Corporal, he sent him back to the English Commander and recommended him for a post that would compensate him for his fidelity.

The Hanoverian Corporal returned to the English Army whose Chiefs accepted the recommendations of their generous enemy. The Corporal became an officer; and at the death of Hyder Ali he was the Governor of an important place in the realm of Tanjore. This trait is somewhat like that

of Fabricius and shows well the character of Hyder.

By his valour Hyder became the idol of his army ; by his popular manners he made his subjects adore him ; and although the title of Sovereign was not so legitimate for him as that of a General, he was not less respected by his subjects than by his soldiers. The means which he employed for coming to the throne were neither just nor generous ; but he used his power only with justice and generosity. No one could deny that he was only a usurper, but a multitude of usurpations had occurred, which rendered the inhabitants of India quite indifferent to the titles of their monarchs. Hyder caused his ambition to be pardoned by his virtues, and his crime was in some way effaced by his glory.

The death of Hyder Ali spread consternation among his troops who used to regard him as their father. His body was taken to Seringapatam, where it was buried with the lamentations of his army and of his people.



### CHAPTER III.



Hyder Ali left two sons ; Tippoo Saheb was the elder. The right of birth called him to the Empire. Hyder died with the regret of not having been able to execute his grand designs. But he entrusted the accomplishment of them to his son. He hoped on dying that the sceptre of India would one day be in the hands of his descendants, His



TIPPOO SULTAN.

*He was killed in the battle of Srirangapatna*

Tipu Sultan

last wishes, and his last instructions to his successor were contained in a mandate which he had prepared before his death, the principal traits of which show the depth and sagacity of his policy. These instructions were addressed to Tippoo Saheb. "My son", said he, "I leave you an Empire which I have not received from my ancestors. A sceptre acquired by violence is always fragile ; meanwhile you will not find any obstacles in your family ; you have no rivals among the Chiefs of the army. I do not leave you any enemies among my subjects. You have nothing to fear as regards the internal affairs of your state But it is necessary to carry your vision very far. India since the death of Aurangazeb has lost her rank among the Empires of Asia. This fair land is parcelled out into provinces which make war, one against the other ; and the people divided into a multitude of sects, have lost their love of country. The Hindus mollified by their pacific maxims are little able to defend their country which has become the prey of strangers. The Mussalmans are more united and more enterprising than the feeble Hindus. It is to them that should belong the glory of saving Hindustan. My son, combine all your efforts to make the Koran triumph. If God helps this noble endeavour the day is not far, perhaps, when the sword of Mahomet will place you on the throne of Tamerlane."

"The greatest obstacle you have to conquer is the jealousy of the Europeans. The English are to-day all powerful in India. It is necessary to weaken them by war. The resources of Hindustan

do not suffice to expel them from the lands they have invaded. Put the nations of Europe one against the other. It is by the aid of the French that you could conquer the British armies which are better trained than the Indian. The Europeans have surer tactics; always use against them their own weapons. If God had allowed me a longer career, you need only have enjoyed the success of my enterprises. But I leave you for achieving them, rich provinces, a population of twelve million souls, troops, treasures and immense resources. I need not awaken your courage. I have seen you often fight by my side, and you shall be the inheritor of my glory. Remember, above all, that valour can elevate us to a throne, but it sufficeth not always to reserve an Empire. While we may seize a crown owing to the timidity of the people, it can escape us if we do not make haste to entrust it to their love''.

These instructions made a strong impression in the mind of the young Tippoo Saheb, and the maxims of his father became the rules of his policy. He showed himself always an ardent protector of the religion of Mahomet, and was especially true to the paternal hatred against the English.

But the conquest of Hindustan, though not beyond his ambition, was beyond his strength. Tippoo Saheb had a cultivated mind; he spoke several European languages; he had quite a knowledge of sciences cultivated in the Indies. But he had not the right perspective and that fore-seeing and active mind which could use them to advantage.

With the audacity which braved dangers he had not that prudence which avoided them, nor that energy which overthrew obstacles. A senseless obstinacy often took the place of firmness in him; his courage sometimes was only fury; revenge became often the soul of his policy. Endowed with an impetuous and irascible spirit he preferred almost always, violent measures to mild and sage ones. Implacable in his hatred, he put his enemies to the necessity of defending themselves to the last. When he could not frighten them by valour he wished to frighten them by his cruelty.

A barbarous enemy, and an imperious Prince, he knew, however, to make his subjects love him by his popular ways. He appeared often as a mixture of the most reprehensible defects and the most lovable qualities. The memory of Hyder was to him always sacred. His capricious humour which often found victims among his courtiers was rarely felt by his subjects; and if it is true that we should judge the benevolence of a Government by the love of the majority of the subjects, there is no doubt that the internal administration of Tippoo Saheb was a wise and paternal one.

Tippoo Saheb had more of vanity than of real greatness in his character. The modest title of regent did not satisfy his ambition, and he assumed the title of Sultan. The ghost of Hyder Ali, who appeared still to be the ruler of the realm of Mysore, and the love of the people towards the young Prince, caused the new denomination to be approved, but they did not give him the power to sustain

the splendour. One could say in general of Tippoo Saheb, that he occupied himself too much with the means of displaying his power and not enough with those of consolidating it and of rendering his power legitimate in the eyes of his subjects. During the reign of Hyder Ali, the heir of the Raja was often exhibited before the people and the acts of authority were always promulgated in his name. It is a phenomenon very astonishing in India—the sight of Princes seeking to establish their usurpation in the opinion of their subjects whom they had enslaved and whom they despised. Tippoo Saheb freed himself too soon from this political obligation. History blames him eternally for having left the family of the Raja in a frightful state of misery. The successes which he had obtained under the eyes of his father were sufficient for him to take the surname of Tippoo, the Victorious. Some one has remarked that in the case of men feebly organised, morally as well as physically, the head turns when they reach all of a sudden to a certain elevation. We could find an example in the unhappy Tippoo Saheb, who allowed himself to be dazzled by the robe of power, and too great a confidence in his powers led him to foolish enterprises which carried away his Empire and his life.

The death of Hyder Ali took place under very sad circumstances. The army which alone constituted the power and the legitimacy of Governments in India found itself dispersed and obliged to resist the redoubled efforts of the English on all sides. Tippoo Saheb was sixty leagues away from

the camp of Hyder Ali, in the realm of Tanjore where he had taken a considerable detachment of Mysore troops. The Prime Minister of Mysore in these difficult circumstances, all of a sudden, seized power to become a faithful trustee. This clever minister caused two Cavalry Generals to be arrested who had made an understanding with the English. He stifled in the bud the plots which ambition, hate, or treason had dictated. The day after the death of his father, Tippoo had only to appear to take possession of his Empire.

The news of the death of Hyder, which was kept a secret for some days, at last reached the camp of the English, which revived all their hopes. Always skilled in profiting by their opportunities, they hoped to augment the troubles which usually accompany the change of rulers, and to get new auxiliaries among the discontented, whose number they had exaggerated. General Matthews who commanded the English armies advanced against the dominions of Hyder Ali, promising to the Mysoreans, a government mild and peaceful, if they could shake off the yoke of Tippoo Saheb; but such promises would produce little effect upon a people who saw a numerous army in front of them and who would have risked their welfare in trusting themselves to those who were not even successful.

The English made no mention about the family of the dethroned Raja, and the Mysoreans had no reason to prefer to their present one the government which the English wished to give them. The chiefs of the British forces did not

delay moreover to contradict the promises they had made by their excesses. Many neighbouring cities of Malabar were pillaged and given up to flames. After forcing the barriers which Nature had raised between the coast of Bombay and the realm of Canara, the English devastated this fair land, and thousands of Hindus, unarmed and surprised, fell under the attacks of the enemy who had inscribed "Peace" on his banners. General Matthews laid siege to Onor. Having learned that a party of the Royal Family was at Aumapore, a town built at the source of the river Tungabhadra whose waters lave the walls of Hyder Nagar, he sent a detachment to surprise the place, which being the temporary residence of the Court had accumulated wealth and promised a rich booty. The town was taken by assault and the garrison was put to the sword. The inhabitants were given over to all the fury of an army, indisciplined and greedy of plunder. The weak and timid sex was not respected, and one saw in the midst of the disorder, four hundred of the most beautiful women of India vainly bargaining to redeem their lives and their honour at the cost of all their riches. The infants of Tippoo Saheb who were then at Aumapore, escaped the massacre by crossing the river in a small boat; they remained a whole day on the opposite bank hidden in a grove of aloes and cocoanut palms, from where they had a frightful view of the conflagration and the smouldering remains of the city they had left. Under the escort of two boatmen, the young princes and some ladies who

accompanied them had the good fortune to escape from this bloody scene and take refuge within the fortress of Bangalore.

Tippoo Saheb who was still in the Carnatic, abandoned his conquests to fly to the help of the attacked provinces. The critical situation of these parts required more than ever the presence of his army. General Matthews was besieging Hyder Nagar. The Governor of the place was soon forced to capitulate. He offered to hand over the city, the fort, the treasure of the prince and all the Government property to the English; but he demanded a guarantee for the property and life of the inhabitants. This capitulation was signed and almost at the same time violated by the victors. The Governor was put into irons and the people of Hyder Nagar were given over to military executions.

I cannot here resist the temptation of relating what happened to a traveller, one Mr. Campbell in this campaign, in which the belligerents seemed to vie with each other in doing unjust and cruel acts. Mr. Campbell having embarked at Goa for Madras was shipwrecked on the coast. He was taken by a detachment of the Mysore army and kept in prison under very rigorous treatment. He rejected with contempt the offer to accept a command in the Indian army. The refusal exposed him to trials of a most frightful nature. They chained him to a fellow in misfortune who perished in this condition and whose corpse remained thus attached to him up to its total dissolution. At the last moment,

when with his health enfeebled, his strength exhausted, and his courage cast down, he saw nothing except death to put an end to his sufferings. Fortune made the Indians employ him to negotiate the surrender of Hyder Nagar, where he was kept as a prisoner. "I emerged from the citadel", says this interesting traveller, "with three men who were to serve me as guides. The evening was delicious. On finding myself in pure air, in encompassing the immense expanse of the sky with my vision, and surveying with my eyes the beauty lavished by Nature in these climes, I experienced sensations too sublime, too ravishing for me to describe. My heart beat for gratitude; it rose up with joy towards the source of all that exists, and I felt that the instinct of man bore it away to render homage to God. An hour of happiness so pure did not seem to me too dearly bought by one year of suffering. The future grew beautiful to me; my soul seemed to have shaken off its bondage; I felt myself lighter. I believed myself walking in the sky". It would have been well for the honour of the English Nation if the Chiefs of the British army had shown the moderation and the philosophy of Mr. Campbell. But they troubled little about the charms of liberty, beauty of Nature or the magnificent vision of the horizon; the riches of the Indians were the sole matter which could attract their attention. All expedients for acquiring them appeared to them proper.

The gold of the Mysoreans avenged the wrong done to their former owners by creating dissensions

among their enemies. Many officers and soldiers, discontented with its distribution, deserted the British army, and the remaining troops were not enough to defend the ruins of the capital against the army of Tippoo Saheb who was approaching by forced marches. The Prince had under his standard several French detachments ; and gathering during his march the scattered Mysoreans, reviving everywhere hatred against the English, and giving the terrible signal of revenge, he advanced like a storm which swells in its passage with all the sulphurous matter which it encountered on the horizon. He soon arrived in Canara and surprised the English in the midst of the quarrels raised over the distribution of their booty : he attacked them and put them to rout. The English lost five hundred men in the first outset ; broken on all sides they sought their safety in flight, abandoning their artillery and their baggage. All the cities which were occupied by British troops opened their doors to Tippoo Sultan, who in the space of a few days had reconquered the fair plains of Canara and proceeded to lay siege to his capital to which the English had retired. This city which they had once devastated became their sole asylum, and they found themselves all of a sudden shut up with the people they had plundered and amidst scenes still reeking in blood as a result of their own passionate greed.

At the end of seventeen days the English were reduced to a very pitiable plight. Pursued by hunger in the midst of their treasures, they craved

for a capitulation. It was agreed that the garrison should lay down their arms on the ramparts, and that the diamonds, the precious stones, and the silver which General Matthews had seized on entering Hyder Nagar and the money which the English had taken from the inhabitants of the town should be restored. These conditions being fulfilled, Tippoo promised to furnish the provisions and the transports necessary to conduct the prisoners of war to Bombay. It was difficult for the English to execute punctually the second condition of the treaty; the treasure was dispersed and the diamonds, the most precious objects of greed, had been entrusted to the brother of General Matthews to be taken to Madras. The garrison found itself at the mercy of the victor, who had not exercised any more moderation in his triumph than what the English had exercised in theirs. The brother of General Matthews who was surprised in the neighbouring mountain loaded with the spoils of Hyder Nagar was arrested, taken before Tippoo Sultan and was put to death. A little afterwards the officers and men of the garrison, were put in chains; General Matthews after suffering the most barbarous treatment, was poisoned by an Indian drink which was forced down his throat. Twenty officers suffered the same death. Captain Richardson who was the last to be executed fell on his knees and implored his executioners to ask for the confirmation of his sentence; but they gave no heed to his entreaties. He perished with his companions. The other prisoners were ere long taken from prison, ex-

posed to the insults of the mob and treated with a cruelty, the like of which in our European wars, even the dark ages have not witnessed.

At the narration of so much atrocity humanity cannot keep back its tears ; but one cannot help saying that much of the persecution had been provoked by the reprehensible conduct of the English Generals. If the Government of Mysore had historians like those the Europeans had to expose their grievances and voice their complaints, they would not have failed to reproach the English for their invasion of nations who had no quarrel with them, their violation of the most sacred treaties, and their contempt for the first laws of Nature which had given to every nation a motherland whose Sanctity should be inviolable. I do not make this observation to justify the barbarism of Tippoo Saheb; but the most impartial writer cannot always get rid of a secret sympathy for an unhappy prince who had as his chroniclers only those who invaded his Empire and destroyed his life.

While General Matthews and his unfortunate companions were at the mercy of their enemies, the war continued, all through the Carnatic where the advantages were equally balanced between the English and the French. The English suffered an irreparable loss in this theatre of war by the death of Sir Eyre Coote, for a long time the rival in glory and the most dangerous enemy of Hyder Ali. Sir Eyre Coote had more experience than any General of his times; and when the affairs of the Company

were hopeless it was he who re-established them by his prudence as well as by his courage.

The English army in Malabar was happier than that of General Matthews. The town and the fort of Mangalore were taken at the point of the sword. It was the premier dockyard of Hyder Ali, a navy had begun to be built there, intended to free the Indian Ocean one day from the European pirates; three ships of the line with fifty or sixty cannon had been completed; many others of varying sizes were in process of construction; and the English found considerable materials to equip a fleet with. Tippoo Sahëb came with the greater part of his army to lay siege to this place, but although aided by a detachment of the French under the command of M. de Bussey, progress was less rapid than it was in the case of Hyder Nagar. The siege was pushed on with sustained energy, and the operations of the Mysore army combined with those of the victorious squadron of Bailly de Suffren would have been crowned with success at the end of a few months. Just then was received the news of the peace between France and England. Tippoo Sahëb lost his allies.

The first sign of hostilities between England and France had carried war as far as Asia, but the interests of this part of the globe being bound up with those of Europe, the peace which was signed at Versailles, did not take long to extend its benefits to the people of Hindustan. Towards the end of 1784, the belligerent powers reciprocally gave back the conquests they had made. Prisoners were

exchanged, and the unhappy companions of General Matthews who had survived their dire captivity, at last joined their compatriots at Madras. This war which had commenced with the famine in Bengal, which had reduced the provinces of the Carnatic to frightful penury ; during which a part of the counting houses and British Factories was found to be abandoned ; this war whose first operations had menaced the English possessions with immediate and general destruction, had, at last, consequences most favourable to the English. It assured more than ever the domination of this power in the peninsula of India. The English by their skilful policy, at this epoch, contrived to destroy the influence of the French in Hindustan ; by neutralising the allies of France, they could regain in India the advantages they happened to lose in America. It was at this time that there began to be raised those numerous accusations against Mr. Hastings which for such a long time Europe remembered against him. To-day when the passions have subsided and when one could give a verdict based less on conjectures than on known facts, it will be permitted, perhaps, to make the truth heard. Hastings was accused of having violated the laws of nations in India ; but if all had respected the Laws of Nations, should the Europeans ever have established themselves on the banks of the Ganges ? Would the English have acquired such preponderances which render them today the sovereign arbitrators in Hindustan ? It is true that Mr. Hastings treated the Princesses of Oude and the Raja of Benares

inhumanely; but his accusers demanded only punishment for these outrages without desiring reparation, and on the whole, in prosecuting the violators of treaties, they did not, any the less, keep the fruits of their violence. It is to this policy which every one represented as too very criminal, that England owed such rapid progress of her power in Hindustan. It is Mr. Hastings that the English had to thank for ending the troubles which threatened their Indian possessions. He ended the Civil War in Bengal, and detached the Nizam and the Mahrattas from their alliance with Hyder Ali. Gifted with an active genius he created new resources, he organised an administration, and he moulded at last a regular Government from the depths of chaos. What would complete the description of Mr. Hastings and his accusers is, the fact that at the moment when he was denounced as a tyrant his name was adored in India. One sees there by that one could not too much distrust these vague accusations, which are based on crimes remote and often imaginary, to which the very dangerous charm of eloquence gives the most odious colours at the instance of envy or hate. For the rest, the French have no right to be astonished at the fate of Mr. Hastings after they have seen Bussey, Labourdonnais, Dupleix, received in chains in their motherland and have seen Lally perish as a victim of accusations whose filial piety has later on demonstrated the frauds.



## CHAPTER IV.

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the manner of carrying on war among  
the Indians, particularly in the  
Empire of Mysore.

For about the last two centuries arts have made rapid progress in Europe. But the one art which the Europeans have cultivated with the greatest success is that of war. It is a sad fact for mankind; our sciences have reached the highest point beyond which they cannot rise. The taste of every nation degenerates after having brought forth their master pieces, but the cruel art of destroying man on the battlefield is a race in which the spirit of man never slackens its pace. People have very much praised the human perfection of our days. The saint is frightened when he thinks that all these marvellous gifts are almost always in the arts which make us wicked, and which multiply out instruments of destruction. The Indians who are far away from our ideas of perfection, but who, as if in revenge, are perhaps nearer to nature, have neglected the military art, and this is without doubt one of the causes why a handful of Europeans have subjugated so many nations in a country where they have to fight against the inconvenience of climate and against innumerable armies. I intend to suspend for a moment my narrative to give an idea of the manner in which the Indians

make war. Some observations on the subject will not be beside the purpose I have set before me, in endeavouring to relate the causes which have led to the fall of the Empire of Mysore.

The armies of Mysore formed after the manner of the Europeans, ever since Hyder Ali helped by the French Governor M. de Bussy, had proved themselves, in this part of the globe, to be the most inveterate enemy of the English. A very great part of the Mysore troops is still, like the other troops of Hindustan composed of a body of irregulars, who, although arranged in regiments, and in companies, can hardly be employed to hold their heads against a European army in battle array. They performed only the duty of light troops; escorted convoys, arrested the transport of the enemy, and attacked men when the enemy was in flight. The irregulars had almost no uniform. The uniform of an infantry-man was composed only of a turban and a sash of linen. They were armed in addition to the sword, with a musket very long, made in the country itself, which they fired with a match, and which was loaded with great difficulty. However, they made use of machines called match locks with considerable skill, and they could put several balls in it. The others were armed with bows and arrows, with spear and rocket, which they threw a few times with great skill into the columns of the enemy's cavalry while they passed a defile; but they used them with advantage in attacking transports. The regular infantry, little better clad

than the other, used European muskets, which the English themselves had furnished to their enemies, whenever they found a sufficient number of broken ones in their arsenals. Meanwhile this weapon is not dangerous in the hands of Indians, because, not knowing the effect well, they stood too far off and never dared to make use of the bayonet. Before marching against the enemy they took a strong dose of opium mixed with their food. It made them impetuous and ferocious. This preparation was called 'bang'.

The principal weapon of the Cavalry-man was a sword. The swords which their cavalry used were much superior to those of the European cavalry. The blades which were made in Turkey broke with one blow the best sword coming from an English factory, and the troops did not lack the courage to approach near enough to make the effect sure. They could rely upon the speed of the horses which were Arab breed, well trained and well nourished. They combined agility with force and beauty. The regular cavalry wore as its uniform a red turban and a short coat, made of green or red cloth, with breeches of linen, and slippers. The rest of the equipment was just like that of the Europeans. The irregular cavalry, which consisted mostly of troops, who equipped themselves at their own expense and who were called 'looties', wore a sort of stuffed coat which served to protect them from sword-cuts, and the rest of their clothing was just the usual clothing of the country.

They were, besides, armed with spears or bows and arrows, and carried a shield which they used with dexterity. The artillery was for the great part served by Europeans, and almost all of it came from French foundries. They used them with considerable success, but the powder of Indian manufacture not being altogether so good as that of the Europeans, they could not shoot over a great distance. They had, however, an advantage over the English in that their cannon was drawn by horses, whereas, the latter could only use bullocks. The siege pieces were of iron; these were mostly old ships' guns, and one could even now see in many fortresses pieces of cannon which were used formerly in Europe, made of bars of iron placed one over the other and joined together by bands. These guns, mounted on carriages, composed of many beams of very hard wood, were of enormous size. Their muzzles were sometimes 30 inches in diameter and the balls used were of stone. The effect of these monstrous machines was not very fearful.

Although there reigned in the army of Tippoo Saheb the greatest severity of discipline, one always noticed a sort of confusion in it. Tippoo Saheb was not so careful in his choice, and preferred as officers men of good family, whereas, Hyder rewarded personal merit. One cannot, however, say that the army lost by this change of system, because the Indian believes in a man of a very rich family or of a high caste. His obedience in that case is greater and his zeal more active.

Moreover the soldiers were very well cared for, well trained and well paid.

Their manner of fighting is rather defensive than offensive. When they make an invasion into the enemy's country, they always avoid combats as far as possible. They tire their enemy by long marches and endeavour to intercept their convoys, surprising isolated detachments, pillaging their baggage, cutting off communication with their magazines and harassing ceaselessly their advanced posts. They enter sometimes the camps of their enemy unawares.

Their numerous cavalry is very advantageous to them when they are at last forced to a fight. They attack with a fury which easily disconcerts the enemy, if he does not know that such attacks are more frightening than dangerous; for, they retire with the same quickness as soon as the fire from the muskets reach them. Often one single battalion of infantry, arranged in a square, has withstood in several attacks the shock of ten thousand horsemen. As soon as the enemy advances, they retire; their principal object being to save the artillery, not to make use of it; and when the party detached to attack the enemy in the rear is not able to penetrate, they quit the field of battle without shame, leaving to the enemy the glory of having had the advantage with fifteen or twenty thousand men against a force perhaps ten times superior, who retire with a loss of several thousand men, while the victor does not count more than a hundred dea-

ths, The victory is, however, less easy for the Europeans, when the Indians are behind entrenchments which they defend with great obstinacy; but one finds them rarely in such a position, not being very much used to this kind of work, although they had French Engineers. They like most to follow their ancient usages rather than the advice of Europeans.

It is thus that one sees amongst them, camps of just the same sort as existed among the ancient nations when the art of war was in its infancy. It would be impossible to make them understand that our method of encampment is preferable to their square camps. They follow always ancient usages putting the staff quarters in the centre. The artillery park as well as all the baggage is collected in this square and the troops issue from their huts to face the enemy on the four-flanks. I say huts, because their tents do not resemble those of Europeans. Every family (because women follow for the most part their husbands in war) carries, on a bullock, its household things as well as a narrow piece of cloth stretched on three poles which serves as a shelter. Otherwise they are not protected from the sun and from the dew on the night except for a roof made of palm-leaves, and they do not fear, if they find nothing else, to sleep in the open air. The officers themselves are satisfied with such humble quarters. The Generals have, however, very lofty tents and are to be distinguished by their numerous followers and by the number of women who accom-

pāny them. One did not see any woman in the suite of Hyder Ali, but Tippoo Saheb who was very ostentatious, affected to make a show of oriental magnificence in his camp. His Zenana was captured by the English in the war of 1792. The tent of the Prince was conspicuous by its green colour.

The resemblance which exists between their camp and those of the Romans is to be seen also in their fortresses. They are made entirely of very hard stones and almost always consist of a citadel and high walls flanked on the four corners with round bastions. The ramparts of these walls are indented at every two or three feet to give the infantry facility to attack the enemy and the openings in the bastions are likewise indented only they are bigger. Some of the fortresses have ditches in which they kept crocodiles or rather alligators to prevent access. The principal defence work is placed at the gates. The passage winds many times and from time to time one encounters false paths, sometimes there are gates so situated that the enemy encounters obstacles at each step and finds himself-exposed for a long time to bullets and arrows from troops whose posts are hidden. At the entrance to a town is placed generally a cannon made of bars of iron which presents a last and a very feeble obstacle.

The pay of the Indian soldiers is considerable; that of a horseman comes sometimes to Rs. 200 a month; as a result the horses are always well fed

and well cared for. The manner in which the Indians collect forage is very interesting to European readers. Every horse-man takes with him a man to cut grass which is very abundant. He cuts the grass, removes the roots and washes it in water. A shower of rain makes it grow well again, and when there is great drought in one place, they transport their camp to another place. Besides, the horses accommodate themselves infinitely better on the roots of grass than on grass itself. Every horse-man is generally the owner of his horse. This makes him to attend to it with great care. The pay of the horse-man depends always on the excellence of his horse. It has been noticed that this custom has a great disadvantage. A soldier of fortune who has one horse as his sole property fears often to expose it on occasions where he does not perhaps hesitate to expose his own life. A Mahratta General was once seen to carry about for three days the dead body of his horse killed under him in a fight. The Emperors, the Rajahs, the Nawabs and other leaders of Indian armies have a curious custom of being mounted on elephants in the centre of the army of which, at the same time, they are the Generals and the standard. If they are lost sight of, the army is at once defeated. It was thus that Aurangazeb won two battles by the help of two traiters who advised his two Generals to descend from their elephants and pursue the fugitive on horse-back. Their troops as soon as they lost sight of them, dispersed. This custom furnishes European Engineers with the means of

very easily deciding the fate of a whole army with a cannon-shot of six-pound weight. The elephants appear to be led into the battle field only to serve as a target to the artillery, and they are victims to this kind of destruction. Then, all the science, and all the valour of the Chiefs are of no avail, and a cannon shot which turns away an animal can often change the fate of an Empire. But what retards the progress of the Indians in the military art more than anything else is that the services of those who have had sufficient success in battle to obtain the title of the 'fortunate' or the 'invincible' are dispensed with for some time, and they will not any more put themselves to the trouble of following the army. One finds very few veterans among the Indian troops. They are often nothing but an assemblage of soldiers hastily levied from different provinces of the Empire, who lack discipline and who become the burden on account of their numbers. Although the Europeans have often surprised them during the night, and such surprises have cost them dearly, they have not been able to take a lesson from them by being more vigilant, and by establishing a better discipline in their camps. When they are joined with Europeans as allies, they can never be got to keep guard even when they are in the neighbourhood of the enemy, nor can they get up early to make a surprise attack.

All these observations are quite accurate since they have been made on the spot by clever soldiers who have fought in Hindustan. The Indians are not inferior to Europeans in valour and

in courage; but the courage, the strength and the audacity of a soldier become useless before modern tactics. The Indian artillery is still in the same state as it was in Europe at the time of Machiavelli. This profound writer has held in his "Treatise on War" that artillery was a weapon more harmful than useful. This opinion which was right at the time when he wrote it can be applied to the Indian artillery to-day. The Indians, it is true, have the advantage of knowing the theatre of war better than the Europeans. But their country is almost wholly open and there are no inaccessible ravines or impenetrable forests which offer so much advantage to tactics in our European countries. The fortifications of most places are so badly made that often one has seen Europeans use their only elephants to attack the enemy's ramparts. This formidable animal with its trunk is enough to displace the palace stockades and to overthrow the bastions, and more than one place has been taken thus without firing a gun. Some one has remarked that the Indian fortifications resemble those of the Romans and the Greeks. It is probable that the Greeks and the Romans had learnt in India the art of war just as they had learnt all the arts which made them so famous; and Europe to-day uses against the people of Asia the terrible science whose first lessons they have themselves taught and which they could not themselves make use of to defend their own country.

The cruelty of Indians towards their prisoners is not the least of the causes of their failure; it often

gave to their enemy the courage of despair. It was a custom in the realm of Mysore to cut off the nose and the ears of the prisoners, to salt them and send them to court. The soldiers and the officers would be rewarded according to the number of noses they have cut. This custom was learnt from ancient conquerors. It is said that Alexander caused the noses of a large number of Persians who were made prisoners after the fall of Susa to be cut off. The Mysoreans carry into battle a peculiar weapon to seize the enemy by this part of the body, and this manner of fighting had made them for a long time dreadful in Hindustan. They have given up this barbarous custom, but there are many customs that they should replace with more humane ones.

The Indians are superstitious; their calendar is divided into good and bad days. If the day of battle is preceded by bad omens, it is rarely that their courage does not slacken. Their European enemies have often been able to profit by their superstition.

What proves that the Indians have made very little progress in the art of war is the blind confidence they have in their cavalry. In the infancy of all warlike nations it is always this weapon which decides victory, but in the degree in which experience dawns upon them, they recognise the advantage of infantry. Among the ancient nations, those most famous by their conquests were those that had preferred foot-men to horse-men. The Roman infantry dispersed the armies of Germany and of Gaul, which were chiefly composed of cavalry. The

celebrated Phalanx of the Macedonians put to rout the numerous cavalry and the armed chariots of Darius. In the Middle Ages the States of Europe employed only heavy cavalry and the art of war made very little progress. The numerous successes of the Swiss in the Italian wars of the 15th and the 16th centuries slowly made the nations of Europe feel the necessity of employing infantry. "Proofs so repeated and so convincing," says Robertson, "of the strength of this kind of troops give them back their old reputation and establish by degrees the opinion so long forgotten of its superiority in all the operations of war." One might add that the upkeep of infantry is much less expensive than that of cavalry, and that it should be more convenient to people as they become more frugal, I do not say with their blood, but with their treasure. Besides, it is only with continual reverses and with experience of much misfortune that the Indians will, just as the nations of Europe have done, one day forget their prejudices and recognise slowly this means of resisting their enemies.

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## CHAPTER V.

I now touch upon the most brilliant and the most happy period of the realm of Mysore. The peninsula of India, shaken by the fall of the Moghal Empire, has been for a long time a prey to the ambition of princes and of conquerors who cut it up into fragments. The interests and the conquests of Europeans have lent new fury to the discord which

troubles this beautiful country. The tranquillity of India often depends on a gun-shot in the Mediterranean or on the Ocean, or on calculations made in some office in Europe. Tippoo Saheb made peace with the English; he had no cause to fight with his neighbours and the alarms of war were dispelled for some years from his state. This prince, strict in his morals, and a friend of education and of arts, introduced great exactness in the details of his administration; but being less able to elevate himself to the conception of a daring policy, he seemed destined to reign in times of peace. He knew how to use the few years of peace to advantage for the happiness of his subjects and for the splendour of his Empire. He established his residence at Seringapatam. This town is happily situated on an island formed by the river Cauvery which prevents access to it and which irrigates the different provinces of the realm of Mysore. It is from the heart of Seringapatam that Tippoo Saheb was reigning over the vast territory whose extent was equal to two-thirds of France. He assumed the titles of the Subadar of Syriz, the King of the Canarese and of the Coorgese, the Daiva of Mysore, the Sovereign of the Empires of Chieriqui and of Calicut, the Prince of Cannanore, of Cochin and of Travancore, the Nawab of Bangalore, Bellapore, Viznagar, the Lord of the Mountains and of the valleys &c., King of the islands of the sea &c.

