Chapter XIII

RETROSPECT

With thunder and lightening Haidar and Tipu enter into history, and with the same speed they disappear from history. They dominate the scene in the entire latter part of the eighteenth century, and leave behind certain significant aspects of their regime. They took on a colonial power which was destined to play a vital role at the global level nearly for a century and a half. They linked Mysore with the outer world in such a manner as to cause a stir in many chanceries of Europe. They offered a relieving feature from that echoes and confusion of the times which had reduced India to an unimaginably low level of petty politics. They exhibited a certain degree of maturity, both in their external and internal politics, which aimed at making their State an instrument of great political and social change. They attempted to restore the balance of power which had tilted very heavily in

favour of unscrupulous forces, both indigenous and foreign. More than all, they took such great interest in evolving an efficient system of government, in enlarging the extent of their kingdom, in enhancing the prestige of their State, and in promoting the well-being of their people, that the small interlude of their stormy, and hectic rule forms a fascinating chapter of Indian history.

From 1760 when Haidar supported the French against the English to 1799 when Wellesley destroyed Tipu, Mysore had become "the terror of Leadenhall Street", the headquarters of East India Company in London[1]. Haidar's successes is the First and the Second Mysore wars destroyed the English reputation as an invincible power. Grant wrote to Shelburne, "An English army much superior to one which under a Lawrence or a Clive, five and twenty years ago made Hindoostan, nay some of the powers of Europe tremble at the bare recital of its victories, now for the first time was retreating in the face of an Indian army"[2]. We read in Dow's history, "We were alarmed as if his horses had wings to fly over our walls"[3]. Historical comparisons may be inaccurate, but a contemporary declared, "He is in Hindustan, what Zingis Khan, Timur or Nadir Shah were, or would have been, under the same circumstances south of Krishna"[4].

This gives us a picture how much the English dreaded Haidar and Tipu. It is quite in contrast to what had preceded in India ever since the Carnatic wars, when ludicrously small number of Europeans had inflicted crushing blows on large Indian armies, whether it was at Plassey or Buxar. Within a short time Haidar was able to build a strong State rich in resources, extensive in territories and formidable in power to check the British expansion. His possession of a long sea-coast, his quick reduction of a number of neighbouring principalities, his training of his troops on Western lines, his alignment with the French, his building up of a powerful navy, and his control of a chain of strong forts bordering the Carnatic, kept the English always apprehensive of Mysore.

The crowning glory of Haidar and Tipu's period was their success in the First Mysore War, when they dictated terms to the English at the gates of Madras, and in the Second Mysore War, when they inflicted crushing blows on Bailley and Braithwaite, and made Sir Hector Munro, the hero of the battle of Buxar, run for his life to Madras, throwing all his guns in Conjeevaram tank. Their success was due to

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1. Address to the Proprietors on the Political State of Indostan, Tracts, No. 133, p. 16.
2. Grant to Shelburne, 30 Nov. 1780, Add. Mss. 29, 209, p. 134.
3. A. Dow, History of Hindustan, Vol. II, p. 362
4. James Grant, 15 March 1782, Add. Mss. 29, 209, p. 452.

their playing of all their cards prudently and timely. They never lost heart in adversity, and never became proud in fortune. They played firmness and tact, shrewdness and sagacity to a remarkable degree. They proved equally good both in diplomacy and in warfare.

The Nizam's conduct was strange towards Tipu. He fought three wars against Tipu, the last being the most tragic one which witnessed the martyrdom of Tipu. In 1786 he went to war against Mysore along with the Marathas, and fared so badly that he needed Maratha troops for his protection. In 1790 he joined the English in the Third Mysore War, but his role was again as inglorious as before. That war lasted for over two years, and there was nothing for his army to do except to be the camp followers of the English. He was interested only in the spoils of the war.

When he was mercilessly crushed by the Marathas in 1795 in the battle of Kurdla he realized that his English allies had no faith in treaties, and that they were as unscrupulous as he was. He turned towards Tipu for help, and Tipu was too willing to extend his support and enter into a defensive and offensive alliance against the English. It was Tipu's set policy to oppose the English, and hence despite all the past lapses of the Nizam, Tipu went to the extent of proposing not only a political but also a matrimonial alliance. It was the Nizam's procrastination, short-sightedness and social arrogance that turned down all negotiations that were initiated. The Nizam thought it derogatory to his status to enter into any matrimonial alliance.

