



CHAP. XI. Dowlah was obliged to retreat into Oude, whither the English commander did not attempt to follow him.

A.D. 1764.

Major Monro.

Treatment
of the
mutineers.

Overtures
for peace.

New native
alliance
against
the English.

In May 1764 the command devolved upon Major Hector Monro, an enterprising officer, who determined to follow up the advantages gained by his predecessors. It appeared indispensable, however, to begin by completely checking the spirit of insubordination, and to employ for this purpose measures of imposing rigour. A battalion of sepoys having left the camp soon after he had joined, was pursued and brought back; when, selecting twenty-four of the ringleaders, he ordered them to be blown from the mouth of a cannon,—a fate which they met with much intrepidity. No disposition to mutiny being thenceforth manifested, Monro marched against Sujah, whom he found strongly intrenched at Buxar on the river Soane. The difficulty of attacking the enemy in this position was obviated by their advancing against the British at eight in the morning of the 23d October; when, after a combat of three hours, they were defeated. They made their retreat, however, without being pursued to any great distance, but losing an immense quantity of stores, and 130 pieces of artillery. The emperor had already made overtures to Major Carnac, which that officer did not think himself authorized to accept; these he now renewed, complaining that Dowlah treated him with indignity, and detained him as a mere state-prisoner. Major Monro gave a favourable answer, and only delayed the final acceptance of his proposals till they should receive the sanction of the presidency, which was readily granted. Even before it arrived, the Mogul had come over with the corps personally attached to him, and began to march under the banner of his allies.

The nabob, having retreated into the interior of his dominions, obtained the aid of a body of Mahrattas under Mulhar Rao, and of Ghazee-ud-Dien, who, as we have seen, were once the most powerful adherents of the Mogul throne. With these auxiliaries he hoped to make a stand against the victorious English. Sir Robert



Fletcher, however, who held the temporary command, laid siege to Allahabad, which surrendered as soon as a breach had been effected. Carnac, now raised to the rank of general, succeeded him, and immediately advanced to attack the army of the vizier, which, with scarcely an effort, was completely dispersed; whereupon that prince was obliged to abandon all his dominions.

The British had now certainly made one of the most splendid campaigns that occur in the annals of any nation. They had gained five victories against much superior forces; they had reduced every strong place which attempted to oppose them; they had vanquished the Mogul emperor and all his principal feudatories; and, in short, had made themselves the virtual masters of the great central plain of India. Various opinions, however, prevailed as to the best mode of improving these important advantages.

Meer Jaffier had died, partly it should seem, of vexation at not having been able to meet the enormous pecuniary demands of the English rulers. The council, after some hesitation, filled his place with his son, Nuzem-ul-Dowlah, a youth of twenty, whom they reduced, however, to a much more dependent situation than his predecessors. They took upon themselves the whole defence of the province, and consequently kept in their hands the entire military force; assuming, at the same time, an extensive control over the internal administration of affairs.

Meantime the directors at home, amid the triumphs which had crowned their arms, were agitated by many anxieties. It was not from any impulse imparted by them that the career of conquest had been pursued. They do not appear indeed to have desired any farther possessions than were necessary for the security of their trade. Without absolutely censuring the council for their proceedings relative to Meer Jaffier and Cossim, they expressed some apprehension lest their character for good faith and moderation should be thereby injured. Three revolutions had occurred in the course of as many years,

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A. D. 1764.

Siege of
Allahabad.Splendid
British
campaign.Death of
Meer Jaffier.Anxiety of
the directors
at home.



CHAP. XI.

A.D. 1765.

Cost and precarious position of their Indian possessions.

Want of a vigorous and able governor.

Appointment of Lord Clive.

His arrival at Calcutta.

Defeat of Sujah Dowlah.

by which their very existence in India had been exposed to hazard. In particular, they complained of the enormous and incessant expenses in which these transactions involved them, and which they had not been able to defray without reducing their dividend 25 per cent. They had also found extreme difficulty in answering the demand for men, which indeed would have been impossible, had not government supplied them with some regular troops; it was not even very easy to charter vessels for their conveyance. They soon discovered the reckless profusion and even gross corruption which prevailed among their Indian servants. A statesman of comprehensive views and vigorous character seemed wanting to place their affairs in the East on a stable and tranquil footing, as well as to introduce order and regularity into the various branches of so extended an administration. With this view, their attention was directed to the same person who had been the real founder of their dominions; and Lord Clive, about three years after his return, was proposed a second time for the supreme command of the British provinces in India. He refused to accept unless invested with the most ample powers, and placed entirely beyond the control of the council. This was strongly objected to, yet finally sanctioned by the small majority of thirteen to eleven.

His lordship arrived at Calcutta early in the year 1765;—but we shall reserve till another occasion our notice of his internal regulations, and proceed at present to record those measures by which he achieved the farther extension of the Company's territory. Sujah Dowlah, though defeated in successive battles, and driven even beyond his frontier, still possessed energy and great resources. Having collected his scattered troops, and obtained a reinforcement from the Mahrattas, he formed an army with which he again ventured to face General Carnac. At Calpy however he was completely routed, and compelled to flee precipitately with great loss across the Jumna. Considering his cause as altogether desperate, he repaired to the camp of the English, and threw him-



self entirely upon their mercy. He had been strongly urged, and high offers were even made to induce this prince to bring with him Meer Cossim; but with a sense of honour not usual in an eastern potentate, he determined not to betray a person who had sought and received his protection. He allowed him, and a German, Sumroo, his associate in the work of blood, to seek shelter in the countries bordering on the Indus. Thus Carnac had at once in his camp two princes holding the highest rank in India, and the direct representatives of an empire lately the most splendid and powerful in the world.

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A. D. 1763.

Lord Clive, on receiving this intelligence, immediately repaired to the British encampment at Allahabad, where these two illustrious personages awaited his decision upon their fate. It had been determined, in consequence of the obstinate hostility displayed by Sujah, to deprive him of all his territories and bestow them on the emperor. But his lordship, on forming a personal acquaintance, conceived so favourable an opinion of him, and judged him likely to be so much more effective as an ally and formidable as an enemy than the young Mogul, that he resolved to restore him to his dominions, by whose inhabitants he was greatly beloved. To the emperor, the districts of Corah and Allahabad were assigned; and he agreed, that is, was compelled, to grant to the Company the dewannee or collection of the revenue, including in fact the entire sovereignty, of the fine provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; in return for which he was to receive annually twenty-six lacks of rupees, which, after all, was greater than he had ever enjoyed. Soon after, Nujoom-ul-Dowlah, the nominal subahdar of these provinces, was obliged to retire on a pension of forty-two lacks. Clive then boasted, that the revenues of the ceded territory would amount to more than 250 lacks of rupees, which, after the deductions now stated and the liberal allowance of 60 for the expenses of government, would leave 122 of clear gain to the Company. These financial anticipations were very imper-

Favourable
reception of
Sujah by
Lord Clive.

Determina-
tion to re-
store him.

Clive's
financial an-
ticipations.



CHAP. XI. fection realized ; but it was difficult for England not to
A. D. 1765. be dazzled with a succession of such splendid victories,
by which her possessions, that ten years before had
included only an almost defenceless fort at the mouth of
the Ganges, now extended over all the finest portion of
that vast region. The most valuable part of the great
central plain of India, westward as far as the Jumna, was
either in the immediate possession or under the entire
control of the British nation.



CHAPTER XII.

War with Mysore.

Formation of the Kingdom of Mysore—Influence of the Ministers Dooraj and Nunjeraj—Hyder—His Parentage—His early Destitution—Begins to distinguish himself—Mode in which he forms a Body of Adherents—Commands at Dindigul—His Power augmented—Violence of Nunjeraj, who is reduced to Distress—Hyder relieves and then supplants him—His own Danger—Extricates himself, and becomes complete Master of Mysore—Conquest of Bednore—Invasion by the Mahrattas—Conquest of Calicut—The English join a Confederacy against him—The Mahrattas make Peace—Nizam joins Hyder against the English—They invade the Carnatic—Threaten Madras—Battle of Trincomalee—Nizam quits the Alliance—Invasion of Mysore—Successes of Hyder—He overruns the Carnatic—Again threatens Madras—Conclusion of Peace—Another great inroad of the Mahrattas—Hyder concludes a Treaty with them, and makes farther Conquests—His Resentment against the English—Weak Conduct of the Madras Government—Hyder invades and desolates the Carnatic—Fate of Colonel Baillie's Detachment—Sir Eyre Coote sent from Calcutta—He gains several Advantages—Loss of Colonel Brathwaite's Detachment—Negotiations—Operations on the Western Coast—Death of Hyder—Tippoo succeeds—Disensions in the Madras Government—Death of Sir Eyre Coote—Peace between England and France—Bednore surrenders to General Mathews—Retaken by the Sultan—Siege of Mangalore—Peace with Tippoo.

In the general breaking up of the Mogul empire and its great viceroyalties, India was reduced almost to a state

CHAP. XII.
A D 1740.



CHAP. XII

A. D. 1749.

Kingdom of
Mysore.Government
of Mysore.Its state at
the period of
the war in
the Carnatic.

of anarchy. Any bold adventurer, who could summon round him the warlike and predatory bands with which that region abounded, might aspire to rule over extensive districts, several of which were entitled to rank as kingdoms. Among such communities a conspicuous place was held by Mysore, the territory of which forms one of the most remarkable of those elevated table-lands that diversify the southern provinces. It stretches more than half-way from sea to sea, closely approaching the Malabar coast on the one side, and on the other reaching to the border of the Carnatic. A circuit of lofty hills, forming a barrier round the country, raise its general surface to the height of almost 3000 feet; a happy circumstance, which secures for it a climate unusually temperate and salubrious. The soil is generally well suited for producing the most valuable grains and fruits, and by a rude but careful cultivation is rendered extremely fertile. This kingdom, under the direction of a daring soldier, rose to such power as to threaten the very existence of the British dominion in the East.

Mysore, down to a recent period, had not been entirely subjected to the Mohammedan sway; it was still ruled by native princes, who paid homage, and sometimes tribute, first to the kings of the Deccan, and after their fall to the Mogul. In the decline of the latter sovereignty both these were withheld, unless when the imperial lieutenant could assemble a force sufficiently strong to wrest payment from the local sovereign. This independence, however, was of little avail to the original rajahs, who, sinking, according to the custom of oriental princes, into voluptuous indolence, allowed the government to pass almost entirely into the hands of their ministers. When the war in the Carnatic first led the English into hostility with Mysore, two brothers, Deoraj and Nunjeraj, of whom the latter possessed the more vigorous character, had risen to the head of affairs. At this time, however, there was coming into notice a young adventurer, destined to effect a complete revolution in that country, and in all Southern India.