One wonders, perhaps, at the display of such high-sounding titles, but it is consecrated by the usage of oriental courts. One even finds more than

one such example among European rulers and one forgives easily the Asiatic pride which created for Tippoo imaginary subjects seeing the care which this prince took everyday for the prosperity of the people whom the victories of Hyder had brought under his Empire. He occupied himself in re-establishing justice whose voice had, for a long time been stifled in the midst of the disorders of war. He revived the rich industries of Canara. He made agriculture thrive again in the vast plains where humanity took its first steps towards progress. He favoured the ancient arts and discovered new ones. Hyder Ali had the ambition of extending the religion of Koran over the whole peninsula of India. A true and scrupulous follower of the Law of Prophet, Tippoo Saheb desired to make it prevail among his subjects. He divided his time between the cares of State and the exercises of the Mohammeden religion. The pleasures of peace took away from the doctrine of Mahommed all its savage elements, and people came in crowds to the Mosques following the example of the prince, praying to the heavens for the continuation of such a prosperous reign, and the river Cauvery in its course saw only happy banks which resounded with religious chants and hymns of joy. The court of Tippoo became one of the most brilliant in Asia, and the Mysoreans, were during these eight years the happiest nation in India.

We shall have, in what follows, enough of wars, murders and crimes to relate. I may be permitted here to dwell for some time on the touching

scenes of peace, to be drawn away perforce from the vision of a short-lived prosperity to take up again the eternal annals of War. Tippoo Saheb, true to the policy of Hyder, remained an ally of the French. Many officers belonging to this nation were entertained at his court in these happy times. Their stay in India and the favour which they enjoyed at the Mysore court have given them the opportunity of knowing the character of Tippoo Saheb and of his internal administration.

The physiognomy of Tippoo Saheb was lively, spiritual and gay. It proclaimed at the same time courage, mildness and majesty. The Indian princes ordinarily wear much of precious stones on their turbans and in their dresses, rings in the ears, and bracelets. Tippoo Saheb disdained this sort of luxury. In this he followed the example of his father who attached little importance to such ostentatious display. The ease which he had acquired in speaking about all things took away from him that air of taciturnity and haughtiness which the Princes of the East often affected. He was very affable, well instructed, and very popular.

Tippoo Saheb, like Hyder Ali, was very easy of access. The utmost stranger could request an audience through one of the porters of the palace who were called souquedars \* in India. Then he would be sure to be admitted. The Fakkirs who are the monks of India were never let in. These cunning monks had created trouble in the family of Hyder Ali by corrupting his second son and placing him at the head of a sect for which they wished to

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\* Chowkidars, Hindustani for guards, watch keepers.

secure the influence of a religious body. When some people of this sect appeared at the gate of the Palace, they were conducted to the 'pirjada' who gave them alms and treated them according to their needs. The other princes of India have so much veneration for these Fakkirs that they admit them to their table although they are very dirty and very disgusting.

Tippoo Saheb, being a hard-working prince, generally got up very early in the morning. As soon as he got up the officers of the army entered to make their reports and to receive orders, which should be carried to the ministers and to the Generals. Towards nine o'clock the prince issued from his apartment and went to a saloon, where were assembled his secretaries, to whom he distributed the despatches, which were entrusted to them to be answered. Following the custom of the princes of Asia he showed himself from time to time from a balcony of the palace to receive salutes from the elephants which were drawn up in a line before him. When the prince appeared the souquedars saluted. "Your Majesty, your elephants salute you." Immediately the elephants arranged in the court-yard in a semi-circle bent their knees three times. His hunting tigers which were very tame were then led up to him covered with a trailing coat with golden stripes; on their heads were bonnets which could be drawn over their eyes if it be feared that they were unruly. Their keeper took them out every day for a walk through the crowd which was not at all frightened of them,

They never succeeded, however, in taming the caged tiger called the royal tiger or the big tiger.

About one o'clock the prince dined. After dinner he entered the audience chamber. He reclined on a sofa; on his right and on his left he had his relatives and friends. All those persons who had right of entry (and their number was very great) could present themselves at this audience. And all those who had business, prayed for permission to enter through the souquedars. The chief of the souquedars took their petition and placed it at the feet of the prince, who caused it to be read and gave an answer then and there. In this audience hall thirty or forty secretaries were seated near the wall, to the left of the prince, where they were engaged in despatching business. There arrived every minute couriers whom the souquedars conducted with great pomp up to the feet of the monarch where they placed their packets. A clerk knelt down and sat on his heels before him, opened the cover and read the letter. The Sultan gave a reply at once, and signed the orders as soon as they were drawn up, and gave a number of special orders. The orders which were issued from the office of the ministers had no other signature than the grand seal of which they were the keepers, and the despatch was also sealed with the seal of the particular minister. The letters signed by the sovereign were sealed with the royal seal whose custodian was the Head Clerk. When the Sultan wrote any important letter, or when he gave some essential order, he placed on it a special or privy

seal, which he carried always on his finger, and he gave the packet to one of his couriers.

It was during this audience that the Sultan inspected horses or elephants which had been lately bought, or pieces of artillery which had been newly cast. They were taken one by one to the public square or the court-yard of the palace and the prince examined them. The ministers, the generals, the ambassadors, and other great nobles were seen very rarely at this audience. Courtiers who were regarded as more agreeable than useful, never came to visit the prince till the evening, when he was engaged in enjoying his pleasures. The nobles had their agents, who were generally Brahmins, to watch over their affairs coming up before the sovereign or before the ministers. Their agents were called vakils or envoys. They were received and welcomed whenever they had been introduced by their masters. The ministers sent to the Sultan the principal clerks of their departments, who had the privilege of communicating with him. They assumed the same posture as the ordinary clerks. This audience lasted till three o'clock. Afterwards the prince went back to his apartment to take some rest.

At about half-past five, the Sultan entered the audience chamber or some other big apartment, or he sat on a balcony to view the parade of the troops, or the marching past of some cavalry regiments. He was attended just as in the morning, by some of his relatives and friends, and the clerks were engaged all the time in reading or writing letters.

At half-past six all the palace rooms especially the Sultan's apartments were illuminated with candles. They were borne on silver stands, very artistically worked, which were placed in big English glass cases to protect them from the wind. The grandees, soldiers, and ambassadors came at nightfall, well perfumed with the most exquisite scents. Their arrival proclaimed the end of the day's work. The young nobles assembled by this time in the state rooms. Grace, courtsey and pleasure reigned in the palace. Among these young noblemen, one could notice a certain number of Arabasbequi or chamberlains, four of whom were on duty every day. They were noticeable by the swords which they carried in their sheaths in their own hands. The other courtiers left their weapons in the hands of their favourites or with their other followers, who were always very numerous, filling the avenues of the palace. Only the favourite one had the liberty of entering. They followed their masters, carrying their trails up to the apartments where they left their shoes and walked bare foot over the carpets. They then let fall the trails and placed the slippers in a bag.

Generally every evening a play was acted which began at eight o'clock and lasted till eleven. It was interspersed with music and dancing. Good taste and gallantry were no strangers at the court of Tippoo. During the show chamberlains made friends with strangers, and instructed them in all they wished to know. They offered them sherbets, fruits, sweets, &c., and showed them all attentions

due from hospitality. The prince, who was quite indifferent about the show, talked with his ministers, and discussed, often, important affairs without looking at all serious. Almost always at the end of the show bouquets were presented to the prince in a basket of gold and silver. He gave some of the flowers to his great nobles who happened to be near him. Afterwards the basket was taken round in the apartments and every one took a flower from it and thanked the prince by means of a deep bow from where he stood.

When Hyder wished to show a mark of his particular esteem, he caused a garland of jasmine flowers to be made which he himself put round the neck of the person whom he honoured with his favour. From the next day the favourite received visits from all, since he had been the greatest man at court. The court theatre is composed of women only. The directress bought very beautiful girls four or five years of age, trained them, and gave them a thorough grounding in instrumental and vocal music, and in dancing. They appear on the stage from about ten or eleven years of age. They had generally fine and delicate features, big black eyes, very fine eye-brows, small rosy lips, and the most beautiful teeth in the world. Their colour was of fair brown, not like that of a Mullato who cannot blush. But it was like that of a beautiful peasant girl who was very healthy and who preserved her roses even after allowing her lilies to fade. These are the golden coloured women whom the orientals esteem above all others. They give

themselves this colour by the same process which our women employ to put on the red colour. It is strange that one gets used to it in the end, and even finds it agreeable. Their dress, is, always, of simple embroidered cloth, sometimes knitted with very costly gold thread. They are covered with precious stones from head to foot. They have them on the head, round the neck, in the ears, on the breast, on the arms and fingers, on the leg, and on the toes, and even on the nose, having always a small diamond attached to the nostrils by a ring; and this gives them a slight roguish appearance which makes them the more attractive.

As the sovereign of one part of the Visapur Kingdom, Tippoo Saheb had the opportunity of having among his bayaders those who were most famous for their talents, their grace and their beauty &c. These bayaders were dancers of a most superior kind. Among them every thing dances and plays at the same time. Their head, their eyes, their hands, their legs, the whole body seems to move only to enchant. They have an incredible lightness of movements and their legs are strong and supple. Their figure is slender and very elegant, and their movements, one and all, are graceful. The oldest of them is not more than sixteen to eighteen years of age. As soon as they have reached this age they are discharged and sent to the provinces where they attach themselves to temples in which they are entertained, and where their charms bring a good revenue to the priests. It is necessary to effect much improvement before the

Indian theatres become a School for Morals; and the essential defect is not redeemed by any dramatic beauty. The plot of the plays hangs on intrigues in which the interest centres round deception practised upon the jealous husband or the mother.

Towards eleven o'clock or at midnight the whole court retired, to allow the Sultan to have supper. There then remained with him only a number of chosen comrades who were always his friends or his relatives.

The Zenana or serail of Tippoo Saheb consisted of three hundred women, all belonging to the most distinguished families in India. Revolutions in the Harems in India occasioned hardly revolutions in the State. Their passions are less lively than those of the women in other parts of the world, and the rule of women there is quite limited. Hunts, drives and the witnessing of exercises and parades take sometimes the place of pleasures of the palace. Tippoo Saheb knew how to vary his pleasures, but he attached little importance to them. He believed, like his father, that first of all he should work for the happiness of his subjects and for the extension of his Empire.

Tippoo Saheb was passionately fond of glory without knowing what it was. Not calculating his own strength, he wished to shine always in a career for which he had no talent. The image of the victories of Hyder Ali and the remembrance of his own first successes heated without rest his own imagination, and the impetuosity of his character

led him towards ideas of war. In the midst of brilliant festivals of peace he resolved to conjure up a new storm over the English possessions. He sent three ambassadors from India to know the disposition of the Cabinet at Versailles. These three ambassadors Mahommed Derviche Khan, Akbar Ali Khan and Mahommed Osmand Khan embarked themselves from Pondichery on the 22nd July 1787, and arrived at Tulon on the 9th of June, the year following. The French, always seduced by new attractions, welcomed the ambassadors, more as strange persons than as envoys from an allied power. The arrival of three Indians at Paris was a sight for the capital. They were the subject of all conversations, on them all eyes were fixed, and the name of Tippoo Saheb became, for a moment, famous among the light-hearted people, who were more struck by the originality of Asiatic costumes than by the importance of their possessions in India. The ambassadors were received in a public audience by Louis XVI on the third of August 1788. They displayed on this occasion all the court dresses. The ambassadors received a very distinguished welcome. The chief object of the mission was never fulfilled. They demanded help against the English. The French Government could give them only shows and festivals. The unhappy Louis XVI, just out of a ruinous war and troubled by the fear of internal difficulties, could not bring himself to give again a fresh signal for hostilities. He contented himself with strengthening the alliance already established between

France and Tippoo Saheb, and waited for a favourable opportunity to realise the promises of his Indian ally. But fortune soon destroyed the hopes of such a policy. The Genius of war and revolutions threatened the throne of Mysore in Hindustan and the throne of France in Europe at the same time. These two princes who swore a friendship founded on their mutual interests in 1778, lived to see their crowns taken away before the end of the century, and both of them suffered death by violence—the one as a victim of his warlike ambition and the other of his peaceful virtues; the one for having kindled a senseless war, the other for having disdained to seek his safety in a civil or a foreign war.

The ambassadors of Tippoo Saheb embarked themselves for returning to India. They arrived at Seringapatam in the month of May 1789. As they had not obtained what they had desired and as they had come back with empty protestations of friendship on the part of France, they were very badly received by the Sultan. The Indian ambassadors had been an object of curiosity in France, but France was not less an object of curiosity to them. They talked at the court of Tippoo only of the splendour of the kingdom they had visited, of its arsenals, of its numerous armies, of its manufactures and its splendid towns, of its immense population, and of the magnificence of the Court at Versailles. These accounts, more pompous still in an oriental language, interested the court and the people very much. But the ruler of the kingdom

of Mysore heard them with very great indignation. He loved France only for the help which he could expect from it. Apart from that, it received its due share of the hatred he felt for Europeans in general. Tippoo Saheb had the pretension of being one of the greatest monarchs of the world. He did not like to hear that there existed in the western world, and especially among the Christians, a kingdom richer and more flourishing than his own. He forbade his ambassadors to talk of France in this manner. His orders were not followed strictly, and the description of the prosperity of France was a favourite topic among the great and the small. Tippoo Saheb became so furious that he vowed the death of his faithless envoys. One day while walking alone with Akbar Ali Khan and Mahommed Osmond Khan he caused them to be put to death by his followers and had it proclaimed abroad that they had been false to their sovereign. This act of cruelty struck terror at court, and no one talked about the riches of France any more. A comparison here presents itself to the mind which perhaps is not without interest. It was at the very time when Tippoo caused the death of two of his ambassadors for having extolled our country's prosperity and splendour, that seditious complaints about the fate of France were raised amongst us and revolution was preparing itself to destroy the resources of this Empire which evoked envy even in far off India,

The embassy, which Tippoo Saheb had sent to the King of France, had not obtained the success

which he had hoped for from it; but inaction became insufferable to his ambition, and he snatched at the first opportunity which offered itself to begin war again. The Dutch had two forts situated between their establishment in Cochin and the Kingdom of Mysore. Cranganore, one of these forts, had been captured by Hyder Ali in 1779.

When war broke out again between Hyder Ali and the English this prince was obliged to take back his troops from the coast of Malabar to use them in the Carnatic. Soon afterwards the Dutch and the French having united with Hyder against the English, the Dutch were put in possession of the fort again. At this Hyder Ali complained very bitterly and even threatened them, but his threats could only be made good by force. His complaints and threats remained, therefore, without effect. Tippoo Saheb, true to the policy of his father, marched in the month of June 1789 on Cranganore, intending to make himself master of it. The Dutch, always more prudent than bold, did not dare to defend their possessions; but seeing that they were menaced, they sold their rights to the Raja of Travancore. The Raja of Travancore, a vassal of Tippoo, was an ally of the English. Tippoo Saheb wished to prevent this acquisition. The English made representations which were not heeded. At last England found herself engaged in a new war with the Sultan of Mysore. This war lasted three years. In 1790 the war was not carried on beyond the Ghats, and the realm of Tippoo Saheb was not affected. The

second campaign opened with the capture of Bangalore. Two English armies, one commanded by Lord Cornwallis, and the other by General Abercrombie, one of the cleverest and yet the most unfortunate of English Generals, advanced towards the capital of Mysore to lay siege to it. Nothing stopped the march of the English; but when they were under the walls of Seringapatam, the rains made the Cauvery overflow and flood all the neighbouring plains. All the preparations made for the siege were destroyed by the floods. The besiegers were discouraged, and were enfeebled by disease. A frightful famine spread in the camp, and epidemics carried away a great part of their beasts of burden. They were obliged to raise the siege, abandoning their artillery, and losing all hope of making themselves masters of the realm of Mysore.

Meanwhile the alliance of the English with the Mahrattas and the Subadar of the Deccan furnished them with the means of extricating themselves from such a critical situation. When their army arrived in the neighbourhood of Bangalore the English took measures to supply it with provisions and to remount their batteries. The English army found itself, in a short time, in the position, not of taking the offensive against Mysore, but of safeguarding the frontiers of the Carnatic. Many forts of importance in the district of Bangalore were attacked and taken. The defences of Numdidroog built on the summit of a hill one thousand and seven hundred feet high, were fortified by art no less than by Nature. After a month's siege the place was obliged

to surrender. The strong-hold of Kistdagherey was attacked next; but it defended itself so vigorously that the besiegers were obliged to abandon it. While the English were besieging in this manner the forts which defended the country of Bangalore, the Mysore troops made several attempts to seize the places which had fallen under the power of the British troops, and the town of Coimbatore was retaken by the army of Tippoo Saheb in a few days.

The Kingdoms of Mysore and Canara were defended by a fort famous for its situation. Saven-droog or the Rock of Death is situated between Bangalore and Seringapatam. It is an enormous hill of sheer rock which rises to five hundred fathoms of perpendicular height on a base more than three leagues in circumference, surrounded by walls on all sides, and defended by other cross-walls and stockades wherever it was accessible. This enormous rock has moreover the advantage of being cut up on the top by a precipice which divides its summit in two, each having its own means of defence, thus forming two adjoining citadels capable of withstanding all attacks. This rock is not the less famous on account of the pernicious quality of its atmosphere, caused by the many hills and the neighbouring forests as well as by its form and frightful height. This formidable fortress was the last hope of Tippoo against his enemies. He believed that no English soldier would escape the dangers of war before the Rock of Death. The garrison in whom the Sultan placed too much confidence, relied too much on the natural strength of

the place, and after eleven days of siege, this fortress, celebrated throughout the peninsula and considered absolutely impregnable, was carried by assault in less than one hour, in plain day light, without the loss of one single man, and with only one soldier wounded.

The capture of the rock of death caused discouragement among the Mysore troops. Many places opened their gates to the English. The army of the Mahrattas which was acting separately, also seized many important positions. Only the town of Gurramcondath dared to resist the army of the Nizam. In the month of January 1792 all the allied forces, with the exception of the Bombay army, found themselves assembled in the neighbourhood of Hooleadroog. It was from this place that the united armies advanced again into the Kingdom of Mysore whose conquest they had given up the preceding year. The army of Tippoo Saheb, attacked in its formidable entrenchments, was beaten and pushed as far as the walls of Seringapatam. All the strongholds were taken, and an excellent footing was established in the island. The English made all possible preparations to take the capital of Mysore by assault. On the 16th of February, the Bombay army under the command of General Abercrombie rejoined the principal army and was posted on the North-west of the town. Tippoo Saheb made a vigorous sortie in the night of the 21st of February, but he did not make any other attempt to save his capital, and on the 24th when preparations were being made for a general assault

it was announced that the preliminaries of the peace were signed. The treaty was to the effect that Tippoo Saheb should cede half of his dominions to the allied powers, that he should pay an indemnity of three crores and ten lakhs of rupees (a lakh of rupees corresponds to about 7,20,000 francs), that all the prisoners should be given back, and out of the three sons of the Sultan two should be given as hostages as a guarantee for the execution of the treaty.

These conditions, and especially the last, were very painful to Tippoo Saheb. Great sorrow and confusion seized the zenana at the departure of the young princes who were sent as hostages. While they issued from the fort, the Sultan himself mounted the walls to follow them with his eyes. The princes were mounted on two elephants which were richly caparisoned and were seated in Howdahs of silver. They were escorted by their father's servants mounted similarly on elephants. Lord Cornwallis saluted the sons of Tippoo Saheb outside his tent. He embraced them and he led them in by the hand. The elder, Abdul Kalik, was about ten years of age and Mooza-ud-Deen was eight. While they were seated by Cornwallis, one on his right and the other on his left, Gullan Ali the Governor said to his Lordship, "These infants were this morning the sons of the Sultan, and you should regard yourself now as their father". The two young princes trembled at the sight of the Europeans, as they had always heard them represented at Tippoo's court as the most cruel enemy of the Mysoreans

but they were re-assured soon by the protestations of friendship and by the kind reception which Lord Cornwallis gave to them. They were dressed in long muslin robes and had red turbans. They wore on their necks many rows of pearls from which was suspended an ornament set with large rubies and emeralds. They had on the turban a crest of pearls, "Brought up from their infancy", says Major Dinton, "with infinite care, and accustomed to imitate in their manners, the *reservé* and the polish of old age, they astonished all who saw them by their sensible and measured conduct".

Thus terminated the war in which Tippoo Saheb lost 70 forts, 800 guns and 49,340 men. The cession which he has obliged to make of a part of his territory deprived him of the power of disturbing his eternal enemies, the English, in the Carnatic and on the coast of Malabar. He was very much grieved at having to separate himself from his sons on account of the fear that they might be maltreated by the English. His pride could not stand the humiliation of capitulating to his enemies, and of leaving in their hands what he cherished most. The conditions of the treaty signed before Seringapatam were executed in a short time afterwards, and the hostages were released. After this, there came about a complete change in the character of Tippoo Saheb. He dreamt only of avenging the indignities offered to him. His court ceased to be the home of pleasures. He became more austere in his domestic life, and more imperious in his administration. The happy days of Mysore were over, and

the grief which reigned in the palace of the prince from that time onward appeared to foretell the catastrophe which overtook the fairest kingdom in India,

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## CHAPTER VI.

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The events which have disturbed the European States during the closing years of the 18th century would necessarily carry the troubles of war up to the banks of the Ganges, and the peace of 1792 between the English and Tippoo Saheb could only be a truce so long as the enemies and the allies of the kingdom of Mysore had not given the signal of war in Europe. The Mediterranean, the Ocean and the plains on the Continent did not offer a theatre large enough for this terrible war; England and France fought each other on the seas and on the plains of Africa and Asia. Poor Tippoo fell in the midst of these bloody struggles, in which he had taken an interest thoughtlessly, and his dominions have increased the booty of the rivals of France whom fortune has favoured in India, whereas victory crowned the arms of France on the banks of the Nile.

For many years all men conscious of the importance of the Colonies thought that the surest way of fighting England was to attack this power in its possessions in Hindustan. Many schemes in which the project of an expedition to India was developed are still in the French marine office.

Louis XVI in the midst of the embarrassments of his rule was not able to look into them. The peace which he signed with the English imposed on the prince the duty of respecting their interests in Asia, but war broke out again between the Government of St. James and that of France. After the Revolution, useless operations carried on many a time on the coasts of Ireland and those of England, had led the Chiefs of the new Government to the idea of attacking the English in their Eastern Colonies. They took advantage of the first favourable opportunity to execute this grand design. The peace of Campo Formio had placed military forces at the disposal of the Directory. The facility of conquering Egypt and of penetrating later on into India with a victorious army opened in the future the vision of a most brilliant and sublime success. General Bonaparte was revolving this project in his mind for a long time. The following prophetic words were contained in one of his letters written from Italy. "I see from here the coast where Alexander landed for the purpose of conquering Egypt". Bonaparte was put in charge of this expedition, and on the 27th May 1797, he embarked himself from Toulon with a squadron composed of 194 sails carrying 19,000 men to make a landing. All the illusions of prosperity and glory attached themselves in advance, as to this distant enterprise. It was in the midst of the most lively shouts of joy that the French fleet sailed away from the coast to which it was to bring the wealth of Africa and Asia. They followed in the footsteps of the travellers

to the rich countries of the east. They recalled to mind the fact that Egypt had been one of the most flourishing countries of ancient times and that she had been the richest colony of Rome. The fine wool of Egyptian sheep offered them the means of competing with England in the manufacture of cloth. The banks of the Nile produced the superior kind of linen which could be made into clothes. There were grown in Egypt two kinds of cotton, one annual and the other perennial, from which the finest muslin could be manufactured. It was easy to open up communications there, to rebuild the dams and to make fit for cultivation a third of the land covered under sand. They would work the mines of emeralds which were famous for their hardness, almost equal to diamonds. The granite, the porphyry and the marble which were found on the many hills, would also constitute a very valuable branch of trade. Our colours would be enriched by the Indigo of Egypt and the colouring substances found in the deserts. Then they would excavate again the canal which joined the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea in the time of the Egyptian Kings. Thus they would unite the Ganges to the Nile and the Nile to the Seine. The conquerors of Italy who had been chosen for the expedition promised to take the arms of France to the feet of the ancient pyramids, which had been the witnesses of the glory and the misfortunes of the Romans. Scholars with the fleet had also appealed to the partisans of this bold enterprise in the name of the centuries when Thales, Pythagoras, and Solon went among the peoples of

India and of Africa, following the right which they brought with them into their own country.

The French fleet sighted Malta on the 9th of June; a convoy from Civitta-Vecchia which should have joined the squadron from Toulon had come three days before. On the evening of the 9th Bonaparte requested the Grand-Master permission to cast anchor in the various anchorages of the island; but this permission being refused, he ordered Admiral Brueix, who commanded the squadron to make preparations for the landing. On the morning of the 22nd the French troops landed at all points in the island, and in the evening of the same day the town of Malta was invested from all sides. The palace kept up a violent cannonade during the whole evening; the besieged made a sortie, but they were repulsed. The next morning the Grand-Master begged for a suspension of hostilities, and on the same day, he signed a capitulation under which the French entered the place. It is astonishing that it took the French only two days to take a place which they defended, two years afterwards, against the combined forces of the English and the Russians.

The sudden capture of the island of Malta, whose possession was necessary to safeguard the success of the expedition, gave them new hopes. General Bonaparte continued his course towards Egypt. He saw the coast of Africa on the 30th June, and on the 1st of July the French fleet entered the harbour which the English squadron had left three days previously. The disembarking took

place on the same night. Bonaparte got into a boat following his soldiers at 11 o'clock [at night. The army was then thirty thousand strong. On the morning of the second, Alexandria was attacked from many sides, and by the evening of the same day she was already in the hands of the French. The period of these first triumphs coincided with the anniversary of the Republic of France. Bonaparte ordered a feast in his army to celebrate this day, and Egyptians saw, by unexpected contrast, thirty thousand Europeans armed in the cause of liberty proclaim Republican ideas on the banks of the Nile, where they had seen some centuries ago those illustrious knights and crusaders, united under the banner of the Catholic religion, following to Jerusalem, the flag of the King, of whom Tasso had sung.

Cairo, Rosette and many other towns opened soon their gates to the French. The Mamelukes and the Arabs were beaten at Cheibresse, before the pyramids, at Salehied and at Elarych. The Beys were everywhere chased out of the country which they had usurped under the Ottoman Porte, and they were forced to retire into the mountains and the deserts. While the French armies did not meet with any resistance to their progress, their fleet which had returned to Europe was caught by a superior enemy. It seems that in this war Fortune had divided the Universe into two parts—the land she gave to France and the sea to England. While Bonaparte was leading his troops to the coasts of the Red Sea, Admiral Nelson dispersed the fleet of

Brueix in the roadstead of Aboukir. Admiral Brueix was killed in this fight, one of the most bloody ever fought at sea; and on account of the complete ruin of her ships, France was deprived of her navy which was necessary to safeguard her conquests in Egypt and on the coasts of India. Another obstacle also came in the way of the enterprises of the French in their new expedition. Their policy had neglected the means of profiting by the advantages of their victory. The Ottoman Porte was not told of the object of the expedition in which ambassadors should have preceded the Generals. And Selim to whom Egypt was paying tribute intended to oppose the invasion of a country which was being ruled under his protection. Besides it is very probable that the Ottoman Porte, whose distrust, the English would have failed to awaken, would have only with difficulty consented to favour the progress of the French in Egypt.

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Foot Note:— Already several attempts have been made to establish a new channel of communication between India and Europe through this country. In 1774 the Governor of Bengal proposed to the merchants at Calcutta to equip a vessel for trade in the Red Sea and sail right up to Suez instead of disembarking at Gedda. The enterprise alarmed the Sheriff of Mecca and the Ottoman Porte showed a great opposition. "History" said His Majesty the Sultan in a firman, "on this matter teaches us that the Christians, an enterprising and industrious race, have from the first practised violence and treachery to attain the fulfilment of their ambitious designs. These very same Christians have tried to

The Turkish Government, though incapable of deriving any advantage from its possessions, has always shown itself very energetic in defending them against the nations of Europe. This Empire situated between Europe and Asia has neglected European Arts and has preserved the spirit and customs of Asia full of contempt for the nations, whose progress in all the fields of light and prosperity, it looked on with indifference, isolating itself from the general system and rendering itself inaccessible to all the combinations of the modern political world.

Throughout the course of civilization this amounts to receding and to remaining stationary, and this vast monarchy, which one regarded still at Constantinople as the most flourishing and the most redoubtable of Empires; which is situated under a very beautiful sky but which did not enjoy itself nor allowed other people to enjoy the resources which Nature had spread around, is neglected everywhere to-day on account of the ignorance of its Government and the defect of its administration. The Century which begins will perhaps see this power, colossal and monstrous, disappear from Europe. A usurper or a lucky conqueror would make himself the master of this beautiful country

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penetrate into Egypt, doubtless with a design of conquering it. To counteract so dangerous a project we desire that none of their vessels should obtain the right of frequenting the port of Suez. If any one had the impudence to appear at this port the cargo would be confiscated and the crew put in chains’.

which appears to be abandoned and promised already to the genius of victory. Then will be seen the town of Constantinople revealing itself and the new Empire would make itself master, through commerce, of the riches of Europe and of India.

Is such a change desirable for Europe? It is certain that it will create general disorder by disturbing all interests and by making a revolution in inter-national rights. The fear of this confusion has protected, up to now, the Ottoman Porte better than its own armies. But the actual indifference of many states as regards their real interests, the impotence of others, and the spirit of uncertainty which the great event, viz., the French Revolution, has introduced into European diplomacy seem to leave to-day all career open to ambition. This Revolution in the relations between Asia and Europe seems to become inevitable more than ever. The Turkish Empire has shown in this war the fatal cause of its weakness, and some of the preponderating powers seem less inclined to bring about its fall than to derive advantage from it. What wisdom could have foreseen from the Egyptian expedition, has not failed to happen. The Ottoman Government declared against the French, in spite of the protestations of friendship which followed the Egyptian expedition. It protested through manifestoes against the conquest, and tried to arrest its course by sending considerable forces against the French. But even if the Directory neglected the means, though uncertain, of making the Ottomans neutral in this war, there remained

to the French General the great advantage of the ability to conquer their armies and to render their threats powerless. Turkish troops succumbed everywhere, like those of the Beys, before his victorious arms. The banks of the Jourdan were the witnesses of the victories of Bonaparte. He would have found no obstacles, if the English who had already excited the Ottoman Porte against the French, were not found all along the route, and if they had not contributed to the wonderful defence of St. John D'Acre.

It does not form part of the plan of this work to describe in detail the triumph of the French in Egypt and to enlarge upon this war which had commenced under the most encouraging auspices. Valour had fulfilled its task in this brilliant expedition, but the diplomacy of the time did not help it. The Directory by kindling war anew on the continent of Europe deprived itself of the means of helping and maintaining the army in Egypt. Thus France which had made innumerable sacrifices for this distant expedition seemed to derive from it more of glory than of real advantage. Peevish envy already compared our conquests on the banks of the Nile to the ancient pyramids, which were at the same time monuments of misfortune and of magnificence. It would be more just if we had appreciated the important possessions of Egypt, seeing the ardour which the English had shown in fighting against the conquerors. Besides, the conquest of Egypt is one of those events, which in politics, never come alone, and the future will

furnish us with enough light to form a judgment founded on other grounds than momentary fears or exaggerated hopes. While Egypt was submitting itself to our victorious armies everywhere, and while the Mediterranean was being covered with the scattered ruins of our fleet, the old ally of France in India, Tippoo Saheb, was dreaming only of re-taking from the English the provinces conquered in the last war. His hatred towards the English nation anticipated the projects of the French Government. He sought out the enemies of the English Company in the whole of India. The Subhedar of the Deccan and the chiefs of the Mahrattas had entered the coalition formed by Hyder Ali against the English; but the British Company chained them to the interests of England by associating them in the partition of the territories conquered from Tippoo Saheb in the previous war. The dealings of the prince with these powerful and rival states were neither sincere nor open. He contended himself with having spies where he could not have ambassadors. Preferring, in his ever passionate policy the hatred of his rivals to their alliance, he gathered together in his favour by his strict diplomacy himself all those who were seeking to cause trouble in these two states. Tippoo Saheb surrounded by the allies of the English, put all his hopes in Zeman Shah, King of the celebrated province of Kashmere and of the kingdom of Kandahar, Kabul, Pesheir Kisni, Sigistan, Chorasani, etc. The subjects of Zeman Shah are called Abdallis from the name of the founder of this Empire.