Tipu's allies, the French, were of no use to him. After 1783 the French never entered the battle-field in India. Tipu continued to entertain the hope that they would yet be of some use to him. He struggled hard to secure their co-operation, sent embassies all the way to Mauritius and Paris, urged the French Ministry to activate their interest in India, but it was all of no use. When a powerful alliance of the Indians and the English fought for two long years in the Third Mysore War against Tipu, they remained passive spectators, although they were his traditional allies. Despite all their indifference he never severed his relations with them. He appreciated greatly the French revolutionary ideas, formed a Jacobin Club in Srirangapatna, planted a "Republican" tree outside his palace, and called himself "Citizen" Tipu. He was in touch with Napoleon hoping they might yet be of some use to him. When a French adventurer, Ripaud, came to his court with news that there was a large force at the Isles to be dispatched to him on asking. Tipu believed him and sent an embassy to Mauritius which proved to be the final cause for his destruction.

Thus both Haidar and Tipu reposed full faith in the French, but they did not rise to their expectations. A question arises why the French failed to co-operate effectively with the Mysoreans, despite their avowed purpose to distress the English. Even when they were at war in Europe and America where they had an upper hand over the English, their performance was miserable in India ever since the Peace of Paris in 1763. One basic reason was the character of the French East India Company. Whereas the English East India Company was a private body in the hands of merchants with liberty to take quick decisions, the French Company was a Department of the Government in the hands of the politicians and bureaucrats whose procrastination was suicidal to their cause. Whereas the English Company gave full liberty to their servants in India to do what they pleased subject to one condition of profitability and success of the measures, such a scope was absent in the French case particularly after what happened to Dupleix. Secondly, France was on the throes of a revolution which was to change the very picture of Europe. When the mother country was sitting on the tip of a volcano, it could not afford to care much as to what happened in the distant colonies. Her involvement in the American War of independence brought no returns to France except revolutionary fervour. A commercial company which would have an eye on profits would not invest huge funds in doubtful ventures. Thirdly, the French Settlements in India, whether Pondicherry, Mahe', Karekal or Chandernagar, were all tiny pockets of ports with no match to vast English possession of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, Surat and Madras. The resources and the territories of the English were so vast that there was no comparison between the two. Finally, it so happened that all those who were in charge of French affairs in India, whether civil or military, were mostly incompetent. Whether it was D'Orves or Duchemin, Montigny or Piveron, St. Lubin or Ripaud, they were all a set of people who lacked vigour, will and imagination. It was unfortunate that both Haidar and Tipu trusted the French, despite their bitter experience.

One last point that deserves scrutiny is the question whether Haidar and Tipu while opposing one colonial power, the English, were not encouraging another colonial power, the French. Would not the French have been as exploitative, dominating and arrogant as the English? Would they have withdrawn quickly from India, had they conquered the territory? Is their record any the better in the hind sight of their rule in other colonies? These are postulates which might not have suggested themselves to Haidar and Tipu. We have seen Haidar's policy towards the Europeans, whether Portuguese, Dutch, French or English, who should all exist side by side to serve his interests, to supply him military goods, to train his army on

western lines, and to assist him against his enemies at times of need. His was a pragmatic approach at a time when European colonialism had not yet unfolded itself in its full colours.

Tipu's logic was different. He observed the English tactics and diplomacy how they made one Indian power fight against another, and how they managed by divide and rule. He thought that Indian safety too was in European rivalry. The Portuguese influence was reduced by Dutch supremacy and the Dutch were removed by the English. When the Portuguese and the Dutch influence was thus reduced, Tipu thought that the English power too could be reduced by intelligently playing the French card. There was one common bond between Tipu and the French, and that was the bitter opposition of both towards the English. The French animosity towards them went back to the days of Crecy and Agnicourt, and their rivalry lasted all through the centuries until the First World War. This identity of purpose brought the French and the Mysore Chiefs closer together, and each regarded the other as an effective agency to strike at is rival. When the French had helped the Americans in their war of Independence, he expected a similar situation in India. Just as they did not stay back in the United States, he hoped that they would pack off from India as well, once their goal of removing the English was achieved. Whether Tipu was right in thinking so, cannot be said, but in the light of his knowledge of the American War of Independence, the removal of the Dutch from India and the reduction of the Portuguese influence in the country, together with the French fervour on revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, it is quite legitimate to infer that he thought it highly desirable to seek French aid to remove the English without affecting in any way Indian independence.