Colonel Wilks, from native authorities, has given an account of the origin of *Hyder* with a degree of minuteness which it is unnecessary for us to follow. His family appears to have sprung from the northern territory of the Punjaub; they were of low station, and so poor, as in some instances to subsist upon alms. Futtee Moharumed, the father, reared by a charitable hand, entered the army of a Mysorean chief, and having served with distinction was raised to the rank of a *Naik*, an officer of peons or foot-soldiers. A lady of some quality, whose husband had been robbed and murdered by banditti, being reduced to the utmost want, was prevailed upon to give her two daughters successively in marriage to this adventurer. By the youngest he had two sons, named Shabaz and Hyder; but, when they had attained only the respective ages of nine and seven, their father and the prince his master were killed in battle. The mother and her boys then fell into the power of a rapacious chief, who not only seized all the property he could find, but employed the most cruel torture to make them yield up their hidden possessions. The widow of Futtee Mohammed, having "lost every thing but her children and her honour," found refuge with her brother Ibrahim, by whose bounty the family were supported. Hyder, accordingly, had his fortune entirely to make; and for some time he gave but slender promise of reaching any high advancement. He did not even learn to read or write; and, on arriving at manhood, spent his whole time either in voluptuous riot or in the pleasures of the chase. Thus he reached the age of twenty-seven before he would submit to the restraints even of military service. His elder brother, meantime, had been more meritoriously employed in the army of Nunjeraj, where he distinguished himself, and was raised to a subordinate command; and he was at length induced to join him while employed in the siege of a fortress called Deonhully, which occupied nine months. The wild youth, having once embarked in this active career, soon displayed daring valour, presence of mind, and all the qualities which constitute an eminent warrior. He received the charge

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A. D. 1749.

Hyder.

His origin.

Hyder Ali.

Tardy development of his qualities.

His first display of war-like faculties.



CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1759.

Expedition to
Trichinopoly.Hyder raises
a band of
freebooters.Dishonour-
able source
of Hyder's
rise to power.Appointed
Foujedar of
Dindigul.

of a small corps, with a commission to increase its numbers by all the means in his power.

At this time Nunjeraj, having formed an alliance with the French, undertook the expedition to Trichinopoly, of which some account has been already given; and Hyder accompanied him, making diligent use of the opportunities which this campaign afforded, both to distinguish and advance himself. He soon assembled round him a numerous body of these freebooters with which India swarmed, who asked no pay, but trusted solely to the plunder that they might collect under the auspices of an active chieftain. Instead of his giving to them, they gave to him; being required to contribute one-half of all the booty which they might succeed in capturing. They were doubtless very much disposed to evade this partition; but their leader, though unable to write the numerals, could boast of an extraordinary expertness in the operations of mental arithmetic; and he was assisted by Kunde Row, a Braminical accountant of remarkable skill. They established a system which the operative mauraunders found it vain to attempt eluding; and the practices of a common London thief may be considered just and honourable, compared with those by which Hyder rose to the rank of an Indian monarch. Not only the great and regular objects of pillage, such as convoys of grain, horses, or herds of cattle, but clothes, turbans, earrings, the most trifling ornaments taken from the persons of females, and even of children, were alike welcome. Nor did his friends enjoy any exemption, provided the theft could be executed with secrecy; and by these means, before he left Trichinopoly, he had collected 1500 horse, 5000 infantry, with elephants, camels, and all the other appendages of a chief of high rank. Having distinguished himself also by his military services, he continued in great favour, and was appointed Foujedar of Dindigul, an important place recently acquired in the country of the Polygars. Here he enlarged his forces and increased his wealth, not only by the plunder of the surrounding territories, but by the most scandalous impositions practised on his own



sovereign, as well as on the commissioners sent to inquire into his conduct. He managed to bring his troops to what was called a *circular* muster, in which ten thousand men counted as 18,000; thereby obtaining pay for a fictitious number, and also at a rate much above his actual expenditure. Having an allowance for every wounded soldier, he imposed on the inspector by presenting many who were perfectly sound, but had their hands and feet tied with bandages dipt in turmeric. By these gross frauds he completely deluded Nunjeraj, who thought it wonderful that so great a force could be maintained, and the war successfully carried on at an expense so moderate.

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A. D. 1761.

Shameless
imposture.

Hyder had now collected so much strength both of arms and treasure, and had acquired so high a reputation, that he began to aim at the throne of Mysore. His views were greatly favoured by the violent dissensions which prevailed at court. The young rajah, whom Nunjeraj kept as a convenient tool, determined to make an effort to extricate himself from this thralldom, and had already secured the support of a large body of adherents: but having made a premature display of his designs, the palace which he had fortified was attacked and easily carried. The minister, after this victory, though he treated his sovereign with a semblance of respect, caused his supporters to be either thrown into chains, or, having their noses and ears cut off, to be thrust out into the street. Deoraj, indignant at this cruelty on the part of his brother, abandoned his interests, and went to reside in a different quarter of the country.

Ambitious
projects.

Cruel policy.

Nunjeraj himself was soon exposed to an exigency to which a Hindoo prince is almost always liable. His troops began to clamour for a large amount of arrears, and, obtaining no satisfaction, proceeded to the expedient of seating themselves in *dharna* at his gate. According to this institution, which in India is held sacred, he could neither taste food nor drink while the claimants remained in that position; and the soldiers, occupying the entrance of the palace, took care that this rule should

Singular
expedient of
Nunjeraj's
troops.



CHAP. XII. be strictly observed. In this extremity Hyder gladly

A. D. 1761.

Political inter-
position of
Hyder.

took occasion to interpose his services. He repaired to Seringapatam, and by seizing all public property within his reach, as well as judiciously collecting the sums due to government, obtained as much money as satisfied the immediate claims of the military. He had also effected an accommodation between the two brothers, which Deoraj, however, did not long survive; and thus by appearing as a disinterested friend to all parties, he became extremely popular. Having raised a large force of his own, and attached to his views the army of Nunjeraj by his exertions for their relief, he soon felt himself to be the real master. His influence was greatly increased by the occurrence of a formidable invasion on the part of the Mahrattas, when, being appointed to the chief command, he brought the contest to an issue, not triumphant indeed, but much more favourable than had been anticipated. He now determined to make his way to the supreme power on the ruin of that chief through whose kindness he had risen to his present elevation. Kunde Row, who had all along been his agent and partisan, opened through the medium of a dowager princess, a woman of talent, a negotiation with the rajah, who, with the view of being enabled to resume the real authority in his own kingdom, agreed to concur in the removal of Nunjeraj. Circumstances favoured their designs. A fresh arrear of pay having accumulated, the troops again established themselves in *dherma* before his gate; when Hyder, instead of studying as before to appease their discontent and relieve his patron's distress, sought only to foment the one and aggravate the other. Nay, with a semblance of grief and reluctance, he concurred with them in stooping to the position of *dherma*. Nunjeraj, thus pressed, at length agreed to retire with a liberal allowance of treasure and troops, and leave the field open to his rival; upon which the rajah, having assumed the government, intrusted the whole administration, civil and military, to Hyder and Kunde Row. It was not likely that the deposed minister should remain long satisfied with

Matured
scheme for
the ruin of
Nunjeraj.

Accomplish-
ment of
Hyder's
purpose.



his altered condition. Retiring to the city of Mysore, only nine miles distant from the capital, he recruited his forces with the utmost diligence. A demand was hereupon made, that he should discharge his troops, remove to a greater distance, and be content with a fixed allowance for his private expenses. He indignantly wrote in answer to Hyder:—"I have made you what you are, and now you refuse me a place in which to hide my head. Do what you please; or what you can. I move not from Mysore." The other immediately proceeded to besiege the city, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered; and Nunjeraj was obliged to accept the hard conditions imposed by the victor.

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1762.

Final humiliation of Nunjeraj.

Hyder seemed now at the height of power; yet he was soon after involved in the most serious peril he had ever encountered. The rajah and the dowager were not long in discovering, what indeed they could scarcely fail to foresee, that by this change of affairs they had merely substituted one sovereign minister for another, and were as destitute as ever of any real power. They gained over Kunde Row, who then watched in conjunction with them the opportunity of striking a blow against the man of whom he had been so long the devoted adherent; and it occurred sooner than might have been expected with one so conversant in all the intricacies of treason. Hyder, suspecting nothing, had dispersed his forces in different directions, and lay encamped with a handful of troops under the walls of Seringapatam. Suddenly, with amazement and consternation, he saw its batteries begin to play upon him; he called for Kunde Row, his resource in every difficulty, but that person was seen on the ramparts directing the operations of the artillery. Perceiving the snare into which he had fallen, he summoned all his presence of mind in this desperate extremity. Having placed his men under the best shelter that could be obtained, he transmitted the most humble overtures and supplications to his former servant, now his successful rival; but could obtain no other terms than to be allowed to steal off in the night with a few

New perils of Hyder.

Desertion of Kunde Row.

Humiliation and flight of Hyder.



CHAP. XII.
A.D. 1763.

soldiers, leaving behind him nearly all his treasures, the accumulated fruit of so much crime and extortion, and even his family, among whom was his son Tippoo, then nine years old. These last, however, were received into Seringapatam, and treated with kindness.

Renewed
efforts of
Hyder.

The expelled chief sought refuge first at Anicut and then at Bangalore, places under his immediate command, and of which the governors proved faithful even in this extremity. He soon collected his forces, called in his detachments, and endeavoured, by the reputation of his name, to attract fresh adventurers to his standard. Thus in a few months he took the field against Kunde Row; but that able politician, having still a superior army, brought on a general action, in which Hyder was defeated. His affairs being thus rendered nearly desperate, he had recourse for relief to a very singular quarter. With two hundred horse he hastened during the night to the residence of Nunjeraj, presented himself in a suppliant posture, confessed his guilt and ingratitude, and intreated his former patron to resume his place, and treat him again as a servant. All historians express astonishment that the fallen minister should have been won over by protestations so manifestly insincere; but we are to consider, that by closing with this proposal he obtained perhaps the only chance of regaining his former power and dignity.

His successful
stratagem.

Upon this successful stratagem Hyder founded another still deeper. He affixed the seal of Nunjeraj to a number of letters, seeming to contain a treasonable correspondence, addressed to the principal officers in Kunde Row's army. They were sent by an emissary, who appeared to exercise the strictest vigilance lest they should fall into the hands of that chief, yet took effectual means that they should be intercepted. This leader, with all his experience and profound policy, was completely deceived; and seeing himself, as he imagined, betrayed by his own followers, he abruptly quitted the camp and hastened to Seringapatam. The army was thus thrown into a state of complete disorganization, when Hyder, attacking them unexpectedly, put them



to a total rout, capturing guns, stores, baggage, and all the infantry, who were then incorporated with his own troops; the cavalry alone by an early flight effected their escape. Kunde Row discovered the deceit, and soon began to rally his men, when his antagonist had recourse to another artifice. He lay several days in apparent inaction, as if not intending to follow up his victory; then suddenly, by a rapid night-march, came on his opponents at unawares, and gained a signal advantage. After reducing many of the surrounding places, he advanced against the remaining force of 5000 or 6000 cavalry intrenched under the guns of Seringapatam. By entering into a feigned treaty, he lulled anew the suspicions of his adversaries, who suffered themselves to be again completely surprised, with nearly the entire loss of their horses and baggage. All Hyder's enemies were now at his mercy; still he wished that the terms which he meant to exact should appear as if offered and pressed upon him by the vanquished rajah. He sent a message, merely soliciting that the defeated general should be delivered up, and the large balance due to himself from the state be liquidated; adding that his highness might then either continue him in his service, or allow him to seek his fortune elsewhere. He privately transmitted, however, an intimation as to what he would be pleased to accept; and accordingly, under the impulse of necessity, the rajah was at length compelled to entreat the victor to relieve him from the toil of governing Mysore, and for that purpose to draw all its revenues, except three lacks for his own use and one for Nunjeraj; to which conditions the victor, with well-feigned reluctance, submitted. The sovereign and the ladies of the palace joined in earnest entreaty for mercy to Kunde Row; the other replied, that he would treat him like a paroquet, by which they understood a favourite or pet; but he literally fulfilled his insidious promise, by enclosing the unhappy man for life in an iron cage, and sending him a daily portion of rice and milk. It is needless to add, that the lack of rupees was all that Nunjeraj obtained

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A. D. 1762.

