

Chapter I

EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION TO POWER



Tipu Sultan who succeeded his father Haidar Ali, stands out even more prominent than his father for his undaunted courage, indomitable will and relentless perseverance. Tipu was born on 10th November 1750 at *Devanahalli in Kolar District* and was named Tipu Sultan, after the saint Tipu Sultan Aulia, to whose tomb in Arcot, Tipu's mother, Fatima, also called Fakhr-un-Nissa, had made a pilgrimage praying for a son. Fatima was the daughter of Mir Moin-ud-din, who was for some years Governor of Cuddapah, and the sister of Mir Ali Raza Khan, who played a distinguished part in the campaigns of Haidar, and was killed in the battle of Porto Novo in July 1781. Tipu was also called Fateh Ali, after his grandfather, Fateh Muhammad.

Tipu's early life and childhood are not well known until he started accompanying his father's campaigns. At the time of Khande Rao's insurrection, he was at Srirangapatna, and was ten years old. When Haidar escaped on the night of 12th August 1760, Khande Rao removed the family to a house near the mosque inside the fort, and treated the members kindly.



Tipu Sultan's birth place - Devanahalli

When Haidar recovered his power, he shifted the family to Bangalore, which he regarded as a safe place. In 1763 when Bidanur was conquered, Tipu was sent there.

Unlike his father, Tipu was highly accomplished person, well versed in the scholastic learnings of his time. Although Haidar was himself illiterate, he took care to appoint good teachers to teach Tipu not only Persian, Arabic, Quran, Fiqh and other subjects but also riding, shooting and fencing. He attended his father in military reviews to acquire discipline and the art of war, particularly of the European type. His military preceptor was Ghazi Khan, who was reputed to be the best officer in Haidar's service. From the age of 13 itself he accompanied his father in his various campaigns. His first experience of war was in 1763 when he participated in Haidar's attack on Malabar, where Tipu displayed great dash and courage. In one of the difficult encounters in the reduction of Bidanur, Tipu crossed across the thick and dark forests with only two or three thousand troops to the place where a recalcitrant paliegar had sought refuge and forced him to surrender. Haidar was so proud of his son's valour that he conferred on him the command of 200 horses to act as his body guard. Soon this number was raised to 500 and the jagir of Maavalli, Konanur, Dharmapuri, Pennagaram and Jenkarai-Kottai was assigned to him. These places are located in Mysore, Hassan and Salem Districts.

Tipu played more significant role in the First Anglo Mysore War. It was he who negotiated the alliance between Haidar and the Nizam in the final stages of its

conclusion. On 11th June 1767 Haidar sent Tipu, accompanied by Mahfuz Khan and Mir Ali Raza to the Nizam with five elephants, ten beautiful horses and some cash as presents for him. Tipu was well received by the Nizam, who addressed him as *Nasib-ud-daula*, the fortune of the State, and gifted him robes and jewels besides conferring the title of *Fateh Ali Khan Bahadur*. Youthful Tipu carried on the negotiations with tact, and successfully concluded the alliance against the English.

Hardly a week later on 19th June 1767 Tipu was put in charge of small force and sent to Madras accompanied by Ghazi Khan, Mir Ali Raza Khan, Mukhdum Saheb and Muhammad Ali. Tipu exhibited such dash in this exploit that he reached the very environs of Madras, where at St. Thome he surprised the Madras councillors who hastily sought refuge in a boat lying close-by. He had thrown the inhabitants of the town into great consternation. Haidar gave him a hero's welcome, whose exploits were a great relief at a time when Haidar had suffered a defeat at Tiruvannamalai.