Being disappointed in his expectations of aid from the French, Tipu turned towards other powers such as Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. Turkey during Tipu's period was still the foremost political power of the Muslim world. Despite its decay it had checked the further expansion of Russia in the South. Tipu had great respect for the Sultan of Turkey, and he viewed the British expansion in the east as a threat to the Islamic world. He called the English as "the enemies of the faith", and identified himself with the general cause of the Islamic World[5]. He thought it his duty to warn the Islamic countries of the dangers of western advance on their territories. He wanted the Sultan of Turkey to join his crusade against the Europeans. These factors prompted him to develop closer relations with Turkey and to send embassies there.

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5. Kirkpatrick, Letters of Tipu Sultan, Appendix L. No. LXXI.

But these efforts did not bear any political results. Turkey was too much in the grip of the western powers. She could scarcely afford to alienate the English because of the Russian threat. A few more factors defeated all designs of Tipu. His frantic search for aid could hardly remain secret from the English eye. His diplomacy was no match to the British shrewdness. The English ambassadors at the court of the Turkish Sultan were quick to neutralize all efforts of Tipu. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire was in the declining phase which could neither afford to send troops to distant places nor was willing to do so. Tipu's appeal to religious sentiments that Islam was in danger in the east on account of western imperialism had no effect because Turkey too was increasingly coloured in political ideas of the west. The days of crusades were all over and it was national fervour that moved the people everywhere. At such a time it was difficult to excite the Turkish Sultan on religious ground. Although Tipu had made it a cover to conceal his political design which in effect was the real issue, but the short-sightedness of the Ports could hardly understand the deeper implications of western expansion. Tipu seemed to be the solitary figure who could discern what was in store for the Orientals.

Although Iran was yet another country from where Tipu expected some help, as Haidar had recruited 1000 troops from Iran, nothing came out of the contact Tipu established with the Iranian prince who came to his court in 1796. But it was with Zaman Shah of Afghanistan that Tipu desired to build up closer relations. Zaman Shah was the grandson of Ahmed Shah Abdali, and like him, a man of great military reputation. He meditated an attack on India in order to restore the Mughal emperors to their legitimate authority, and he had marital relations with the Mughal dynasty. Even before Zaman Shah ascended the throne in 1792 Tipu had sought Afghan assistance. In 1790 he had written to Timur Shah, father of Zaman Shah expressing his desire for Afghan cooperation. In 1796 Tipu sent two ambassadors to Kabul to induce the Shah to launch an expedition on India, and the Shah was found willing to undertake such a venture. All through 1790 it was very much in the news of the Afghan preparations of war. Wellesley was greatly scared, and he took all possible steps to avert the venture. He wrote to Dundas, "With respect to the views of Zaman Sha, the paper found in the palace of Srirangapatna have completely justified our opinion of Tipu's disposition to obtain the assistance of that prince, and of Zaman Shah's inclination to afford it"[6].

The anxiety of the Shah to liberate Shah Alam from bondage made Tipu feel that the Afghan co-operation was possible. This invasion became a reality when late

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6. Documents and State Papers, Published by Wellesley in 1799, Paper A, No. 2.

in 1798 Zaman Shah actually moved from his capital and advanced as far as Lahore in December 1798. His advance to Lahore confirmed the English apprehension that it was no empty threat. Not even the Sikhs resisted his advance. Between Lahore and the Compamny's borders, no one could stop him except Sindhia, but Sindhia was away in Poona engaged in Maratha dissensions. Wellesley observed, "The glare of victory, the influence of religion and the allurements of plunder will draw to his standard numbers probably greater than have appeared united in one cause since the days of Aurangzeb"[7].

Wellesley averted the exigency of attack on Delhi by hatching a new strategy which frustrated Zaman Shah's designs. Acting on the advice of Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, he set a Shia agent from Muradabad, Mehdi Ali Khan, who resided at Bushire, to go to Baba Khan, the Persian Emperor, in order to induce him to seize Afghan territories on Persian frontiers, and to excite Shia-Suni differences. This strategy together with all other precautions of Wellesley defeated the design of the Shah and frustrated all hopes Tipu had of taking advantage of English distress in the north. Zaman Shah who had advanced as far as Lahore had to beat a hasty retreat to save his own capital.