Total defeat
of Kunde
Row.Politie dealings
with
the Rajah.Barbarous
revenge on
Kunde Row.



CHAP. XII. of the promises lavished upon him by the conqueror at the period of negotiation.

A. D. 1759.

Extended conquests of Hyder

Conquest of Bednore.

Immense booty.

Successful rivalry of Madoo Rao.

Hyder, having thus become the real sovereign of Mysore, applied himself to extend his sway in every direction. He made himself master of Sera, Chittledroog, and other districts properly included in that country; but whose rajahs and polygars, during the late troublous period, had rendered themselves in a great measure independent. His richest prize, however, was afforded by the conquest of Bednore, a territory situated on the loftiest crest of the Ghauts, 5000 feet above the level of the sea, where the profuse rains nourish magnificent forests and copious harvests. Its sequestered position had hitherto preserved it from invasion, and its rulers had applied themselves most diligently to that chief object of ambition in India, the accumulation of treasure. On the approach of the Mysorean army, the timid inhabitants of the capital, after setting fire to the palace, fled into the adjoining woods, leaving a splendid city eight miles in circumference entirely open to plunder. Wilkes estimates the booty, we suspect with much exaggeration, at twelve millions sterling; though Hyder himself, it is said, always owned that its capture was the principal instrument of his future greatness.

But this successful career soon met with an interruption. Madoo Rao, one of the most renowned generals among the Mahrattas, entered Mysore with an immense host of cavalry. They covered the face of the country, and so completely cut off all communication, that even the vigilant Hyder was surprised by the appearance of their main body, when he imagined them to be still at a distance. He was defeated, and after several unsuccessful attempts, during a campaign of some length, to retrieve his affairs, was compelled to purchase peace by extensive cessions, and the payment of thirty-two lacks of rupees. That tumultuary horde then retired, and left him at liberty to pursue his farther acquisitions. He directed his arms against Calicut, still ruled by a personage entitled the zamorin, and esteemed the prin-



principal maritime city on that coast. Its troops opposed him with the same desultory but harassing warfare by which they had baffled the attack of Albuquerque. The rude soldier, however, forced his way through these obstacles and approached the capital, when the zamorin, despairing of being able to prolong the resistance, came out with his ministers and endeavoured to negotiate a treaty. He was favourably received, and on his offering ransom to the amount of £190,000 sterling, the invader agreed to abstain from farther aggression. But this did not prevent him from attacking and carrying Calicut by surprise; and, as the money was produced very slowly, he sought to hasten payment by placing the sovereign and his nobles under close restraint, and even by applying torture to the latter. The prince, dreading that he would be exposed to a similar indignity, shut and barricaded the doors of the house in which he was confined, set fire to it, and before the flames could be extinguished, he had perished. Several of his attendants are said to have thrown themselves into the burning mansion, and suffered the same fate. A conquest achieved by such deeds of violence soon excited a fierce rebellion, which was suppressed only by severe executions, and by the transportation of a great number of the people to a remote quarter of Mysore.

CHAP. XII

A.D. 1766.

Submission
of Calicut.Cruelty of
the con-
queror.

These rapid successes, and the additional resources derived from them, alarmed the great powers of Southern India. Nizam Ali, subahdar of the Deccan, and Madoo Rao, the Mahratta commander, united in a confederacy to crush the assailant; and the English agreed to place an auxiliary force at the disposal of the former, with the vague commission "to settle the affairs of his government in every thing that is right and proper." It was distinctly understood, that they were to co-operate in the invasion of Mysore; and Colonel Smith proceeded to Hyderabad to arrange measures for that purpose. This seems to have been a very doubtful policy, when the Mahrattas alone were fully equal to contend with Hyder; so that the two parties might have been advan-

Confederacy
formed
against
Hyder.



CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1767.

Want of
combination
among the
allies.

Expedients
of Hyder.

His success-
ful diplo-
macy.

tageously left to weaken each other by mutual warfare; whereas the aggrandizement of the one by the downfall of the other tended directly to overthrow the balance of power.

The three allied armies began to move early in 1767, but in a straggling and ill-combined manner. A month before the two others were ready, Rao had covered with clouds of cavalry the high plains of Mysore; and his force alone was more than Hyder dared to encounter in the field. This last endeavoured to pursue a desultory mode of defence, causing the grain to be buried, the wells to be poisoned, the forage to be consumed, and the cattle to be driven away. Every expedient proved unavailing to stop the progress of these rapid and skilful marauders: their horses fed on the roots of grass; by thrusting iron rods into the earth they discovered from the sound, the resistance, and even from the smell, the places where corn was deposited; while the cattle, to whatever spot they might be removed, were traced out and seized. The Mysorean leader, finding them already in the heart of his dominions, where he had no means of arresting their progress, determined at any price to detach them from the confederacy. Apajee Ram, a Bramin, was sent, and opened a negotiation in a style much differing from European diplomacy. He was received in full durbar by the Mahratta general, who declared his determination not to treat with an opponent who held his legitimate prince in such unworthy captivity; and a murmur of approbation ran through the assembly. The envoy humbly confessed the charge, but took leave to add, that his master, whenever an opposite example was set by his betters, would immediately follow it. Every one now recollected that Madoo Rao held the descendant of Sevajee in exactly the same thralldom as the rajah of Mysore was kept by Hyder; the approving sound was changed into suppressed laughter; the Mahratta chief hung down his head; and a serious negotiation was immediately commenced. He consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacks of rupees, to quit the country and



withdraw entirely from the grand alliance. He had gained his end; and when Colonel Tod was sent to urge him to fulfil his engagements, the whole court laughed in that officer's face.

Colonel Smith, meantime, supported only by the poor, ill-paid, and undisciplined troops of the nizam, had entered Mysore. He soon began to suspect that this would prove a very futile expedition; and in fact it was about to assume a character much more disastrous than he anticipated. His Indian ally had taken umbrage on various grounds at the English presidency. They had procured from the Mogul, now a merely nominal potentate, the grant of the valuable territory of the Northern Circars. Mohammed Ali, their confederate, whom they had raised to be Nabob of the Carnatic, had meantime advanced pretensions to the dominions and rank of the nizam, which the latter suspected the British of secretly favouring. Hyder therefore employed Maphuz Khan, brother to that chief, who, actuated by the fraternal jealousies usually prevalent in India, had come over to the Mysorean interest, to open a secret correspondence with the subahdar. This last was easily persuaded, that he should most successfully realize his views of aggrandizement by entering into a league with Hyder against Mohammed and that foreign power, of which he was rendering himself the instrument; and accordingly these two parties, who were so lately vowing each other's destruction, united in an offensive treaty against our countrymen. Colonel Smith, both from his own observation and from notices given by his faithful ally, soon obtained a clear perception of this change in the position of affairs. It bore rather a serious aspect, considering the distance to which he had advanced into the enemy's territory; but on his remonstrances the nizam concurred in the propriety of his retreat, only desiring that a corps of three battalions should remain with him,—a request which was very unaccountably complied with. Yet the Indian prince, on this occasion, displayed honourable feelings very unusual with persons of the same class.

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1767

Proceedings
of the Eng
Holl.Faithlessness
of their allies.Dangerous
position of
the English.



CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1767.

Overwhelm-
ing alliance
against the
English.

The fruitless
victory of
Colonel
Smith.

First appear-
ance of
Tippoo.

Before commencing hostilities he allowed the whole detachment to depart, except five companies, and afterwards these also, without the least molestation.

Colonel Smith, seeing himself now threatened by the united attack of these two great powers, with an army of 43,000 horse and 28,000 foot, while he himself had only 6000 foot and 1000 horse, limited his efforts to fortifying the passes of the Ghauts by which they might be expected to descend into the Carnatic; but, from ignorance of the local positions, he left undefended those very openings which were the most favourable for their purpose. Through these they very easily penetrated, and, threatening the rear of his column, obliged him instantly to fall back. The confederates attacked him near Changama, but were completely repulsed; though, in consequence of their horsemen having plundered the slender store of rice belonging to his army, this victory was converted almost into a defeat, and he was obliged to retreat day and night till he reached Trinomalee. The war now assumed a most alarming aspect. The British officer indeed had his force raised to ten thousand, for the most part regular infantry, which gave him a superiority in the field; but his cavalry were few and inefficient, while the enemy covered all the country with the finest light-horse in the world, which cut off all his supplies, and left him no command over any spot beyond that on which he was actually encamped. At the same time Tippoo, son to Hyder, afterwards so deadly an enemy to the English name, then only a boy of seventeen, made a rapid excursion with 5000 horse to the vicinity of Madras, and had nearly surprised several of the European residents in their country-houses. The Indian princes expected to see their adversary reduced to extremity by the want of provisions; but this was averted by the discovery of some hidden stores, which, according to national custom, had been buried in the earth. The nizam, imprudent and impatient, insisted that they should no longer wait the slow operation of famine, but bring on a general action. They made the



CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1768.

Successful
manœuvres
of Colonel
Smith.Singular
native caval-
cade.

attack at Trinomalee, confident in their superior numbers and vast masses of cavalry; but Smith, by an able movement round a mountain, and by the skill with which his artillery was served, completely baffled the efforts of this great though irregular host. The pursuit was marked by a singular occurrence. The Indian chief, according to his absurd practice, had ranged in the rear a long line of elephants, on which his favourite ladies, seated in pomp, surveyed the battle. When the field was seen to be lost, orders were sent that this cavalcade should retreat at full speed; but a female voice, issuing from a splendid vehicle borne by one of these animals, exclaimed, "This elephant has not been instructed so to turn, he follows the standard of the empire!" The consequence was, that before the flag passed several of these huge quadrupeds had fallen, and the balls were already flying among the fair fugitives.

Wavering of
the Nizam.His defection
from Hyder's
alliance.

The nizam, on witnessing these disasters and the disappointment of all his hopes of aggrandizement at the expense of the English, began to waver in the alliance. Another check sustained near Amboor, and the invasion of his territory by a detachment from Bengal, confirmed him in the resolution to withdraw himself from Hyder, and agree to a separate treaty, which was concluded on the 23d February 1768. Under the pressure of such circumstances he obtained tolerable terms; but was obliged to confirm the grant of the Circars made by the Mogul. There were to be paid to him, however, five lacks annually; not in name of tribute for this district, but as a friendly subsidy. Even from this there was to be deducted, for the expenses of the war, 25 millions, at the rate of three every year. Nor was any opposition to be made to the appropriation by the British of a considerable extent of Hyder's dominions.

Rash pro-
ceedings of
the English
Presidency

The presidency of Madras felt now the highest exultation, and sent immediate orders to Colonel Smith to enter Mysore, and strike a blow at the centre of Hyder's power. That officer represented the impossibility of subsisting his army in the elevated and barren territory



CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1768.

Injudicious
measures of
the Presi-
dency.