Ahmad Khan Abdulla had followed Thomas Kuli Khan to Delhi. After the death of this conqueror he took advantage of the weak state in which Hindustan and Persia found themselves, to make himself master of all the provinces right of the Indus. Abdulla had begun by being a soldier and had attained a Royal dignity by the road which ordinarily leads to the throne in this part of the orient. Zeman Shah, his grandson, was a mahommedan prince. He declared himself the enemy of the English, and his army which could count up to about 150,000 horsemen made the Sultan of Mysore hope that his hatred would one day be fatal to their common enemy. The ambassadors started from Seringapatam in 1797, and went to the court of the prince of the Abdallis; they were to propose to the sovereign who had pretensions to the Moghul Empire, that he should unite his efforts with those of Tippoo Saheb to make war on the sect of Brahmins, to chase the Europeans out of India and to re-establish the ancient splendour of Delhi. "The state of disorder and of anarchy in this Empire" said Tippoo Saheb in his letters "is more visible than day light. Delhi one of the seats of the Mahommedan Government, is reduced to such a state that the infidels predominate everywhere in it; but if the Ornament of the Throne, the Conqueror of the Empires, would agree to the plan I propose to him, he will contribute to the glory of the Faith". Tippoo Saheb proposed to the prince of the Abdallis that he should send one of the nobles of his court to Delhi at the head of an army

to depose the ruling prince and choose some one from his family to succeed him, whose boldness and firmness might shed glory on the religion and on the Empire. The army sent to Delhi should remain in this capital to consolidate the new Government, and should go next to the Deccan to annihilate the sect of Brahmins, while Tippoo Saheb would on his part raise the standard, and would make the other infidels of the peninsula give way to the sword of Mahommed. Under a second project Tippoo Saheb proposed to Zeman Shah that he should himself come to Delhi to appoint a faithful minister who should establish from there a confederation of the Mahommedan Princes and that he should take the lead for the achievement of the supreme object, viz., the triumph of the faith. These two projects were abandoned, partly because, the state of India, and especially the dissensions which the policy of Europeans had strewn among the Courts of Hindustan, did not permit of the execution of such a vast plan which demanded a large gathering together of forces and of wills. Tippoo Saheb, not succeeding in his negotiations with Zeman Shah, did not however, abandon this project. He was implacable in his hatred as well as obstinate in his opinions. He remembered that Hyder Ali had told him while dying, that he could conquer the Europeans by putting one nation against another; and seeing all round in Hindustan, only tottering states, and feeble monarchs, and princes who did not know how to hate the English like himself, he turned, once more, his eyes towards

France. His embassy to Louis XVI did not have the success that his policy had hoped for; but the news of the establishment of the Republic had arrived in India since a long time, and Tippoo Saheb hoped that a change of Government would bring about more favourable circumstances. The war between England and France, the last invasions of the English into the possessions of the new Republic and its allies, seemed again to throw together the interests of the kingdom of Mysore and those of the Government of France. After the capture of Pondicherry, a large number of Frenchmen, ruined by the destruction of the factories, scattered themselves among the various courts of Hindustan. All these were adventurers, who came to seek their fortune far from their home and who could easily adopt as their own, any country whose troubles would bring money to those who knew how to foment them. Many of these men, who sold their courage to him who paid the most in any country, were collected in India by Princes, who had need to make the Arts of Europe flourish, and who wished to introduce European tactics in their armies. They seem to have had their meeting place in the court of Tippoo whose ambitious projects raised their hopes to a high pitch. The new religion of the Rights of Man easily found its missionaries among them, and the apostles of equality publicly preached their doctrines to the court of the absolute Sovereign of Mysore. The dignities of an Asiatic Monarchy were not made to be associated with ideas of democracy. Moreover, the

adventurers who had taken refuge at the court of Tippoo were careful to cover the attributes of Royal Power under the emblems of the liberty of France and to efface out of the title of the Sultan what appeared odious to the Republicans. They added to it the title of citizen in their conversation and in their correspondence. Their principles, it is true, would produce very little effect on the imagination of the orientals always dazzled by pomp. The spirit of the Indians is not imitative like that of the Europeans, and Hindus to whom two thousand years of revolutions have meant no loss of their religion and their morals could not be very ardent converts to our philosophic innovations. Moreover, it did not matter to Tippoo Saheb that France was shaken by a popular revolution, provided he got from her the means to help him in his hatred towards the English. The French living at this court did not fail to feed him on this hope. They told him often about the friendly intentions of the French nation. A watch-maker belonging to this nation and settled at Seringapatam, a man of no education, who hardly knew how to write, was the Secretary and Councillor for the Sultan of Mysore to look after his relations with France. Things were in this state when fortune brought to the coast of Malabar a petty Privateer from the Isle of France commanded by a Frenchman named Ripaud. The Frenchman was taken to Seringapatam, and was questioned by Tippoo Saheb himself. He had at first excited suspicions, but dispelled these with no difficulty by talking

about the great friendship the Republic of France felt towards the Sultan of Mysore. He did not hesitate even to pose as interpreter and ambassador of his people. Great honours and wealth were showered on him in consideration of the goodwill which animated the Government of France. The very first thing which Ripaud did towards the fulfilment of this mission to Tippoo Saheb which he had assumed upon himself was to found a Jacobin Club at Seringapatam. This Club, established in Hindustan at the very time when France was in the midst of her demagogic assemblies, held its first session on the 5th of May 1790. It was the privateer Ripaud who opened the Club in which madness vied with ignorance. He proposed to his brethren in Seringapatam to burn all the emblems of Royalty and to set up the national flag on. This proposition was received with enthusiastic demonstrations. Every member of the Club swore to defend the Republican constitution, and to die with weapons in their hands rather than see liberty perish. It was not enough for the obscure Ripaud to be raised all at once to the position of an ambassador from a great nation. The title of Legislator was added to that of Ambassador, and the French, touched by his patriotism, begged him to make laws for them at once. Ripaud yielded to their requests, and proposed a regulation which was adopted by the society. This regulation which is printed among the documents is nothing but a monstrous summary of our laws of the Revolution. The penalty of death is pronounced against all who

sought to re-establish the monarchy; against those who showed weakness before the enemy; against those who by their talk tried to weaken the courage of their comrades. One sees in this that only a revolutionary tribunal was lacking at Seringapatam to present to the Indians a spectacle, in miniature, of the French Revolution.

It was on the 15th of May 1797 that the French, united in a popular assembly, proceeded to the inauguration of the National Flag at Seringapatam. It was unfurled with a salvo from numerous guns and muskets. After this ceremony, Ripaud, who assumed the title of the Representative of the French Nation at the court of the Prince Tippoo, and some other members of the popular assembly betook themselves to the parade ground of Seringapatam where the "Citizen Prince Tippoo" (this is the expression used in the minutes of the assembly) was also present. The Sultan approaches them; a salvo of guns is heard; from the fort of Seringapatam 500 salutes are fired. After the mutual protestations of friendship, the Tree of Liberty was planted with all the honours in the parade ground. Citizen Ripaud made a speech on the importance of the ceremony, at the end of which, he administered to every member a formula of oath in these terms. "Citizens, do you swear hatred towards all kings, with the exception of Tippoo Sultan, the Victorious, the ally of the Republic of France, to make war with tyrants and to love the motherland as well as the land of Citizen Tippoo." This oath was taken individually. After that, hymns to the

motherland were sung round the Tree of Liberty and the National Flag.

Tippoo assembled his council to deliberate on the reports made by Ripaud who had hardly less credit at the court than the society which he founded. Some ministers of the Sultan, led by a sane policy, perhaps even by jealousy, endeavoured to make Ripaud odious to the Sultan, but his hatred towards the English prevailed against every thing. It was decided that they should send an embassy to the Government of the isle of France and to the Executive Directory of the Republic of France to obtain help against the English. They bought Ripaud's ship, and loaded it with black pepper intended for the Isle of France. It was important that the object of this voyage should be kept secret, and the envoys of Tippoo Saheb were to pass as merchants. They received their instructions for the Island of France. They were to sound the Government on the intentions of the French, to propose an alliance, and to ask for an army. They received also instructions and advices for the Executive Directory. Tippoo Saheb proposed to the Directors of the French Republic to join with him to exterminate the English in India. He exploited all the considerations of Friendship and policy to make them join in the execution and in the glory of this vast project. Hardly realising the ideas of equality which were preached at his court, he lavished on the chiefs of the Republican Government the most pompous titles. He addressed them, as magnificent and elevated in rank, as

the affable refuge of their friends, as objects of regard, as gentlemen constituting the executive power. These first letters were afterwards replaced by others on account of the delay which took place in the departure of his ambassadors. They were kept back by bad weather and through the fear of being captured by the English. Of the four Indians who were intended for the embassy, only two, Hussan Ali and Shaik Ibrahim, started for the Isle of France, accompanied by the French watch-maker who had been the councillor of Tippoo Saheb and who acted as interpreter to the embassy. They set sail on the 17th of December 1797.

Ripauid was to conduct them to their destination. This man, without any education, and hardly knowing any good manners behaved very badly towards the ambassadors from the very first days of the voyage. He took away from them the letters they were carrying, demanded money, threatened to take them to the coast of Bombay, where he said he had a number of prizes, and refused them even the water which was necessary for them. At last after a very troublesome voyage the ambassadors of Tippoo Saheb arrived at the Isle of France on 19th January 1798. Tippoo Saheb had ordered them to keep their mission very secret; but in spite of their requests, the Government of the island gave them a very dignified reception which later on, became fatal to the sovereign, whose designs stood revealed now that this embassy had become official. They had several audiences with the Governor, who promised them help, and who had the impudence

to give publicity to his engagements by a proclamation. The ambassadors remained a month and a half in the Isle of France. They were still there when the news of the fatal day of 18th Fructidor (September 17, 1797) was received. I believe I should transcribe here the narrative of this event just as it was given in the letters addressed to Tippoo Saheb by his ambassadors. (See No. 5 of the documents). It will not be displeasing perhaps if I compare the idea which people had in India of this revolution with the idea prevalent in Europe. "A Danish vessel", says the Indian ambassadorin, a letter translated faithfully from the Persian, "having arrived at Mauritius (the Isle of France) with letters from Paris, all the Chiefs of the Council of the island assembled together and having read these letters remained a whole day, overwhelmed with fear and anxiety." We asked that man (name illegible) for the reason who told us that after the murder of the King of the French a new system of Government had been established; that they had 5 Sirdars of the 1st rank; a council of elders consisting of 250 Sirdars and 3 orders of Young Men whose number came up to 500, and that these Sirdars deliberating together conducted the affairs of the State; that the Germans had made peace with the French, but that the English had bribed them with millions and separated them from the French, and made them turn to their side; that they had gained through the Germans 2 Sirdars of the 1st order (2 members of the Directory) and a great number of the Sirdars of 2 other orders; that they

had secretly agreed to the conditions of peace with the English, and that this intrigue having been discovered by the other members, all these Sirdars and the partisans of the English were put in prison and guarded by a corps of 5,000 horsemen. The Vakils (ambassadors) of the English who had come to further his plan had fled away and in consequence a new misunderstanding having arisen between the French and the Germans, peace could not be made at this moment \*.

The Indian ambassadors added, that following these events the French had declared to the English that peace could be concluded with them only in case they consented to be put back in the same situation in which they were forty years ago; that England was reduced to the utmost distress; that they were burdened with enormous debts and that she had no money. The ambassador informed his sovereign, moreover, that the kings of Constantinople, America, Spain, Scotland, Denmark and Portugal had allied themselves with France and that their ambassadors or Vakils were at Paris.

I cite here these ridiculous fables only to show how, many of the Chiefs of Hindustan knew so little of the politics of the European Nations that they hoped to conquer some with the help of others. Ripaud who had told Tippoo Saheb,

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\* It would be difficult to understand anything about the day of the 18th Fructidor (September 17, 1797) from the report of the ambassadors of Tippoo Saheb; But I doubt if one could understand any more from the report of the Bailleul about the same day.

stories not less absurd, had no more relations with the embassy. On his entry into the Isle of France, he fell back into his former obscurity; but there were not lacking in the Isle of France men who were always disposed to take advantage of the simplicity and the ignorance of strangers. Even while the seas witnessed the triumphs of the English, that nation was represented as being on the point of surrendering; the Indian ambassadors easily took in these statements which would please their sovereign, and Tippoo Saheb believed quite easily a thing which he was wishing for. The ambassadors re-embarked on the 7th of March 1793. They did not think that they should take ship to France although they had letters to the Executive Directory. It is very probable that they would not have found the same Directors on their arrival as those to whom they were sent, and to whom Tippoo in his letter had wished "May your dignities be perpetual". The ambassadors took with them to Mysore many men sent by the Government of the Isle of France to be employed in the service of Tippoo Sultan. The ambassadors had come to ask for an army; but this army reduced itself to a general of land troops and a commander of the marines, a European Commander, two artillery officers, six marine officers, four ships' carpenters, twenty six officers, sergeants, and interpreters, thirty-six European soldiers, twenty-six Mullatoes. These were all the feeble and fatal help, which served as a pretext to the English for attacking Tippoo Saheb, and which was far from

being able to protect him ! The ambassadors from Mysore and their followers arrived at Mangalore in the month of April 1798. They betook themselves to Seringapatam where the French received a welcome which showed the extent of the confidence Tippoo Saheb had felt as to the intentions and the power of the Republic.



## CHAPTER VII.

While Tippoo Saheb was seeking allies and men with whom he could associate in his enterprises against the British Nation, the powers friendly to England and their forces in Hindustan were in a state, fit to raise the hopes of their enemies, if only a sane policy were to direct their undertakings. The Triple alliance formed in 1790 between the English, the Mahrattas and the Nizam had at first lent great consistency to the political situation in Hindustan. The allies established a system of authority, founded on the balance of their respective interests, so far as they could be known and reconciled. The power of Tippoo Saheb had diminished, and consequently his means of disturbing the harmony were very feeble. The private ambition of the allied States appeared to be connected naturally with their inter-relations, and the English believed themselves to be the Sovereign arbitrators of India. Could such a state of things subsist long? Could the harmony be durable between Governments

purely militarist and despotic? Could their determinations, as disorganised as those of an impetuous democracy, give any guarantee for the future? Their territorial limits were traced and protected only by treaties, which are vain barriers against the force of ambition. The allied states did not all have the same policy or the same views. Often they did not understand their true interest. This alliance needed a powerful centre to adjust ceaselessly their divergent passions. This proper way of cementing the union had been much neglected by the English. Three years after the ratification of the treaty of Seringapatam, the Nizam, one of the allies, was attacked and almost destroyed by the Mahrattas. The triple alliance found itself thus enfeebled and did not present the same advantages any more to the English who had formed it only to attack the common enemy. They made vain efforts to re-establish the balance. The Empire of the Mahrattas was agitated by dissensions which were ever cropping up. This Empire presented the extra-ordinary spectacle not only of a king hereditary and yet without power, but also of a hereditary minister who had no more power than his master. The fate of the State depended always on the influence which one or another of the self-made Chiefs had in it, and as happens in all States where each Chief is obliged to create in some way his own authority, the Government had no fixity and its political relations were uncertain. One of the Mahratta Chiefs, called perhaps by some secret intrigues formed at court, went to Poona, the chief

city in the Empire. He practised there all sorts of violence, and tried to usurp the authority of the Peishwa. The English were not sufficiently convinced that a revolution in an unsteady state, must, of necessity, create new interests and establish a new direction of forces; and that in order not to destroy the object of an alliance, one State must not interest itself any the less in the form of Government than in the integrity of the territory of its allies. Thus when the Empire of the Mahrattas found itself menaced by the manoeuvres of Sindhia, a very great part of the army ceased to co-operate for the protection of the English and was recalled by the Peishwa. Thus the English lost a powerful ally, whose forces could have defended them against the invasions of Zeman Shah, and against the enterprises of Tippoo Saheb. Little was needed to make the arms which had been used to protect them, turn against them in the midst of the confusion which the Revolution of Mahrattas created in the States of Hindustan.

The Nizam, the second ally of the English, weakened by his troubles with the Mahrattas, was true to the treaties of 1792, but his power could only make sterile demonstrations of friendship surrounded by the intrigues which menaced the Government of a Prince enfeebled by old age; and disorder seemed to wait for his last breath to give the signal for Civil War. The family of the Prince was divided on account of the Empire, and already one of his sons had let himself into open revolt against the paternal authority. To complete the

disorder, Jacobinism had mixed itself with the intrigues of the court and the French party was master of the army of the Nizam. A Frenchman named Raymond had raised and disciplined a corps of 14,000 men, for whose expenses, he had been put in possession of a territory, whose annual revenue came up to about 18 lakhs of rupees (about 5 million francs). This chief had planted the Tree of Liberty before the palace of the Nizam, and had forced this prince to send away the detachment of the English, which he used to keep since the war of 1790, as a guard of his person, and a guarantee for the treaties. Raymond would not have hesitated to put the territory which had been given to him in the hands of the French Republic. The revenues of this territory were so considerable that they would have caused serious alarm to the English, had not his premature death given the minister of the Nizam the means of recovering the lands given away. The military authority, meanwhile, devolved on the successor of Raymond, who was likewise a Frenchman. With the help of the friends of Tippoo Saheb and of a party powerful at court, this man became formidable up to the point of openly forcing a change in the order of succession on the death of the Nizam, by placing on the throne a prince, who was devoted to the Government of Mysore and the French Republic. To weaken the over-growing power of this military party the Nizam demanded fresh forces from the Government of Madras; but the English did not at first give any attention to his requests, and left

the field open to the dominant party. Thus was this ally not only unable to contribute to the common object, but forced to maintain on the British frontiers an army of 14,000 men, which was more determined to attack the English than to defend them, and which became a continual obstacle to the movements of their troops in the Carnatic.

The English, who neglected the means of keeping their powerful allies were much more occupied with the extension of their commerce, since several years, than with protecting their territories by arms. Dazzled by their prosperity, and believing themselves well protected by the victories of Lord Cornwallis in the last war, they had scattered their army over their vast possessions; they had placed in different villages numerous useless troops without keeping a corps of observation or of reserves. They had not completed their regiments, which, in this destructive climate, require continual recruitments; all the trains of artillery were disbanded; the magazines had not been kept up; the mercantile instincts had stifled their martial spirit; no precautions had been taken to guard against a sudden invasion; the public finances were exhausted on account of bad administration, as well as by sending of immense sums to Europe. Their cupidity had left nothing to meet the needs of an army. The Company, thus deprived of all its power, financial and military, and unable to base its hopes of success on the union of its allies, had not even the consoling prospect of harmony and of good sense among its chiefs. Division had

appeared, after the departure of Lord Cornwallis, between the Chiefs of the military establishment and the heads of the civil departments. This disunion, inevitable as long as these two powers were not concentrated in one person, had been for long the greatest obstacle that fortune could have placed against the progress of the English in India. So, England in spite of her splendid triumphs on all the seas, was less powerful in India than she was at the peace of 1792, and the dangers which threatened her possessions in this part of the world, would be incalculable, if prudence had united itself to valour for the purpose of attacking them.

Such was the situation of the English in India when they received information about the armament of France in Toulon. The Cabinet in London had entertained some suspicions on the projects of the Directory, but a passage to the Indies through Egypt had appeared to them so fanciful, that they took at first only feeble measures to prevent it. Only Mr Dundas saw the danger which threatened the possessions of the Company, of which he was one the Directors. He expressed his fears very strongly. On account of his pressing and repeated representations 5,000 men, well disciplined and accustomed to hot climate, were drawn from Gibraltar, Portugal, and the Cape of Good Hope and sent to the Indies one month before the departure of the fleet from Toulon. The English squadron in the Indian Ocean also received re-inforcements with orders to defend the approaches to the Persian Gulf. These precautions would have been too late and

totally fruitless if the Executive Directory had sent secretly and regularly from France single vessels to Suez; or even if they had given the order to the Governor of the Isle of France to send the frigates and the other vessels of war, which were in this island, to meet Bonaparte in the Red Sea; or if at least Bonaparte himself had found at Suez, at Cosier, or in some other port native vessels in sufficient number to carry provisionally ten thousand men to the Coast of Malabar. They had need of only light vessels for this purpose. The passage from Suez to the Coast of Malabar took only 20 or 30 days, and the season when the French army arrived in Egypt was favourable. It should be remarked, moreover, that the strait of Babel Mandeb was unguarded at this time; no English war vessel had yet appeared in the Arabian Gulf.

The fears of the English Company were so great on hearing about the preparations of France, that they did not know at all where the enemy would carry its attack. But the thunder-bolts which threatened to explode on Hindustan were wielded by incapable hands. If the English had nothing to safe-guard their defence, the Chief of the Republic also had not done anything more to assure his success. The timid spirit of some of the advocates whose views were narrow, who sought only to profit by the power which had for some time fallen into their hands, could grasp in their minds neither the future which they dared not envisage, nor the country whose relations and interests they knew nothing about. Thus on this

occasion the improvidence of the Directory caused England not to perceive the negligence of their principal agents in Hindustan, and their expedition which could have destroyed the British possessions contributed only to extend them and to increase their splendour.

The first news of the progress of Bonaparte in Egypt arrived in India in the beginning of October 1798. It is true that at the same time was received the news about the signal victory of Admiral Nelson over the French squadron; but this advantage could not re-assure fully the English against an enemy used to retrieve his losses, whom one has so often seen during the war as formidable in his defeats as in his victories. The fears of the English were augmented by the open plannings of Tippoo Saheb, who believed that the time had come at last to proclaim himself the Hero and the Liberator of the East. It was known that this Prince had sent for help to the Isle of France; his relations with Zeman Shah were known; he had received re-inforcements from the French for his army; he was levying troops, fortifying places, and the whole Empire of Mysore took on a hostile and menacing aspect. The Chiefs of the British establishment did no longer doubt that the actions of Tippoo Saheb were connected with the expedition of Egypt. They had captured two letters which Bonaparte had written from Cairo—one to the Sheriff of Mecca and the other to the Sultan of Mysore. The General announced to Tippoo Saheb that he landed on the banks of the Nile with a

numerous army, and that he was prepared to unite with him in attacking the English. The distress of the British Government in India seemed to grow with the certainty of its dangers; but the English colony had then at its head a ruler able to create and multiply its resources, by his genius. The Marquis of Wellesley was one of those men whose talents seem destined to shine at the moment of great difficulty. He saw with the same glance the perils and the means of preventing them. He could see in the future only certain reverses and uncertain resources; inaction seemed to him fatal under circumstances so critical. All of a sudden he revived the activities of the English, reassembled the army in spite of the numerous obstacles which opposed this resolution. He gave back to the allies of the British Nation their independence and the means of rendering their alliances effective. Before his enemies could join together for the attack, he found considerable strength to attack them himself. Thus he deserved fully the title of the "Saviour" of the English possessions in Hindustan by the energy that he displayed and the success which crowned his state-craft.

The Governor-General gave the order to assemble the army of the Malabar and the Coromandel without delay; but the Council at Madras replied that in the opinion of experienced military men the troops of the Presidency were so dispersed and badly equipped for an offensive campaign that it required three or even six months to put them in a fit state for action with advantage. The same

Council insisted above all on the danger of provoking, by these preparations, the immediate hostilities of Tippoo Saheb, whom it did not seem to be in a state to resist. It declared finally that it did not consider itself authorised to execute the orders given, without having considered beforehand all the inconveniences which would result from such an imprudent measure. The observation of the Council of Madras was just according to more than one report; but there are circumstances where sagacity consists in avoiding ordinary ways, where audacity really becomes prudence. The Marquis of Wellesly did not wish to give way on this occasion without running the chances of a fight and without the honour of attacking or resisting. The Governor-General in India invested by an English Law with absolute power, though not irresponsible, determined to make his orders obeyed, and he imposed silence on the timid wisdom of the Council of Madras. He believed that the surest way of preserving the peace was in some way or other to raise the standard of war and that the best way to prevent an invasion on the part of Tippoo Saheb was to make him tremble for his Capital. The Marquis of Wellesley prohibited the agents who were his subordinates from deliberating on his orders. They worked with great activity in Bengal, in the Carnatic, on the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts to reassemble the British armies. On his part the Governor-General worked to re-establish the political equilibrium of India and to recapture his allies whom internal divisions and the

intrigues of Tippoo Sahib had almost taken away from the English cause.

The military force at the disposal of the French in the Deccan was the greatest obstacle for the unity and the co-operation of the allied powers. The Governor-General gave instructions to Captain Kirkpatrick, then the resident at Hyderabad, to open negotiations with the Nizam. He proposed to His Highness to increase the English detachments at Hyderabad and to disband the French Corps. The weak Nizam agreed to everything, but, his consent to have any reality had to be supported by the whole strength of the British forces. The Lieutenant General Harris collected a garrison in the neighbourhood of Fort St. George, and despatched it to Hyderabad under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Roberts. This detachment arrived on the 10th of October; on the 22nd of the same month the Camps of the French army were surrounded and the troops disarmed and discharged. This expedition achieved its object without blood-shed and without any the least struggle. The Jacobin spirit, which prevailed among the soldiers, served the English marvellously on this occasion. A mutiny had broken out in the French Camp on the 21st October, and officers were ill-treated and put in chains. Their life itself was in danger and the detachment of Colonel Roberts whose arrival seemed to threaten to create new troubles in Hyderabad came there as if only to re-establish order. The English were received as Liberators even by the Chiefs of the corps whom

they had come to destroy, and the Nizam rejoiced at the new yoke which was imposed upon him, considering the perils which had menaced his power under the turbulent influence of the party now overthrown. While the English were regaining their ascendancy at the court of Hyderabad the Governor-General used all his efforts to render the alliance with the Mahrattas effective and useful to the cause of the British Company. Nana Furnavese \* had assumed the reins of administration. His policy, favourable to the English establishment, seemed to strengthen the hope which was placed in the Court of Poona; but this clever minister could not calm the troubles of the Empire. The State of Poona, obliged to defend itself against factions, found it impossible to help the allies in spite of the eagerness with which the proposals were received and the Governor could not obtain from the Mahrattas the promise of an active co-operation in the war which was about to begin. But there was already one advantage, viz., the certainty of their neutrality and of their not yielding to the solicitations of Tippo Saheb.

The Governor-General after having made sure of the allies of England in Hindustan turned his vigilance to the seas which surrounded the peninsula on which he feared the advent of the French squadrons. Admiral Raynier, having strengthened the fleet with all the vessels of the

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\* Nana Furnavese was the hereditary minister of the Mahratta Empire. Internal troubles had many a time sent him away and again recalled him.

Company, occupied himself with defending the strait of Babel Mandeb. The English captured the island of Socotra so well situated at the opening of the Strait into the Indian Ocean; and this was very important because of the ports and the anchorages which were found on its northern side. The necessity in which the English found themselves, of guarding this coast, caused the expedition, which they had prepared against the islands of Manilla, to be postponed. The suspension of the expedition to this establishment and to the island of Battavia was perhaps the only advantage this war had procured to France and to her allies in these regions which seemed to offer them booty and victory.

The fear of the armies of France multiplied the energy and the activity of the English in India to such an extent that their position in this part of the world changed, all of a sudden, in the space of two months at the most. In the month of October when they learned about the first conquest of France in Egypt the English had no allies and no armies to resist the efforts of their enemies. In the month of November they had renewed and strengthened their old alliances, and an army of 75,000 men found itself in readiness to enter on a campaign. The troops were equipped, the magazines were well-stocked, considerable sums were poured into the public treasury and the Governor found himself absolute master, able to dictate conditions to the Court of Mysore. It was then that the Marquis of Wellesley determined to open negotiations with Tippoe Saheb, conscious that his propositions would

be accepted now that they were backed by force. On the 8th of November 1798, he notified to the Prince that he had been informed of his hostile designs and of his relations with the French. He proposed to send an ambassador to treat with him considering the means of re-establishing good relations and of dispelling just suspicions which the proceedings of the Mysore Government had created. Tippoo did not wish to break with the English all at once; nor establish harmony between the two States. Indian Princes have learnt by terrible experience how much the Europeans surpass the Orientals by their address and by their skill in negotiations; and the proposal of sending an English ambassador to Seringapatam, appeared as a snare to Tippoo Saheb, and it seemed to him difficult to avoid it without revealing his designs. He on his part covered up his policy in silence, and did not reply at first to the communication of the Governor-General.

It was only towards the end of December that he wrote to the Marquis of Wellesley, trying to clear himself from the imputation made about him, and to elude the proposal to end all disputes by receiving an ambassador. It meant much to the Sultan of Mysore to gain time till he received the considerable reinforcements which he expected from France, or till the inundations which flood the plains of this part of India in the months of May, June and July, made the Capital of the Kingdom inaccessible to the enterprises of his enemies. The first attempt of Lord Cornwallis against Seringapatam in 1791

miscarried, owing to the imprudence he had committed in beginning the campaign on the 14th of May in the middle of the rainy season. The Marquis of Wellesley taught by the faults of his predecessors was as active in his negotiations as Tippoo was slow. The proposal of sending a plenipotentiary was renewed on the 19th of January 1799; but the Sultan kept silent. Then it was that the Governor General tried to make certain of peace by means of arms, and to profit by the favourable opportunity, which the unwise policy of Tippoo Saheb offered to the English to invade his kingdom. I do not believe that the English directed the policy of the Government of Mysore; but they have profited by its errors; and one can say with reason that in this war, they have profited more by the hatred among their rivals in India than they have from the free and sincere friendship of their allies.

The English army re-inforced by 4,000 men from Bengal, and 6,000 British troops in the pay of the Nizam, 6,000 infantry and 6,000 of the best cavalry of this Prince, received the order to advance towards Mysore on the 3rd of February 1799. This army, the best which had ever been assembled in India, and relatively to its object, the most complete perhaps which has ever been assembled in any country, was commanded by General Harris, an officer, for a long time, trained in the art of fighting in India's warm climate. It had with it a formidable artillery, a corps of excellent and well-trained cavalry whose pay was assured for three months, and with provisions more than enough for

the probable duration of a siege of Seringapatam

The British possessions from that time turned all their hopes towards the war, and the power to conclude peace was confided to the General of the army. At last Tippoo Saheb at the sight of the dangers which threatened his kingdom agreed to receive an ambassador; but always true to his policy, he tried to prolong the negotiation by declaring that he was going out for a hunting party and that he would receive ambassadors without delay.\* It would not be pointless to mention here in order to show the hidden purpose of the Sultan of Mysore, that a hunting party of an Asiatic Prince meant the entire moving of his court and his army. In the midst of the confusion which would arise during the journey, it would be easy to find a heap of pretexts for the delays his policy may require if any one wished to direct his attention to business which

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\* The letter of Tippoo Saheb to the Governor-General:— I had the pleasure of receiving Your Lordship's two letters. The first was brought by a camel driver and the second by a Hircarrah. I have read them well. The letter of the prince second in rank to Jumsheid whom the angels as guards and who has troops as numerous as the stars, the Sun which lights the world, the Sky of the Empire and of the dominions, the Torch which gives splendour to the universe, the Firmament of power and glory, the Sultan of the land and the sea, the King of Rome, (i. e., the grand Sultan, may his power and his Empire be eternal), had already

least admits of delay. So in a country where there were no posts and where consequently a large number of journeys were needed, however quickly an individual might manage to reach the Court of Mysore, the continual change of place and of occupations made the coming and going of couriers extremely uncertain. Besides the combined absence of the ministers of state and of lack of unity in the acts of Government added still further to the slowness of the negotiations. Everything seemed thus to be calculated by Tippoo Saheb to put off the business and to elude the demands for satisfaction which the English had made on him. While Tippoo Saheb thus openly showed his reluctance to accede to the proposals for peace, the English got every day fresh proofs of his ardent desire of calling the French into India for help. General Dubuc, one of the officers sent from the Isle of France, embarked from Trinquibar in the beginning of February as an ambassador from the King of Mysore to the French Republic. This General who was accompanied by two native envoys was to demand ten or fifteen thousand regular troops, whose expenses Tippoo Saheb promised to pay, as

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informed me of the news which had reached you by way of England and which you have transmitted to me. In accordance with the custom I have of going out for hunting and riding, I am now about to go out on an hunting expedition; you might send Major Doveton [regarding whom you have previously addressed] to me although he was expected. Continue to write friendly to me always and to give news about yourself

well as a naval force sufficiently powerful to destroy or at least to check the English domination in the Indian seas. The wide-spread news of the sending of an ambassador and the proposal of Tippoo Saheb destroyed all hope of a peaceful settlement. The Sultan of Mysore indulged publicly in his hatred against the English nation and the English did not any more hide their desire to invade his kingdom.

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### CHAPTER VIII.