This was just the time when a deep plan had been hatched to make Zaman Shah march as far as Bengal after completing his task in Delhi. He was to restore not only Shah Alam back to his authority but also to put Vazir Ali on the throne of Oudh, who had been displaced by Sadat Ali Khan, and who had slain Mr. Cherry, the English agent at Benares. Having accomplished this job, the Shah was to march further east to Bengal in order to assist Shama-ul-Daula, brother of the Nawab of Decca, who was to be placed on the throne of Bengal. All this in effect would mean the total expulsion of the English from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. If such a design were to mature in the north, Tipu's job in the south would become easy. But Wellesley moved earth and heaven to defeat all these designs.

Unifying Indian powers such as the Marathas the Nizam for a common cause, and seeking foreign aid from such distant powers as France and Turkey were not the only attempts Tipu made to remove the colonials from the country. He thought of one more device of securing the Arcot Sanads from the Mughals, the highest legal authority in the land, so that the English who had become defacto rulers of Madras Presidency could be distressed. Tipu had great respect for the Emperor of Delhi whom he regarded the supreme head of the country. As early as 1783 he applied to

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7. Wellesley to Dundas, Martin. Wellesley Despatches, Vol. I, Appendix E.

Shah Alam for the Arcot Sanads, which would confer on him the Nawabship of Carnatic[8]. His contention was that Nawab Walajah Muhammad Ali had neither superior claim nor greater competency to administer the country. He had secured the Nawabship only through intrigues and utter subjection to the English. In a way he had bartered away his suzerainty, and had become just a puppet in their hands. Tipu thought that if by peaceful means the transfer of the Nawabship of Carnatic to himself could be effected, he could check the further expansion of the English.

The French supported his cause. Montigny laboured hard to convince the Emperor that Tipu should be encouraged in the general interest of the country. Bussy also wrote a letter to Shah Alam and Colonel Demante was specially dep-uted to Delhi for the purpose[9]. Tipu pleaded that he would remain within the legal limits, accepting the nominal suzerainty of the Emperor and paying him the annual tribute. At one stage these efforts seemed bearing fruit and the Emperor appeared to favour the thought of forming an alliance with the French to expel the English from India, and grant the necessary Sanads to Tipu. But ultimately this project too fell through partly by the British machinations and partly by the attitude of the Nawab Vazir of Delhi. Major Browne, the British representative successfully foiled the French influence through the chief miniter, Nawab Mujad-ud-Dowlah, the favourite of Shah Alam and the supporter of the English[10].

Thus Tipu was disappointed everywhere in his efforts to mobilize support against the colonials. He deserves credit not for the success of his plans but for the fertility of his mind in conceiving them and the seriousness of his purpose in pursuing them. He left no stone unturned and spared no personal exertion in processing his designs. Their failure need not detract the boldness of his schemes and the sharpness of his mind. He resorted even to intrigue at the Mughal court hoping it might review the old game of Anglo-French rivalry in the South. What might have happened at that time in 1783 when the Second Mysore War was still on, when Bussy had landed with a large French army, when a large part of the Carnatic was still under Tipu's hand having been occupied in the campaigns of the war, and when the English army was faring badly in the field, if the Mughal emperor had given the Arcot Sanads to Tipu, is difficult to imagine. However, the English stars were in the ascendancy, and they scraped through the crisis, proving once again their optimism that the Englishman loses every battle except the last. Tipu's role was only to save

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8. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 535.
9. O.R. Persian Records (National Archives), No. 86.
10. O.R. Ibid., 88.

the country's honour lest posterity should blame the age that it produced none who could hold the nation's banner high.

Tipu excelled his father in many of his great qualities, but he also missed some of them. Tipu was bold, dashing, dynamic, imaginative and inventive, but not clever, shrewd or cunning. He was more an idealist than a realist, more dogmatic than flexible, and more innovative than traditionalist. His fertile mind was restless to change every department of life, and that he desired to do it too soon and too radically. He never knew adjustments and accommodations which in a sense was a strong point with him, for he never made compromise with the English. He entered upon grandiose schemes as he was a revolutionary in thoughts and deeds. He fought all his life against sloth, cowardies, injustice and ignorance. His reforming zeal touched almost all aspects of life, including coinage and calendar, weights and measures, banking and finances, revenue and judiciary, army and navy, morals and manners, social ethos and cultural affairs. Despite his exasperating wars, he ushered Mysore into an era of unparalleled prosperity.