Temporary
discomfiture
of Hyder

Judicious
views of
Colonel
Smith.

around Bangalore, which upon this plan must have been the first object of attack. He rather proposed, in the first instance, to occupy the fertile country extending along the foot of the Ghauts, and make it the basis of future movements. The council adopted the very questionable policy of combining these two plans; directing Smith to march upon Bangalore, while Colonel Wood with a separate detachment should conduct operations in the district adjoining the mountains. With this scheme they coupled the very injudicious measure of sending two commissioners to direct and assist, but more properly to obstruct the proceedings of the commander, while they engaged Mohammed Ali, the most unfit of all persons, to collect the revenue of the conquered territory. This plan was meantime favoured by the advance of some British troops from Bombay, who had reduced Mangalore, Onore, and other important places on the western coast. Colonel Wood was thus enabled to overrun all the territory against which his arms were directed, capturing every post of consequence, while Smith arrived in the vicinity of Bangalore, and made preparations to besiege that important key of the kingdom. Thus in a few months Hyder had lost one-half of his dominions, and saw the centre of his power menaced. Having, however, in the first instance, directed his whole force against the western districts, he succeeded in completely retrieving affairs there, and driving the English out of all the places which they had occupied. He then returned to the eastward to make head against the Madras army, which, though it had subdued an extensive tract of country, held it by a very precarious tenure. His numerical force was indeed much diminished by the defection of the nizâm; but the remaining troops, being entirely under his own guidance, proved nearly as effective. The presidency incessantly urged Smith to besiege Bangalore, as the only step by which the war could be brought to a crisis; but he replied that it was impossible to do so without previously defeating Hyder's army; and though that chief continually hovered round



and harassed the English, he skilfully shunned a general action. Sensible, however, of the great superiority of his opponents, he showed a willingness to submit to very considerable sacrifices. He even offered to relinquish the frontier district of Baramahl, and to pay ten lacks of rupees for the expenses of the war; but the leading persons at the presidency, still buoyed up with hopes of conquest, made such enormous demands, both of money and territory, as confirmed his resolution to persevere in arms. The council, on pretence of consulting Smith, recalled him to Madras, leaving the command with Colonel Wood, who had gained reputation by his rapid subjection of the lower districts. This officer, however, proved himself wholly unable to contend with Hyder. Being surprised at Baugloor, he was obliged to retreat with confusion and loss, and must have suffered greatly but for the prompt arrival of Major Fitzgerald with a reinforcement. He was forthwith sent a prisoner to Madras, and the charge devolved on the officer just named.

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1788.

Extravagant hopes of the Presidency.

Recall of Smith, and incompetency of Colonel Wood.

The British force had now been considerably weakened by remaining so long in the open field, insufficiently supplied with food, and exposed to the unfavourable influences of the climate. The Indian chief, who had gained continual accessions of strength, determined on a bold movement, not in front of the English, but by one of his circuitous marches among the hills. First his general, and then himself, aided by their thorough knowledge of the passes of the Ghauts, descended suddenly into the level country of Coimbetoor and Baramahl, with the conquest of which our countrymen had been so highly elated. He found the Company's troops scattered in numerous small bodies, and occupying indefensible positions, which fell one after another, almost without resistance, while several were betrayed by the native commandants; so that in six weeks he had re-annexed to his territory all these boasted acquisitions. On this occasion a detachment under Captain Nixon being surrounded by the whole force of the enemy, was, after a gallant resistance, almost entirely destroyed. Hyder

Complete success of Hyder



CHAP. XII. then marched upon Erood, which was under the command of Captain Orton, whom he invited to come to his tent under promise of safety. This officer, with a rashness which Wilks can only account for by supposing that he had previously dined, went and placed himself in the power of his enemy. The rajah, it is said, always piqued himself upon not breaking faith without some plausible ground; but there happened to be in the English army a captain named Robinson, who was formerly a prisoner and released on his parole, which he had not scrupled to violate. On this pretext he not only detained Orton, but induced him, by force or threats, to sign an order to Robinson to surrender the important fortress of Erood,—a mandate which this last thought it his duty to obey. The same pretext was used for breaking the capitulations with the troops in the garrison of Caveriporam, and sending them to Seringapatam, where they were immured in dungeons, and treated with the utmost severity.

A. D. 1768.

Folly of
Capt. Orton.

Successful
overreaching
of the Eng-
lish.

Triumphant
progress of
Hyder

Mission of
Capt. Brooke.

Frank
response of
Hyder.

Hyder, in his triumphant progress, now began to menace the rear of his adversaries; and the English, awakening from their dreams of conquest, saw the depôts and posts on which their military operations rested in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Their pride was so far lowered, that they despatched Captain Brooke to attempt a negotiation with the sovereign of Mysore. The latter received him extremely well, and seems to have explained his views with a candour not usual in the tortuous proceedings of oriental policy. He declared that it was, and had always been, his earnest wish to be on good terms with the British, an object defeated solely by themselves and their worthless ally, Mohammed Ali. He confessed that this desire was prompted by an enlarged view of his own interest, especially as being liable to a periodical visitation from the Mahrattas, whose usual time was now fast approaching. He frankly owned to Brooke, that as he was quite unable to resist both them and the English, he might find it advisable in such an extremity to form a union



with them against his European enemies,—an arrangement in which he would find little difficulty. He desired him, therefore, to assure the council that no time must be lost in making him either friend or foe. The presidency accordingly sent Mr Andrews, an individual greatly in their confidence, to the Indian camp; but still their terms were too high. Hostilities were resumed, and Smith being restored to the command, checked the progress of the marauder, who, however, engaged at last in a most daring enterprise. With a body of 6000 chosen cavalry, and 200 picked infantry, he made a rapid sweep of 130 miles in less than four days, and appeared to the astonished council within five miles of Madras, who, then thoroughly awakened from their dreams of ambition, were seized with the deepest feelings of despondence. The British army could easily have returned in time to secure the fort; and they had only to fear the plunder of the country-seats, and perhaps of the native town, though this last danger is considered as doubtful; but they agreed at once to the demands which he made, that Colonel Smith should be ordered to suspend his march, and that M. Dupré, nominated as the future governor, should come out to settle the basis of a peace. In the present temper of the belligerents, the negotiation was neither long nor difficult; a treaty was concluded in April 1769, on the condition of placing the possessions of both parties, with scarcely an exception, on the same footing as before the war. Hyder solicited an alliance offensive and defensive; the English granted only the last, which, however, was found to involve them in all the responsibility that, by refusing the first, they had sought to escape.

Having thus terminated with advantage and glory this great contest with the British, he felt himself better prepared to encounter a still more formidable enemy. The Mahrattas, under Madoo Rao, entered his dominions with a force supposed to be at least double that of his army, and led by able commanders. He endeavoured a second time to check them by laying waste his territory;

CHAP. XII.
A. D. 1769.

Colonel Smith
restored to
the com-
mand.

Daring
enterprise of
Hyder.

Hasty con-
cessions of
the council.

Hyder's war
with the
Mahrattas.



CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1769.

Cruelty of
the con-
queror.Temporary
command of
Trimbuck
Mama.Retreat of
Hyder.His habits of
inebriety.Total rout of
his army

but the invaders, as before, surmounted every obstacle, and, forming a regular plan of conquest, reduced successively all his strong places, and committed the most monstrous cruelties. At one fortress, which had made an obstinate resistance, the barbarian leader ordered the noses and ears of the garrison to be cut off; and sending for the governor, asked if he was not conscious of deserving to be thus mutilated and disgraced? The other replied:—"The mutilation will be mine, the disgrace yours;" an answer, the truth of which so forcibly struck the Mahratta, that he dismissed him uninjured.

Madoo Rao being obliged, by severe indisposition, to yield the command to Trimbuck Mama, Hyder determined to make a stand, and intrenched his army in a very strong position covered by a range of rugged mountains. The new general did not attempt directly to force this camp, but pointed against it day after day such a harassing cannonade, that the Mysorean chief at length determined to fall back upon his capital. He began his march early in the night, hoping before morning to be beyond reach of the enemy; but the rash discharge of a gun by one of the officers betrayed the secret, and the numerous squadrons of Mahratta horse were soon in full pursuit. A most extraordinary scene then ensued. The critical condition of the army had not prevented Hyder from indulging in habits of evening inebriety, to which he had become addicted, and which now rendered him wholly unfit for directing the movement of the troops. Having in this state met his son Tippoo, he assailed him with the bitterest reproaches; then seizing a thick cane, applied it to his back with such vehemence, that the marks remained visible for upwards of a week. The prince, burning with indignation, went to the head of his division, dashed to the ground his turban, sword, and splendid robe, exclaiming:—"My father may fight his own battle, for I swear by Allah and his prophet that I draw no sword to-day." The army, thus left to itself, soon became a crowd of scattered fugitives, and their bold leader, while the Mahrattas were busied in plunder,



mounted a fleet horse, and almost alone reached Seringapatam. Tippoo, having assumed an humble garb, begged his way undiscovered through the midst of the enemy, and arrived the same night in the capital.

CHAP. VII.
A.D. 1774.

Trimbuck Mama immediately marched upon that city, and seemed on the very point of putting a period at once to the career of the great usurper. The Mahrattas, however, possessed no skill adequate to the siege of so strong a fortress. They kept up during a month a daily cannonade, which produced no effect, while the resources of Hyder were constantly recruited. He now proceeded to operate with success on their rear, and, after a tedious and desultory warfare of a year and a half, prevailed on them to accept the terms which he offered; namely, the cession of a great part of his northern dominions, and the immediate payment of fifteen lacks of rupees, and fifteen more *hereafter*,—a term of which he fully understood the value.

Inability of the Mahrattas to follow up their success.

The English during this war did not fulfil their engagement to aid the Mysorean ruler in the defence of his dominions. After it was concluded, the Company wrote to their principal officers, strongly condemning their interference in the wars of the Carnatic, the formation of any alliances which might involve them in hostilities, and particularly the supplying arms and ships to Hyder, or any other native power. To enforce these views, Sir John Lindsay was sent out as a sort of minister plenipotentiary, to act as a check upon the council. He, however, soon went much beyond his commission, for he formed a close intimacy with the nabob Mohammed Ali, whom he joined in urging that the presidency should embrace the cause of the invaders. They successfully resisted so gross a violation of their treaty; but these opposite impulses rendered the whole conduct of the British weak and vacillating. The Court, on being made acquainted with the doings of Sir John, superseded him, and appointed in his place Admiral Harland, commander of the fleet, to whom such instructions were given as were expected to prevent a similar collision. But he, neglecting

Evasion of their treaty by the English.

Division in their councils.



CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1772.

Views of the
East India
Company.Hyder's
invasion of
Malabar.Barbarian
cruelty.Death of
Madoo Rao.

their advice, proceeded in the very same manner, opening treaties of his own accord, and urging to warlike operations. The Court at length gave up this ill-judged attempt to check the council by a separate and co-ordinate power. The anxiety of the Company to follow a neutral and pacific system, and the total absence of any wish for a farther acquisition of territory, was, however, strongly impressed upon them.