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The plan of campaign of the English was to assemble at Vellore in the Carnatic the grand and the principal army to which the detachment from Hyderabad was ordered to unite itself. The army of Bombay under the command of General Stuart was to be formed at Cannanore on the Malabar Coast and was to advance towards Sedesear an advantageous position which dominated the realm of Mysore from where could be seen the whole course of the Cauvery; and the junction of the two armies was to be effected under the walls of Seringapatam.

The Governor-General had given orders that the two armies should be ready to advance towards Mysore in the first days of February; but the obstacles which the climate presented and which were peculiar to the manner of fighting in Hindustan, delayed the opening of the campaign. It will not be useless to give the European readers an idea of the difficulty in putting an army in motion in the

East Indies. The inhabitants of the villages never fail to abandon their homes at the approach of the enemy leaving ordinarily behind them only rice, which they take care to bury in places difficult to discover. It was therefore necessary to take provisions with the army. Moreover in this country the maintenance of soldiers, and especially European soldiers, was not only very expensive, but also these troops required more care and had to be better kept than the others because of the climate which caused them fatigue and which enervated them in a short time. These reasons combined with the enormous luxury which was provided in the English armies (kept up because of the laxity which the climate inspires and which the extravagant pay they received permitted), necessitated a train of attendants which would seem incredible in Europe. One calculates generally for an army of ten thousand soldiers 1,00,000 men; a subaltern officer needed a dozen men for his personal service. As there were no provisions in the camps, each officer was obliged to take with him an establishment mounted and provisioned for at least two or three months. He had his cook, one or two servants, a groom, a man to collect forage for his horse and six men at the least who carried his luggage. The train of the officer general is sometimes composed of 500 persons. The soldiers themselves had people to serve them. They never prepared their dinner themselves, nor carried their haversacks, nor drove their horses. They were generally exempt from all the work of the camp; they had only to fight.

The company engaged for this purpose a large number of people called Lascars, who on their part did no fighting. There was a very large number of them attached to the service of the artillery and a still larger number was employed to take care of the tents, to transport them, to pitch them, and to dismount them. The baggage which could not be transported by men was transported by bullocks, but as they were very small and very feeble it was necessary to have a large number of them and a multitude of drivers. A piece of artillery of eighteen was drawn often by fifty bullocks; the tent of a soldier was transported by one bullock and an officer's by two. One could judge by these details how difficult the march of an army was and how expensive\* war was in Hindustan.

The army of Madras and of Bombay began to move in the early days of March. It was then that Tippoo Saheb saw the effect of his imprudent policy and he opened his eyes to the danger which menaced his kingdom. To resist this certain invasion, he had only an army not yet fully formed and the hope of succour from the French uncertain and necessarily very slow. The prince who had a few days before meditated on the conquest of

\*The pay of a military man in the Indies is enormous, the following figures will give an idea. A Colonel receives on duty 3,315 francs for three months; a captain 1,027 francs; a lieutenant 625 francs; a sergeant 52 francs; a soldier 27 francs; the subaltern officers and the soldiers are moreover given food, and receive every day, for a mess of five persons, eight pounds of meat, five pounds of rice and a bottle of rum or arrack.

Hindustan, found himself reduced to the position of defending his own territory, without having the necessary means of assuring success even in a defensive war. The French help he had received from the Isle of France had provoked the distrust of the English, but it was far from being powerful enough to ensure success to his enterprises. Two foundries for cannon had been established at Seringapatam, but the troops were not yet sufficiently trained to use this weapon, which was puzzling, and often even dangerous in unskilled hands. His hopes of arming the States of Hindustan against the English had vanished, owing to the inaction of Zeman Shah and to the union of the Nizam with the army of General Harris. As he had nothing to hope from negotiations any more, he confided himself to his courage only. The flatteries of his courtiers persuaded him that his very presence would drive the peril, and the Dervishes easily made him believe that the sword of Mahomet would be drawn to defend his kingdom. He caused troops to be assembled from all parts of Mysore and Canara. After having placed garrisons in all important places, he set out from Seringapatam at the head of an army of about sixty thousand men, and camped at Periapatam from where he observed the movements of the English army which was nearing Sedesear.

It was at this point that the English and the Mysoreans commenced their hostilities. On the 2nd of March, a brigade commanded by Colonel Montresor established itself at Sedesear on the frontier of Coorg, about seven miles from Seringa-

patam. The rest of the army stayed at Sedapore and Ahmootinar, the one about eight miles and the other twelve miles from the advanced posts. On the 5th, the Mysore army encamped over a considerable extent of ground, and approached the hills of Sedesear. The next day it put itself on the march, but its movement was so hidden by the woods and the fogs which covered the horizon, that it became impossible for the English to understand its objective and General Hartley who had come to reconnoitre found it out only at the moment when the Mysoreans, after having marched for a long time under cover, issued forth and began to attack all along the English line. They had penetrated through the forests so mysteriously that they attacked the front line and the rear guard of the English almost at the same time. By this quick and clever manoeuvre the army of Tippoo Saheb succeeded in cutting off the communications of Colonel Montresore with Sedapore. The brigade was surrounded on all sides, and was very inferior in numbers. General Stuart, informed of the danger the detachment established at Sedesear ran made haste to come to its help with a chosen body of his troops. After a fire from the musketry well kept up from both sides, the Mysoreans were repulsed and rallied themselves to their column which attacked the front of the English army. A short time afterwards they retired from all sides and went to shut themselves up in their camps at Periapatam. Tippoo Saheb believed himself to be under the influence of a very favourable omen. It

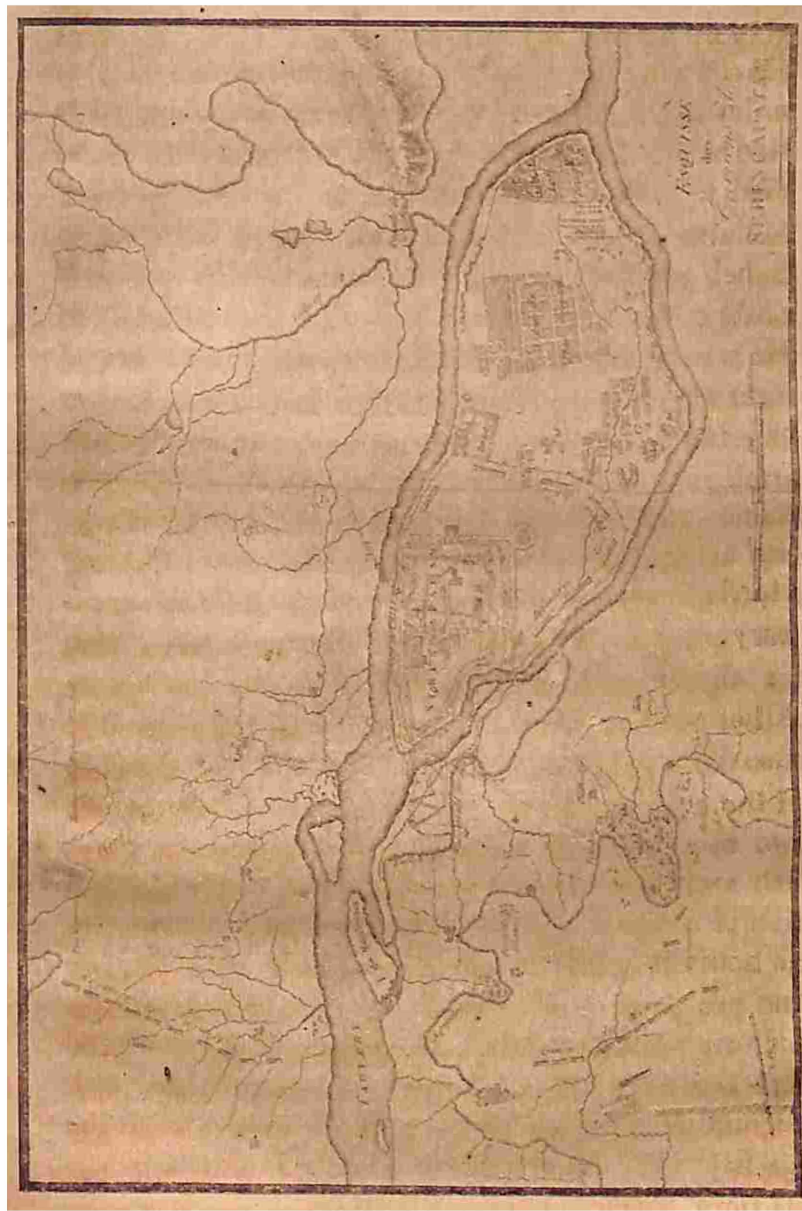
may be that this idea infused courage into him in this his first attempt against the English. A piece of paper written upon with his own hand in the Persian language, on his arrival in the camp at Periapatam, has been found among his papers:—  
“Thursday the 10th of Bazi in the night, the Sun being in the sign of Dalloo (Aquaris) about 12 o'clock a lot of rain has fallen so that the ground was very wet. In the evening the order was given to beat the drums three hours before dawn. The signal for departure was already given; by the grace of God and the help of All-Powerful we set out on Friday on the 11th of the month of Bazi. My followers entered the camp in the year 1226 of the birth of Mahomet corresponding to the 9th of Ranzam 1213 of the Hegira. This falling of rain is a very happy omen.” What we said regarding the rainy season in this part of India should be recalled. The shock of the elements and the flooding of the rivers of Mysore could put a stop to the efforts of the English. One should not wonder that a Prince, who was accustomed to call in the astrologers for advice, should regard rain as a favourable omen and that the skies covered with clouds should appear to him as if God declared for the cause of Mysoreans. But he had on this occasion a more reasonable cause of hope. His army was much superior in numbers to that of General Stuart. If he gained a decisive battle he would prevent the junction of the two English armies and his victorious troops advancing to encounter General Harris would be able to prevent the advance of the latter towards Serin-

gapatam. In a country defended by its own climate, where the difficulties of provisions did not allow an army to be in the field for a long time, to postpone for some days the cause of victory was itself a defeat to the enemy. But although Tippoo Saheb had been beaten at Sedesear, his army would still be sufficient to arrest the progress of General Harris. As soon as he learned that the English army from Madras had crossed the frontier of the kingdom of Mysore he broke up his camp at Periapatam leaving there only a few detachments to assist General Stuart and he marched to attack General Harris with all the troops and artillery he could find. He met the English army at the moment it took up its position at Malavelli eight leagues from Seringapatam. The Mysoreans as soon as they found themselves in the presence of the enemy got ready to attack them. The Sultan of Mysore, who in person commanded the centre of his army, gave the signal for action, by turning his artillery on the advance posts of the English. He caused 1,500 footsoldiers to be mounted behind his horsemen, and ordered them to charge the enemy with great impetuosity. The Indians whose principal force consists in cavalry always placed the hopes of victory on the rapidity of their movements. The Mysore cavalry endeavoured to shake the English army but their impetuous charge could not break the columns disciplined in European fashion and supported by a deadly artillery. After an hour of fighting, Tippoo Saheb was completely routed. The prince fell back with his troops in order that

he might rally towards Seringapatam. From that time he lost hope of being able to stop the progress of General Harris; and the Mysoreans beaten and discouraged, entrenched themselves on hills and other inaccessible positions and were only the impotent witnesses of the progress of the English army approaching their capital. It was from this defeat of Malavelli which took place on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March, that the sudden fall of the kingdom founded by Hyder Ali dates. The inhabitants of the villages fled on all sides on the approach of the enemy, carrying with them their wives, children and cattle. The terror and desolation marked everywhere the passage of the English whom the disturbed imagination of the Mysoreans regarded as spirits of destruction. The alarm preceded them even into the capital itself where a large part of the inhabitants from neighbouring country came to seek asylum. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of March the infantry of the Sultan together with his artillery entered Seringapatam. The prince, at the head of his cavalry, crossed the Cauvery the same day and took upon himself the duty of defending the last bulwark of his Empire.

On the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup> of April, the Sultan sighted the English whose army had advanced within four miles of the fort of Seringapatam. He at first formed the plan of attacking them; he had the advantage in terrain; he had fifteen or sixteen thousand infantry, a numerous cavalry and twenty pieces of cannon. He had already made some preparations but the recollection of the superiority

of the English, so fresh in his mind, caused him to give up his design. On the 5th of April, General Harris after crossing the Cauvery encamped two miles to the south-west of Seringapatam, in a position which General Robert Abercrombie had occupied in 1792. General Stuart with an army from Malabar approached the capital of Mysore. Tippoo Saheb confined himself to defending the exterior posts of his last refuge. His efforts were useless. He was pushed back to within eight fathoms of the right angle to the west, and from that time Seringapatam found itself invested by the two English armies which had united with each other. Tippoo Saheb, frightened by the preparations of the English armies, tried to renew negotiations. General Harris, invested by the Governor with all the necessary powers, demanded, as the first condition, that he should give over to the Company and their Allies one half of the dominions of Mysore. He also demanded that the Sultan should pay the cost of the war; that he should deliver as hostages his two sons, and that he should give over to the English army the fort of Seringapatam till the conclusion of the actual peace. General Harris gave only 24 hours to fulfil the conditions. The hot temper and proud spirit of the Sultan could not accept such rigorous demands. He had tried only to gain time but despairing of being able to prolong the negotiations, misled by his faith in omens and by the flattery of his courtiers, blinded above all by his fiery hatred against the English, he did not make any reply to General Harris. He determined



Plan of the Battle of Seringapatam.

either to win or to bury himself under the ruins of his Capital.

The siege of Seringapatam, memorable by the courage of the besiegers and the consequences it had for the winners continued on without relaxation. Night itself did not break off the fighting of the day. The heat of the sun enfeebled the English in these distant lands, and the nights appeared to be more favourable. The thunder of the artillery, English and Mysorean, was kept on in the quietness of the night from bank to bank with terrific noise; and the explosion of the mines spread a frightful light over the horizon. One of these nocturnal effects has been sketched on the spot. Nothing equals the sublime horror of this nightly spectacle.

The English made a breach on the 21st of April, and Tippoo Saheb showed, during the siege, valour and energy without parallel. He was found on all threatened points. He supervised without rest the repairing of all the works damaged by the fire of the enemy. The breach was found practicable on the 4th of May and the English prepared themselves to make an assault. One hour after mid-day, at a time when the sun filled the horizon, and when for the people of the country it was time for repose, General Bird issued from the trenches sword in hand. Immediately he was followed by the two columns of soldiers he commanded, and they crossed the river under a deadly fire from the Mysoreans. The English advanced slowly with fixed bayonets. Every defile and every rampart became the scene of a new combat. There was

fighting again in the town. The French rallied the Mysoreans in the streets many times. The soldiers of Tippoo Saheb all seemed to share his implacable hatred towards the English. A large number of them died defending themselves valiantly. The unhappy prince himself appeared during the skirmish, where he showed the courage of a soldier rather than the skill of a General. When he had lost hope of saving his capital, he did not think any more of saving his life and he perished together with his soldiers. Thus vanished Tippoo Saheb in the 45th year of his life. At the commencement of his military career he had acquired much glory in Hindustan. Fortune had favoured him by placing him without any hitch on the throne of Hyder Ali, and even on this occasion she did him service in not letting him survive the fall of his Empire.

After the death of Tippoo Saheb, his children shut up in the Palace, his wives, his relations, the majority of the chiefs of the Government, and the Frenchmen in his service surrendered to the victors. They found in the place 372 pieces of cannon 60 mortars, 11 Howitzars, 466 pieces of iron cannon, and 12 mortars—in all 929 pieces, of which 287 were on the ramparts. They found also several powder magazines, two cannon-foundries and many arsenals. The treasure and the ornaments of the Sultan were valued at 25, 85, 804 pagodas (1,143,216 pounds sterling.) The Mysoreans had lost many lives in the siege; about eight thousand men were killed in the assault. The two English armies

had not lost more than six hundred men during this glorious campaign which ended in two months, whose unexpected result was the entire conquest of a vast Empire which had made the British possessions in India tremble so many times. If Hyder Ali had lived longer, it is possible that India would not have fallen under the power of the English so easily. He had the ambition of giving back to the country its ancient independence, and his genius would have made the execution of this grand undertaking easy. Tippoo Saheb wished to make the attempt. For the execution of such a vast project, he brought only narrow ideas and an unreasonable hatred; and he failed. It is very common that the mediocre man fails in circumstances, which would only serve to augment the glory of a man of genius. The ambitious spirit of princes is almost always a plague for their subjects; but it is still more fatal when it goads the rulers of States to enterprises where their powers do not equal their ambition. It was this that happened to the kingdom of Mysore under the Government of Tippoo Saheb who knew only to hate the English without seeking for the right way to fight them; and he sacrificed his crown to the foolish ambition of gaining the name of the "Hero of the East."

The inhabitants of Seringapatam waited full of fear for the commands of the conqueror. The assault was followed by some disorders, but they were soon quelled by the inflexible severity of the orders given by General Harris. This moderation caused astonishment to the Hindus who are so little

accustomed to see the rights of the people respected on battle fields. A great part of the people inhabiting the Capital had fled from this bloody scene and scattered themselves over the neighbouring fields. When their lives and their property were assured to them, they returned to their homes. Trade which loves peace and which cannot thrive without it, resumed its activity, and the markets of Seringapatam were soon supplied with provisions just as they were before the siege. No one saw anything more of the miseries of war than the grief, which afflicted the people at the thought that they had lost the king who had fallen with glory and whose popular administration had made the people happy for some time.

The City of Seringapatam had become one of the most important in Hindustan. The island on which it is situated is three miles and a half long and about a mile and a half broad. It rises to a great height in the middle of the river Cauvery and slopes rapidly to the bank. The fortress occupies a space of a thousand fathoms from the western extremity of the island. The river envelopes it on the north and on the west. The fortification up to 1792 consisted only of a simple rampart. The eastern and the western sides which were considered as very weak were shut in by a double wall and flanked by a double ditch. Outworks beyond the gate were constructed; the south-west angle is fortified by a good wall circular in shape. In the interior of the fort and on the southern ramparts were built formidable "Cavaliers."

It is probable that no place of such extent required so much labour in its construction. The ramparts very thick and very strong had everywhere a height of 20 to 35 feet or more. The rivetment is made entirely of enormous oblong blocks of granite, joined with cement sidewise in the walls, the only exception being the south-west bastion. The ditches were excavated on the rocks. On the northern side also was formed a glacis of living rock, which was to protect the passage rather than defend the ramparts. The ditch to the west did not offer the least difficulty, It was made by means of a wall of considerable thickness parallel to the rampart constructed entirely of stone.

The fort contained very few fine buildings. If one excepts the grand street which runs to the Bangalore gate on the eastern side and that which runs behind the ramparts, the city as a whole has not much of an appearance. The old palace of Mysore has fallen into ruins and lately they have made it into a military store-house. The palace of the Sultan is a magnificent edifice built in the Asiatic style; but a high wall and the old and unfinished battlements, which surrounded it, disfigured it entirely. Near the eastern gate is situated the Grand Mosque plastered with a superior chimoine \* and ornamented with elegant minarets, which gave it a noble and imposing appearance.

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\* The cement used in India. It was made out of calcarious stone or shells whose whiteness and polish was just like that of the best marble.

Great extensions were made to the fortifications of Seringapatam since 1792. These consisted principally of an excellent covered road to the east of the place. They had constructed racks to guard the outer side from the fire coming from the northern bank of the river to which it was very much exposed. Many new works of the same kind have been added to parapet of the northern rampart, and many shooting stands had been put up, and a large number of trenches were dug on the ground. They had also built a bastion entirely of European construction, with faces and flanks at the north-west angle of the fort. A second rampart was quickly constructed inside, furnished with a deep moat, which extended along the north side. On the north-east angle several dams were constructed to retain the water in the moats. There they made a glacis in stone. These works added very little to the strength of this part of the fort.

The Doulat Baug was joined to the north-east corner of the fort by escarping the bank of the river and building a parapet there. A rampart furnished with a moat defended the eastern side of this garden. A good system of entrenchments starting from this point traversed the whole island and terminated at the bridge of Periapatam.

In times of peace the city of Seringapatam was very flourishing. Tippoo Sultan was accustomed to keep at his court the sons of the Poligars as a pledge of their loyalty. This made the capital the residence of the most distinguished and the most wealthy families of Mysore and Canara. One

found there all the spectacles and all the arts of the Indians, which would satisfy the curiosity of anybody. Gold-work, Jewellery and watch-making made remarkable progress in the city. Situated in a fertile country, its markets abound in all sorts of Indian products. The population was divided into various religious sects. But only the Mussulman religion, being the religion of the Sovereign, obtained great prominence and favour which, in the end, might have been fatal to the Hindus. On the entry of the English each sect had its own temples and had the liberty of worshipping God in its own way. This tolerance of the conquerors had contributed not a little to facilitate the conservation of their conquests, among a people, whose ardent imagination always carried them towards religious ideas, and who were more particular about the dogmas of their religion than about the principles of their government.

One does not know for certain what was the population of Seringapatam. But it had increased considerably under Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saheb. A large number of Frenchmen had settled down in the capital, the majority of whom remained there after its conquest by the English. They engaged in mechanical trades such as watch-making and gold-work. The trade of a gunsmith was the most favoured of all by Tippoo Saheb.



## CHAPTER IX.

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The next day after the capture of Seringapatam Abdul Khalik, second son of Tippoo Saheb, who had shut himself up in the palace, surrendered to the English troops. Captain Gerard on advancing towards Doulat Baug with a detachment of sepoy noticed on the other side of the river some horsemen who waved a white flag, came to the bank and cried out that Abdul Khalik wished to put himself under the protection of the English, provided that his person and his honour were safeguarded. Captain Gerard did not hesitate to subscribe to this condition. He proposed to respect the life and the honour of the Prince who, on his own desire, was conducted to the palace, where he was received by General Baird with all marks of attention and kindness. After the Prince had taken his seat, the General made several enquiries about him, and asked him if he had any news about his father. Abdul Khalik had none. On that, General Baird, after a moment of silence, told him that he had some reasons to believe that Tippoo Saheb had perished in the assault, and that a body which was supposed to be his was actually in the palace. At these words Abdul Khalik showed no mark of emotion. He only observed that the thing could be easily verified, and requested him to send somebody from among his followers to make certain of it. A man was sent, who came back soon with the confirmation of the death of Tippoo Saheb. Abdul Khalik received the news with great indifference. The

only feeling which the young man could not conceal under such sad circumstances was that of curiosity. He expressed his strong desire of seeing the dead Sultan, and when the cloth which covered the dead body was removed, he looked at the remains of his father without showing any sign of sorrow. When his curiosity was satisfied, he requested Colonel Wellesly who had taken the place of General Baird to hasten the funeral of Tippoo and to place him in the tomb of Hyder Ali in Coll Baug. It is difficult to explain his outward appearance of indifference; the source of all emotion might have been dried up in the soul of this young Prince owing to the alarm and the miseries of the siege; perhaps also he saw in the English only enemies who were determined to pursue Tippoo Saheb into his grave and also to punish tears of filial piety as a crime. The two younger brothers who were still of an age, when they did not know how to hide their deep natural feelings, abandoned themselves to utmost despair on learning that their father had perished on the field of battle. The preparations for the funeral of Tippoo Sultan were entrusted to the chief Cazi of Seringapatam. The English General furnished him with all things which, he thought, were necessary to invest the ceremony with as much pomp and solemnity as circumstances would permit.

The body of Tippoo Saheb was placed in a palanquin, wrapped up in muslin and covered with rich cloth embroidered with flowers of gold. The funeral procession started from the fort at half-past

four in the afternoon of the 5th of May. The bier was borne by the servants of the palace and escorted by four companies of European Grenadiers. Abdul Khalik followed immediately behind on horseback, accompanied by the Killedar and the other Mussalmans on foot. The Cazi chanted some verses from the Koran, which were repeated by the servants of the palace who carried the bier. The streets through which the procession passed, were filled with an immense crowd. Many prostrated themselves before the body of Tippoo Saheb, and expressed their sorrow by very loud lamentations. The chiefs of the Nizam's army took part in the ceremony, and the coffin of Tippoo Saheb was placed near that of Hyder Ali. This mausoleum is situated to the south of the island in a grove of cypresses. Five hundred rupees were distributed in the shape of alms by the Cazi to various Fakkirs and to the poor who followed the funeral. Nature herself seemed to associate this evening with the solemnity of this mournful scene. There arose a terrible storm followed by rain, thunder and lightning. Two officers and some soldiers were killed by lightning in the Bombay Camp and several were badly wounded.

One should applaud the generosity of the English towards the defeated Tippoo; but it must be stated that the English Historians have disparaged his memory too much. They represented all his actions in hostile colours. I have modified in this history all that I have found to be an exaggeration in the narratives of the English. I fee

moreover, that if one related only the truth, there still remain things enough to blame Tippoo Saheb for. Even if we could not admire his virtues, we could still sympathise with his misfortunes. I will collect here some traits of his life which would shed light on his policy and help us to form an opinion of his character.

Tippoo Saheb was born in 1749, thirteen years after the entry of Thomas Kuli Khan into Delhi, and fifteen years before the elevation of Hyder Ali to the throne of Mysore. His height was 5'8"; his neck was short and thick; his shoulders were square, and he was stout. His limbs were short particularly his hands and legs. He had large eyes and arched brows. His aquiline nose was brown in colour; Tippoo Saheb in the early years of his youth was much esteemed at court. Hyder Ali had already opened his paternal heart to the idea of a happy reign for his son; but when he came to the throne, he did not take long to destroy these high hopes. The more he encountered obstacles in his new career, the more irascible became his temper, and not finding through his genius means to conquer these difficulties, he had very often recourse to acts of tyranny. His pride was only a childish vanity, and his ambition came near to delirium. He was not without some nobility in his sentiments. He belonged to that small group of persons who could never put up with reverses, and who in adversity would not fall much lower than in their good fortune. He often spoke at his Council Board as follows:— "The sentiment of honour

must be the predominant one in the soul of a prince, and if he had been defeated by a superior enemy he ought not to rest until he had wreaked vengeance on him". "To preserve" he added, "the memory of my misfortune, I have given up lying down on a bed of cotton; and I will not sleep on a bed of down until I shall be victorious" He was always inflexible in his hatred. Happy he would have been, if he could have shown the same constancy in the choice of his means and in his attachment to his faithful ministers!

Especially during the last days, he appeared to follow no impulse but the whim of the moment. It would be difficult to find any fixed principle according to which he guided his conduct. Every year, often each month, saw the introduction of a new system. Even before he put one into working order, he replaced it by another which was as soon abandoned. Certain particular features of the body or the manner of presenting himself before Tippoo, sufficed to elevate some-one from obscurity to the most eminent offices or to precipitate him from the heights of honour to complete disgrace. It could be said of his Government that by a series of continual changes it found itself in a state of perpetual revolution, and in spite of the scrupulous strictness of his regulations, no prince was so grossly and so often deceived. He did not appear to have had the ambition of amassing riches like the majority of Indian Princes. He was proud of having a number of favourites, and his indifference towards their predations and extravagances was carried to excess.

It would be difficult to believe that his plan was to establish the principle of equality among his subjects; but persons of a distinguished rank felt strongly disgusted. The old servants of his father, commendable for their illustrious birth as well as for their long services, found themselves mixed with low upstarts, and persons of mean origin. One sees in this, the principle which forms the basis of democracy reconciling itself with oriental despotism, and the Court of an Asiatic Prince almost resembling a democratic gathering. An Asiatic Prince is afraid to tolerate rivals about him for the same reason that a Sovereign people fears to create ministers. Both the systems always dread any one who rises. Both have the same views and the same principles. It is astonishing how easily people accommodate themselves always under both the Governments. It has been said that there is no Government more despotic than democracy, and none more popular than despotism. Perhaps it is the result of a secret feeling of self-importance of an all-powerful Sovereign that he prefers those who are obscure to those who could be something by themselves. By taking his ministers from the dust heap, he made them his creatures; thus he always remained master and could undo his own work. From the moment of his accession to the throne of the Empire Tippoo Saheb endeavoured to destroy the influence of the Polygars. Liability to military service gave to these polygars suzerainty over a large part of the territories. The new Sultan diminished their privileges and deprived them of a part

of their domains. It is, no doubt, this policy which made the administration so popular, and it is, without doubt, for this reason also that the conquest of Mysore became so easy for the English to accomplish. There remained no one powerful enough to rally the subjects of Tippoo Saheb, and the lamentations of a terrified people were not enough to set up a throne which was without any such support.

Gifted with some talents fit to shine in the time of peace, the ambition of Tippoo Saheb ceaselessly dragged him towards war. People often heard him say that he loved better to live two days as a tiger than to live two hundred years as a goat. He adopted as an emblem of his Empire and as an eloquent coat-of-arms, the figure of a royal tiger whose head and whose spotted skin formed the principal ornament of his throne. This throne was one of great magnificence. A tiger of natural size was covered with gold and standing upright served as its support. This animal held up its head in most the frightening manner, and the throne rested on its back as on a formidable support. The throne, octagonal in form, was surrounded by bas-reliefs. Many tiger-heads were carved in gold and richly encrusted with precious stones; borders of silver were placed on two sides, and the throne was surmounted by a dais adorned with fringes of gold. A humai or bird of paradise was suspended high over the dais. It displayed its brilliant plumage over the head of the Sultan. It was in India that the fable of the Phoenix arose, and the Humai is still for the Indians a miraculous bird. The one which

was above the throne of Tippoo was about as large as a dove. It was of solid gold and all covered with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. It was sent to London to the Directors of the India Company. Over the tomb of Tippoo Saheb are engraved the Initial letters of the following Arabic words, "Assud Oolla Ul Ghanlib (which means the lion of God is the conqueror)". These letters were so placed that they formed the head of the tiger. The title 'the Lion of God' was given by Mahomet to his son-in-law Ali, to praise the valour with which he had fought under the flag of the Prophet. They relate still throughout the orient the marvellous deeds and the innumerable exploits of this illustrious warrior. Tippoo Saheb had adopted Ali as his tutelary genius and as the patron of his Empire. The tiger which he had adopted as his emblem seemed to have been chosen in honour of Ali. The people of Hindustan do not make any distinction between the tiger and the lion. Tigers are found in all parts of India, and it is more than doubtful whether a lion was ever seen on the banks of the Ganges or the Indus. The Arabic word "Assud" which is translated in our European books by the word lion signifies in Hindustan sheer \* or tiger. The word Hyder also signifies a lion, and it is interpreted by the Indians only by the word tiger which was the title Mahomet had added to the name of Ali. It was thus the name of the father of Tippoo Sultan, the founder of the Empire of Mysore. The name

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\* Lion.

Hyder thus consecrated by the triple significance was employed on all occasions, and the letters which commenced are ended. This revered name was engraved over the smallest things which the Sultan uses.

Tippoo Saheb passionately loved new inventions which he got together at considerable expense without any real utility. One sees collected in his palace a large quantity of curious swords, daggers, pistols and muskets which had something remarkable in their shape. Some of these arms were of perfect workmanship, mounted in gold or in silver with tiger-heads, and sometimes ornamented with Persian and Arabic inscriptions. The expense he incurred to satisfy his hobby for new inventions together with the sum of 3,300,000 pound sterling which he paid to the allies according to the treaty of 1792 had contributed not a little to diminish the wealth of Seringapatam, and had thus deceived the hope of the conquerors. The excess of expenses over revenues sometimes came as far as 10 lakhs of pagodas every year.

After the peace of 1792, some of his Councillors pressed him strongly to send away all useless persons attached to the different department of the Government and especially to cut down his military budget. He replied, "all these men are fed by God, not by me." He would never consent to make any reduction. Tippoo Saheb was scrupulously attached to the doctrine of Mahomet, had strictly prohibited the sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drinks in his state. Meer Saddukk, his

minister, reported to him one day of the loss caused to the revenues of the Prince in a few years on account of the prohibition of these things. The Sultan replied that Kings should be inflexible in their wills, that God has prohibited the use of wine, and that he persisted in forcing the strictest obedience to his edicts on this point. Meer Saddukk was for a long time the favourite of Tippoo Saheb. He was in charge of the financial administration, a post always dangerous in moments of crisis when one is obliged to employ violence to satisfy the needs of the State. It was Meer Saddukk whom the people accused for all the ills which happened to the kingdom of Mysore, and during the assault he was recognised and cut to pieces by the mobs of Seringapatam.