His burning zeal was to promote the well-being of his people. He attempted to modenise the economy by promoting trade, commerce, industry and agriculture. He built up an exceedingly efficient system of administration, and was almost the first prince in India to apply modern methods in the art of government. He launched a series of innovative measures which made Mysore a humming centre of great activity. His establishment of a separate commercial department, his opening of factories in distant parts of India and even abroad, his attempts to secure artisans from different countries, his promotion of industry to manufacture guns, muskets and a host of other commodities, his buildings up of a navy, his idea of opening a cooperative bank, all made Karnataka a prosperous and progressive State of the eighteenth century.

Tipu realized the realities of his times. He felt whereas Europe had made tremendous progress in invention and discoveries, explorations and voyages, new learning and thinking, India had lost even the parameters of her past glory. He analysed the facts why was it so, and found that the cross fortilisation of new ideas had met with a natural death in India. That was why he was so much fascinated by the ideas of the French Revolution, and the slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity. He went to the extent of calling himself "Citizen Tipu", for he thought that only one type of authority, autocracy, had choked the nervous sytem of body-politics. Caste rigidities had paralysed the social system. Too strong a tendency for each principality

to assert its own authority had fragmented the land. Tipu attempted to break these tendencies and build up loyalty to a larger State. His concept of a progressive state, his sense of responsibility to the needs of the people, his elimination of the feudal inter-mediaries and his building up a standard system of law and justice, and his setting up of an efficient system of administration, were all modern ideas which were far-ahead of his times. It stands to his credit that these ideas were subsequently adopted by those who bitterly fought against him.

In order to remove economic disparities he undertook various measures. He devised a plan of State capitalism. His commercial regulations envisaged a scheme of banking organisation in which small investors received higher benefits. It was an experiment of a type of co-operative bank in order to encourage small savings. He built up a parallel sector of public enterprises through State control of trade, commerce and industry. Karnataka was rich in such commercial crops as silk, sandalwood, pepper, cardamom, cocoanut, areca, and so on which were all in great demand in the western markets. Tipu was keen that the trade of these commodities should not fall into foreign hands. He became himself the greatest exporter and importer of goods which were sent out and brought in by his own fleet of merchant ships. The private sector continued its normal activity in the internal trade. The State interfered only in the export and import of a few key commodities, such as precious metals, elephants, pepper and timber, as also in the supply and marketing of certain essential goods to the internal market so as to stabilize prices and make them available to the public.

Not only trade and commerce but also arts and crafts attracted his attention for State control. A large number of workshops were set up which manufactured guns, muskets, cannons, glass, paper, cutlery and a host of other articles. It was his dream to keep Mysore in the vanguard of ship-building industry. In 1793 he ordered 100 ships to be built all with the indigenous material both for commerce and defence. The factory at Srirangapatna converted iron into steel and manufactured muskets, cannons, cutlery and watches. A machine was devised which bored cannon with power generated by flow of water. Haidar's and Tipu's names figure prominently in the list of inventors of rock technology. Tipu built a bridge at Srirangapatna which would swing if a man walked over it. It was intact until recently.

Tipu's great interest in agriculture could be guessed by his desire to construct a dam across the river Kaveri exactly where the present Krishnaraja Sagar Dam is built. In the midst of war against the Marathas and the Nizam he issued instructions o take

care of the silk-worms which were being brought from Bengal. He was so fond of horticulture and gardening that all his correspondence with foreign dignitaries would invariably end with a request for new varieties of plants and seeds. The renowned Lal-Bagh of Bangalore is from the days of Haidar and Tipu. He encouraged animal husbandry by establishing Amrut Mahal for new breed of cattle. He changed the land tenure which entitled the cultivator to own the land. He abolished the zamindari system and the grant of *jagirs* thus crushing the effects of feudalism. The existing forced labour was done away with. His love of plants was so great that he thought of a novel system of administering justice. For petty offences he fixed proportionate punishment, not of imposing fines, but of making the offenders plant trees, water them, and bring them up to a particular height.