Hyder, as soon as he had extricated himself from this invasion, employed the most active exertions to regain his lost territory; turning his attention first to the Malabar coast, the communication with which could only be maintained through the intervening district of Coorg. He suddenly invaded that country, which he found almost wholly unprepared, and made a singular display of barbarian cruelty. He proclaimed a reward of five rupees for every head presented to him, and sat in state to receive and pay for these bloody trophies; but after seven hundred heads had been brought in, there appeared two with such peculiarly fine and handsome features, that he was moved with unwonted pity, and ordered the carnage to cease. Coorg was subdued; and the once powerful state of Calicut, distracted by internal commotions, scarcely made any resistance. His next aim was to recover the extensive territories wrested from him by the Mahrattas; and in this he was much favoured by the distractions in which that powerful confederacy was soon involved. Madoo Rao, their warlike chief, died in 1772, and after a short interval was succeeded by Ragonaut Rao, better known under the name of Ragoba, whose authority, however, was by no means fully acknowledged. The Mysorean prince, therefore, fearlessly entered and overran a large portion of the ceded country. Ragoba, indeed, hastened to its defence, but being recalled by a violent insurrection, which ended in the overthrow of his power, he concluded a treaty allowing Hyder to occupy all the provinces south of the Kistna. Another army sent afterwards under Hurry Punt, the leader of the party which ex-



elled Ragoba, penetrated into Mysore; but the rajah, having gained over a detachment of the Mahratta troops, baffled all his attempts, and obliged him to desist.

CHAP. XIV.

A.D. 1772

Immediately after the treaty with Ragoba, the indefatigable Hyder began operations against a number of independent chiefs, some of whom possessed fortresses on the borders, and others within the limits of his territory. Among the most remarkable of these was Gooty, the castle of Morari Rao, a fierce Mahratta freebooter, who had long acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of India. This stronghold consisted of numerous works, occupying the summit of several rocky hills. After the lower stations had been reduced, the upper made so obstinate a defence that a treaty was agreed on, granting peace on the payment of a large amount of treasure. A young man sent as a hostage, being well entertained in Hyder's camp, was induced to betray the secret cause of submission, namely, that there was only a supply of water for three days in the fort. He took no notice at the moment; but soon afterwards contriving to find a defect in the articles, he renewed the siege, and Morari Rao in the end was compelled to surrender at discretion. The most obstinate resistance was experienced from the Polygar of Chittledroog, who ruled over a warlike and fanatic tribe, called Beder. They had reared in the most elevated part of their citadel a shrine to Cali or Doorga, the Indian goddess of destruction, and they firmly believed that, so long as it was duly served, the place would never fall. Every Monday morning solemn devotions were performed to the goddess; then a loud blast with the bugle was blown, upon which the garrison rushed forth in a desperate sally, with the object chiefly of procuring human heads to be ranged in pyramidal rows before the dread temple of the destroying deity. Although, contrary to every military rule, they thus gave to the enemy full warning of the period of attack, it was made with such fury, and at such various points, that the goddess was scarcely ever defrauded of her bloody offerings; and when the place fell, two thou-

Siege of
Gooty.Breach of
faith of
Hyder.

The Beder.



CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1769

Hyder's dis-
satisfaction
with the
English.League
against the
English.French
negotiations
with Hyder.

sand heads were found piled in front of her portal. Hyder was obliged by Mahratta invasion to abandon the siege, which, however, he afterwards renewed; but it was only through treason that the governor was obliged to own that the mighty spell of Cali was broken, and to admit an enemy within the impregnable bulwarks of Chittledroog.

Deep discontent against the English was now rankling in the mind of Hyder. He had, as formerly mentioned, earnestly courted their alliance; for his own purposes doubtless, but on the fair and honourable principle that the parties should mutually support each other against the overwhelming power of the Mahrattas. Their conduct, however, in the late war, when they saw his very existence so long endangered without making a single effort to relieve him, seems to have thoroughly disgusted him. He gave up every hope of profiting by their alliance, and even centred all his prospects of aggrandizement in their destruction. The Mahrattas again, whose councils had undergone a complete change, instead of threatening further invasion, sent proposals to Hyder for an alliance against the British; and a treaty preparatory to that object was accordingly concluded. By a singular fatality, the views of the government at Madras had been altered in the opposite direction, having become sensible of the advantages which might be derived from a union with the chief of Mysore. They even made overtures for a close alliance, with promises of co-operation in case of attack from any foreign enemy. His irritation, however, seems to have been only heightened, by having that aid which was denied at his utmost need thus pressed upon him at a moment when he could maintain his own ground. At this crisis the war, consequent upon the American contest, broke out between France and England, and was extended to India. The subjects of Louis, with their usual diplomatic activity, immediately opened a communication with Hyder, whom they found most favourably disposed towards them; and he engaged accordingly in that confederacy



to which his house so long adhered, and with results so fatal to their own interests. CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1769.

As soon as hostilities commenced, the English government formed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of all the French possessions in India without any exception. Comprehensive plans of the English.

Pondicherry soon fell; to which conquest no opposition was made by Hyder, who even pretended to congratulate them on their success. When, however, they announced their intention of reducing Mahé, on the Malabar coast, he decidedly objected; urging, that the territory around it having been conquered by him, was now included in his dominions. The British not considering this argument of sufficient weight to deter them from attacking a French fort, sent a body of troops who speedily reduced the place, although the ambitious warrior gave all the aid he could at the moment supply, in order to defend it. It has been supposed, that his resentment at this step was one cause of the rooted enmity which he ever after displayed against England; but the real motives of his conduct probably lay deeper, and were connected with a more extended view of his peculiar interests. Reduction of Mahé.

The government at Madras, while they adopted a more judicious policy in regard to the chief of Mysore, unfortunately shut their eyes to the possibility of its failure, and could not be convinced that they were in any danger from his hostility. Yet he made no secret of his feelings, and seems even to have amused himself by trying how far he could proceed without rousing them from their security. They sent to him Swartz, the Danish missionary, a highly respectable and amiable man, whom he received with kindness; and on his return intrusted him with a letter, recounting a long list of wrongs sustained from the English, adding the ominous words—"I have not yet taken revenge: it is no matter." Mr Gray was afterwards despatched to him, but seemingly very ill provided for an Indian mission, having no presents except a saddle and a gun, both of bad workmanship, which were disdainfully refused. Short-sightedness of the Madras Government.
Ominous message of Hyder.



CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1780

Unsuccessful
mission of
Mr. Gray.✓
Obstinate
blindness of
the English.Sudden
attack of
Hyder.Madras
menaced.

He was lodged, or rather imprisoned, in a miserable shed near the capital, and annoyed with the impertinence of one of the court-menials. He obtained only formal audiences; while Mohammed Osman, a confidential officer, brought to him messages by no means of an encouraging tenor. Hyder asked, "Of what avail were treaties? Of the treaty of 1769 the English had broken every article; his affairs had been reduced to the brink of ruin by their refusal to aid him against the Mahrattas: after such an example, it was unnecessary to enumerate minor grievances." As it was likewise evident that an expedition on a great scale was preparing in Mysore, Mohammed Ali represented to the government in the strongest manner the impending danger, and the necessity of taking the most vigorous steps to prevent it. But his system of policy was no longer in favour with the council; every thing hostile to the rajah was disregarded as coming from one who had long misled them on this subject. The government were therefore completely unprepared for the tremendous blow with which they were about to be struck.

Early in June 1780, after prayers had been offered in the mosques, and the solemn ceremony called *jebbum* performed by the Hindoos, for the success of the proposed expedition, Hyder quitted Seringapatam, and found mustered on the frontier perhaps the finest army that had ever taken the field in Southern India. It consisted of 28,000 cavalry, 16,000 regular infantry, and 40,000 troops of the class called peons, many of whom, however, were veterans,—in all 83,000, besides 2000 rocketmen, 5000 pioneers, and about 400 Europeans. In the middle of July he marched through the pass of Changama, and began a career of devastation in the Carnatic, which he covered with the most dreadful suffering. A few days after, while the ruling party in the council would scarcely admit the existence of danger, black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were seen approaching within a few miles of Madras. Colonel Wilks, however, controverts the idea generally received that the whole country was



reduced to ashes. This would have been contrary to Hyder's object in pursuing a plan of conquest; he merely drew round the capital a wide circle of desolation, calculating that a tedious blockade would be necessary to reduce so strong a city.

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1780

As soon as the first alarm of the government had subsided, they began to consider the means of resistance, which, with an empty treasury, disunited councils, and the impossibility of placing any confidence in Mohammed Ali, appeared extremely deficient. The first object was to secure different strong places now held by the troops of the nabob, who, it was not doubted, would surrender them to the enemy on the first attack. Several fell; but two were saved by the exertions of very young British officers. Lieutenant Flint, with a corps of 100 men, having proceeded to Wandewash, was refused admittance by the killedar or governor, who had already arranged the terms on which the fortress was to be given up. Flint, however, having with four of his men procured access, seized the commandant, and, aided by the well-disposed part of the garrison, made himself master of the stronghold.

Insufficient means of resistance.

Courageous proceedings of an English officer.

The next object was to unite into one army the different detachments spread over the country; the most numerous and best equipped being under Colonel Baillie, who had advanced far into the interior with a view to offensive operations. This corps amounted to 2800, the main body not exceeding 5200. Lord Macleod, who had recently arrived in India and held the actual command, strongly, and apparently with reason, recommended that the point of junction should be fixed in front of Madras, not in the heart of a province entirely occupied by the enemy. Sir Hector Monro, the commander-in-chief, however, undertook to unite the armies at Conjeeveram, fifty miles distant from the capital; but Baillie, in order to reach that place, was obliged to take an inland route, in which he was exposed to the hazard of being attacked by the whole force of the invader. He was detained ten days by the swelling of the river Cortelaur,

Lord Macleod's plan for united operations.



CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1780.

Divided
position of
the English
forces.Skillful
manœuvre
of Colonel
Fletcher.Rash delay
of Colonel
Baillie.

and, after effecting his passage, was assailed by a large detachment under Tippoo, which he repulsed, but not without sustaining some loss. Hyder then, under cover of a feigned movement against Sir Hector, interposed his whole army between the two English divisions. They were then only fourteen miles distant, within hearing of each other's cannon, and, could they have acted in concert, would have easily defeated the irregular host opposed to them. Baillie wrote, urging Sir Hector to join him; but this commander, conceiving that he would thereby lose Conjeveram with its small supply of provisions and stores, chose rather to send to his support Colonel Fletcher, at the head of 1000 soldiers,—a most hazardous movement across a country already covered by the enemy's detachments. Yet Fletcher, with great skill and activity, and by deceiving his own deceitful guides, succeeded, amid every danger, in joining the corps that he was ordered to assist, which he raised to upwards of 3700 men. Hyder burst into the most furious invectives against his officers for not having prevented this union; and the French, conceiving it preparatory to a combined attack by these two divisions, exhorted the chief, by a speedy retreat, to shun a general action. The rajah had formed a juster estimate of those with whom he was to contend. Colonel Baillie first attempted a night-march, by which a great extent of ground might have been gained, and where, in case of a battle, superior discipline would have given him the advantage; but meeting with some obstacles, he determined, contrary to Fletcher's advice, to delay till morning. Departing at dawn, he soon found himself opposed by the entire strength of the Mysore army. The English troops were at first harassed only by flying detachments; but when they came into a narrow and exposed part of the road, upwards of fifty pieces of cannon began to play upon them with the most terrible effect. The several narratives vary somewhat as to the farther issues of this dreadful day. According to official and other statements, our countrymen repulsed repeated



charges with prodigies of valour. Their bravery indeed is nowhere denied; but private accounts assert that Baillie, quite unaccustomed to a separate command, and fleeing in an agitated manner from post to post, took no fixed position, and did not avail himself of his real advantages. The grenadiers called out to be led on, and not exposed without the means of resistance to the destructive fire of the enemy. Suddenly two tumbrils exploded, spreading dismay, and threatening a failure of ammunition. The Mysorean cavalry, headed by a desperado named Seindia, made a furious onset, by which the whole sepoy force was broken, and mingled with the enemy in inextricable confusion. The handful of British troops still kept their ground; but as no hope could be entertained of their being able to withstand the whole army of Hyder, Baillie advanced into the front, waved his handkerchief, and concluded that he had obtained the promise of quarter. But when the enemy rushed in, either disregarding their pledge, or indignant at a straggling fire which was still kept up by the sepoys, they treated the troops with the utmost cruelty, stabbing those already wounded, and even women and children. The only humanity exercised was through the exertions of the French officers Lally and Pimorin. The greater part of the corps perished on the field; all the rest, including 200 Europeans, were taken prisoners.