It is rare that truth dares to show itself at the court of an oriental Prince. During the last years of Tippoo Saheb's reign, he was altogether deprived of his council. When the Sultan had some important affairs to discuss or any despatches to send which required deliberation, he was accustomed to spend the day in thinking about it before he took the opinion of any of his councillors. After examining sufficiently the subject on which he was engaged, he assembled the Chiefs of the principal departments, and put before them in writing what he offered for their examination. He required from every one of them a written and signed reply. During the first years of his reign he had derived much benefit from this manner of consultation. But when the difficulties of his reign multiplied and he be-

came more irritable and imperious, he showed himself more inaccessible to the councils of wisdom. If his ministers dared to combat his opinion he stared at them in a threatening manner and replied to them in words of disdain and insult. Thus his true friends seeing that their frankness only created resentment in their sovereign, which became fatal to them, began to accommodate their opinion to the caprices of their master, and the unhappy Tippoo was surrounded only by his courtiers who praised all his plans and applauded all his fantasies.

Tippoo Saheb was accustomed to pass in review his newly enlisted troops every morning making enquiries about the family, country, religious belief of each soldier. The soldier who answered in a satisfactory manner regarding the last point was sure of having his pay increased. If on the contrary he did not stand this examination favourably he was given into the hands of Cazi to be instructed in the religion of Mahomet. The review sometimes lasted several hours. Tippoo Saheb seemed thus desirous of making an army of Fakirs rather than an army of soldiers. It should however be observed that Mahommadanism is a militant religion and that the precepts of the Koran are very good for infusing, if not courage, at least enthusiasm among the soldiers. It should be observed that Tippoo Saheb either through policy or on account of his principles gave a religious colour to all his important enterprises. It was in the name of Mahomet that he invited the principal

Powers in Hindustan to join together against the English, and the Europeans and his other rivals in Hindustan were always spoken of in his councils as infidels, before being introduced to his armies as their enemies. Tippoo Saheb was well-instructed in the dogmas of his religion and sometimes he had very learned conversations on the subject with the principal Cazi of Seringapatam, who had as much influence as the confessors of our Catholic Princes.

The Sultan of Mysore was a very hard-working Prince. He led a very active life. He attended to all the important affairs himself, but he carried into them a spirit of detail which prejudiced perhaps the whole of his policy. The cares of his Empire did not hinder him from writing all the particulars with the most minute exactitude. He put down not only all the details of his life but also all the impressions which the events made on his lively imagination. On examining the papers found in his library which contained about 2,000 volumes, it is not a little surprising to find there the register of his dreams. This singular production formed one volume. The Sultan concealed his work with the greatest care and he was occupied with it only when he was alone. The Marquis of Wellesley had caused certain fragments of this curious collection to be copied. We will now give some of these, translated literally.

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## Dreams.

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On the 12th of the month of Beranrec of the year Hernsen, 1124 of the birth of Mahomet, (corresponding to about 19th May 1796) in the night of Thursday, the day following being Friday towards dawn the servant of God had a dream.

It seems to me as though some one came to announce to me the arrival of a Frenchman of high rank. I sent for him and he came; and when he came I was pressed with business. When he approached the throne I saw him and I rose to embrace him. I asked him to sit down and informed myself about his health and it appeared to me that the Christian said to me "I have come with ten thousand men for the service of God-given Sircar (Koodo Dand Sircar.) I have disembarked them on the sea-shore. These are brave men robust and young: Having left them all on the shore, I come to present myself." And it seemed that I told him "that is good. By the grace of God all these preparations for the war are made and all the believers in Islam have decided, tribe by tribe, to carry on this sacred war." At this moment, the day dawned and I awoke from the sacred dream.

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## The Second Dream.

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At the beginning of the night of Sunday, the day following being Monday, the 2nd of the month

of Zankree of the year of Sauz, which corresponds to the 3rd of Jemandic OoSany (about the 21st November 1797) I had a dream. It seemed to me that some one brought before me three silver caskets full of fresh dates of a very good kind. These dates were, each one, of the length of a palm, fresh and full of juice and they assured me that they came from my garden. At this moment I awoke. It was day. The servant of God had it interpreted. They told him, it signified that by the grace of the Most High the power of three Kafirs (infidels) would pass into my hands. On the third of the month came the news of the death of Nizam Ali.

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### **The Third Dream.**

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The 21st of the Hydery &c., (one cannot be very sure of the date, but it appears that it is about the year 1786, Tippoo being at war against the Mahrattas and the Nizam), at the place where I stopped, on the side far from Tungabhadra, I had a dream. It seemed to me that it was the Day of Judgment when every one thinks only of himself without being encumbered with others. A stranger of an imposing aspect, with big eyes, shining colour, a long beard and moustaches came to me and took my hand and said to me. "Knowest thou who I am?" I told him "No"; and he replied, "I am Morteza Ali (Son-in-law of Mahomet.) The Prophet of God has said, and says again that he

does not wish to set his foot in Paradise without thee; that he will await thee, and that he wishes to enter into Paradise with thee." I was transported with joy and I awoke. God is all powerful and the Prophet is my intercessor; I am satisfied.

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### Fourth Dream.

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The night which preceded the attack of the Mahrattas, at Shansor, the army being encamped at (name being illegible), the 6th of the month Kosravee (date unknown, but probably about the year 1786), in the night of Tuesday of the year..... I had a dream. It seemed to me that I beheld a young man of a beautiful figure who sat down by me. And it seemed that I flirted with him as with a woman and I said to myself, "But I am not accustomed to banter thus with a man". Then this young man got up and walked a few paces, then let fall her hair from under the turban; afterwards untying the cordons of her robe the bosom showed itself; and I saw that it was a woman. Immediately I called her and requested her to sit down, and I said to her, "Since I have at first jested with thee as with a woman, and since now I see that you are in reality a woman dressed as a man, my conjectures are not faulty." In the midst of my discourse the day appeared and I awoke. I related my dream and they interpreted it by saying that it signified that the Mahrattas had put on the dress of a man

but they had the character of woman. By the grace of God and the help of his Prophet on the 15th of the month and the year above mentioned, on the Saturday morning, I attacked the army of the infidels by surprise, and I advanced myself with two or three hundred men. I penetrated into their camp driving them back up to the tent of Hurry-Punc-Pharkiak and they fled away like women.

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### **Fifth Dream.**

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The 8th of the month of Janfred of the year Shuttuh of the birth of Mahomet (it is difficult to fix precisely the date, but this should be about the month of July or August 1791) at the beginning of Luthim, in the Durreat Baug, I had a dream. It seemed to me that I saw near a wood, a battle with the Christians; their whole army was dispersed, put to flight and, by the grace of God, the army of Ah-medy Sircar was victorious. The Nau-Sirdar of the infidels with a small number of Christians retired into a house and closed the gates to hold themselves out there; and I asked my people what should be done. They counselled me to break open the gates so as not to damage the house which was well decorated. I told them that the house was built of stone and mortar and that it was necessary to set it on fire to burn the gates and to destroy all the

Christians and their muskets. Then the day dawned and I awoke.

By the grace of God may this be realised!

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### **Sixth Dream.**

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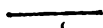
7th of the month of Janfred of the year Shandaub 1217 of the birth of Mahomet (about the month of August 1790) being encamped at Sulaumabad, in front of the entrenchments of Ram-Nayers and after the evening prayers I invoked the Divinity in these terms. "O God, these damned infidels don't observe the fast and prayers (in use among the Mussulmans); convert them to the faith so that the religion of the Prophet might acquire more force". In the course of the night towards morning, I had a dream. "It seemed to me that the army of Ahmedy Sircar after crossing the woods and defiles was encamped on the route. Very near the camp I saw a cow with its calf resembling a tiger with large stripes; its habit, its teeth, &c., were those of a tiger. Its fore-limbs were like those of a cow, and the hind ones were lacking; its fore-limbs were shaking vigorously. Before investigating it well, I returned to camp and ordered several persons to accompany me hoping with the aid of God to approach this cow in the shape of a tiger and to cut it and its young one to pieces. I ordered them to saddle two grey horses and to bring them with themselves. At this moment the day dawned and I awoke.

I interpreted the dream thus in my mind. I believe that the Christians resembled the cows with

their calves in tiger forms and that with the help of God and of His Holy Prophet (Mahomet) they could be easily subdued and that all the impious Christians would be destroyed. The movements of the fore-limbs were their vain efforts to resist us. The lack of the hind-limbs was the proof that they would get no help and that the Mussulmans would have nothing to fear. May it please God to bring it about thus.



The narrative  
of an apparition communicated  
TO  
TIPPOO SAHEB.



Meer Nasin Ali, Abdul Kudoos, and Meer Meeran on the 21st of the month of Zachery of the year Shedab, 1226 of the birth of Mahomet (corresponding to the 20th December 1798) report that a person of the religion of Mahomet who had been an Adjutant in a battalion in the service of the Christians came with his family to Kurial (Mangalore) and explained the reasons for which he had quitted their service in this manner. Being one day at Calicut in the house of the venerable Sheik Syud with some other persons belonging to the Mahommadan religion he told us that two Hindus and two Mahommadans having started from their house to go to Chinapatam (Madras) and coming to the

place where Baillie the European had been defeated, they heard a voice which called out to them "Strangers stop!" They asked several times what it was, but as the Mahommadans did not distinguish anything the voice repeated "In the name of God, stop".

They stopped at once and a person covered over with a cloth stood before them and asked them where they were going. To this they replied they were going to Madras. The Spirit continued, "My children are at such and such a place; their names are such and such, Tell them to avoid as far as they could entering into the service of the Christians. They have money. They could devote themselves to commerce or agriculture or enter the service of some Mahommadan Prince because otherwise they would suffer misfortunes just like me". They asked him what calamity he has suffered. Then taking off his veil he let them see the head of a pig. He then uttered a word of command in a European language and immediately there appeared a regiment of pigs in a line whom he drilled.

Afterwards he resumed his veil and approaching them told them his story in these words:—"I commanded the Europeans under Baillie. During the battle I fired at the Mahommadans and having loaded a second time I commanded my men to fire again, in the Christian language, while I felt my head cut off with a sword. Instead of uttering on the battlefield the Kulmesh Sheaden (or the profession of faith in one God and the mission of the

Prophet) the same word of command was on my tongue. Immediately I was transformed into a pig and these other pigs are those who shot at the Mahommadans". -----

During the last twenty four days of the siege, Tippoo Sultan established his residence in the Cullali Deedy, which was near a gate by which one entered by the river, and near the rampart on the northern side. This gate had been constructed by the Delawai or the regent of Mysore, Deo Raja about 80 years ago. Tippoo had made a wall on the bank of the river in 1793. There he resided during the siege in a small terrace built of stone, shut off by curtains and forming a small apartment. Not far from there, were four small tents for his servants and for his equipage. He had no longer the show of his power or the manner of living, which he had before. He employed all his time in giving orders relative to his troops and in supervising the defence of the place. It appeared, according to his conversation, that he was determined to defend Seringapatam to the last. He was often heard to say that since a man died only once it did not matter to him what moment he happened to finish his career. The Mahommadan and the Brahmin astrologers informed the Sultan that the 4th of May being the last day of the Lunar month was a critical time. Before 9 o'clock in the morning of that day the Brahmins went to him at Cullali Deedy and told him again about their bad omens. The Sultan, alarmed on account of their forebodings, returned to the palace at

10 o'clock and made offerings to the Brahmins to appease the irritated Heavens. He gave to the Shinassee of Chinapatam an elephant, a bushel of oil seeds which one called Teel in India and two hundred rupees. He gave to other Brahmins a black ox, a female buffalo and a male buffalo, a black sheep, a dress of coarse black cloth, a bonnet of the same stuff, nine rupees and an iron pot full of oil. Before presenting this vessel of iron he stooped forward so as to see his image reflected on the surface of the oil. This is the ceremony usual in India in order to drive away misfortunes which one believes to be imminent. He then sent away the Brahmins and engaged them to pray for the prosperity of his Empire. It was very surprising as the Sultan was a zealous follower of the religion of Mahomet who regarded the Brahmins as infidels. After this ceremony Tippoo left his palace for the last time and returned in a palanquin to Cullali Deedy. There he found two of his officers who told him that the besiegers were preparing for an assault and that they intended to attack the same or the following night. Tippoo did not believe in the possibility of an attack during the day. It was the view which he had already expressed to Syed Goffar the same morning on the information, which this officer had given him, that four or five thousand Europeans were assembled in the trenches. Syed Goffar who commanded just in front of the breach had also on his part informed Tippoo that there appeared a considerable number of enemy troops in the trenches, as if to make an assault. He

recommended at the same time to the Sultan to give orders to keep soldiers ready to guard it. Tippoo told him again that he did not believe that they would attack during the day; but if it did happen it was necessary then to think of repulsing the besiegers. About an hour afterwards the Sultan returned to CULLALI DEEDY. He caused dinner to be served immediately and he had hardly finished it before it was all of a sudden interrupted by the uproar of the attack. He washed his hands and asked for his sword and his musket. While he put on his sword they came to tell him that Syed Goffar had been killed by a cannon shot. He cried out, "Syed Goffar has never feared death. Let Mahomet Cassein take command of his division."

When Tippoo Sultan mounted the northern rampart he was followed by many people who carried his weapons and by two or three eunuchs. He advanced towards the place of attack; and when he arrived within two hundred paces from the breach he stopped behind a high rampart and from there fired seven or eight shots from his carbine on the assailants who came towards him. His favourite, Raja Cawn, thinks that the Sultan killed three or four Europeans.

When the Sultan saw that those who were defending the rampart were all killed or driven away and that the assailants came in much larger numbers than he had expected, he retired along the northern wall. He mounted a horse and marched towards the new rampart. He crossed the bridge over the moat, but when he arrived at the Water

Gate he was surrounded by a crowd so that he could not force a passage to enter the town.

The assailants were advancing all the time and they came as far as the bridge. At the first fire from the Europeans, the Sultan was wounded. After receiving this wound he advanced three or four paces towards the throng of soldiers. The assailants having crossed the bridge, firing began again. The Sultan received a bullet in the breast and his horse was wounded in the leg. Soon the place presented a horrid spectacle of the wounded and the dying,

The Sultan told Raja Cawn that he was wounded. This faithful seryant who had cast his lot with his sovereign, advised him to make himself known; but Tippoo ordered him strongly to conceal his identity. Raja Cawn then tried to take him down from the saddle, and in the effort they made, both of them tumbled down with the horse in the midst of the dead and the wounded.

Raja Cawn was struck by a bullet in the leg. Firing then having ceased under the vaults of the gate, a grenadier came up towards Tippoo; as he did not know that he was the Sultan he caught hold of the sabre of the Prince with the intention of taking the belt of gold to which it was attached. The Sultan who found himself entangled in a heap of dead bodies extricated his right hand and seizing a sword which lay near him he struck the soldier. Another soldier came up and both of them together disabled him. Soon afterwards Tippoo was killed by a bullet which penetrated his temples. Raja

Cawn the only person living to-day who had accompanied the Sultan on the evening of the 4th of May, had never known what could have been the plan of the Sultan if he had penetrated into the town. He imagines however that Tippoo was very anxious about the fate of his family, and according to some expressions which had escaped from the Sultan, he believes that the object of the Sultan was to put his children to death in the fear that they would be exposed to outrages in the tumult and fury of the assault. The English say in their narratives that the cruelties he had inflicted on his prisoners did not give him any right to expect any generosity towards his family. -

Some soldiers, having lost their way in the night of the 6th of April, were made prisoners, taken before Tippoo Sultan and put to death in the most inhuman manner during the last days of the siege. They were shut up in a prison during the night and taken to the palace called the Stables of Hackery. There their bodies were firmly attached; some had their necks twisted and others were put to death after suffering the most cruel agonies of pain. The executioners employed for this barbarous tortures were the Jetties, a Hindu Caste who are well known for their feats of strength. The dead bodies of these unhappy prisoners were then carried outside the fort to be buried. The English give out as the motive for the designs of Tippoo the fear of a reprisal, but this horrible design which people think he had against his family is not at all proved: and even if the Prince had conceived the design of

which people speak, it ought to be attributed to despair rather than to fear.

Towards the night Major General Baird in consequence of the information he had received at the palace came himself with torches, accompanied by the highest Kiledar of the fort and other persons, to search for the body of the Sultan. After a great deal of search they found it under a heap of corpses near the gate. His body had not decomposed but it bore a sombre aspect. The dead body was identified by several persons. An officer who was present, with the permission of General Baird, detached from the right hand a talisman which contained an amulet made of a very fragile metal of the colour of silver and some papers on which were traced magic characters in the Arabic or Persian language. All this was wrapped up in a piece of very fine silk. The dead body of the Sultan was placed in a palanquin and taken to the court-yard of the palace where it remained the whole night furnishing ample matter for reflections over the instability of human greatness. He who had left his palace in the morning with his head still full of great plans, was there lying on a heap of mud abandoned by all the world, his kingdom destroyed, his capital taken and his palace occupied by the same man (General Baird), who fifteen years before was among the numerous unfortunate companions of General Matthews who, loaded with chains, were thrown into a dungeon two hundred paces from the place where the dead body of the Sultan was found. If our mind is touched by these vicissitudes

of fortune it is due, not the least, to the sublime courage which the Sultan displayed during the last days of his life. This story offers to the observer a rare mingling of all the most repulsive cruelties and superstitions and the noblest acts of heroism. We often see in man timidity and credulousness side by side with war-like courage; heroism together with tyranny; and when we learn the details of the death of Tippoo Saheb, we forget his faults for a moment to think of his virtues, and bemoan his misfortunes.

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## CHAPTER X.

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The English were masters of Seringapatam and consequently of the whole realm of Mysore. The Sultan had perished on the field of battle; his family was in the power of the conquerors, and there remained no party powerful enough to give them serious alarm and to prolong the war. Only the province of Bednore was for a moment troubled by Dhoondia, one of Tippoo's Generals, who succeeded in making the inhabitants to take up arms, and who tried to resist with these feeble means the victorious power of the English. This intrepid Chief had dared to tell the truth to Tippoo Saheb. For this he was cast into chains in Seringapatam some time before the opening of the campaign. When the English invaded the capital of Mysore, they found him in the dungeons and set him free. The first use he made of his liberty was to escape

from the capital and flee to Bednore (Hydernagar), where he reanimated the attachment of the people towards the family of his sovereign. The small army which he had gathered without any means for carrying on the campaign, was soon defeated and dispersed by a few English detachments, and Dhoondia took refuge with the Mahrattas. All the provinces of the Empire recognised from that time the laws of the English. This fair realm belonged to the allies by right of conquest which is not always very just, but which is very often recognised among all nations, especially among those of Hindustan. Moreover, politics had more than one reason to exercise the rights which victory gives. It was important for the English to destroy or at least to enfeeble an Empire which would again disturb their possessions in India. It was also just that the allies should be indemnified for the costs of a war which they had not provoked.

Meanwhile it was to be feared that the partition of the whole territory of Tippoo would only create rivalries among the allied powers and that the consequences of such a brilliant campaign would create new wars in the peninsula. It mattered much to the English not to allow the Empire of the Mahrattas to extend itself up to the neighbourhood of their fairest possessions. Thus it was agreed that the ancient Kingdom of Mysore should be allowed to subsist and that the allies should seize only the territories conquered by Hyder Ali. The English invited the Mahrattas also to partake of the gains although they had not taken any part in

the war. And the Company gained by this apparent concession a double advantage of not letting the Nizam assume too much preponderance among the allies and of avoiding the jealousy of the Mah-rattas, whose ambition was satisfied without running the risk of increasing their power very much. The share of the company consisting of the Province of Canara, the districts of Coimbatore, of Dariporam, as well as all the territory which separate the British possessions in the Carnatic from their possessions on the Malabar Coast. These acquisitions were very important not only for their intrinsic value, but also on account of the advantage they had in assuring an uninterrupted communication between the Coast of Malabar and that of the Coromandel. The Governor General thought it necessary to add to these acquisitions the forts and posts which commanded all the passes over the ghats. The possession of the Ghats by itself did not form a sufficient barrier for the inhabitants of the valleys against those who possessed the heights. This acquisition became after all more important to the English, as they could take measures against the turbulent spirit of the Polygars and other rebellious and discontented subjects in the Carnatic and on the Malabar Coast. Finally the last addition, which the Governor thought necessary to make to the territories of the Company, and which the allies had neither the interest nor the power to prevent was the fortress, the island, and the city of Seringapatam. This possession safeguarded the communication between the two coasts and

consolidated the line of defence on all sides. The Nizam obtained in the partition the Districts of Goolu and Gureumondah on the borders of the territories which he had acquired at the peace of 1792. He added to it an extent of territory whose boundary line extended along the line of Chitteldroog, Sera, Hundidrug, and Kolar leaving the fortresses to the south to form the frontier of the new government of Mysore.

As to the Mahrattas it was resolved to reserve for them a portion of the territory whose revenue did not exceed two-thirds and was not below half of the revenues which would enrich the company, deducting on each side the costs of the war. The share of the Mahrattas comprised Harponelly, Soonda, Cenaapondy, part of the district of Chitteldrug, a part of Bednore beyond the ghats and certain other districts. But the frontier strongholds of Bednore and of Chitteldrug remained with the Mysore Government for its defence.

The territories which were not included in this partition were to have for their northern boundary a strong line of fortified heights and posts forming a strong barrier towards the southern boundary of the Nizam and of the Mahrattas, starting from Pregarore in the east up to Bednore in the western side of the Ghats. On the east, on the west and on the south it was to be surrounded by the territories of the Company. But even there these advantages did not fulfil all the hopes of the English, whose chief interest in the treaty was to assure their pre-eminence in India and to safe-guard themselves

from the invasions of the powers who could one day be their rivals in these lands. They demanded that the realm of Mysore which they had reinstated should be governed under their immediate protection. They thus found the means of having a vassal whose revenues would in a large measure flow towards their coffers as subsidies, and whose kingdom would form a useful barrier between their frontiers and those of other powers who might one day contest their supremacy. When they had agreed that they should allow the kingdom of Mysore to subsist, a question presented itself to the allies which the circumstances rendered difficult to solve. It was the question of deciding which family should be placed on the throne. Their eyes rested on the children of Tippoo Saheb and on the family of the old Kings who still resided at Seringapatam. Should the English depose the dynasty which they had found in possession of the throne, or confirm the usurpation of the Mahomedans to the perpetual exclusion of the legitimate sovereign of the Kingdom? The usurpation did not date from a long time; but it had lasted sufficiently long to destroy almost entirely the Indian House of Mysore and to accustom it to its humble condition. While the sons of Tippoo Sultan, born to be Kings and brought up in the pomp and magnificence of oriental courts in the expectation of power and sovereignty, would be very sensitive to the change of fortune and to the unexpected destruction of their brilliant hopes. From this point of view it would be more conformable to the principles of humanity

to give the crown back to the family of Tippoo Sahib, on making sure of a good treatment of the family of Mysore. On the other hand justice required that they should give to the family of the Raja the exercise of the rights which were usurped by Hyder Ali. But it was neither humanity nor justice which ruled the determination of their policy. The English saw in the preservation of the family of Tippoo Sultan an eternal subject of intestine quarrels and foreign wars. They feared that the children of the Sultan had adopted the spirit and the policy of the father, and that they would try only to reconquer the provinces divided among the allies. They saw on the contrary, that in the family of the Raja there were only sentiments of resignation and of submission to the law which they would impose on it. They feared that as regards the children of Tippoo the regret of having lost the greater part of their domains would excite their resentment against the English. On the other hand his recognition would attach the Raja to his benefactors. The family of Tippoo Sahib could see in the English only enemies who had deprived them of a great part of their power, but the Hindu Royal Family on the contrary would regard the victors as their generous liberators who gave back to them the kingdom which they had lost. These reasons of policy rather than the principles of justice decided the Governor to make his choice fall upon the family of the Raja. He accorded at the same time an honourable treatment to the family of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib. He

treated with the same liberality all the Mahomedan Officers and the Grandees of the State, as well as the families of all those who had perished during the war. We are forced to applaud here the generosity of the English. By treating the subject and the citizen differently they honoured humanity as such while violating the rights of States; and if their policy forced them to show little generosity towards their rival States or enemies, they have sometimes shown in their behaviour towards individuals a sort of nobility worthy to make amends even for their excesses.

The family of Tippoo Saheb was conducted to Vellore, where they were treated with all the considerations due to their unfortunate position. Not one of their servants or nobles was either punished or ill-treated. Many of the Indians attached to Tippoo Saheb were consulted in the organisation of the new Government, and the change of dynasty did not mean a complete revolution in the Mysore court. The heir to the Rajas ruled over the ruins of a vast Empire, and still saw round him many persons who had contributed to the splendour of the reign of Hyder Ali.

It would not be useless to trace here the origin of the realm of Mysore. An account of the Deccan relates that five Mussulman Princes usurped the sovereign power in their respective States. Their descendants incited by their thirst for conquests and by the intolerant spirit of their religion formed a confederacy and declared a war of destruction against Rama Raye, the Hindu King of Bejanagar,

This prince was killed in a pitched battle which took place at Tellicotale on the banks of the Kistna, in 1565. This event gave rise to intestine dissensions for the succession to the crown. The Naiks or Governors of the big Provinces, took advantage of this to declare themselves independent. Such was the origin of the modern principality of Mysore.

But since the capture of Seringapatam various sources of information obtained from the city have informed us that in the year 1600, Raye Worrear was only a petty chief of Mysore who ruled over thirty-one mouras or villages. At this time Mysore was tributary to the Raja of Chickraipatam, the capital of a petty Hindu principality dependent on the Emperors of Anagoondy. The island of Seringapatam belonged to the principality and did not form part of Mysore.

Chickraipatam is situated on the northern bank of the Cauvery, about three miles to the east of Seringapatam. The Raja named Sri Ranga Rail died in 1610 without issue, and Raye Worrear whom we have mentioned, renowned for his cleverness and estimable qualities, was nominated to the hereditary soubadie of Chickraipatam by a decree of the reigning Raja of Anagoondy. After this time the family which ascended the throne of Mysore has never been crowned. That is why this is considered as the origin of the Kingdom of Mysore, though it may not be that of the family.

Raye Worrear died in 1618, and had for his successor his grandson Chiamu-Raye who built, for the first time, a small fort on the island of

**Seringapatam.** It is said that its eastern front was occupied in the middle by the fort Actnet, and later on by the site of the palace of the Sultan. Chiamu Raye made some additions to the temple of Sri Ranga Swamy and built a few villages. He died in 1633 and was succeeded by his son Jimmeric Raye. This Prince lived only a few months and they chose as his successor, according to the custom in the Royal family of Mysore, one from among the male children of the House, a young Prince named Rams-Caulerwa Narsa-Raye. This Raja made extensions of his territory to Seringapatam, built the temple of Narasuma Swami, and constructed the foundation of Harasambady near Nunjecode. He struck many gold coins to which he gave his name, and made several conquests. To the north he extended his dominions up to Muddugury; in the south as far as Chickengury; in the east towards Bangalore and Ossoor; and in the west up to Hassen and Bellor. He was renowned for his personal courage and for his strength of body. The story is told how the Raja of Trichinopoly having published a challenge to personal combat, fixed it to the gates of his capital. Caulerwa went there in disguise fought with the rival and defeated him. He died in 1660.

Caulerwa was succeeded by his son Dodadewa Raye who died after a reign of fourteen years. His son named Chiek Deva Raye succeeded him. During the reign of this prince the frontiers of Mysore were pushed forward to Karur on the east and Warter in the west. In a single day he made himself

master of nine forts. This gave him the name of Nou Voltah Narna which means the nine fortresses of Narna. It is also said that this surname signifies the nine crores of Narna in allusion to his riches. His reputation travelled as far as the king of Delhi who conferred on him the title of Raja Juggah Deoo. He made many financial and other regulations which served as models to all the establishments of Mysore. He constructed the two great aqueducts which are seen in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam flowing from the various dams put across the river Cauvery between the village of Cannambady and the river Cauvery. These water-works have for their object the amelioration of the cultivation, and serve to fertilise the lands which extend to the Cauvery, and which without this help would have remained absolutely sterile. It formed a large number of curves on account of which it followed in a slow and imperceptible course, across a country uneven on both sides of the river, for a distance of more than three hundred English miles. Engineers estimate the total length of these aqueducts to be more than ninety English miles. He constructed also the bridge of Mysore. This famous Raja died in 1705 and was succeeded by his son Cauterwa Narsa Raja who was a mute from birth. The Government of the country was entrusted to two brothers named Thirumulaingar and Shinga Pernaloo, until his death in 1716. His son Doda Kistna Raye succeeded him and had the reputation of a good king. He added Maggeri to his dominions and died in 1733 without issue. His

successor Chiamu Raye was chosen according to the custom of the kingdom. The Government was confided to Devah Rajahieh a sort of Mayor of the Palace. This man confined his master Chiamu Raye on the top of Capool Droog where he died in 1736 having drunk water from a poisoned well.

This prince having left no issue Chick Kistna Raye was elected according to the ancient usage to succeed him, and as he was only three years old Devah Rajahieh assumed the title and the functions of Delaway or Prime Minister and appointed his son Nunda Raye as Sarvadhikar or Commander-in-Chief. He appeared to be guided rather by his passions than by principles of prudence, as he did not share at all in the public esteem which his father enjoyed. Soon he succeeded his father as Delaway and left to his master only the shadow of power. During his reign Dewan-Hully and Dindegut were added to the Empire of Mysore. After this the Raja became a State prisoner and died in 1766 aged 33. Hyder who was then at Cōmbatore placed Nunda Raye the son of Chick Kistna Raye on the throne with all the usual ceremonies.

This prince died in 1771 and was succeeded by his youngest brother Chiaum Raye who was placed on the throne by the orders of Hyder Ali. Chiaum Raye died at the age of 14 without an issue. On this occasion Hyder brought together eight or nine young descendants from the direct line of the Royal House in order to choose the young Raja from among them. The boys were taken to Seringapatam and Hyder ordered fruits to

be distributed among them. Watching what they did after the fruits were given to them, he noticed that one of them gave the fruits he received to his brother while all the others either ate them on the spot or hid them under their garments. Hyder Ali regarded the one who had given his share to his brother to be better than all the rest of them and placed him on the throne at once. This prince named Chiam Raye was only 14 at the time. He was chosen in 1777 and died of small-pox in 1796.

On his death Tippoo Sultan did not nominate a successor and the young Raja of Mysore who was placed on the throne after the capture of Seringapatam is the only son of Chiam Raye who had seven wives five of whom were still living. The mother of the young Raja died fifteen days after giving birth to him. One of the wives of Chick Kistna Raye, who died in 1766, was still living but very old. The paternal grandmother and the maternal grandfather of the present Raja survived all the changes that occurred in their family.

The Royal Household of Mysore today consists of the young Raja, the five wives of his father, a grandmother aged 100 years, the first wife of Kistna Raye, the mother of Chiam Raye, and a mistress of Kistna Raye—in all ten persons. They had a large establishment for which Tippoo Sultan had assigned an annual sum of 269 pagodas and five fanams. In addition to this they were furnished with provisions and clothes from the Government stores every month. The first item came to 2,216—8—2 fan. annually and the second to

266—8 fan. In all the total annual expense of the Raja's household amounted to 2,655—1—2 fan, or 885 pounds sterling.

The family of the Mysore Raja formerly resided in the palace of Mysore which is an ancient house built in the Indian style much neglected and past all repair. Meer Saadruck was powerful enough to send them away from here in 1796 and put them in a small house close to the northern wall. Since then the palace was converted into a store-house for arms and ammunition.

At Seringapatam one still saw Bala Raye the maternal grandfather of whom we have spoken before; but he was in a miserable condition. There was also in the city a grandson of the first Kistna Raye named Hurrain Raye who had a son about eighteen years old; both of them were in the utmost distress.

This historical sketch of the rulers of Mysore has been composed according to the information given to the Governor General. It offers a very good example of the vicissitudes of fortune which cannot but touch the readers; and the memories of the long miseries as well as of the sudden elevation of the Raja should lend some interest to the details of a genealogy, otherwise dull. On the eve of the capture of Seringapatam, the old Royal family was still mixed up with the common crowd that formed the subjects of Tippoo Saheb. They hardly dared to raise their eyes to the throne which they were soon to ascend. Such sudden changes of fortune

are common in India and they should be a useful lesson to the nations who receive their titles from the hands of Victory.

The people of Mysore, long dazzled by the exploits of Hyder and by the pomp of Tippoo Saheb at last recognised their legitimate sovereigns; the Mysoreans seemed to wait for this signal of fortune to realise the injustice of the usurpers, and the sorrow they felt for Tippoo Saheb changed all of a sudden into demonstrations of respect and love for the new Prince.