His social reform included the prohibition of liquor. He put an end to the purchase and sale of abandoned girls and children. Use of tobacco was discouraged. He checked lavish expenditure on the celebration of wedding and other social functions. He thought of setting up even a University at Srirangapatana. He started the first Urdu newspaper. He was himself an author, and greatly patronaged arts and learning. His library consisted of 2000 manuscripts. He got a massive album prepared depicting the pictures of all great Sufi saints both of India and abroad.

It is his religious policy that needlessly agitated the British historians, who wantonly depicted him as "a monstrous pure and simple". They have ransacked the vocabulary of their language to find vile epithets with which to condemn him. Whether it was Dirom or Beatson or Kirkpatrick or Wilks or Bowring, all have vilified him. They were prejudiced because he was their most formidable rival who stood in the way of their expansion in India. It was only after his death that Wellesley could cry "India is ours". It was only Haidar and Tipu who had shattered their image of invincibility. Moreover, many of the atrocities which have been attributed to Tipu originated from those who had suffered defeat at his hands or had been detained in his jails as prisoners of war. Again, Tipu was painted in the darkest colour so that the people of Karnataka might wipe of his memory and remain loyal to the old dynasty of Wodeyars who had come to power with British support.

In reality Tipu was not intolerant. Gandhiji wrote in *Young India that* Tipu was an embodiment of Hindu-Muslim unity. His letters to Sringeri Mutt speak volumes of his deep respect towards Hindu religion. He furnished Shri.Shankaracharya with funds to reinstall the displaced deity in the Sharada temple. It was Parasharam Bhao's Maratha army that had damaged and pillaged the temple. He gifted grants and

articles of silver to several temples. Ranganathaswamy temple at Srirangapatna was hardly a stone throw from his palace from where he listened with equal respect the ringing of the temple bells and the muezzin's call from the mosque. His appointment of numerous Hindus to high offices and gifts to Hindu temples refute the wrong impression of his intolerance.

If he was harsh on the Nairs of Malabar, the Christians of Mangalore, and the Raja of Coorg, it was all because of political reasons, as they were allied with the British. He was equally harsh on the Muslim Mopillas and Mahdavis for the sake of law and order. He resented more the Nizam than the Marathas. His sense of respect could be guessed by the fact tht he would not attack the Dindigal fort from the rear, for a Hindu temple was there. When it was suggested to him that Purnaiah's loyalty was suspect, and that the Brahmin community was undependable, he quoted a Quranic verse which forbade the blaming of the whole community for the fault of one. When an officer reported to him that a Hindu had married a Muslim girl, he reprimanded the officer ordering him not to raise such personal issues. He held the Hindu *sadhus*, saints, gods and goddesses in high esteem. He feasted the Brahmins, bore the expenses of Hindu religious ceremonies, and gave generous grants to Hindu temples. He made no distinction among his subjects on the basis of race, religion, caste, creed and class. He never allowed bigotry or fanaticism to enter into his administration, for he was well aware that in a State of overwhelming majority of Hindus, any intolerant policy would lead to disastrous consequences. During the several wars he fought, no person of character, rank or influence ever deserted his cause and went over to the other side. As a contrast there were so many revolts and rebellions after restoration that the English resumed the administration of Mysore in 1831 under their direct control.

A critical analysis of the history of this period would reveal that Haidar was destined to build a Kingdom, and Tipu to lose it. Tipu lost it firstly because of external circumstance, and secondly because of his personal defects. The Company's position had enormously changed since Haidar's days. The Pitt's India Act of 1784 had given supreme authority to the Governor General. Both Cornwallis and Wellesley could concentrate on Tipu to a far greater degree than any other previous Governor-General. While Haidar had to fight only against the Company, Tipu had to struggle against the combined resources of the East India Company and the British Government. Moreover the Marathas and the Nizam never ceased their hostility towards Tipu. He would not have lost the Third Mysore War had they not joined the English. Even the neutrality of the Marathas in that war would have been

helpful to Tipu. He needed their active support in the Fourth Mysore War, but at that time they remained neutral. Tipu's power was so much crippled in 1792 that it was not difficult for Wellesley to beat him in 1799. The Nizam's non-interference in these wars would have been politically very helpful to Tipu. Wellesley could not have gone to war without the alliance of at least one native power.