Such was this miserable catastrophe, on which Colonel Wilks hesitates not to pronounce, that if either of the commanders had followed the dictates of ordinary experience, both corps would have been saved; and if the two chiefs had acted well, the discomfiture would have been on the side of the enemy. Sir Hector approached within two miles of the fatal spot; but observing the firing cease, and no return made to his signals, he withdrew; and, on learning the fate of the detachment, fell back to Chingleput, where he was joined by a smaller party under Colonel Cosby, who had conducted his retreat with ability and success. The prisoners were conveyed to Seringapatam, where they were used with the greatest

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1780.

Incapacity of
Baillie for
command.His total
defeat.Opinion of
this catas-
trophe.



CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1780.

Cruel treatment of the prisoners.

Reduction of Arcot.

Sir Eyre Coote appointed to the command.

Small available force.

inhumanity. All those not wounded were put in irons, and lodged in a kind of open shed, with sleeping-places at the corners, supplied simply with mats. Only sixpence a-day was allowed for food, and no medicine was provided under the severe maladies caused by this mode of life, and to which many fell victims.

The first advantage that the ruler of Mysore drew from this victory was the reduction of Arcot, which, after a respectable defence, surrendered on the 3d November 1780. He held also in close siege Wandewash, Vellore, Chingleput, and other important bulwarks of the Carnatic.

The intelligence of this signal disaster being conveyed to the chief seat of government at Calcutta, Mr Hastings immediately took the most active steps to repair it. Sir Eyre Coote, a veteran officer enjoying the highest military reputation of any in India, was appointed to the chief command, and sent from Bengal with 560 European troops, while a corps of sepoys prepared to march along the coast as soon as the rainy season should terminate. At the same time the governor of Madras was suspended, and his place in course supplied by the senior member of council, who had always opposed his inactive policy; but the funds for the prosecution of the war were placed in the hands of the new commander-in-chief.

General Coote, on arriving at the presidency, and preparing to take the field, found at his disposal not more than 7000 men, of whom 1700 only were Europeans. Yet with this force, so far from fearing, he anxiously desired to encounter in the field the numerous, brave, and well-commanded troops of the enemy. What he dreaded was the harassing warfare carried on by Hyder in a country which he had already converted almost into a desert. The English army, when it left Madras, was like a ship departing on a long voyage, or a caravan preparing to cross the deserts of Arabia. Every thing by which life could be supported must be carried along with it; and the soldiers, continuing to depend on the capital alone for supply, were in danger of absolute famine. As they



moved in a close body through this desolated region, never occupying more than the ground which they actually covered, clouds of the enemy's cavalry hovered round them; who, finding that they did not choose to waste their ammunition on individual objects, even rode up to the line, and held an occasional parley, uttering from time to time a fierce defiance or an invitation to single combat. Dallas, an officer of great personal prowess, successfully encountered several of the Indian chiefs, and his name was called out by the most daring of the champions. In this mode of fighting, however, the natives in general had the advantage.

CHAP. XII.
A. D. 1782.

Single
combats.

Harassing as such a warfare was, and though the Mysorean chief continued to refuse battle, he was obliged to raise the siege of every place upon which the English directed their march. In this manner the important fortresses of Wandewash and Permacoil were relieved, and a stop was thereby put to the career of the enemy. The British commander, however, in following the rapid movements of this indefatigable adversary, found his troops so exhausted, and reduced to such destitution, as left no prospect of relief except in a general action, which he scarcely hoped to accomplish. But Hyder at length, encouraged by the appearance of a French fleet on the coast, and by a repulse sustained by our countrymen in attacking the pagoda of Ohillumbrum, intrenched his army in a strong post near Cuddalore, where he at once maintained his communication with the sea, and cut off the supplies of his opponent. This station was extremely formidable; but Sir Eyre Coote skilfully leading his men through a passage formed by the enemy for a different purpose, drew them up in the face of several powerful batteries as well as of a vast body of cavalry, and finally carried all before him. The rajah, seated on a portable stool upon an eminence in the rear of the army, was struck with amazement at the success of the attack, and burst into the most furious passion; refusing for some time to move from the spot, till a trusty old servant almost by force drew the slippers on his legs, and

The career of
the enemy
arrested

Skilful
leadership of
Coote.



CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1780.

Great want of
supplies by
the English
commander.

Disputed
victory.

Rapid move-
ments of
General
Coote.

placed him on a swift horse, which bore him out of the reach of danger.

This victory enabled the English commander to relieve Wandewash a second time, which was again closely pressed by Tippoo; but it did not supply his urgent want of money, provisions, and equipments. After sundry marches and countermarches, Hyder once more took the field, and waited battle in a position chosen by himself, being no other than the fortunate spot, as he deemed it, near the village of Polilloor, where he had gained the triumph over the corps of Colonel Baillie. Here General Coote led his troops to an action which proved more bloody than decisive; for though he placed them in various positions, he found them every where severely annoyed by a cross-fire from the enemy. Mr Mill's authorities even assert, that his movements were paralyzed by a dispute with Sir Hector Monro, and that had the Mysorean captain made a vigorous charge he would have completely carried the day. But he at length yielded the ground on which the battle was fought, and the English reached it over the dead bodies of their yet unburied countrymen, who had fallen in the former action. The natives, according to some accounts, boasted of this encounter as a complete victory; but Colonel Wilks says they represented it merely as a drawn battle, which was not very far from the truth.

Neither the fame nor strength of the British army was much improved by this engagement. The commander, however, having learned that the important fortress of Vellore was besieged and reduced to extremity, determined upon a vigorous attempt to relieve it; and having understood that Hyder was posted at Sholinghur, resolved upon another effort to bring him to action. On the morning of the 27th September, he pushed forward with such vigour as very nearly to surprise the Indians before their ranks could be fully formed. They rallied indeed, and made several brisk charges, but were finally obliged to betake themselves to flight with the loss of 5000 men, while only a hundred fell on the side of the



assailants. General Coote was thus enabled, though not without difficulty, to march upon Vellore, the siege of which was abandoned on his approach.

CHAP. XII.
A. D. 1781.

The war continued with various fortune. Intelligence having been received of hostilities between the English and Dutch, Lord Macartney, now president at Madras, formed the design of reducing Negapatam, the capital of their settlements; and, upon finding Sir Eyre Coote opposed to the measure, he completed, without drawing any from the main army, a detachment of 4000 men, placed under the command of Sir Hector Monro. The enterprise was conducted with the greatest vigour, and five successive lines of redoubts were carried by the besiegers with such energy and intrepidity, that the garrison, though consisting of about 8000, capitulated in fourteen days. All the other Dutch settlements on the same coast fell along with it; and even their important station of Trincomalee, on the island of Ceylon, was carried by storm.

Fall of the
Dutch settle-
ments.

Meantime Colonel Brathwaite, at the head of 2000 men, was recovering for the English their ascendancy in Tanjore; though his corps, when the whole country was occupied by the Mysorean cavalry, seems to have been too small to remain with safety detached from the main army. Hyder not only cut off from the British all sources of accurate information, but studied to deceive them: all the spies who pretended to give them intelligence were in his pay; and Brathwaite remained encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, without a suspicion that the flower of the enemy's forces were hemming him in on every side. Even when assured of the fact by one of the natives, he was so misled by opposite intimations as to think the assertion unworthy of credit, till he found himself enclosed by an army of more than ten times his number. All accounts agree that the resistance of this devoted little corps was truly gallant, and that, during the protracted contest, they repulsed repeated and desperate attacks. But at length an onset by the French troops broke the sepoys; the whole were thrown into confusion, and finally either killed or obliged

Temporary
success of the
English in
Tanjore.

Spy system
of Hyder.

Total defeat
of Colonel
Brathwaite.



CHAP. XII. to surrender. The French officers displayed their usual
A. D. 1781. humanity, and even Tippoo, who commanded, did not
on this occasion treat the prisoners with his accustomed
barbarity.

Fears of
Hyder.

Notwithstanding this triumph Hyder felt deep anxiety
as to his future prospects. He learned that, through
the indefatigable exertions made by Mr Hastings from
Bengal, the Mahratta government had withdrawn from
his alliance, and had even bound themselves to guarantee
the British territory as it stood at the period of their
last treaty. At the same time a detachment, which he
had sent to besiege Tellicherry on the Malabar coast,
met with a very unexpected resistance; they were not
only unable to make any impression, but, on a strong
reinforcement being received from Bombay, were beaten
and compelled to surrender. So much depressed was
he by these unfavourable circumstances, that he had even
formed the design of evacuating the Carnatic, when tid-
ings arrived of a strong body of French troops having
arrived on the coast; and accordingly, on the 10th March,
they landed to the amount of 3000. These auxiliaries
and their allies, regarding themselves now decidedly su-
perior in the field, immediately laid siege to Cuddalore,
which, having been imperfectly provided with the means
of defence, surrendered almost without resistance. They
then proceeded to attack the important position of Wan-
dewash; but General Coote having presented himself,
and offered battle for its relief, the combined army, with
all its boasted strength, declined that issue and retreated
towards Pondicherry. The British general followed,
and defeated them with considerable loss near Arnee. At
the same time he threw supplies into Vellore, and under-
took an expedition against Cuddalore, which failed only
through the want of naval co-operation. Thus, even
after obtaining a powerful reinforcement from France,
Hyder remained still unable to face the English army in
the open field.

Arrival of
French allies.

Superiority
of General
Coote.

In the meanwhile, the latter were employing vigorous
efforts to make an impression on the side of Malabar.



After the triumphant repulse of the enemy from Tellicherry, Major Abingdon reduced Calicut; and Colonel Humberstone, an able and intelligent officer, landed with additional strength from Bombay, which rendered the British completely masters of the field. The nayrs, hailing him as a deliverer, immediately joined their forces to his, and the combined troops proceeded into the interior. The enemy having imprudently waited their approach in a disadvantageous position, with a river in their rear, were totally defeated, and a great number drowned in the flight. Yet, on advancing into the country, the conqueror found himself so encumbered by the difficulties of the march, and harassed by parties acting in his rear, that he was obliged to commence his retreat. This movement it was soon necessary to make very rapid, as Tippoo and Lally had hastened with a large army to retrieve the Mysorean interests on this coast. The English fell back to Paniani, where Colonel Macleod, who arrived to take the command, intrenched himself so strongly, that Tippoo was repulsed with a severe loss. This prince, however, was preparing with a superior force to renew the attack, when he was recalled by an event of the most momentous character, to which he very naturally considered every other as secondary.