The commissioners appointed for the affairs of Mysore prohibited all communications with the young Raja during the sojourn of the children of Tippoo at Seringapatam, but as soon as the eldest son of the Sultan left the capital, the Commissioners paid a visit to the young Raja. They took care to inform him beforehand, of the intentions of the Governor-General in his favour: The first news of the intended elevation of the Raja and his family was received on his part with the greatest surprise and unequivocal expressions of gratitude. The two nearest relatives of the young Raja addressed a written reply to the Commissioners, the translation of which is as follows:—

To

The Commissioners entrusted with the affairs of Mysore, The Lieutenant General Harris, The Hon'ble Col. Arthur Wellesly, Mr. Henry Wellesly, the Lieutenant Col. William Kirk Patrick, Lieutenant Col. Barry Cloze.

(From,

Letthina Ama, wife of Kistna Raye Worrear  
and

Dewaj Ama, wife of Chiamu Raye Worrear)  
the 22nd Jeisht, the year Shidartee,  
(24th of June 1799.)

The selection you have made of our boy for the purpose of conferring upon him the Government of Mysore, Nuggar, Chistel Droog and their dependencies and the nomination of Purneah as the Diwan have caused me great joy.

Forty years have elapsed since the Government of my House ceased. To-day you give it back to us; and you nominate Purneah as Diwan. As long as the sun and the moon continue to shine on us, we would not render ourselves guilty of any offence against your Government. We will consider ourselves always as your protege and as your subordinates. The benefits you have heaped upon us would never be effaced from the memory of our most remote descendants. Our posterity will never forget that they ought to be attached to the Government to which they owe their elevation.

(Sd.) Letchina Amany.

Dewaj Amany.

On the receipt of this letter on the 24th of June, the English Commissioners informed the Raju and his family through Purneah the Brahmin Minister of Tippoo Saheb the intention they had of paying their respects in person during the evening.

Consequently they went to the residence of the young Prince accompanied by Purneah whose presence they thought necessary at the first interview. In spite of all the preparations they had made to receive them, they found the Raja and the other members of the family in such a state of poverty and distress as to excite their sympathy. The apartment in which the Commissioners were received was divided into two by means of a curtain behind which the women of the Raja's household hid themselves to see the Commissioners. The male members of the family accompanied the prince and received the Commissioners with joy and gratitude proportionate to the benefits they had received and the state of indigence and obscurity from which they were going to emerge. The Commissioners told them again all the projected arrangements of the Governor-General and his intentions with regard to the Raja. In reply to these communications the mother of the young prince expressed through her interpreter her feelings of gratitude, attachment and love towards the English nation who had saved her and family from the depths of misery and elevated them to the position of which they had been deprived by usurpation and tyranny. She mentioned particularly the long persecution which she had suffered at the hands of Tippoo Sultan. But she added that the English in giving back to her family its ancient rights in the person of her grandson, also gave her the hope of seeing her old age pass off in a very pleasant manner. She ended by invoking the Gods of India for the prosperity of her

liberators who after all had not pushed their generosity to the point of forgetting their own interests in the distribution.

The name of the young Raja is Kistna Raja Woodiaver. It is said that he is five years of age. He is very fair in colour and has a very expressive figure. He appeared to be reserved and even timid. When the Commissioners entered he showed some signs of fear which disappeared soon. The day after the visit Purneah having reported to the Commissioners that the Brahmins had fixed the 3rd of June as the most favourable day for placing the young prince on the Musnad of Mysore, it was settled that the ceremony should take place on that day.

The Commissioners communicated this to the Lieutenant General Harris who was encamped at some distance from Seringapatam and expressed the desire of seeing him attend the ceremony in person. Accordingly, the General accompanied by his suite and a detachment of European cavalry came to Seringapatam on the morning of the 29th of June. The Raja and his family had returned some days before to the old palace of Mysore where great preparations had been made to receive them. These were indispensable since the same policy which had effaced even the last vestiges of Hindu magnificence had caused the city to be destroyed. There hardly remained any trace of the ancient palace of the Rajas of Mysore. There were no buildings and they had to put up a shed for the occasion.

It was resolved to fix the residence of the Raja in the ancient city of Mysore which was the most popular place for the purpose. But at the same time it was in the interest of the family that they should be enthroned at the same place where they had been deposed and on the same musnad which was used by the ancient kings of Mysore and was to be found in the palace at Seringapatam. They did not forget any circumstances however childish which might produce the slightest effect on minds imbued with superstition and influenced by the idea of good and bad omens.

When everything was ready for the ceremony, the members of the Commission accompanied by Meer Aslum, the Commandant of the Nizam, and escorted by a detachment of cavalry, went to the ancient city of Mysore, on the 30th of June, amidst a big crowd of spectators. A little after the commissioners made their entry, the young Raja arrived, accompanied by all his male relatives, Purneah and a large following of Indians. The Commissioners received them at the gate. Lieutenant General Harris the president of the Commission, and Meer Aslum walked in advance. They took him by the hand and conducting him to the Musnad placed him on it amidst the thunder of the cannon from the fort of Seringapatam and three volleys of musketry fired by the troops who were present. The Commander-in-Chief then handed over to the Raja the seal and signet of Royalty. During the whole of the ceremony the young prince wore a very dignified look, and did not betray any

signs of fear which he had at first shown. After the coronation of the young Raja, the Brahmin Purneah was nominated as Dewan to His Highness, by the Commissioners.

In the midst of the coronation ceremonies, the Governor-General occupied himself with the means of obtaining for his nation the influence which the law of conquest had given him in Mysore. A treaty of subsidies was signed between the English Company and the Raja at Seringapatam. The Governor-General engaged himself to protect the kingdom of Mysore in return for a subsidy of seven lakhs of star pagodas, i. e., 28,000 pounds sterling.

The Governor resolved at the same time to reserve to the Company the supreme power of interfering in the internal affairs of Mysore as well as the right of assuming the reins of Government and of demanding an extraordinary subsidy in times of war. What prompted the English to adopt this measure in which their policy ran counter to the principle of generosity was the recollection of the dissensions and embarrassments which resulted from the conflict of authority in Oudh, in the Carnatic and in Tanjoor. Hard though these conditions were, they could not be very disagreeable to the family from which nothing was taken away and which received a kingdom from the English. The Governor took advantage of the moments of joy to accustom the Raja to the idea of his dependence and before allowing him the enjoyment of full powers he thought it desirable to trace its limits, well believing that the comparison

of his past condition with the present would always awaken in him feelings of attachment towards the English and make him accept all the views and guard the interests of the English Nation in Hindustan.

The Company of the Indies had acquired by the partition of Mysore an addition to the territorial revenue which came every year to about 647,641—10 star pagodas and by the treaty of subsidy of Seringapatam they were assured an annual subsidy of seven hundred thousand star pagodas, in all 13,47,641—10 star pagodas; and after the deduction made for the sum allowed every year to the family of Hyder and Tippoo Saheb, the increase of revenue from this part of India came up to 11,47,641—10 star pagodas. According to the most sensible calculation it is probable that the income from the territories acquired by the Company by the treaty of Mysore would come to 14,78,698 in a few years. If this additional income could be realised the total additional to the revenue of the Company in consequence of this new acquisition would rise to about 20 lakhs of star pagodas or eight hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Against these acquisitions may be placed the increase in the expense item to be made in the military budget of the Company as a result of the extension of territory and subsidiary engagements entered into with the Nizam and the Raja of Mysore. To these should be added the expenses incurred during the last war, which in spite of the rapidity of the success of the English, must have

amounted to an enormous sum; war in India is very expensive to the Europeans and at the moment of the commencement of the hostility nothing was ready in the English possessions; hence they had to incur heavy expenses to create the resources and the means to assure their success in the campaign.

In spite of the cost of the war the advantages they have received on this occasion—not only in regard to the additions to their territories but also in regard to the extension of commerce and military resources which the conquered territory would give them—by far surpass all the embarrassments and expenses which the Company had to undergo.

All intercourse was so to say, forbidden between the subjects of the Company and those of the Sultan by the obstacles which the hatred of Tippoo Saheb had placed on their communications. These obstacles having been removed, their place was taken up by all sorts of encouragements from the English who are as greedy of extending their commerce as of increasing their territories and to whom a new market is always a veritable conquest. Too little is known up to the present about the natural products of Mysore or about its manufactures, to enable us to have any exact idea of the imports which could be got from the Malabar coast for Europe but it is probable that the trade in pepper would get all the increase it is capable of. The increase in the military resources of the English should be estimated not only by the immense quantity of grain, provisions and cattle which the conquest of Mysore place at their disposal but also

by the channels which were opened for the recruitment of their Indian troops both in Bombay and in Madras.

From this point of view the climate of Mysore was preferable to that of all other parts of India, and it offered more than any other, the means of preserving the health of Europeans and consequently their strength and capacity to work.

(Note:—At Madras the extremes of heat taken at the hour of noon with a Fahrenheit thermometer placed in the shade are generally 73 degrees and 105 degrees, at Kistnaghiri in the Barmahal 70 degrees and 90 degrees; and at Rajacottah situated on what one generally calls the Table of Mysore, 63 degrees and 85 degrees.)

A series of uniform observations made at Kistnaghiri and Rai Cotah in the years 1797, 1798 and 1799 shows a difference of 5 degrees between the daily temperatures of those two cities at the hour of noon; the coldest at Kistnaghiri at sunset, was 47 degrees.

The bafort of Rai Cotah is probably at the same level as the summit of the highest hills of Barmahal; i.e., about 350 fathoms above the plains of Kistnaghiri. A change so considerable in the temperature of the atmosphere in the short space of fourteen miles produced by the elevated and open situation of Rai Cotah, is very perceptible in the vegetation. A garden situated in this place in a valley, in a rich soil watered at will from neighbouring reservoirs, gives the fairest produce of all sorts. One sees here cabbages, carrots, roses

of a superior kind, and the finest grapes, peaches and figs, the best that the peninsula can produce.

The rich products of the vineyard are in this land so little valued and so neglected that the English are thinking of making experiments in the culture of the different sorts of grapes. There may be in Mysore itself places more favourable than Rai Cotah. One may cite among others the plains of China.

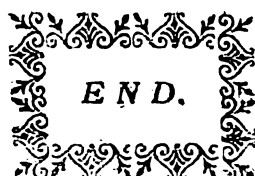
The advantages to the political interest of the English which resulted from the conquest of Mysore, are not the less important as they increased their weight and their influence among the Indian Powers. This influence made them masters of Hindustan and gave so much security to their possessions that they dare to-day to think of distant expeditions; and the British power seated on the ruins of the Indian thrones considers itself strong enough to menace Manilla, Batavia and the banks of the Nile at the same time.



Balaporam, is the most elevated in the peninsula and sheltered by the surrounding hills. The grapes from the Canaries brought from latitudes nearly similar would certainly thrive in Mysore. One could likewise try those of Madiera, of Spain, of Constance, and of other parts of Europe as also those from the Cape of Good Hope. These experiments cost very little, and if the various species of grapes were put under cultivation in the proper

way, it is probable that they would open a new branch of Commerce extremely advantageous to this part of India.

(Compiled from English sources).



*Papers written in the Persian language  
found in the Palace of Tippoo Sultan  
at Seringapatam.*

(Their papers are known to be literal translations from the original documents either by the Private Secretary of the Commander in Chief of the English Forces or by the members of the Commission formed after the conquest to examine into the affairs of Mysore. They are mostly written by the hand of Tippoo himself in his diary. They form only a small part of the voluminous correspondence found in the Palace of Tippoo concerning his design of chasing the English out of India.

It should be observed here that Tippoo has changed the era followed generally in all the Mahomedan States. He changed also the names and the designations of all employees of Government, of the division of territory and the period of the payment of taxes; those of the instruments of war and of the coins and of weights and measures substituted for them the names of his own invention. The era which he adopted was that of Teluguana which commenced with Caili-Soog or the fourth incarnation of Wisthnou (Wishnu), according to the Hindu Mythology. It consisted of successive cycles of sixty years having a particular name and it is thought that 41 years are already over. Tippoo Sultan invented new names for these years, changed even the names of the months and added therein the era of the birth of Mahomet or rather the epoch when he took the title of the Prophet. This was thirteen years before the Hegira).

# MEMORIAL

## WRITTEN IN THE HANDWRITING OF TIPPOO.

The names of the Sardars (Chiefs) of the French Nation, the five selected Sardars who hold the supreme authority in France, the designation of their office—Pouvoir Executive; they are also called Members.

The official designation of the assembly of five hundred Sardars constituting the deliberative body in France who are subordinate to the five Sardars above mentioned— Council of the Ancients. The official designation of the two members of the assembly of five hundred, forming the deliberative body in France who are in Mauritius (Isle of France)— to the representative of the people. The name of the person who has arrived in India with the powers of the Commander-in-Chief (Sardar) from the French Nation and General— Citizen Mangalore.

The Commandant of all the French ships— Citizen Serrey, Amiral de Mer of the Republic.

Name of the Chief (Sardar) of Mauritius (Isle of France)— Malartic, Governor-General of the Isles of France and Reunion. The names of three Islands belonging to England— Ireland, Guernsey and Jersey.

In the English Island was once upon a time the Raja of a tribe, called Cooseas (probably the King of the Scots.) A hundred years ago the English Raja killed the Raja of the Cooseas and took possession of his country.

In the name of God the Kind and the Merciful.

No.

This is what presents to my mind— The retention of Francis Ripaud as Vakeel—in appearance as servant—Buy the vessel which he has brought and load it with black pepper and other merchandise— Send persons of trust with letters with this French Man. There are two European Navigators with Ripaud. Retain them in this capacity. Confide verbally to these two worthy persons and to the Frenchman what I wish to be communicated. Fulfil the hope of the French Nation and demand a Christian Army. The Officers of each department should be asked separately for their opinions in writing.

Ripaud consents to the above conditions fixed on the 27th of Rubannee of the year of Herasut 1224 from the birth of Mahomet (corresponding to the 25th March 1797); on the 5th Ahmedy of the year Saux (corresponding to the 2nd of April 1797) two persons Meer Ghooland Aly and Meersa Bauker were selected to go to Europe to negotiate with the French Nation as well as Hussain Aly to accompany the Commandant of the French ships, named Citizen Sercey, Amiral de Mer of the French Republic.

No.

The Letter of Tippoo Sultan to the  
Executive Directory at Paris..... ..

(Address on the envelope.)

For the perusal of the high and the powerful,  
the magnificent and elevated in rank, the affable

refuge of friends, the object of regard, the gentlemen forming the Executive power.

May your honours be perpetual.

(The same is found inside the letter )

The Citizen Francis Ripaud has brought to my ears the reputation for urbanity, fidelity and attachment towards your sincere friends, which you have in a manner so worthy of praise. This news has put into the heart of your old friend an amount of satisfaction difficult to be depicted, and the warmth of my esteem creates in me an idea that the old friendly relations could be renewed and strengthened by exchange of news from one to the other and by personal and verbal communications. But the obstacles in the way of these desires are obvious. Four Sardars of a distinguished rank have been entrusted to the protection of the All-Merciful and sent with the necessary powers to visit my sincere and faithful friends to fix the terms of a hearty alliance.

I hope that the Sardars would find time at a time you are free, to lay before you my sentiments without reserve and I pray you to consider them as real. I rely upon you not to neglect to show every mark of friendship and to inspire in us mutually a trust without limit. May the Garden of time produce fruits according to your wishes and mine.

(The letter to the Governor Malartic, to the Representative of the People, to General Mangalon and to Admiral Sercy are the same. What is

given below is added only to the letter to Governor Malartic.)

“You would be good enough to send to these parts one of the four Sardars together with the Commandant of the French Forces and to send the three others with the two French Officers in a {war-ship to Europe to complete the negotiations.”

(These letters were later replaced by others, because of the four persons intended for the Embassy having been kept back on account of bad weather and by the fear of being captured by the English, only two, Hussain Aly and Shaik Ibrahim, left for the Isle of France accompanied by a French Clock-maker from Seringapatam named Debay who served as interpreter in the Embassy. They set sail on the 7th of December 1797.

The details of their voyage and of their negotiations are contained in the following narrative.

A letter dated from Mangalore on the 30th of April 1793 addressed to Tippoo Sultan by his two envoys to inform him of their return from the Isle of France with the following persons sent by the Governor of the Isle of France to be employed in the service of Tippoo Sultan.

Chapuy—General of the Land Troops.

Dubuc—Commander of the Marine.

Demoulin—Commandant of the Europeans.

Two officers of the artillery,

Six Marine officers.

Four ships carpenters.

26 Officers, Sergeants and interpreters.

36 European Soldiers.

22 Mulatto Soldiers.

(The letter contains nothing of interest; the same is the case with Tippoo's reply dated the 11th of May which only arranges for the transport of these people to Seringapatam).

No. —

Republic of France.

Liberty.

Equality.

Bonaparte, member of the National Institute, General-in-Chief, to the very magnificent Sultan, our Grand Ally Tippoo Sahib.

Head Quarters at Cairo, the 7th Pluviose  
the year 7 of the Republic

One and Indivisible.

You have been already informed that I have arrived on the shores of the Red Sea, at the head of an army numerous and invincible, full of the desire of freeing you from the iron yoke of England.

I seize eagerly this occasion to let you know my desire to learn from yourself by way of Muscat and of Mecca your political situations. I even wish that you would be able to send to Suez or Cairo, an intelligent person invested with your confidence, who could consult with me.

May the All Powerful increase your power and destroy your enemies.

[Signed] Bonaparte.

No. —

Translation of a letter of General Bonaparte to the Sheriff of Mecca written in Arabic, without

date, and received at Judda on the 17th February 1799.

The Noequeda of this country will inform you clearly how quiet everything is at Cairo and at Suez and in the whole land which separates these two cities. You will also learn from it that perfect calm prevails among the inhabitants. There is not a single Mameluke oppressor in the land; the inhabitants henceforth can resume their ordinary routes of journey, the agricultural work and their trade without fear and alarms. By the blessing of God this peace will consolidate itself more and more and the duties imposed upon merchandise and other taxes have been diminished. The duties imposed upon commodities are to-day just as it was when the Mamelukes came. The merchants receive all assistance and the route from Cairo to Suez is open and safe. Assure, then, the merchants of your country that they can send their merchandise to Suez and sell them without fear of trouble or violence and that they can also get there in exchange all the articles which they wish to procure. I am sending you together with this a letter to our ally Tippoo Sultan. Oblige me by causing it to be sent to this country.

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A narrative of the siege of Seringapatam by the English.

On the 7th of April 1797, the army got ready for the siege. That evening the enemy occupied

himself with making entrenchments on the southern bank of the Cauvery.

On the 9th the posts were named; the first on our front was called the post of Shawe; to the right of it a dozen mortars were placed and this post was called the post of the Dozen Mortars; the post of Sultan Petah and lastly the post of the Engineer's Mound.

The same day General Harris received a letter from Tippoo Saheb, who declared that he had adhered to the treaties and demanded the motive of the approach of the English armies and the hostile preparations. General Harris briefly replied that he referred the Sultan to the letters which he had written to Marquis of Wellesly on this subject. On the 10th the enemy made still more trenches to the south of the fort; this showed that they expected to attack from this side which was already fortified with walls arranged in such a fashion that it was impossible from the distance we were at, to distinguish its plan. It was then, for many reasons, imprudent to attack at this point.

The north-west side of the fort was very well fortified since 1792; a bastion was constructed there which allowed two more pieces to defend the northern and the western faces. But nevertheless this defence did not remedy the defect of construction of this part of the fortress, which presented a curtain of about 500 fathoms (1 fathom equals 6 feet) defended only by three pieces of cannon. Add to this the fact that the river was fordable almost

everywhere' along the side of the Dely Bridge. Thus these various reason made the Commander-in-Chief to decide to attack on the north-west point.

The pioneers and the Bamboo-coolies &c., were immediately set to work. They placed 25 mortars turned towards the powder Magazine; the village of Sultan Petah was fortified to assure the right of the advanced posts. On the 11th a dozen mortars were already parked at the post of Shawe. The entrenchments of the enemy in the island having finished, their infantry was placed there. The parties faced each other almost nowhere. On the 12th there was not one cannon shot exchanged throughout the whole day. It was only on the 13th at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon that all of a sudden a heavy cannonade began and lasted till sunset. The fire of the enemy was chiefly directed towards the Engineer's Mound. Several balls fell in our camp and among others struck the tent of the Commander-in-Chief which was more than 3,500 fathoms from the nearest part of the fort and about 4,300 fathoms from the Cavalier from which they were firing.

At half-past seven in the evening we heard the signal of General Floyd who announced that he was encamped two days' marches away from Seringapatam. On the 14th morning, the Commander-in-Chief with two regiments of Cavalry marched on Cannambady in the hope of meeting General Floyd with the army from Bombay; but it

was only much later after dinner that they arrived and took up their position behind our camp.

(It is the hour and the number of discharge of cannon that served us as a signal between the two armies according to the agreement made in advance; and to indicate that we had understood we were to reply ten minutes after.)

Colonel Gens and the corps of Engineers whom he commanded were so prompt that in six days everything was ready to commence the seige. On the 15th the enemy finished their advanced works on the western side of the fort. To the right of their trenches, close to the Cauvery, there was an incomplete redoubt; and at the south-west angle a work with three embrasures facing the post of Shawe.

On the 16th the army of Bombay consisting of three European regiments, six battalions of native infantry, three companies of artillery and guns in proportion, crossed the Cauvery to the right of the Camp. General Stuart took up a fine position which faced to east, his right towards the fort, his left covered by an aqueduct and assured by a hill in front which made an excellent outpost. From the hill near the redoubt of Eedgah they found to their joy that the passage of the river facing the projected point of attack did not present any difficulty since the water was very low and the bottom of pure rock.

Major General Floyd returned with a party of Brinjarees whom he had protected with success, for

they brought a lot of provision of all kinds which began to be an urgent necessity. These different succours assured us of means of subsistence up to the 20th of May, a date before which we should already have received the convoy from Barramans and should have finished the siege of Seringapatam.

While the army from Bombay was taking its position some Chiefs of the Sultan's army with a party of light troops, advanced on to the hill near the ruined village of Agrarum, apparently wishing to establish a redoubt there. So it was important to dislodge them, without loss of time, from this post which dominated the terrain through which we were to make the approaches and the place where we wished to establish a battery to enfilade the long curtain. Consequently General Stuart received the order to attack. This he did on the 17th at four in the afternoon.

The column was at first for some time disturbed by a strong cannonade; but the attack was so vigorous that the enemy was obliged to retire and to leave us the masters of the hill which placed our troops in cover from the fire from the fort.

The attack from the northern side having attracted the attention of the enemy, that was a favourable opportunity to advance from our posts on the southern side. Major MacDonald received the order to capture an entrenchment on a stream called the small Cauvery. This he did without much resistance. He established there at once a depot very useful for the tools and materials of the

Engineers. It was called the post of MacDonald. In the night of the 17th Captain Dowes with his corps of Pioneers under the Command of Captain Mackenzie, an officer of genius and of recognised ability, established a battery of six pieces of 18 and 2 howitzers on the northern bank of the river. We began also a trench from the post of Mac Donald to that of Shawe.

On the 19th Major General Floyd marched on Covripuram to meet the provisions we were expecting. On the 20th we advanced two pieces of cannon of 12 pounds against the Mound of Sultan to enfilade the northern works. At eight o'clock in the morning they began to fire and at once dislodged the enemy from his entrenchment. This battery although very far off, harassed the moat and the north-west bastion and attacked the cavalier from the reverse. At six o'clock in the evening we began the attack on the powder mill. It was led by Colonel Shervrooke. Three columns started at the same time from the post of Mac Donald and had complete success. The loss of the enemy on this occasion was two hundred and fifty dead or wounded; and although we employed in this affair one thousand eight hundred men, we had in these attacks only one man wounded.

As soon as the enemy was dislodged, we drew a parallel of five hundred and thirty fathoms long covered on the plains by the big and the little Cauvery both of which have banks fifteen to twenty feet high.

Having found out that the point most advantageous to effect a breach was the Curtain on the west; on the 21st at sunset we placed a battery of six pieces of eighteen on the front of the parallel and as soon as it was possible from the northern face which it enfiladed entirely, what annulled the defences of the face and of the cavalier to the west as well to the north-west bastion. We sent instructions to Captain Mackenzie to construct a battery which should enfilade the works of this bank of the river. The Captain on going to make his reconnoissance found the enemy superior in force, but having at time to mask his battery he retired in good order. This movement of retreat gave infinite confidence to the enemy who resolved to make a general attack on all the advanced posts of the army of Bombay.

In fact on the 22nd at half-past two in the morning after turning round the post of General Stuart, they attacked the whole army of Bombay in front, but were repulsed everywhere with a loss of six to seven hundred men. These attacks prevented Captain Mackenzie from establishing his battery, but the ojne of Captain Drives at the powder mill was in a very good condition and ready to act when needed.

During the night of the twentieth General Harris had received a letter from the Sultan in which he appeared to wish to enter into negotiations for peace. The General replied to it, by the 22nd noon, according to the preliminaries conforming to the instructions he had received from the Governor-

General, and modified according to actual circumstances. In place of the forts, we demanded as hostages, the sons of the Sultan and four of his principal officers chosen by General Harris. They were to be sent to our camp as well as the stipulated amount of rupees, within the space of forty-eight hours, in default of which the General retained to himself the right of increasing his demands, even up to the possession of Seringapatam. The battery of six pieces at the Mill seemed to have amply fulfilled the purpose we have intended and we added two more guns to it.

We worked with <sup>great</sup> ardour at the battery which Colonel Mackenzie had instituted in the night of the 21st, in order that on the 23rd it might be in a position to be brought into action early in the morning. To the left of the parallel, near the Mill, we placed two pieces of twelve to support the enfilading battery. They were trained on the advanced party of the enemy so that they should be forced to retire perceptibly to the bridge-head of the fort of Dely.

During the night of the 23rd, a party from the post of Shaide advanced six hundred yards and occupied a ravine which sheltered it from the fire from the fortress. And this always remained advantageous to our enterprise.

As there were many Frenchmen employed for the defence of the fort and as they had among them officers of merit, it was necessary to act with prudence and avoid everything which could retard the operations of the siege. Consequently to allow the necessary time to the various battery to be ready to

act simultaneously it was arranged that the projecting part of the north-west bastion should be mined to effect breach till we could make a real attack.

In the night of the 23rd we occupied the village of Pallelipettah and two field-pieces were placed to the south of the butte of Sultan Petah.

In the evening of the 24th we silenced the gun of the enemy on the west side. Several works on this side were dismantled. In the night we made two more trench passages and before morning all our troops there were already under cover. The river on the west side seemed to have dried up almost entirely; this rendered the crossing extremely easy. On the 25th the enemy fired only from the two round towers which defended the side where we wished to effect a breach. A battery of four pieces of eighteen which we have placed in the night began to fire in the morning of the 26th and with so much success that at the end of half an hour the enemy was silenced entirely. He still occupied some trenches from where he could harass us without being exposed. Colonel Wellesley and Lieutenant Colonel Moneytinng were ordered to take them by assault, which they carried out successfully. We took our place at the aquedate which formed our third parallel. We were all under cover from the fire from the fort; but we were greatly incommodated by the musketry fire from the circular works to our right. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and Major Coleman who came with re-inforcement, seeing this situation resolved to take the entrench-

ments by assault. The attack was very violent. Not only was the enemy dislodged, but they were pursued beyond the bridge of Periapatam.

We entered the island with the fugitives; many were batonnetted; and after spiking several guns the retreat was made without the least disturbance. This hardy unexpected attack put the place in such a state of alarm that they feared a general assault even then. We lost in this affair many men, but we had obtained a post of a very great importance.

On the 26th Col. Wallaw and Major Skilly conquered a new post and the circular which the enemy had taken. This assured us of a parallel of 700 yards long from the Cauvery up to the post of Skiliy. The battery to effect the breach was to have been constructed on the night of the 27th; the execution of it was put off till the night following.

In the night of the 28th Capt. Dowes with his pioneers established, to effect a breach, a battery of six pieces which began to fire from the 30th morning against the N. W. bastion and continued the fire the whole day.

In the night of the 30th the second battery was constructed. It was named in honour of H.H. the Nizam 'Battery of the Nizam.'

From these batteries one saw clearly the bed of the river; there was almost no water in it and the bed which was rocky did not show any unevenness, and this rendered the passage very easy. Capt. Harris and Lieut. Fargular held it in the night of the 30th with success; but having been discovered

by the enemy, that they were forced to retire. During the night of the 1st of May everything was completed and was in a state of promptly terminating the siege; but we had misgivings about General Floyd and his convoys which we were expecting. We apprehended that he was encamped near Caveripuram. Cummur-Dien-Kan, with the whole of the cavalry, was one day's distance from him.

On the 2nd of May at day-break the Nizam's battery and all the others, in all 29 pieces of cannon and Howitzers they kept on a fire so well directed that, during the day there was formed a practicable breach in the wall of the ditch and all the ramparts were so damaged that they should also have been in the same state. At the commencement of the fire Lieut. Col. Montagu, of the Bengal Artillery was wounded when going to reconnoitre the effect of the batteries.

Lieut. Lalor, having crossed the river in the night of the 2nd of May found out that the wall was only 7 feet high and that there was hardly twelve inches of water. On the 3rd the batteries having made the breach very practicable, ladders, fascines, and all the materials for an assault were ordered to be prepared. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, one battery having caught fire the enemy assembled on that side and kept on a continuous fire of musketry on those who tried to extinguish the fire. We lost Capt. Henry Cosby an officer of great merit. On the 4th before day-break, all the troops destined to go out for the assault were in the trenches. They consisted of 2494 Europeans

and 1382 native sepoys under the orders of Maj. Genl. Baird.

While we were waiting anxiously for the moment of delivering the assault, our attention was diverted by a cannonade which we heard behind the camp of General Stuart. It was a small party under the command of Purneah which had advanced over a rock and which fired from there without any effect.

Gen. Baird divided his troops into two columns which were to deliver the attack simultaneously and immediately were to separate, one marching to the right and the other to the left of the rampart. Moreover all measures were taken to attack the enemy within the city in case he resisted.

About 1 o'clock in the afternoon, Gen. Baird seeing that all the preparations were completed issued out of the trench sword in hand and in a firm and truly heroic voice shouted "Come along my brave comrades; follow me, and prove that you are worthy of the name of English soldiers". In an instant the two columns imitate the movement of the General and cross the river protected by the fire from the batteries. They are immediately discovered by the enemy who kept up a very vigorous musketry fire on the assailants.

In six minutes the *infant perdu* followed by by the rest of the troops were on the top of the breach and the standard with the English Colours was planted there. This aspect reanimated the spirit of us all because it offered at last the certainty of success to the enterprise which till then had

been doubtful. In a few moments the rampart was covered with the troops who filed to the right and to the left, following the orders of Gen. Baird.

Everywhere where there was resistance we marched forward with fixed bayonets and in some places the fugitives threw themselves down to the bottom of the ramparts and were shattered to pieces on the rock.

The three cavalries on the southern side where one could fear some resistance, were happily found to be abandoned. Meanwhile the enemy stood firm in several quarters in the city and there were several bloody encounters. In the attack to the right, the enemy having retired very precipitately, lost very few men. But behind the grand tower, about three hundred yards from the breach the Major Dallas, Allan and myself discovered three men who seemed to be dead; two of them according to their apparel had the air of being persons of distinction. One of the two still showed some signs of life and Major Dallas dragged him from under the others. The man was generously wounded. As soon as he was lifted, he seemed to be very much frightened as though he had misunderstood our intentions; but Major Dallas took hold of his arm and looking into his face said, "This is Syed Sabib". "Yes" replied the man quite astonished, "This is Syed Sahib himself". At this he became very much quieter; he carried several times the head of the Major to his face and embraced his knees in a very affectionate manner. At first he could not speak; but when he had gulped down a little water he asked the name of the Major and how he had

recognised him. Having learnt that he it was who commanded the escort of the commissaries at Mangalore in 1784, he recognised. Syed Sahib noticing the trouble we took on his behalf, showed us his appreciation by mute demonstrations much more expressively than one could have said it. We called a surgeon who passed thereby; but unfortunately he had nothing to dress the wound. Syed Sahib indicated that it was quite immaterial as he was dangerously wounded and as he must die of it. Meanwhile we sent for his palanquin to transport him to our camp. We asked him if the Sultan was in the fort. He replied that he was in the palace. Hardly being able to believe such an assertion, we pressed him again. He repeated that the Sultan and the whole of his family were in the palace and it was only a short time ago that he left them.