Tipu suffered from certain personal defects as well. He lacked Haidar's pragmatic approach and Nana's skilful and cunning diplomacy. Though his policy was bold and imaginative, it was not well-planned, and not carefully executed. He exhibited great energy and courage, but it lacked tact and shrewdness.He would not sometimes compromise on small issues such as the Nargund case which led to a war with the Marathas. He was sometimes rash and hasty as in the case of the demolition of the Travancore defensive wall which led to the Third Mysore War. He was sometimes a poor judge of men and affairs, as he believed the French adventurer, Ripaud, who misled him to send an embassy to the Isles that finally led to his doom. He was unable to detect dishonest persons in his own camp like Mir Sadiq. He was sometimes too procrastinating as in the case of his evasive reply refusing to receive Major Deveton, which he later revised. His aim was good, but was badly executed. It was all a tragedy of high intentions self-defeated, as he desired to achieve too many things in too short a time.

In the balance sheet, however, Tipu's positive points exceed his negative ones. When one imagines the picture of eighteenth century India, one would realize the unbridgeable gap that existed between the Europeans and the Indians. The swiftness, smartness, strategy and discipline of the well-equipped and well-led European army would smash the disjointed, disorderly, ill-equipped and ill-led Indian army. Tipu did his utmost to change this picture, and was successful to some extent. National spirit, patriotic fervour and bold initiative pushed the Europeans to the centre of world scene, whereas the short-sightedness, self-interest and mutual rivalries of the Indians dragged them into blind alleys. Tipu tried to guide them in right direction. Whereas the Europeans had made tremendous progress in inventions and discoveries, explorations and voyages, and new learning and enlightenment, India seemed to be far behind in these areas. Tipu attempted to make some amends in this regard. The loss of soul within the body-politic of India was stinging Tipu and he struggled hard to revive the collapsing spirit.

In conclusion we may say that Tipu was revolutionary in thought, deed and action. He desired to accomplish much more than circumstances would permit. Challenges of time stimulated him to more spirited action. The dominant impulse in

him was his passion for change, particularly the change of mind. His own mind had undergone a metamorphic change, and he was in the process of changing the mind of others. The change he wanted to bring about was a simple concept that life was not worth living unless it be a life of liberty and dignity. Without this liberty man was like a bird in a cage. Tipu was agitated that the British were making the whole of India a great prison house. He desired to liberate the inhabitants to make them feel the freshness of free air, and the sweetness of a dignified life. The British caught him in the process of opening the flood-gates of this great prison, and they shot him dead. Although he succumbed like Caesar to the treachery of his foes, his plan of action to free India would ever remain an illustrious chapter of our history.

Tipu has a message to convey to the posterity. First, one should live and die for a cause, and the cause he lived and died for was liberty, which is the soul of history, for all history is nothing but the unfolding drama of human freedom, not only political freedom, but also social, economic and cultural. Secondly, we should remember his principle that one should not cut a tree to get at the fruits. The tottering regimes of his times indulged too much in the process of destroying their own garden instead of making it grow. Thirdly, Tipu was aware that India was a gold mine of limitless resources which need to be tapped to make her people happy and prosperous. He struggled all his life to modernize his State so that it could be an instrument of great social change. Fourthly, the need of the hour at that time and at all times is to shake off disunity, inertia, apathy and uninventiveness. He set himself a good example of being dynamic, inventive and innovative. His fertile, restless and resourceful mind yielded so many projects that he was far ahead of his age. Finally, real progress is a state of mind which generates both efficient and appreciative factors. Efficient factor work in time and space, but appreciative factor penetrates time and space, and expresses the *inner reality*. Tipu lived and worked in time and space with a degree of efficiency which his genius permitted, but all that he did would not seem to go well at any level; however, the appreciative factor of his thoughts and deeds would ever live as a beacon light to any nation that intends to lead a life of dignity and liberty. The appreciative factors he had in view were love of god, love of man and love of land. Many great personalities of the world who apparently failed in their life-mission have remained enshrined in the hearts of the posterity, and have become bright stars on the horizon of human heritage. That is the *inner reality* that is explicit in Tipu's life. It was his death that made him immortal, for he rejected the lore of nicely calculated less or more.