Successes of the English.

Counter operations of Tippoo.

Hyder's health had for some time been in a state of rapid decline, and symptoms now appeared of that severe imposthume called the rajhora, or royal boil, said to be peculiar to the country and even to the higher ranks. When decidedly formed, it baffles the skill of the native physicians, and invariably proves fatal. He expired on the 7th December 1782, at an age not precisely ascertained, but believed to have exceeded eighty. Of the numerous race of Indian adventurers he was perhaps the most remarkable. Destitute of the first elements of education, unable to write or read, he made his way to the throne of a mighty kingdom, which he governed with brilliant talent and profound political wisdom, though without the least tincture of honour, principle,

Death of Hyder.



CHAP. XII.
A. D. 1782.

or humanity. His death formed a crisis the most alarming for the power which he had reared. An Indian army is held together by no sentiment of patriotism, public duty, or professional character, but simply by fealty to their chief, and to him personally. When he disappears, his soldiers are converted from an organized body to a scattered crowd of individuals, who either disperse entirely or are formed into bands, each following the leader who attaches them to him by his exploits, or can bribe them by his wealth. This danger was great as it respected the family of Hyder, whose active mind was the soul of every movement in the court and army. His sagacity, however, enabled him to choose instruments who, in the hour of trial, proved faithful to himself and his house.

Designs of
Hyder's
ministers.

The affairs of his treasury were administered by the joint instrumentality of Poornea and Kishen Rao, two Brahmans of opposite sects, speaking different languages, and serving as checks upon each other. These two persons, as soon as they saw Hyder's last hour approaching, formed in concert the extraordinary design of concealing it from the army and the world. The state of his health had for some time prevented him from receiving any but his most confidential servants; to them the two treasurers, with awful injunctions of secrecy, communicated the fact; while to all the others they gave regular reports of the progress of the malady, which they still represented as favourable. Only Mohammed Ameen, cousin-german to the monarch, with another chief, contrived the plan of raising to power his second son, a youth of defective intellect, as a pageant in whose name they themselves might govern. But their plot was discovered; and they were apprehended and sent off under a strong guard, as if by the personal orders of the sovereign. The instant that the rajah expired, his faithful ministers despatched notice to his eldest son, which reached him in four days. Tippoo instantly suspended his operations against the English, and accomplished a march with extreme rapidity across the peninsula. As

Discovery of
their plot.



he approached, and learned that every thing was tranquil, he slackened his speed, and on the 2d January, 1783, made a private entry into the camp, where, after the usual distribution of pay and donatives, he was soon recognised as commander of the army and as sovereign of Mysore. He had now at his disposal troops estimated at 88,000 men, and a treasure amounting to three millions sterling, besides a great store of jewels and other precious effects.

Notwithstanding this studied concealment, the government at Madras received early notice of the death of Hyder. They immediately transmitted the intelligence to their commander-in-chief, urging him to make a rapid movement to take advantage of that disorganization which usually follows such a crisis in an Indian government. But unfortunately the most violent insubordination and dissension reigned among the different members of the council themselves. The dictatorial power, independent of the civil government, intrusted to Sir Eyre Coote, was perhaps necessary under the circumstances of that period, and had been attended with signal advantage in the conduct of the war; but it formed a precedent to which future commanders were too much inclined to appeal. General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre, claimed equal authority; while Lord Macartney required the entire subordination of the military to the civil administration. The former, to vindicate his supposed right, seems to have acted in studious opposition to the instructions issued by the presidency. He first expressed doubts of the death of Hyder; then said that he would move at the proper time; next declared that his army was in no condition to march; and, in short, did not undertake any thing till thirteen days after Tippoo was fully established in the sovereignty.

This state of dissension between the civil and military authorities, each seeking rather to inculcate the other than to promote public objects, could not but be highly injurious to the service. The supreme government seem to have laid the chief blame upon that of Madras. They

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1783.

Accession of
Tippoo.Proceedings
of the Madras
government.Dissensions
in the coun-
cil.Injurious
delays.



CHAP. XII.
A. D. 1783.

say, "You favour us with a collected mass of complaint and invective against this government; against the Nabob of Arcot and his ministers; against the commander-in-chief of all the forces in India; against the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet; against your own provincial commander-in-chief; and again, against this government." It was observed, that the efforts of the presidency, when they had the entire management of the war and the most liberal supplies, had been altogether unavailing for the delivery of the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote was accordingly sent to resume the command, with nearly the same unlimited powers as before, to which Lord Macartney very decidedly objected. But the gallant general, overcome by the hardships of the voyage, suffered a renewal of some former disease, and expired on the 26th April 1783, two days after reaching Madras, and about four months after the decease of the great Indian prince whose career he had checked.

Death of Sir
Eyre Coote.

Policy of the
new sultan.

The war in the Carnatic had now assumed an aspect favourable beyond expectation. Tippoo, from causes which we shall presently notice, considering the west of India as having become the principal theatre of hostilities, withdrew his troops from the former, in order that he might act in the latter with more effect. In consequence of his departure it was determined to attack Cuddalore, where the French had now concentrated their main strength. As this place was receiving continual reinforcements, it was desirable to proceed speedily to its investment; but the Madras government lodged heavy complaints of the tardy progress made by General Stuart, who performed only a daily march of three miles, and thus required forty days, instead of the usual period of twelve, to reach his destination. He was censured also for immediately calling Colonel Fullerton from Tanjore, an expedient which was understood to be reserved for a case of urgent necessity. The fact, however, appears to have been, that with every reinforcement which could be obtained, the task was beyond his strength. Bussy, the French commander, had under him a numerous and

Complaints
against
General
Stuart.



brave army, with a considerable body of native troops. In an attack, which took place on the 13th June, the English gained indeed the contested position, but with the loss of upwards of a thousand men. The garrison was afterwards repulsed with considerable loss in a midnight sally;* yet Suffrein, the French admiral, having made himself master of the sea, and landed no fewer than 2400 men, the enemy acquired a decided superiority, and prepared for an enterprise which threatened the most disastrous consequences to the British. Stuart, irritated and disgusted, and considering himself abandoned by the government at Madras, had recklessly determined to expose his followers to whatever hazard the course of things might present. At this critical moment, however, tidings arrived that peace was concluded between the two nations. Bussy soon after suspended offensive operations, and even sent orders to his countrymen to withdraw from the service of Tippoo, offering likewise his mediation between the two belligerent parties; but, though some advances were made, they were not productive of any immediate result.

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A. D. 1782.

Overwhelming French force.

Tidings of peace.

We shall now turn our attention to the proceedings on the western coast, which were rapidly rising in importance. After Tippoo had retired so hastily to make good his claim to the crown, the English became again decidedly superior; having obtained a very considerable reinforcement under General Mathews, who assumed the command. That officer received from the presidency of Bombay positive orders to commence operations, and push forward without delay, by the most direct road, against the important city of Bednore. Instructions thus peremptory, issued by a civil government placed at so great a distance, were manifestly inexpedient. Mathews wrote, remonstrating in the strongest manner against the danger of the course thus prescribed, and the disadvantage of depriving him of discretionary power;

Proceedings on the western coast.

* Bernadotte, the present King of Sweden, was taken prisoner in this action, and treated by General Wangenheim with a humanity which he afterwards cordially acknowledged.



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A. D. 1783.

Temporary
success of
General
Mathews.Source of
unexpected
triumph.Counter
movement of
Tippoo.Rash secu-
rity of the
English
general.

and yet, though there must be always some measure of discretion implied in such circumstances, he proceeded precipitately to carry his orders into effect. He landed his troops at the point of the coast nearest to Bednore, and began to scale the steepest part of the Ghauts, regardless of several detachments of the enemy which were hovering on his flank and rear. He experienced a degree of success which there was little room to anticipate; every thing gave way before him, and Bednore itself surrendered without a blow. He is supposed to have found in that city a treasure exceeding £800,000, and was accused of appropriating to himself a considerable portion of it; but, from the events which followed, this charge could never be fully investigated. It would appear from Colonel Wilks, that treason, unknown to the general, had afforded the means of his triumph. Sheik Ayaz, the governor, had been raised to a high command by Hyder, who was accustomed to reproach Tippoo with the superior qualities of this slave as contrasted with his own. Hence the prince conceived the most deadly hatred against the favourite, who, soon after the late monarch's decease, intercepted a letter from the new sultan ordering him to be put to death. Under this impulse, he hastened to the citadel, and effected its delivery to the English. He did not, however, join in active warfare against his cruel master, but contented himself on his approach with retiring to the coast.

Tippoo was greatly annoyed on learning the fall of this important place, and the near advance of the enemy towards his capital. Mathews was soon informed that successive corps were throwing themselves on his rear, and surrounding him with a force against which he would be unable to cope. He had by this time obtained permission from the Bombay government to act according to his own discretion; but he was now so elated by his easy victory, that he placed blind confidence in fortune, and even, according to certain statements, believed himself aided by some supernatural power. Thus, reposing in full security, he allowed his communi-



ations with the sea to be intercepted, while his troops were surrounded by Tippeo's whole force, aided by the science of Cossigny, a French engineer. The garrison were driven into the citadel, and, after a brave defence, were reduced to the necessity of capitulating, though on favourable terms, receiving a promise that they should be safely conducted to the coast. When the Indian prince obtained admission into Bednore, he proceeded to the treasury; but, to his rage and dismay, found it empty. Orders were then given to search the persons of the English officers, on which unhappily was found a large sum both in money and jewels, considered always in that country as public property. Upon this discovery he considered himself absolved from all that he had stipulated; the prisoners were thrown into irons, and committed to the most rigorous durance in the different fortresses of Mysore.

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1783.

Compelled to capitulate.

The sultan immediately marching down to the low district, invested Mangalore, which, though a fortress of very secondary strength, was defended in the most gallant manner by Colonel Campbell. Having stood a siege of fifty-six days, it was reduced almost to a heap of ruins, when tidings arrived of the peace concluded between France and England. The French officers, Cossigny, Lally, and Boudenot, then withdrew with their troops from the army of Tippeo,—a measure viewed with great indignation by that prince, who considered them as united to him in a personal alliance during the war. Indeed it was not without difficulty that they escaped the effects of his resentment. Having made some vain attempts to prosecute the siege alone, he at length agreed to an armistice, which was to extend over the whole coast of Malabar. One condition was, that a certain supply of provisions, sufficient to keep up the present stock, should be allowed to enter Mangalore every month. But, although this stipulation was nominally observed, its spirit was completely violated, the food provided being so deficient in quantity, and of such very bad quality, that the health of the garrison rapidly sank; while General

Defence of Mangalore.

News of peace between France and England.

Armistice agreed to.



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A. D. 1783.

Advantage
gained in the
south.

McLeod, with an exceedingly ill-timed scrupulosity, declined taking any effective means for introducing proper supplies. The consequence was, that Campbell, after sustaining a siege of nearly nine months, was obliged to surrender, and was so overpowered by the fatigues of the service, that he soon afterwards died.