At this moment we hear a fire of musketry on the southern rampart quite near to us. Learning that the enemy being rallied by Frenchmen was advancing in force, we mounted the ramparts leaving Syed Sahib under the care of two soldiers. We learned later on that soon after we had left he had wished to attempt to walk and that he tumbled into the inside ditch where he \* died.

The fire from the rampart obliged the enemy to retire into the houses, and shortly afterwards

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\* Syed Sahib was a favourite of the Sultan. He seemed to be about 60 years of age. He was a clever man especially in finances, but little esteemed as a soldier. His daughter married Tippoo Sultan in 1796.

eight or ten French Officers went to them among whom was M. Chapay, Chief of the Brigade and Commandant of the French troops employed by the Sultan.

Advancing along the southern rampart, near the Mysore Gate we saw the whole Palace of the Sultan. We thought we saw that they showed great respect to one or two persons who were seated. We went to report this circumstance and our interview with Syed Sahib to General Baird and to represent to him that the Sultan was in the Palace. He deputed at once Major Allan and the Quarter-Master-General to go with the flag of peace and offer the Sultan protection and security for himself and everything in the Palace, if he would surrender himself with the whole of his family unconditionally, and to warn him that in case of refusal the Palace would be taken by assault and all persons put to the sword. And he at once took measures to take this step if it be necessary.

Major Allan carried out his commission with all the intelligence and humanity as possible. At his arrival he found the crowds of people in great consternation. He was taken into the Palace where he found only two young princes who assured him that the Sultan was not at home. He reassured them against the fears they must have, and to give them more confidence, told them that he would remain with them. Now General Baird arrived at the Gate of the Palace. The Major went out to tell him that the two young princes agreed to surrender but they assured him that their father was not with

them. General Baird proceeded to a minute search of the Palace and on the report of a Killedar, who assured him that the Sultan was left wounded during the assault at the north gate of the Fort, the General he took himself to the place to collect information on the spot, accompanied by several officers and the Killedar. There were so many of the dead there that it was difficult to distinguish them. After some search they found first the horse of the Sultan and his palanquin. At last after turning about a lot of corpses the Killedar recognised the dead body of the Sultan which was put on a palanquin and sent to the Palace under a guard.

The Sultan had received a bullet a little behind the right ear which lodged itself near the mouth in the left jaw; he had also received three bayonet thrusts on the right side. The device of Sultan to ensure the fidelity of his principal officers was to keep their wives and children in the capital. This was what General Baird also did, by sending to all the first families guards of safety to assure protection to all inhabitants. It is a just praise to be rendered to our troops that although the enemy had lost about eight thousand men in the assault, nevertheless our good discipline prevented any one in the city suffering in such a big disorder.

The loss of our army during the siege has been 28 officers killed and 45 wounded, 181 Europeans killed and 622 wounded; 118 Native troops killed and 420 wounded and 100 missing. Of the officers killed or wounded 25 were during the assault.

One should estimate the garrison of the Sultan at twenty one thousand eight hundred and thirty nine men. His loss must have been considerable.

THE END.



No. 11.

Isle of France, Port North-West,  
18th Ventose of the 6th year of the  
French Republic, one and indivisible,  
corresponding to the 8th of March  
1798 of the Old Style.

The Governor-General of the Isles of France  
and Reunion to the Nabob Tippoo Sultan,

Citizen Jacques Denis Pitcher, a writer  
attached to the Government, having desired to  
obtain from your Highness a parvanah to the effect  
of his having been employed in the Factory which  
you proposed to establish in this island; permit me  
to request you on his behalf your favour and the  
appointment which he prays for.

Citizen Pitcher enjoys a good reputation here.  
He has good manners, infallible honesty, and a very  
fine character. He is besides very intelligent,  
active and hard working.

Your ambassadors who have seen much of him,  
and to whom he has been of some use, will confirm  
you the good testimony which I am glad to give to  
Citizen Pitcher.

I feel greatly attached to you, Prince. Hop-  
ing that you will favourably consider my recom-  
mendation.

(Signed)

Salut et fraternite'.

Malarctic.

it

Republic of France,  
La Patrie, L'Honneur, et La Liberté;  
From the Head-quarters of the Isle  
of France, the 13th of Ventose  
of the year 6th of the  
Republic of France.

Megalton, General of the Division, to Nabob  
Tippoo Sahib.

Prince,

I have received your letter which you have honoured with. An illness from which I was suffering during the stay of your ambassadors at the Isle of France has prevented me to be present at the diverse-conferences which they had with the Governor General over the subject of the Mission they were entrusted with. But I do not doubt that the Republic of France will accept with pleasure your offers of alliance and friendship.

I have personally wished that the state of the French forces in India would give me an occasion to come to bring you myself, the assurance of the friendship of our Republic and to partake of the glory of your arms against its enemies and yours; but the present circumstances deprive me of this double honour. I pray you Prince to accept my good-wishes for the prosperity of your arms and the continuation of your glory.

(Signed)

Megalton,

To

The very great Prince Tippoo Sultan Bacha,  
at his Court at Seringapatam.

Grand Prince,

A Frenchman whose name is not unknown to you, who desires to be useful to the generous ally of his nation, seizes the occasion of the return of your two envoys Assan Ali Khan and Mahommed Ibrahim to bring myself to your remembrance,

I had the honour to write to you from Pondicherry in the month of September 1792 in sending you the Bill of lading of my vessel the Phenix and I prevailed on Governor Defresne, whom I happened to pass at Mangalore to land a part of the beautiful and good muskets which I was bringing for you. The General told me that I ran the risk of being visited and arrested by the English; but when he saw my firm determination to hold to my project, he consented and I sailed off. This affair has got me the precious advantage of receiving several parvanahs from your hand which I preserve with very great care.

Your Minister Assraf Ali Khan came to Mangalore at the commencement of 1793. He got the muskets and I was very much satisfied. I was paid only in part; he gave me a cheque for 14,000 Rs. on Brown of Mahe. He gave me one on some other person and I am not yet been paid. But it is not your Highness who owes me this money,

Representative of the people of the Isle of France, I had the good fortune to find myself elected President of the Committee of Republic Safety, when your envoys landed in this colony and I have been the first to testify to them the satisfaction we feel in receiving amongst us the subjects of an allied Prince to whom we are scarcely attached. But if our joy has been great for the moment, our sorrow was profound on learning that you have been deceived by Ripaud, over the forces we have in this island. The only forces France has sent since the commencement of the war is no more than one battalion which we have sent to Battavia, to help the Dutch to hold the place; and this is in reason of the help which we have drawn in money; in provisions and in ship-building materials. It is necessary you should understand, Great Prince, that deprived of our own means, we have to do something, and we have sworn to be buried under the ruins of our island before our enemies become its possessors.

I have had often the pleasure of seeing your envoys and I have in a way made them recover from the painful state into which the failure of their mission had plunged them. I encouraged them by saying that you could not have been wishing the impossible and that having done all that was in their power to do their conscience should be easy. And know Great Prince, what I tell you frankly, that the envoy who has done all he could and yet was not successful has claims to recognition from him who had accorded him his confidence.

▼

If Assan Ali Khan and Mahomed Ibrahim have not done more if your wishes are not fulfilled, you should only find fault with the unhappy circumstances, but I swear in the sacred name of Honour, that they have done everything to do your wishes and they have behaved in the matter truly as attached and devoted servants of their master.

Conferences were arranged by the Government with the Generals and three representatives from the colony of whom I had the honour of being one. Your envoys have always desired that one should commit in public only what one could not hide. I venture to assure you, Great Prince, that you have every reason to be satisfied from the honest and decent behaviour they have shown here, and it was such what one should expect from the character of those sent by you. They have observed that the pay fixed for the various grades was too much, that the French who were in the Camp of Lale were not so highly paid, but General Malarctic will put you at your ease, by permitting the Frenchman to come back if you do not approve of what has been settled here. The position of your envoys was critical. They found themselves placed between the desire of serving their master, and the fear of displeasing him. To refuse this help, however feeble, was to give proof that you are not willing to make the sacrifice of a little money. This would have been impolitic, I think for the present and for the future. It is necessary to give a better treatment to men who leave their families and the comforts they enjoy here to go to serve voluntarily in

an unknown land; and it is not little we have done in our desire to be useful to you, by having permitted these citizens to go out of the colony during war, the more as they are a set of people belonging to an ancient military class, possessing the skill in their profession. It is a sacrifice for us; but there is no merit in obliging, when it costs nothing.

Allow me, great Prince, to converse with you for a moment. My love for my country, my attachments towards its Allies, particularly towards the worthy son of the famous Hyder Ali, and my hatred of the English or rather of their Government— all these I say, form a guarantee, so that I need say nothing but that I have of necessity to look to your real interests.

What has caused this fatality which up to now has divided the Princes of Asia? Nothing is easier to discover than the dark policies of the English. It is the Michaellellian principles of the English which have brought so many nations under their yoke and which have made them the oppressors of Asia.

There is still time. You can destroy this ambitious nation; but it is necessary that the court of Poona, the Subha of the Deccan, the Tartars, the Raja of Travancore as well as all the Rajas, Nawabs, Subhas and lastly all the Chiefs of Asia should unite to fight, defeat and to drive away these haughty English. But it is essential that good faith should preside over the alliance; it should be adroitly formed so that the Princes whose forces are not very considerable might not find

themselves subjugated; it should be capable of acting in concert. When the plan is well adjusted and when the English are hard pressed in all parts of Asia their defeat is inevitable. You have been at war with all the Princes of Asia; and you should become their friend and prove to them by your proposals which make to them that you wish to be their real friend. One Prince should not grow at the expense of another. It is necessary that those who are groaning under the servitude of the English should be freed; and every one should have a share in the booty by reason of the help they have given as well as by reason of their local position. But I say again, that if the alliance is made in good faith if every contracting party finds it to their interest, the engagements will be observed; but if it is otherwise, if some one of the contracting parties is not sincere, he keeps his engagements only up to the time when some favourable circumstance or event permits him to infringe them. And by good fortune our forces arrive from Europe, we would be able to place at your disposal. If the "Mission entrusted by the Generals of the Land and sea and by the Colony to the Citizens Magot and Seguin. (the former is the Captain of the frigates which carry your despatches to the Government of France, the other is the aid-de-camp of the General Malarctic, sent to support the demands which he makes in order to obtain as much help as possible), if this mission I say is successful, what will be your advantage in having prepared in advance the means of avenging your wrongs, by punishing those among your own

subjects who have betrayed you, and by re-entering into your heritage a portion of which you have lost, because the Princes of Asia who took up arms against you have not felt that the English have become too powerful and that they are furnishing arms against themselves.

The different religions have often hindered the alliances which would have been advantageous to the various nations; but these false considerations have disappeared. Philosophy and reason have silenced these prejudices and the same states see in Europe, the Roman, Calvinist and Lutheran churches. The man who adores his creator, if the prayers which he addresses to Him are sincere and coming from the heart—God looks upon him with kindness and grace.

The dispositions of the Subha of the Deccan are known to us as well as those of the Mahrattas and of the Tartars; I feel to be able to assure you, that the good Prince Ram Raja of Travancore is tired of the oppression under which the English hold him. Raman Kesvin, his prime minister will be, I think, well disposed to act against the tyrants, but the means are lacking. I know that it is with great difficulty that he has consented to send away Magot de la Comb who was commanding the troops at Parour as well as the other French Officers who were commanding his battalions. The interests of this Raja, if I am not deceiving myself, as well as those of yours, necessitate that you should propose to him to become your ally. All resentments should cease and ancient quarrels should be extinguished.

and forgotten for ever. But, above all, Great Prince, manage the negotiations in such a way that the English could not suspect them; otherwise the prince might be destroyed and the English through robbing him would augment their resources against you. Believe my word, Great Prince. One of the finest days of my life, will be the one on which I would learn of your reconciliation with the Princes of Asia. You will by that gain the means of destroying the power of the English in India.

I do not know, Great Prince, if my frankness will please you, and if you do not find observations out of place; but this much I know, namely that I desire that you should make great conquests over the English and that your victories will place in a position of making your people happy in becoming happy yourself. This is the sincere wish of a true Frenchman who is full of respect and consideration,  
Very Great Prince,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,  
M. Descomber.

Isle of France, the 15th Ventose of  
the year 6 of the Republic  
of France, or  
5th March 1798 (Old Style).....  
No. 12.

The Condada Sercar (God given Sircar) to  
the executed Directory representing the Republic  
of France, One and indivisible at Paris.

In the name of the amity which the Condada  
Sercar and its people feel to the Republic of France,

which amity and alliance should last as long as the sun and the Moon shine in the sky and which should be so solid that no event however extraordinary should ever break or separate.

The English, jealous of the connection and the amity which have reigned for a long time between my Sercar and France have united themselves with the Marattes, Nizam Ali Khan, and with my other enemies to declare a hateful and unjust march against me which has lasted several years, whose results have been very adverse to me. It has cost me my best provinces and three crores and ten lakhs of Rupees. Chappin the Chief of the Brigade, and Dubuc, the Captain of the Vessel. They have brought me the small help in soldiers and officers which circumstances have permitted General Malaretic and his Rear Admiral Percy to send me. I keep near me the first mentioned officers and am sending you the other as an ambassador, to request you to form an offensive and defensive alliance to obtain an imposing army so that with its help I could attack and destroy for ever our common enemies in Asia. I send you my Standard, which together with that of the Republic, will serve as the basis of the alliance which our two nations wish to contract, as well as the special mandates which I have asked them to communicate to you.

I am sending with them Sheek Abdul Raim and Mahomet Bismilla, my subjects, who are equally empowered to represent me at your court. Henceforth whatever may be the circumstances in which the two nations can possibly find themselves

either jointly or separately, as well as in all the affairs they may negotiate the prosperity the glory and the advantage of both shall always be the goal. Their respective sentiments have a guarantee in their expressions of fidelity and in the oaths taken by each of them. May heaven and earth draw near and unite with each other rather than seeing our alliance ever alter in the least degree.

Given at our Palace at Seringapatam, on the 20th of July 1798.

(Signed) Tippoo Saheb.

#### No. 13.

Note of the demands which my ambassadors are to make to the Executive Directory at Paris.

Art. I. Ten or twelve thousand troops of all kinds, Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery.

II. A naval army to make war on the coast or to be used to improve and reinforce our armies in case of need.

III. The Sercar will furnish all the munitions of war and provisions to the armies of the Republic as well as the horses the bullocks, the waggons and the tents which they need, with the exception of European liquors which are not produced in this country.

IV. They shall obtain the orders of the Sultan for all military marches and operations whatever.

V. The expedition shall start from a point on the Coromandel coast, preferably from Porto Novo.

VI. The Sultan requests that the Republic should give him, through the envoy at Mangalore by means of two sloops of war starting from Europe with a distance of 20 days from each other, information about the number of the vessels and of the troops which the republic is sending to him, in order that he might begin the Campaign at once and make himself master of the Coromandel Coast before the arrival of the forces of the Republic and be in the position to supply all their needs.

VII. All the conquests which are made from the enemies with the exception of the provinces which the Sultan has been obliged to cede to the English, to the Mahrattas, Nizam Ali Khan shall be divided equally between the two nations according to their respective interests. In the same manner the enemy vessels shall be divided as well as Portuguese Colonies to indemnify the Sultan for the expenses of the war.

VIII. If there arises any hitch between the allied armies each of them shall have the special privilege of their own trial according to their own laws and customs, and all the disputes which arise shall be settled by communication between the two nations.

IX. Whatever may be the desire of the Republic, whether it is to offer peace to England or to continue the war, I wish to be considered for ever as a friend and faithful ally, to be included in all the treaties and to be informed of all the intentions of the Republic,

(Signed) Tippoo Saheb,

X. All the Frenchmen of whatever degree who are in the territories of the Sultan and those who come to it (in the future) shall be treated as friends and allies. They can come and go, and trade without any trouble, molestation or hindrance; on the contrary they shall receive all assistance and help, on request.

XI. Please send for service under me, four founders of brass cannon, four founders of iron, four paper manufacturers, four founders of looking glass, four glass painters, four glass makers, two marine Engineers and two good builders,

Given at my Palace in Cheringapatam under my signature and that of my Prime Minister and sealed with the Seal of State on the 20th of July 1798.

(Signed) Tippoo.

No. 14.

To The Coudadad Sercar.

Grand Pacha, salute and respect,

The men have happily arrived; but we still have not the thing which is most essential, viz. the letters which are on their way. But I hope that they will arrive in a short time. They have taken so much care that they have been four months en route. You can judge of the diligence they have shown and their anxiety serve you. As regards myself, I believe they are on their legs for three months and a half. The Alcarates which I have despatched to you on the 11th of the last month

have returned with the response of your Majesty dated the 29th of the same month. I hasten myself to send the men to you as they are very faithful people and I wish them to be compensated generously. The person who should supply the money has not appeared and I hear nothing said about it. I fear very much that it will be very difficult to obtain payment. I think that it is indispensably necessary that you should send me authority to receive all money that is with Merceire, at once. You should also send with it a letter of credit as I have demanded on the Republic. The importance of my mission is such and its results would be so advantageous to your Majesty that I should not often repeat that money should not be judged as it concerns great things. It is necessary that I should start and for that I should have money. In all lands money is the nerve of diplomacy and war. If your Majesty does not wish to be ruined by the English and to lose the help of your good and true friends, the French, show me a great mark of confidence by giving me the means.

I have learnt that your Majesty has written to the Government of Madras and to Lord Mornington. What will be the manner of their reply? Be on your guard against them. Be prepared either to defend yourself or to attack them. The preparations for war continue with great rapidity. The army of the Nizam should be already on the march. It is necessary to stop it. The English have wished to buy up your wakil Sadda Chide Varan, but I have discovered the plot and it has not succeeded.

Your Majesty should send a letter at once to the Government of Tranquebar through a camel-rider, and demand its immediate protection for your General-in-Chief, Du Buc, his major Felliettoz, the interpreter Dubey and for your vakil. Lord Mornington, the Governor-General of Bengal and General Clarke would come to the coast by the end of this month to open negotiations with you. If they are not successful they would declare war upon you, with the intention of invading your country and dethroning you. They would substitute for you and the heirs of your throne, a Nawab of their manufacture. Your Majesty will see pretty well that you cannot help the cause of your realm. It is necessary to toil and to negotiate to the utmost to keep things going till the moment I would be able to bring security to yourself and to your august sons. With the intrigues which the English are carrying on in all parts of India it is very easy for them to cause trouble, and they can perhaps estrange all your allies from you. It is possible that by means of big payment and by bribes, they may succeed in a new war against your Majesty. It may come about in the end that the Mahrattas would be deprived of their territories which accrue to them by the new treaty of peace. It is thus clearly to their interests to treat jointly with you so that they might have a sure and mutual guarantee in a powerful league, whose members should unite themselves to defend their acquisitions or cessions till every one has made peace and till you have signed agreement in your

capital with all the contracting parties. The English threaten you and the Mahrattas should help you and should not allow you to be exposed to defeat. The barriers which separate you from the former should be maintained without split or break. You should count on your allies as far as your interests are common and you will be abandoned if your interests cease to be, or if a stronger motive induces them to act against you or if they begin to fear you. The time is short and precious and it is necessary to prove to them your good intentions and gain over the English through greater quickness and put obstacles in their ways of their negotiations with Poona by retarding or hindering them. In a similar conjuncture, the Mahrattas should evaluate the faith of the treaties and not forget to remind the English of the help they have given against your Majesty and demand recognition of it, which they have a right to expect. In order to conciliate all the interests under delicate circumstances and to guard against the occasions when any one is found to be objectionable or wanting in good faith over the fulfilment of the treaty as regards the whole or a particular clause, and when the conciliatory means do not succeed, they should diligently arm themselves so that they could menace the refractory nation and that will perhaps put an end to all the military and hostile resolutions against your Majesty. If they do not, then it is necessary to draw the sword and throw away the sheath so far off that it could not be found and the strength of the arms will decide. We have still no

interesting news from Europe. The Republic is continuously victorious over its enemies and refuses to make peace with England. Sindia has already taken Delhi and I think that he would complete the conquest of Agra. It will be good if Your Majesty send envoys to inform him at once of the situation in which you find yourselves. I beg Your Majesty to read my letter kindly. Frankness, truth and your interests have been the sole cause of it.

I pray to God that He be always favourable to Your Majesty, and I have the honour to remain with respect.

The General in Chief.

(Signed) Dubuc Naval Captain of the Republic of France, one and indivisible.

Major Filetaz offers you the homage of his respect and attachment to you, Your Majesty.

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Nb. 15.

Letter of Tippoo Sultan to M. Dubuc.

From Seringapatam, the 2nd January 1799.

The Alcaras carrying your letter of the 16th of the last month have arrived on the 30th. 10 Rs./- were given for the present. It is necessary that you should set out very soon because the matter is very pressing. The things which you say have not arrived, have come back here without order and I have caused them to be sent again at once. Even if they do not arrive quick, it should not prevent your starting. The letter of credit to France which you ask for, you will find in the despatches. I hope that you would find the man who should pay you

the money. We regard it as quite certain; but if by chance, you are not try by means of your letter of credit to arrange your affairs and start quick, you should not doubt whether you have my full confidence or that I regard you as one of my good friends. We have agreed as to everything you have to do. It is useless and even dangerous to write again for the letters might be lost. It is much to my interests that you start as soon as possible. Your despatches have been intercepted once and they have made known your destination. This is very sad. If you are writing again do not name persons. We would understand each other always. It is thus I have written to you always. You wish that I should send you money from here. How is that to be managed, when even letters are carried with difficulty? I authorise you to take out the letter of credit to France what you consider necessary for yourself, as well as for the other affairs. After sending this letter, I will send men necessary to keep up the correspondence. I count only on Providence and I think I shall be alone; but God and my courage will come out successful. We have sent men to Poona but what most concerns me and what is most pressing is your departure. Remove all obstacles and start quick.

(Signed) Tippoo.

(Endorsement on the Office copy)

The copy of a letter dated 25th of Zaukree, corresponding to the 22nd of Rajjuh 1223 from the birth of Mahomet, (corresponding to 2nd of January 1799) in reply to your letter from Dubuc,



## APPENDIX.

### DOCUMENTS.

#### No. 1.

#### CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN TIPPOO SULTAN AND ZEMAN SHAH.

Tippoo Sultan having sent Ambassadors to the Court of Zeman Shah the following translation seems to contain the proposals which the Ambassadors are ordered to make.

“The state of disorder and anarchy in the Kingdom of Delhi is more plain than day-light. Delhi one of the seats of Mahommedan Government is now reduced to such a state of ruin that the infidels dominate it everywhere. It ought to be the duty of the faithful Chiefs to extirpate the infidels by uniting together. I desire very much to join in this enterprise, but there are three sects of infidels who nevertheless are little to be feared as long as we are united. It is for this that the union of the followers of the faith is necessary. If the Ornament of the Throne, Conqueror of Kingdoms could adopt for this purpose one of the plans here given, it will contribute to the glory of the Faith. Here is one of the two plans. Your Highness remaining at the Capital, should send one of the Generals of your Court in whom Your Highness has the greatest confidence to Delhi with an army. This person should on his arrival make the necessary arrangements and after deposing the infant King who has reduced the faith to such a state of feebleness should choose from his family some-one fit to

govern. He should remain there with an army to consolidate the new Government and later on turning his army towards the Deccan, should take with him the Chiefs of the country who are of the Rajput caste as well as Brahmins and others whom he comes across on his way to render him homage. Meanwhile on my part I would raise the standard for this Holy war and with the assistance of God I will make the infidels submit to the sword of faith. After these have been sacrificed to the sword and when they do not exist any more, the rest will be easy. Then we can without difficulty settle the affairs of the Deccan according to our mutual agreement."

This is the Second Plan. "If there are none among the Nobles of Your Highness who possesses sufficient confidence or sufficient capacity for such an enterprise and if Your Highness can be sufficiently at ease as regards the state of your country and your government, then I propose to you to come in person to Delhi. After making the necessary arrangements there and appointing a Vizier you can return to your court. The person selected for this post should be a clever and enterprising man, so that in the course of the year when he will be with his army at Delhi, he could subdue the Chiefs of the neighbouring countries. The second army which Your Highness should send from the capital need be very small and should only go to reinforce the first, so that the Vizier could march with the Chiefs of Hindustan towards the Deccan. In case the infidel Brahmins should turn their forces

towards this quarter, the hands of the heroes of faith in this part of the world will be raised to chastise them. After their extirpation the place will be fixed where I can join the Vizier of Your Highness and make arrangements as regards the conquered country.



## LETTER OF TIPPOO SAHIB TO ZEMAN SHAH.

(This letter commences with an invocation to God and to Mahomet which has been omitted here as well as the compliments and any amount of titles repeated at every instant; no European language has expressions corresponding to this oriental bombast.)

Glory to God! I have the satisfaction to learn at this happy time that Your Majesty, the Ornament of the throne, the Propagator of the Religion and the Destroyer of heretics &c. &c., employs all your time and all your faculties to sustain the Holy and luminous religion and is entirely devoted to its cause. The reputation for piety, justice, religious zeal and courage of Your Majesty so agreeable to the followers of the faith and particularly to me. It has given me inexplicable joy and satisfaction. In return for your zeal more than 1,00,000 followers of the faith who assembled every Friday in the two Mosques of the capital named Aulah and Askah after the form the people pray to the Dispenser of all welfare according to the following words of

~~the~~ Scripture. "Accord thine assistance O God to those who sustain the Mahommedan religion and might we be of this number up to the last days. Destroy, O God those who wish to destroy the Mahommedan religion and preserve us to be its members up to the last days". They pray to the Almighty to make Your Highness who is the support of the faith and of all his followers triumph over his enemies. I have the confidence that the Almighty would act conformably to his sacred promise. "He who prays to me will be heard in his prayers". He will hear their supplications and make Your Highness who is the defender of the faith and one of its most brilliant ornaments, victorious and all powerful.

Doubtless Your Highness does not ignore that my highest ambition has for its object a holy war. In reward for this just desire, the Almighty protects this Mahommedan kingdom like the Arch of Noah and renders powerless the menacing arms of the infamous heretics who people this land. The reputation for zeal and piety of Your Highness has made me, together with all the followers of the faith, desirous of opening with Your Majesty a direct and personal communication of sentiments; but the obstacles to this desire are evident to Your Highness; it is because of this (as according to the principles of Law it suffices if two persons have the honour of seeing the New Moon to determine its appearance), that two respectable persons Meer-Hubeeb-Olla and Meer-Mahoomed Rezzer, who are in the highest rank in the dominions of the

K. S. (.....), and worthy of being admitted to Your Presence, are sent as ambassadors to the imperial court of Your Highness, with letters [which according to the proverb "a letter is half an interview" could be considered as a feeble substitute for a personal interview], so that I may be favoured not only with the news of the prosperity, success and glory of Your Highness but also that I may enjoy the pleasure of seeing Your Highness so to say by substitution, in order that the foundations of amity and attachment which produce such great benefits, both spiritual and temporal, may be strengthened and made firm and in order that the persons mentioned may have the honour of representing to Your Highness my sentiments over certain important matters as well as over the circumstances in which the enfeebled Faith finds itself in Hindustan—circumstances which I have instructed them to verbally communicate. Further I should like to enquire of Your Highness if it would be convenient to you, to allow two persons of rank to reside always at your court, who would be a channel of correspondence, and a means of maintaining harmony and mutual attachment between the two Powers.

I take the liberty to send to you through the said persons, (following the sacred exhortation "make presents to each other"), certain articles of this land, as it is customary between those who are of the same religion. I have every confidence that Your Highness would accept them and honour my ambassadors by admitting them to Your Presence;

and after having heard what has been confided to them for verbal communication send them back with the greatest celerity.

(Here follows a list of the presents),

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## No. II.

(This piece as well as those which follow have been transcribed literally; they have been copied by a journeyman watch-maker and deposited in the archives of Tippoo Sahib. He had committed numerous spelling mistakes. They are divided into files and each of them has a heading in the Persian language. The authenticity of these documents has been recognised by Captain Macleod, who was in charge of the investigation of the papers of Tippoo Sahib).

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After the French Revolution, on the motion of Citizen Ripaud (see text) the Frenchmen in the service of Tippoo Saheb formed into a Jacobin Club, declared themselves in favour of the Republic of France and drafted the following Code.

## C O D E .

### Military Punishments.

To be pronounced by the Council of Discipline.

The Council of Discipline is composed of seven citizens of all grades. Four voices against three suffice to carry the law into execution either to acquit or to punish.

## L A W.

Art. I Every Officer who does not execute the Law to the letter or who wishes to elude or

transgress or who does not put into execution the sentence passed by the Council of Discipline is unworthy to command; he is dismissed and suspended from the functions of Citizenship for two years. In case of obstinacy, he undergoes five years of imprisonment, and is unworthy of holding any post.

II. Every Citizen of whatever rank who is appealed to in the name of the Law, should obey at once; in default thereof, he is put under arrest for 48 hours, irrespective of the punishment he would have to undergo ultimately for the delict which he committed, and if he resists eight days' imprisonment and in the case of the least rebellion, without reference to the provisions of the Law, three months' imprisonment.

III. No Citizen can be judged except by an established Council of Discipline and only after two witnesses having affirmed the delict, he is accused of.

IV. As the Code contains only the punishments strictly necessary, all Citizens, no matter what position they hold, should obey their superiors without demur, and in default of this they will be punished according to the rigour of the Law.

V. Every superior who maltreats his subordinate deliberately will be punished for the first offence with eight days' arrest; and for the second offence with 15 days' arrest; and for the third time with two months' exclusion from all service during which time he is deprived firstly of his command; secondly of his pay. (This Law was modified; in place of two months' exclusion from service and pay eight days' imprisonment was substituted.)

VI. Every subordinate who does not obey his superior on the spot when his superior speaks in the name of the Law, will be: firstly, punished for the delict which is committed; secondly, for the disobedience to the Law 48 hours in chains. If the disobedience is accompanied by grumbling, insult or menace, the delinquent will be imprisoned for three months.

VII. Every superior who threatens to strike his subordinate and has not carried his threat into execution, will be dismissed and will be deprived of his rights as Citizen during a period of one year only.

VIII. (i) Every subordinate who threatens to strike his superior, even though the menace has not been executed, will be imprisoned for one year.

(ii) Every superior who strikes his subordinate will be condemned to one year's imprisonment and will be declared unworthy to hold any post military or civil.

IX. Every subordinate who strikes his superior or raises his hand against him, shall be condemned to death.

X. All delicts which are not within the competence of the Council of Discipline and which belong to the class of the correctional Police (regulations) are in the competence of the Major Commandant of the Police who can imprison in the name of the Law for delicts complained of before him, for a period of 24 hours neither more nor less.

- (i). Delicts against good morals.
- (ii). Disturbance caused publicly to the exercise of any religious cult whatever or insults offered to its priests.

(iii) Insults and serious violence between persons so that blows are exchanged in such a manner as could not be punished by the Council of Discipline.

(iv). Disturbance caused to the social order and public peace through begging, tumults or provocation to tumults or noise made at improper hours without permission.

XI. Every Citizen who speaks about the constitution in improper terms, who appear to be a partisan of Royalty or of the old regime, will be brought before the Council of Discipline and he will be punished with ten days' imprisonment for the first time; for the second offence he will be put in chains for six months; for the third time he will be banished and driven away as unworthy to be a Frenchman and if his intentions aim at bringing about a counter-revolution, he shall be put to death.

XII. Every Citizen who in the presence of the enemy shows cowardice and seeks by his talk to weaken the courage of his fellow-citizens, and to dissuade them from going into action, shall be put to death.

XIII. All conspirators or traitors to their country shall be condemned to death.

XIV. All suborners, debauchers, enrollers, deserters and those who hold communication with

the enemies of the Republic, when caught shall be put to death.

XV. A cowardice, cowardice which is shown in the presence of the enemy, and which is prejudicial to the glory of the Motherland shall be punished with ten years' imprisonment with hard labour. This Law is applicable to commanders, Officers, Under-officers, soldiers, volunteers and sailors.

XVI. Every Citizen who deserts his flag in war time shall be put in chains for 20 years with hard labour.

XVII. Every superior who commands French Republicans and surrenders cowardly to an enemy even stronger than himself, shall be put to death and all those who are under his orders shall be punished according to the rigour of the Law.

XVIII. All Citizens have the right to convoke through Citizen Commanders, the Council of Discipline without being obliged to give out the object of the meeting and the Commanders are obliged on the requisition of a single citizen to convoke the Council on the spot or they will incur the rigour of the Law themselves.

XIX. Every Citizen who convokes the Council of Discipline and who has no proofs or testimony to allege before the Law, shall be punished with eight days' imprisonment.

XX. Every Citizen who accuses another citizen of cowardice or roguery and has no proofs thereof shall be punished with thirty days' imprisonment.

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Correspondence between Tippoo Sahib and the Governor of the Isle of France, the Directors of the Republic &c., copied literally from the papers found in the Archives of Tippoo Sahib.

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No. 1.

Patane, the 2nd day of the  
2nd decade of Germinal of the 5th year  
of the French Republic.

"Tipous Sultan" the victorious, to the Citizens composing the Executive Powers of the Republic of France.

Citizens,

I greet you and wish you as well as your nation all welfare. The Citizen S. Ripaud arrived in my country during a storm, his little ship having sprung a leak. As I have been desiring for a long time to hear the news of your nation, I caused him to be brought to the place of my residence. I questioned him over the progress of the war, about your circumstances, and whether you remembered your old ally. He told me about all the dispositions and the good intentions you have towards me and my country. This has made my heart very glad and leads me to make the proposal which I put before you; and I send to you three of my trustworthy chiefs for testifying to you my friendship and for renewing our old alliances. From the letter which I send you, you will see my attachment, my disposition, and the sentiments of my

heart towards your nation, which I have always loved. Think of the welfare of my country as I think about the welfare of yours.

Your ally,

(Signed)

Tippoo.

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Tippoo's letter to the Government of the  
Isle of France— (i.e. Mauritius.)

Patane, the second day of the  
2nd decade of the Germinal the year  
5 of the Republic of France.

Au Tipons Sultan le victorieux, the representans de peuple qui riside aux Isles de France et de la Reunion.

Citizen Representatives,

You should not ignore the friendship which my father and myself have always felt towards the French. I have sought all opportunities to prove it during the old regime. I have done my best at the beginning of your revolution to make known the sentiments of my heart towards you. Owing to want of facilities and of persons acquainted with your customs and usages at my court, I was not able, till this day, to let you know of my intentions. A happy chance has procured for me Citizen S. Ripaud, one of your officers who yielded to my request and answered all the enquiries I have made of him and I have found that he deserves my confidence. From what he has told me I find that this is the moment to reiterate the friendship I have always felt for your nation. I recognise the

sublimity of your constitution and as the proof thereof. I propose to your nation and to you a treaty of alliance and brotherhood, which shall be ever indissoluble and which shall indicate on Republican principles, loyalty and good faith between your country and mine, and your people and mine shall form one single family and take the same oath. We are united for life and death. Your enemies shall be my enemies and my people's. My enemies should become your enemies as well. See how I wish to treat my allies henceforth. You see from my feelings towards your nation that on getting a proof of yours towards me, I will put all my promises into execution. But, Citizen Representatives, I can fulfil them only when I see your land and sea forces arrive in India. In the last war (it is to be regretted that I am obliged to trace to you the misfortunes which my friendship towards the French has caused to me)—I supported with zeal and courage all the claims of the French. The English, the ambitious English did not find themselves strong enough or bold enough to attack me in front. They were in alliance with the Marates and the Mogoles and they attacked me on all sides. At the moment when I was on the point of defeating them, the French army which was commanded by M. de Cossignis, was ordered by M. de Bussis to abandon me. I was paying them very well all the time and they lacked nothing. What completed my discomfiture were the orders recalling M. de Lalis, who commanded the French contingent, whom I still kept back from withdrawing, as well

as Butenote's contingent, as I believed I had a just right to retain the      Since this moment disgust took possession      ple. Reduced to fall back on my own resource and abandoned by my allies, I was forced to make peace. I lost half of my best territories and paid in cash three hundred million and three thousand rupees. You see what loss I have suffered. Representatives! what is past is past. I have mentioned this fact only to make you understand that if I declare war against your enemies, I do not wish to be abandoned, that you must not make peace until I give you my consent before-hand, and that myself and my people should be included in the treaty of peace. There is still another thing which it is good not to omit, in order to prove the loyalty of our good faith reciprocally. Since neither myself nor my subjects know anything about the usages of the French Republicans, nor the Republicans know any usages of my country, if a citizen of either party comes to violate the usages (of the other) he should be reprimanded on the spot by his superiors. In order that nothing should cause trouble to our union and that amity should prevail among good allies, I added this clause, although Citizen S. Ripaud has assured me that good deportment, and the greatest strictness and respect for the Law reign in the Republican army; my officers shall also take the same steps. I demand also that the General-in-Chief should consult me on all matters so that he can take measures to bring about the destruction of our common enemies, as I know the

country, its usages, and its customs which is a matter he can hardly know. The happy moment comes when I can pour into the hearts of my friends all the hatred which I feel against these oppressors of mankind. If you wish to support me, in a short time there will not be an Englishman in the whole of India. You have the troops, and the means for it in your enfranchised Blacks. These new Citizens are feared by the English; together with your regular troops, in a short time we can purge India of these villains; and on account of the expedients I have brought into play, the whole of India is in motion and is prepared to fall upon the English. On this side you may trust my sagacity. Your enemies, as I have said already, shall be mine. As soon as you know my disposition let me know yours with the greatest promptitude possible; and above all don't make me promises which you are not able to fulfil. I nominate Citizen S. Ripaud to answer you all that you want to know from me. I shall make him emoluments worthy of the responsible position he occupies at my court. I request you not to show him a bad grace, but on the contrary to approve him and to calm his fears that he will be accused of running away from his country and his flag. His motives are so praiseworthy that I interest myself on his behalf. Further I request you to authorise him to come back to my Court so that he may serve his country, your colonies and my land. I have entrusted the matter to him and he has consented by dint of my requests, being much attached to the island of Reunion where he

had settled down. If you agree to my proposals it will be well if you would inform me what I should do for the Republic of France and its armies.

Art. I. From the moment of the arrival of the French troops on the coast I undertake to feed their land and sea forces. Excepting European liquors, I shall furnish all necessaries such as flour, rice, meat &c.

II. I undertake also to make advances of money for all the needs of the land and sea forces.

III. I undertake to furnish all the necessary bullocks and horses for the artillery of the Republican army as well as bullocks, camels and drivers to transport the things and baggages of officers and soldiers.

IV. I undertake to furnish Palanquins for Generals and horses for the officers in the armies of the Republic.

V. In case the French army happens to be in want of powder or ammunition, I undertake to furnish them.

VI. As soon as the French army disembarks, I shall march out with my army which at first will be composed of Thirty thousand horsemen and thirty thousand infantry-men with artillery, well disciplined, provided with arms, ammunitions and everything necessary for the success of our enterprise.

The following are what I desire France should do for me.

Art. I. Whatever, the pretext, the Republic of France should not make peace before myself.

and my people have given our consent, and we should be included in the peace treaty.

II. As the Republican troops receive these advantages from me, the Generals who command them should undertake nothing without having previously consulted me in order to bring about the success and the common welfare of our respective armies.

III. If the French Generals or their troops should come to know of traitors in my country or if myself or my troops were to know of traitors in the Republican army, the chiefs on the traitor's side should arrest him and cause him to be executed after having obtained authentic proofs, in order that the friendship might not be disturbed on the one side or the other; having the same objects, our interests also are the same.

IV. All captures made from our common enemies such as places, forts, territories, money, merchandise, ships, munitions &c., shall be divided equally according to value among the troops of the Republic, myself and my people, as it should be in the case of good brothers.

V. As I have suffered great losses in supporting the interests of the French in the last war, so that I lost more than half of my territories, I demand that all the towns, forts, territories as well as the contributions I could levy shall be excepted from Art. IV. so as to belong to me by right without the Republican troops having any claims or rights thereon. This is the equity that I claim from my brothers,

VI. If the fortune of the war makes us the masters of Goa and of Bonbee (Bombay), the whole of the port of Bonbee (Bombay) and the whole of the territory dependent on it and belonging to the English should be given to the French and Goa and its dependencies would fall to my share.

VII. I demand that all the prisoners including those belonging to the English and the Portuguese who are taken by the troops of the Republic and by my troops, should be treated with humanity inasmuch as they are individuals whose fortunes are entrusted to us. They shall be transported at our common expense, beyond the Indian territories to a land far from yours and mine.

VIII. As regards the partitions of the places, ports, forts and territories as stipulated in Art. V. we shall take in the proportion they are conquered by the garrisons. The Article will be regulated jointly by the French Generals and mine. In the same manner we shall be free to blow up forts which have become useless to us if circumstances demand it.

IX. To effect the conquest of the possessions of the English and the Portuguese, it is necessary that you should bring five to ten thousand of your regular troops or national guards, 25 to 30 thousand of your new Citizens, (if you have put your decree into execution) the sharpest and best instructed among them, those who could make trouble in your colonies; and I assure you a quick and easy conquest.

X. To facilitate landing on the coast and speedy conquest of Goa, a port essential to your navy and transport vessels, you should first disembark at my port of Onour situated at  $14^{\circ}35'$  Lat. and  $70^{\circ}$  Long.

XI. If you accept my proposals after having thought well over them, please send one of your vessels to my port of Mangalore with the greatest promptitude possible to let me know your decisions, so that I may know if you accept my proposal or no. To see that everything is ready at the arrival of your ship, you will find a French officer at Mangalore. He will give you all the help necessary, and he will inform me of your decisions so that there shall be no surprise or doubt. The vessels will fly for all the time it lies at anchor in the roadstead, the American Flag as signal for recognition. It will hang on its grand mast, the National flag uppermost and the.....below. My envoys will recognise it by this signal. I earnestly wish and request you that the Citizen Aubaingue may be the commander of the vessel sent, as he knows the port and the usages of my country,

XII. I send four of my Chiefs who have merited my confidence, to negotiate in my name the terms which I am sending to you. If you are not able to accept them as a whole nor put them into execution without orders from the Executive Government of your country, please send three of my Chiefs in one of your best ships on to France and send with them a Citizen whom your wisdom

suggests to serve as their guide and adviser. I send my envoys expressly for it and they are entrusted with despatches to the Executive Power and are instructed to represent my wishes before it. I could not send my own ships without the English suspecting some hostile dealings on my part. If you are coming with your squadron, please send me with it my fourth Chief back as well as the ship, which I request you to build for me with a sheathing of copper, and we will arrange about this affair. But if in the meanwhile you think that it will delay the starting of the convoy, send me at the proper season a captain and two officers whom I will pay.

XIII. We begin our exploits of war against the English and the Portuguese, but if the Mogols and the Marates join their side, we shall make war on them also. They having become our enemies, we should subjugate them and make them our vassals.

Representatives! these are my intentions. My attachment to your nation forces me to take risks just as in times past. I request you to reflect well before you make a reply. Otherwise it will create great bitterness in my heart since your reply will cause me to act according to its tenor. I pray for the success of our undertaking and for the continuation of prosperity to the arms of the Republic of France, one and indivisible, and also for a prompt response. I swear inviolable friendship to your nation.

(Signed)  
Tippoo.



No. III.

The 2nd day of the 2nd decade  
of Germinal of the year 5 of the  
French Republic.

Citizen General Malartiques,

I address to you as well as to your Representatives and to their Chief, my friendly designs as well as all the sentiments I feel in my heart towards your nation. I send four of my nobles to you as an assurance of the earnest wishes and just expectations; you may take them into consideration and you may give me an answer by the ship I am requesting you to send; which shall be according to the desires of my heart as well as to your zeal for your country. Citizen Ripaud told me of the obligation which it feels towards you, as you have saved your colonies by your sagacity. Send me troops and I will provoke the English to the idea of coming to fight them. I request you to send me a citizen to write letters in French for me. Citizen Ripaud does not keep well and he is not a writer. Relying entirely on your wisdom, I revere you.

Your ally,

(Signed)

Tippoo.

No. IV.

Patane, (Seringapatam), the 1st  
day of the first decade of Floreal of  
the year 5 of the Republic of France.

Citizen General Mengalon,

Since I have had the pleasure of writing to

you, my couriers have arrived who have brought me the following news which you will not be sorry to hear. Nizam, the ally of the English and the Chief of the Mogols is very ill, and cannot recover on account of his old age. He has four children who are quarelling among themselves as to who should become the Nizam. There is one among them who loves me very much and he is liked most by the Nizam and the people. He will have the preference.

One of the greatest of the Mahratta Chiefs, a strong supporter of the English, Madav Rao died owing to a remarkable accident. He was on the top of a building, fell down and was killed. He has no children and there will be a civil war in his State to settle as to who should rule. The Delis are also in motion. The Raja Jamacha, my friend has come and has begun to attack the Marates (Mahrattas) who have been defeated completely in this province. It is a grace of Providence. God will avenge us on the Marates (Mahrattas). Almost all the princes of India have much to complain.

They are very suspicious of the help of the English who cannot help them. They have too many defences of their own to look after.

Now that civil war has broken out among the Mahrattas and among the Mogols, the English are in no better position. The Nabab Mirsa Amania, the Chief of the Baingale (Bengal) having come to know of the arrival of the Pacha Jamacha at Delhi has commenced war with the English and with advantage. At Calicut the English have been attacked

by the Raya (Raja) Congi Ramme Ramme, Chief of the Contengri who has killed a thousand Europeans and three thousand sipais (Sepoys) in three sorties. On all sides they are attacked, all are revolting against them on account of the vexations and taxes they have imposed upon them.

On the Coromandel Coast from Masulipatam up to Madras and Arcatte (Arcot) all the princes small as well as big, forced by the vexations of the English have revolted and dispute their rights. Lastly the son of the brother of the Nabab of Madras who is at the head of a Pro-English party has had his head cut off by those Chiefs who were weary of their lives.

I give you all these news to make you see that this is the time to come. With the least effort we can chase them out of India. Depend upon my friendship.

(Signed) Tippoo.

P. S. General, please accept this small token of the esteem I feel towards you. It is a weapon which I have caused to be made in my country. Do accept it with the same grace as I offer it to you.

(Signed) Tippoo.



No. V.

(To the Citizen Representatives of the  
Isle of France)

[The text same as Number IV.]

P. S. Since my letter was written, I received through an Arab Ship the information that there exists much disorder in Bengal. The arrival of the

Nabab Jamacha at Laquens (Lucknow) makes the English all over Calcutta tremble. They are in a confusion. They cannot prevent a junction of Misra Amanis with Jamachas. It seems that they wish to avenge themselves on the English. Send me then the forces to reinforce mine so that I might also give them proper help.

(Signed) Tippoo.

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No. VI.

From the Isle of France  
6th Pluviose of (Rainy Month) of  
the year 6,

General,

Our King has commanded us to swear to uphold the solidity of our alliance with the Republic of France, each party standing under its national flag, and to perform this ceremony according to your custom. That is why we write to you making this request. This can only confirm our alliance, offensive and defensive, in such a manner as could never be broken. We request you for this purpose, to call a meeting of the Chiefs and men necessary; they should write and sign in our presence a treaty with the seal of the French Republic on it and place it in our hands. Having done this our enemies would vanish before us. This would make the two allies satisfied. This we inform you of and pray you to regard us as the sincerest of your servants.

(Signed) Assan Ali Khan  
Mahmod Hibrahim

(By Order of the Ambassadors).

For copy, Debay, interpreter.

Seals of the allied parties.

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No. VII.

Copy of the conditions and propositions of the Prince Tippoo Sultan, whose ambassadors Assan Ali Khan and Mahommed Hibrahim have been sent to Europe from the Isle of France in the two frigates which started on the 5th February 1798, to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the Republic of France and to demand help to conquer our common enemy, the English, and drive them out of India if possible.

The Prince undertakes to supply to the whole of the French army the necessary provisions, e. g. rice, meat &c. They would lack only spirituous liquors which will not be supplied. He will supply all the necessary transports for the French army, as well as their officers and their baggage; so also all the munitions of war &c., written from the Isle of France on this day 4th of February 1798.

Copy conforms to the original.

(Signed) Debay.

Seal of Assan Ali Cawn.

Seal of Mahommed Hibrahim.

Seal of Debay, Interpreter.

No. VIII.

The Representatives of the colony of the Isle of France to Tippoo Sultan.

Greetings and brotherhood.

Your ambassadors have informed us of the intention which you have of forming an alliance with the colony of the Isle of France which is equally advantageous for both nations. We shall do all that is in our power to respond to your wishes;

We have reported about your embassy to the Legislative Assembly of France and are sure that France will fall in perfectly with your views.

The Governor General Malartic will instruct you about the Measures which are taken and those which he intends to take in your interests and ours.

The things which your country produces and those which are manufactured there, are generally suitable to our colony, for its own use as well as for internal and external trade. You will get from us in exchange, those things which your warlike projects require.

(Signed) Fouquerrax, President.

(Passed) by the Colonial Assembly.

Hauliner, Secretary.



### No. IX.

Isle of France, 2nd of the Ventose  
(windy month) of the year 6.

General,

We wish you good day, and good health. You know we have come here expecting to get considerable re-inforcements. We are told that they were here, and that if an alliance were made with our Prince, we could take them with us to conquer your enemies who are also ours. You are also aware that as we have come to find men, we have come prepared with all that is necessary as well as with money for the purpose.

But in your regard to our Prince, you have resolved to send with us those who like to come of

their own accord, as you do not wish to send us alone, now that we have already come here. By taking with us the men, the work which our Prince desires could not be accomplished. This affair (of volunteers) could not be carried on without money as everybody who presents before us demand money. We cannot take these people with us, seeing that they are only recruits and more-over we have no orders to do so. Those who are willing to come with us, we take but their pay can only be fixed by our Prince. If this arrangement causes too much bother to you, we request you to send your envoys with us to our Prince to come to an understanding. At the same time we should know how they are paid in the French Camp. Those who start from here in course of time will be treated in the same manner. Our Prince will send the money for this purpose with the envoys whom you might be sending to take recruits or to demand help.

We pray you to send us away as soon as possible seeing that the orders of our Prince are to the effect that we should not remain here long. By so doing you would oblige us.

Your humble and very obedient servants.

(Signed) Assan Ali Khan, Mahommed Hibrahim,  
Letter written by me, Debay, Interpreter by the  
order of the Ambassadors for the draft.

Seal of the Ambassadors of Tippoo Sultan.  
Seal of Debay, Interpreter.



## No. X.

Isle of France, the 8th of Ventose  
of the year 6.

Gentlemen Ambassadors,

I may be too frank in letting you know that I am very much dissatisfied of your letter this morning. Your Sultan has sent you to demand from us help on terms which would appear to us just and not on those which you prescribe to us.

All that I have demanded of you these days have been dictated to me by General Dagincourt who is specially acquainted with your Sultan, under whose orders he has served as the Captain of the Grenadiers in a Battalion of the Regiment of the Isle of France which had fought in the last war under the Command of Bader and Tippoo Sultan. So I persist in demanding from you for all the officers and volunteers emoluments and provisions according to the scale which I have communicated before.

What one used to pay ten years ago, cannot be compared with what one pays to-day.

Those who were paid 150 Rs./- a month then, demand to-day Rs.600/-

As you do not wish to have surgeons, you will not have them, but your Prince will not be grateful to you for the interference.

The Officers and volunteers who are coming with you shall not go 500 leagues to be certain of the pay which Tippoo Sultan will fix for them. I shall order them not to land until Tippoo Sultan fixes their pay and until he consents to the scale of payment and provisions which I propose to him.

We have not sought you; you have come demanding help from us; therefore you have to submit to the conditions which I propose to you, which are just and reasonable.

Greetings and Brotherhood.

The Governor General,

(Signed) Malartic.

## APPENDIX.

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A few extracts

FROM

LIEUT-COLONEL MARK, WILK'S

HISTORY OF MYSORE

Written in 1808.

Chapter XI.

Kunde Row was given up, and confined; and his official servants, as well as himself, were of course plundered to the utmost extent of their means. Before it had been determined that Kunde Row should be surrendered, a joint message was sent to Hyder from the Raja and the ladies of the palace, praying for mercy towards that unfortunate man as a preliminary to the adjustment of public affairs. Hyder replied, that Kunde Row was his old servant, and that he would not only spare his life, but cherish him like a parroquet; a term of endearment common in conversing with women, from that bird being a favourite pet in the harems of the wealthy. When he was afterwards gently admonished of his severity to Kunde Row, he ironically replied, that he had exactly kept his word; and that they were at liberty to inspect his iron cage, and the rice and milk allotted for his food; for such was the fate to which he had doomed Kunde Row for the remainder of his miserable life.

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## Chapter XII.

Budr U Zeman Khan states that she capitulated on the condition of being reinstated in her sovereignty on her conversion to Islam; that she accordingly went through the form of renouncing her caste by eating beef, and after this wanton degradation was sent to Mudgherry. I have no doubt of the main facts of the case, but I conclude that my respectable informant must have forgotten some of its circumstances. Hyder seldom adhered to the spirit of an inconvenient engagement; but he professed never to deviate from its letter, and the oracle of Delphos was not more skilful in framing an equivocal sentence. But a conversion to Islam certainly was never blended with his political views, and must have been the spontaneous offer of a woman to whom disgrace was familiar: the expectation may have been inferred, but it is probable that Hyder never made a promise on such a condition.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the arrival of the army at Coompsee, the fraud of the pretended Chen Busveia is understood to have been discovered, if indeed we are to suppose that Hyder at any time believed the tale; but until the capture of the Ranee he continued to treat the impostor with all the forms of distinguished external respect, not, however, concealing a smile at the jests of the soldiers, who amused themselves by saluting him with the title Ghyboo Raja, or the Raja of the resurrection; a name which became the standing joke of the camp

Whatever may have been the conditions

understood by the Ranees, or the stipulations adjusted with Ghyboo Raja, it is certain that Hyder despatched to one common prison, on the fortified rock of Mudgherry, one hundred and eighty miles to the eastward, not only these two personages, but Nimbeia the Ranees's paramour, and Somasakur, her adopted son and sovereign. This confinement was intended to be perpetual, and there they remained until liberated on the capture of the place by the Mahrattas in 1767.

\* \* \* \* \*

The rains commenced in June with their usual violence, few strangers escape their influence; and about the month of September the endemic disease had made such havoc on Hyder's constitution, that he was no longer able to transact business in the public durbar. The servants of the former dynasty considering the opportunity to be favourable for the emancipation of their country, entered into an extensive conspiracy for the assassination of Hyder and the recovery of the capital. Some obscure suspicions were conveyed to him by a trusty servant; and he directed an investigation to be made by a commission composed of some of his oldest, and, as he conceived, his most trusty civil officers; who happened to be all accomplices in the conspiracy. The report of this investigation was read to Hyder while reclining on his couch, and shivering, in a paroxysm of ague but, even in this state, his keen perception penetrated the veil which they had attempted to throw over the few facts which were known to him. He dissembled, however, for the present, and detained the commissioners in

feigned consultation, until the hot fit was succeeded by a slight remission; he then arose, and entering the durbar (or hall of business) re-examined the witnesses, and completely discovered the whole plot. He ordered the Commissioners to be instantly hanged in his presence, in front of the hall of audience: the requisite arrests followed with rapidity, and before the close of the same day, upwards of three hundred of the chief conspirators were hanging at the different public ways which issued from the city. This done, he retired to rest with the same serenity as if he had only been discussing the ordinary business of the day, and arose on the following morning visibly recovered by the consequences of the unusual exertion to which he had been compelled. Bednore was thenceforward the most tranquil and obedient of all his possessions; but it was from this period that he began those improvements in the organisation of his system of police which afterwards raised it to such horrible perfection.

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#### Chapter XXIV.

It was about this period that Hyder being much indisposed, was either by accident or design, left entirely alone with his minister Poornea; after being for some time apparently immersed in deep thought, he addressed himself to Poornea, in the following words:

"I have committed a great error, I have purchased a draught of Scander, at the price of a lac of Pagodas:" (Scander, the fermented juice of the

wild date tree, produces the most frantic species of intoxication, and a draught of it is sold for the smallest copper coin), he intended to intimate by this forcible idiom, that the war was an act of intoxication; and that its advantages and disadvantages bore to each other, the relation of a farthing and a lac of pagodas, (40,000 l.) "I shall pay dearly for my arrogance; between me and the English there were perhaps mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, but no sufficient cause for war, and I might have made them my friends in spite of Mohammed Ali, the most treacherous of men. The defeat of many Baillies and Brathwaites will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea; and I must be first weary of a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting. I ought to have reflected that no man of common sense will trust a Mahratta, and that they themselves do not expect to be trusted. I have been amused by idle expectations of a French force from Europe, but supposing it to arrive, and to be successful here, I must go alone against the Mahrattas, and incur the reproach of the French for distrusting them; for I dare not admit them in force to Mysore."

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#### Chapter XXIV.

There was in Sir Eyre Coot's body-guard, a young cavalry officer, distinguished for superior military address; on ordinary service, always foremost, to the very verge of prudence, but never beyond it; of physical strength, seldom equalled; on foot, a figure for a sculptor; when mounted—

....."he grew unto his seat,  
 And to such wondrous doing brought his horse  
 As he had been incorpsed and demi-natured  
 With the brave beast".

In common with the rest of the army, this officer had smiled at the recital of these absurd challenges; but while reconnoitring on the flank of the column of march, one of them was personally addressed to himself by a horseman, who from dress and appearance, seemed to be of some distinction. He accepted the invitation and the requisite precautions were mutually acceded to: they fought; and he slew his antagonist. After this incident the challenges were frequently addressed, not as formerly to the whole army, but to Dallas; whose name became speedily known to them: and whenever his duty admitted, and his favourite horse was sufficiently fresh, the invitations were accepted, until the Mysoreans became weary of repetition. With a single exception, the result was uniform. On that one occasion, the combatants, after several rounds, feeling a respect for each other, made a significant pause, mutually saluted, and retired. As a fashion among the aspiring young officers, these adventures were not calculated for general adoption; it was found, that in single combat, the address of a native horseman is seldom equalled by an European.



## Chapter XX.

The health of Hyder during the course of this year, had begun perceptibly to decline, and in the

month of November, symptoms appeared of a disease (unknown as far as I am informed in Europe) named by the Hindus *Rajapora* (or the royal sore or boil) from its being, or supposed to be, peculiar to persons of rank; and by the Mohammedans, *Sertan* or *Khoreheng*, the crab, from the imaginary resemblance to that animal, of the swelling behind the neck, or the upper portion of the back, which is the first indication of this disorder. The united efforts of Hindoo, Mohammedan, and French physicians, made no impression on this fatal disease, and he expired on the 7th of December. It is deemed by the Mohammedans a remarkable coincidence, that the numerical letters, composing the words Hyder Ali Khan Bahauder, correspond with the year of his death (1197, Hej.) and the epitaph on his mausoleum, at the Lall Baug, on the island of Seringapatam, is founded on this coincidence, as are all Mohammedan epitaphs, on some particular words, whose numerical powers correspond with the date of decease. —

Chapter XX,  
 AYAZ KHAN;  
 A Nayar Chief of Hyder.

Among the prisoners carried off in the first inhuman expedition from Malabar, was a young Nair, from Cherai, who had been received as a slave of the — and to whom, on his forced conversion — they had given the name of Sheik Avaz. — His noble port, ingenuous manners, and singular gifts of the boy, attracted general attention; and at a more mature age he was

led into the field, his ardent valour and uncommon intelligence, recommended him to the particular favour of Hyder, who was an enthusiast in his praise, and would frequently speak of him, under the designation of "his right hand in the hour of danger." Throughout every period of Mohammedan history, we find peculiar confidence reposed in captives separated from their families in early youth: the pangs of an afflicted parent are no part of a monster's care; but he calculates with cold accuracy, that the recollections of infancy are soon obliterated; and that such children, being exempt from the ordinary ties of society, readily transfer the affections, implanted by nature for other purposes, in the form of undivided attachment to a kind protector; for such is certainly the character which the Mussulman assumes towards such of his slaves, whether captives or born in the family, as evince talents and good dispositions. In the conversation of Mahommedan chiefs, a **SLAVE OF THE HOUSE** far from being a term of degradation or reproach, uniformly conveys the impression of an affectionate and trustworthy humble friend, and such was Ayaz in the estimation of Hyder. To the endowments which have been stated, incessant and confidential military service had superadded experience beyond his years; and Hyder selected him from the important trust of civil and military governor of the fort and territory of Chittledroog. But modest as he was faithful and brave, Ayaz wished to decline the distinction, as one to which he felt himself incompetent; and particularly

objected, that he could neither read nor write, and was consequently incapable of a civil charge. "Keep a corla at your right hand", said Hyder, "and that will do you better service than pen and ink:" then assuming a graver countenance, "place reliance," added he, "on your excellent understanding! act from yourself alone! fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribblers! but trust in me as I trust in you! reading and writing! how have I risen to empire without the knowledge of either?"

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## Chapter XXXII.

### MALABAR

#### An Extract from Tippoo Sultan's OWN HISTORY.

When the season was sufficiently advanced to make the march convenient, the Sultan, at the head of his army, proceeded by the route of Tamburcherry, to visit and reform his possessions in Calicut. "The country of Calicut", as he informs us, "is situated on the coast of the ocean, and is named Malabar: its breadth does not exceed twenty-three coss, and its length is nearly two hundred. The Mahommedan inhabitants are called Pilla (Mapilla) and the infidels Naimars; and as the rainy season lasts six months, and mud continues throughout the year, the roads are excessively difficult, and the inhabitants prone to resistance, dividing their time between agriculture and arms. Such is the excess of infidelity, that if a Mussulman touch the exterior wall of a house, the dwelling can only be purified

by setting it on fire. From the origin of Islam in Hind, to the present day, no person had interfered with these practices, excepting the revered, who is in paradise, after the conquest of the country in the manner which has been narrated; and during the twenty-five years that the country of Calicut had belonged to this dynasty, inasmuch as twenty thousand troops were maintained for its occupation, and the revenues never equalled their monthly pay; the balance, to a large amount, was uniformly discharged from the general treasury. Notwithstanding all this, the actual circumstances of the country were never properly investigated, until His Majesty, the shadow of God, directed his propitious steps, &c., &c. and remained three months in that country. He observed that the cultivators (instead of being collected in villages as in other parts of India) have each his separate dwelling and garden adjoining his field; these solitary dwellings he classed into groups of forty-houses, with a local chief and an accountant to each, an establishment which was to watch over the morals and realize the revenue; and a Sheikh-ul-Islam to each district for religious purposes alone; and addressed to the principal inhabitants a proclamation to the following effect. "From the period of the conquest until this day, during twenty-four years, you have been a turbulent and refractory people, and in the wars waged during your rainy season, you have caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom. Be it What is past is past. Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner; dwell quietly, and

pay your dues like good subjects, and since it is a practice with you, for one woman to associate with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices, and are thence all born in adultery and are more shameless in your connexions than the beasts of the field; I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices, and live like the rest of mankind. And if you are disobedient to these commands, I have made repeated vows, to honor the whole of you with Islam, and to march all the chief persons to the seat of empire. Other moral inferences, and religious instruction, applicable to spiritual and temporal concerns, were also written with his own hand, and graciously bestowed upon them."

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### Chapter XLVIII.

#### Wilk's Note on Tippu Sultan's Date of Birth.

It is singular that there should be any doubt regarding his age, at the time of his death. By a genealogical tree, in my possession, prepared, as I conclude from the records of the palace, by the English officer charged with the immediate care of the family, he was fifty and a quarter years by the Girra at the time of his death; of course lunar, as are all accounts so kept; this would make his age by the solar reckoning about forty-eight years and nine months, and the date of his birth about July, 1750. Butcherow repeated to me the Canarese verse, recording his birth, in the year ANGEERA, 17th of the month MARGESER, which would

date his birth about January 1758, and his age at the time of his death, (as Butcherow, a confidential public officer, positively affirmed), forty-six years and four months, solar reckoning. The first of these accounts can scarcely be correct; Hyder married, or was betrothed to the mother of Tippoo, in Coromandel, in 1750. Tippoo was certainly born at Deonhully, and Hyder did not return thither till 1751. He was again in Coromandel in 1752, whence his wife was probably sent to Deonhully on the occasion of her pregnancy, for he himself remained in Coromandel till 1755.

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