Meantime in the south, under the able direction of Mr Sullivan the civil resident, and through the military talents of Colonels Lang and Fullerton, very important advantages were gained. First Caroor and Dindigul, and afterwards Palgaut and Coimbatore, were reduced. The last of these officers was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march upon Seringapatam, when he was ordered to stop, and directed to restore all his recent conquests. Tippoo had applied for two English commissioners to proceed to his camp and treat for peace; and, with a courtesy which Colonel Wilks considers blamable, the Madras government had acceded to his request. These envoys, however, on discovering his proceedings with regard to Mangalore, sent orders to Fullerton to suspend the process of restoration. But at length a treaty was concluded, founded on the basis that each party should retain his former possessions, and that the sultan should release such of his prisoners as had survived the cruelties with which they had been treated.



CHAPTER XIII.

Conquest of Mysore.

Power of Tippoo—His Persecution of the Christians, and of the People of Coorg—Confederacy against him—His Successes—Conclusion of Peace—Cruel Treatment of the Natives in Calicut—Attack on Travancore—Repulse—Final Success—Arrival and Views of Marquis Cornwallis—He resolves to make War upon Tippoo—Treaty with the Nizam—General Medows opens the Campaign—Reduction of Dindigul and Palgaut—Successful Manœuvres of Tippoo—He lays waste the Carnatic—Cornwallis assumes the Command—Advances upon Bangalore—Reduces that Fortress—Nizam's Contingent—Advance upon Seringapatam—Engagement, Distress and Retreat of the English—General Abercromby's Advance and Retreat—Junction with the Mahrattas—Reduction of several Hill-forts—Second March on Seringapatam—Defeat of Tippoo—Overtures from him—Terms accepted—The young Princes received as Hostages—Difficulties—Final Conclusion—General Results of the War—Pacific Policy of Sir John Shore—Arrival of Marquis Wellesley—His System—Tippoo's Negotiation with the French—British Influence established at the Court of the Nizam—Negotiations with the Sultan—Army advances against him—He attacks the Troops from Bombay—British march on Seringapatam—Action at Malavilly—Despondence of Tippoo—Siege commenced—Its Operations—Tippoo attempts to negotiate—His Alarm—Storming of Seringapatam—Death of the Sultan—His Character—Anecdotes—Disposal of the Kingdom of Mysore.

Tippoo, after having concluded this treaty, became the most prominent personage in the political world of India. Equal perhaps to his father in talents and ambition, sometimes even displaying a superior military genius, he was yet, as already observed, a very different character.

CHAP. XIII.
A. D. 1782.

Power of
Tippoo.



CHAP. XIII.

A.D. 1784.

Character of
Tippoo.Persecution
of the
Christians.Cruel and
inconsistent
proceedings.

The former always proceeded in a direct course to realize his schemes of interest or ambition, from which no other object could turn him aside; but the latter was agitated by various passions and caprices, which disqualified him from pursuing a decided line of policy. Instead, too, of manifesting the indifference of Hyder on the subject of religion, he was inspired with a furious zeal in the cause of Islamism, which prompted to the most odious and tyrannical measures. The issue was, that he was buried under the ruins of the empire he inherited, and which his predecessor, by so many arts and crimes, had raised out of nothing.

His first religious persecution was directed against the Christians on the coast of Canara, who had been converted by the Portuguese. In this case, indeed, he seems to have had a somewhat plausible pretext. In his narrative he asserts, probably not without truth, that the Europeans had originally employed violent means to compel the natives to adopt the new creed. Having therefore collected 60,000, by his own statement, but, according to Wilks, only 30,000, he forcibly inflicted on them the rite of circumcision; then hurried them to the capital, and distributed them in the different garrisons; a barbarous treatment, by which it is said that many perished. By a strange inconsistency, he represented it as the highest honour to be thus urged to the profession of the Moslem faith, yet made it the punishment of rebellion and contumacy. The rude mountainous territory of Coorg had always formed a reluctant appendage to the kingdom of Mysore. The people had taken advantage of the war with the English to reassert their independence; holding their conquerors in equal abhorrence on account of their religion, and their disregard for the rights of landed property. As they now presented the aspect of a formidable resistance, Tippoo was obliged to march against them with his whole force, when they retreated into the depth of their forests, which appeared almost inaccessible. Having, however, divided his whole army into detachments, which formed a complete circle



round the unhappy fugitives, and closing in upon them as huntsmen do in pursuit of game, he at length penetrated into their most secret haunts, and carried off 70,000 victims to undergo the abhorred penalties of circumcision and captivity. Elated by these cruel triumphs, the sultan hesitated not to assume the title of *padsha*, which our historians have not very accurately translated king. It was hitherto appropriated exclusively to the Great Mogul, whose supremacy had till that period been acknowledged in Mysore; but no sooner did the conqueror invest himself with this high distinction, than public prayers were offered for him instead of Shah Allum.

CHAP. XIII.

A. D. 1786.

The sultan assumes the title of *padsha*.

The increasing influence and lofty pretensions of this potentate raised against him, in 1786, a confederacy the most powerful that had for a long time been formed in Southern India. The Mahrattas had repeatedly shaken to its foundation the throne of Hyder; and, though now much disunited, they were still the greatest among the native powers. They held possession of the person as well as the capital of the Mogul, and had no rivals for empire except in the Afghan sovereigns. With the nizam, who ranked second in strength and dignity, they formed an alliance, which had for its object the subversion of the new kingdom in the south, and the division between them of all its possessions. So confident were the Mahrattas of a triumphant issue, that they did not even call in their own contingents, and declined courting the aid of the English, lest they should be obliged to share with them the expected spoil. The confederates advanced towards the Toombuddra, the chief barrier between their dominions and those of Tippoo; they besieged and took the strong fortress of Badamee; and their cavalry spread themselves over the country. The sultan did not attempt directly to oppose this invading force; but by a circuitous movement came rapidly upon Adonie, the principal fortress of the nizam south of the river just named, and considered by this ruler so strong, that he had formed in it a sort of royal esta-

Confederacy against the sultan.

Confidence of the Mahrattas.

Investment of the fortress of Adonie.



CHAP. XIII

A. D. 1786.

Impetuous
attack and
repulse of
Tippoo.Abandon-
ment of
Adonie.Daring
scheme of
Tippoo.Partial suc-
cess.

blishment, which included the harems of his brother and nephew. The son of Hyder pushed the siege with his characteristic impetuosity ; but having prematurely attempted to storm a breach, found it so bravely defended by its commander, that he sustained a complete repulse. The confederate armies were thus enabled to come to its relief, and obliged him to retire. But it was now the season of the year at which the Toonabuddra undergoes its periodical inundation, when it became necessary for the allies to have the whole of their armies, their materials, and supplies, either on the one side or on the other of that river. To transport so many men and so much baggage to the southern bank, in the face of an active enemy, appeared too hazardous ; they therefore recrossed to the northern side, leaving Tippoo's dominions secure during the period of the monsoon. They were even reduced to the necessity of abandoning Adonie, after hastily withdrawing its distinguished inmates ; and the victor on entering found numerous apartments still fitted up with all the splendour of a royal palace.

The sultan had now just ground to boast of his success ; yet he aimed at extending it still farther. He caused a great quantity of timber to be felled in the forests of Bednore, and floated down the swollen stream, where it was converted into rafts and basket-boats for conveying his forces across. All his officers dissuaded him from the daring scheme of carrying beyond this river offensive operations against such powerful armies. He rejected every argument, and in the course of a week had actually transported the whole of his troops to the other side. The confederates, who could not be made to believe in any such attempt, had neglected all precautions against it ; and their indecisive movements soon showed how completely they were taken by surprise. After repeated marches and countermarches, Tippoo, with his whole force in four divisions, made a midnight attack upon their camp. Through a want of co-operation between these detachments, the undertaking did not completely succeed : yet the enemy were thereby compelled



to quit their position, and when they afterwards attempted to regain it, were repulsed with considerable loss. The general issue of the day was such as induced them to retreat, abandoning to the conqueror the important city and district of Savanoor. Soon after, overtures were made for a treaty, which was concluded on the condition that the sultan should acknowledge the tribute stipulated by Hyder; amounting still, after some liberal deductions, to forty-five lacks of rupees, thirty of which were actually paid. He restored also Adonie and the other towns taken during the war, and was in return recognised as sovereign of nearly all India south of the river Toombuddra.

By this successful contest against such a powerful confederacy, Tippoo had earned perhaps the greatest military name in Hindostan; having displayed even prudence and moderation in the terms on which he concluded peace. He now considered himself the undisputed ruler of the south, and at liberty to propagate the Mohammedan faith by violence of every description. His first movement was to descend the Ghauts, into the territory of Calicut or Malabar Proper, which, by a hard-won conquest, Hyder had annexed to the dominion of Mysore. Here he found a race inspired with such deadly enmity to his favourite creed, that if a Mussulman touched the outer wall of a house, they thought it necessary to reduce the whole to ashes. Their religious profession, indeed, derived little honour from their moral conduct, since custom among the nayrs, or natives of high rank, sanctioned a mode of living so extremely dissolute, that Tippoo did not exaggerate when he told them, that "they were all born in adultery, and were more shameless in their connexions than the beasts of the field." But notwithstanding these habits, they possessed the utmost bravery, and were prepared to make the most determined resistance to the resolution entertained by the sultan of compelling them to undergo circumcision and eat beef. Even when vanquished they submitted to both conditions with extreme reluctance.

CHAP. XIII.

A. D. 1737.

Mutual
treaty con-
cluded.Strong posi-
tion acquired
by Tippoo.Descent on
Mysore.



CHAP. XIII.

A. D. 1788.

Religious
war.Extravagan-
tation of the
conqueror.Kingdom of
Travancore.Grounds of
rupture.

and many sought refuge in the heart of forests, or in the surrounding mountains, till at length the whole were either circumcised or driven from their fields and homes. The victor then commenced a war against the religious edifices. He publicly boasted that he had razed to the ground eight thousand temples, with their roofs of gold, silver, and copper, after digging up the treasures buried at the feet of the idols; but there is reason to believe, that in this instance he greatly exaggerated his own enormities. At length he became so elated with these exploits, that he appears to have considered himself as really endued with supernatural powers, and little if at all inferior to Mohammed himself. Being strongly advised by his counsellors not to attempt passing the Ghauts during the height of the rainy season, he replied, that "he would order the clouds to cease discharging their waters until he should have passed." But he had soon to encounter a mortal foe, against whom neither his earthly nor his celestial powers were found to avail.

The little kingdom of Travancore, forming the western part of the most southerly extremity of India, amid the revolutions which shook the greater states in its vicinity, had hitherto succeeded in maintaining independence and neutrality. It was protected not only by a lofty chain of mountains, extending as far as Cape Comorin, but by the more imperfect defence of a wall and ditch covering its whole frontier. Tippoo, however, had fixed his eyes with intense eagerness on the conquest of a territory which lay as it were enclosed within his recent acquisitions, and would complete their circuit. He fabricated several grounds of dissatisfaction. The territory of Cochin, which had now been reduced under complete vassalage to Mysore, happened so to intersect that of Travancore, that the wall formed for the defence of the one surrounded some portions of the other; and Tippoo could complain that his passage to a certain part of his dominions was obstructed by this barrier. The Rajah of Travancore again, with the view of securing his frontier,