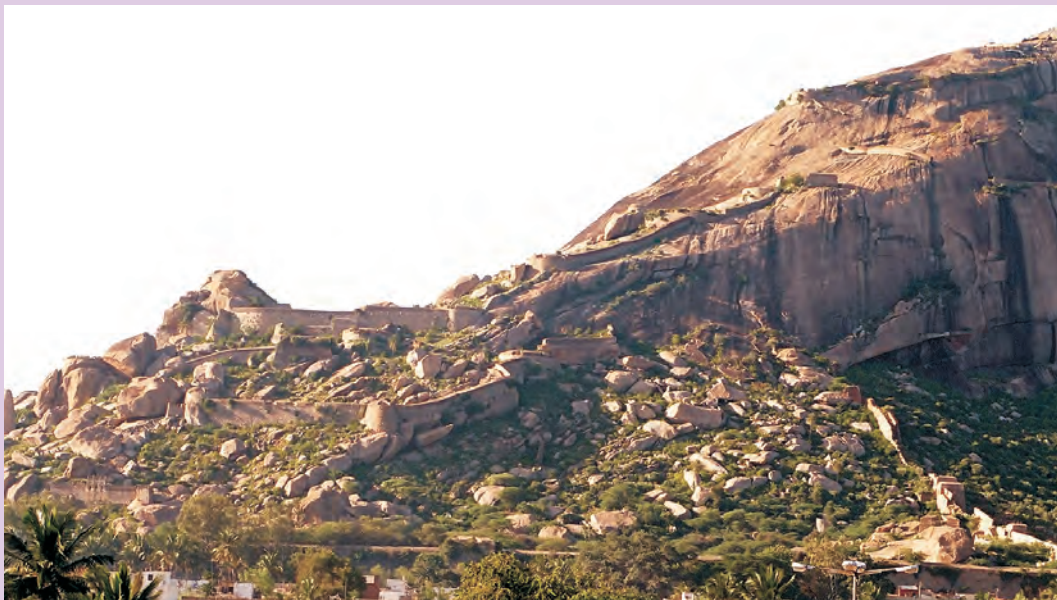
Subsequently, Tipu helped his father in the capture of the two forts, Tirupattur and Vaniyambadi. He was also present when Ambur was besieged, and when the battle of Vaniyambadi was fought. If only he had not checked the English advance, Mysore army would have suffered more in that battle. He remained active all through the campaigns. In December 1767 he was sent to Malabar coast where the Bombay army had captured Mangalore. On 2nd May 1768 he captured the bazaar of Mangalore, and a little later forced them to evacuate the fort. Their retreat was so panicky that they left behind their sick and wounded consisting of 80 Europeans and 180 sepoys, besides arms and ammunition. So great was the confusion that the sepoys fired upon the Europeans. Tipu occupied Mangalore.

Tipu figured very much in the Maratha-Mysore war of 1769-1772 as well. His task in the campaigns was to destroy forage, poison wells and tanks, intercept the convoys and force people to move from villages into the Forts, so as to cause maximum distress to the enemy. Tipu was recalled when the Marathas approached nearer the capital. In the battle of Chinakurali which was most disastrous to Haidar, Tipu was commanding the baggage in the rear, and Haidar was anxious that he should come to the front. In the confusion that followed which resulted in the rout and retreat of the Mysore army, Haidar was so enraged at Tipu, according to Wilks, that "he gave the heir apparent a most unroyal and literally most unmerciful beating"¹. Tipu was so hurt that he dashed his sword and turban down, and swore

1. Wilks, Vol. I, pp. 695-96.

not to draw it again. But this is not corroborated by any other source. Thereafter, there was so much panic in the battlefield that both Haidar and Tipu were left to their own resources to escape from the ghastly scene of the carnage. Tipu escaped in the garb of a mendicant, and joined Haidar so late as to cause worst apprehensions. Overwhelmed with grief at the thought of the loss of Tipu, Haidar was praying for his safety at the tomb of the saint Qadir Wali, situated in the fort, when Tipu's arrival filled his heart with great joy. Tipu too like Haidar was brought up in the most trying arena of battlefields.

Ten days after the battle of Chinkurali when the Marathas besieged the capital, Tipu played a vital role in creating disruption in the Maratha ranks by his repeated sorties and surprises. Subsequently, when the Marathas raised the siege and moved to Baramahal and Coimbatore, Tipu was said to have harassed Trimbak Rao. Still later, Tipu was successful in capturing a huge convoy coming from Poona. According to Grant Duff this exploit of Tipu was "the only success which attended his (Haidar's) arms during the whole season"². In November 1772 Madhava Rao died and Tipu was quickly dispatched to seize all last places. Tipu first captured Sira, and then Maddagiri, Gurramkonda, Chennarayadurga, Hoskote and Bellary. In 1778 he attacked



Maddagiri (Madhugiri) Fort

2. Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 569.



Sira Fort



Bellary Fort

Dharwar, and captured Hubli. His help in the reduction of Chitradurga was crucial. Thus between 1774 and 1778 Tipu was largely instrumental in helping his father recover all territory from the Marathas, which had been lost during previous wars.

But Tipu's role in the Second Mysore War proved historic. The defeats of Baillie and Braithwaite struck terror in the English hearts. On 10th September 1780, Tipu inflicted a severe blow on Baillie near the village of Pollilore and forced him to surrender. The entire detachment of 200 Europeans including 50 officers and 3853 men were either cut or taken prisoner. Baillie too fell into Tipu's hands, and spent good many months in the dungeons of Srirangapatna where he died. The disaster which befell Baillie was the "severest blow that the English ever sustained in India"³. When Sir Munro, the hero of Buxar, was retreating towards Madras throwing all his guns and stores in the Conjeevaram tank, Tipu was hotly chasing him all the way in Chingleput, capturing the baggage, and killing and wounding the stagglers.



Bailey's Dungeon, Srirangapatna

3. Gleig, Munro, p. 25.

In the capture of Arcot on 31st October 1780, the very capital of the Nawab of Arcot, Tipu played an important part. He was then helpful in taking Satghar, Ambur and Jiagarh. From Arcot Tipu was sent to Tanjore where he inflicted a crushing defeat on Braithevaite on 18th February 1782. Like Baillie, Braithevaite was taken captive with his 100 Europeans, 1,500 Sepoys and 300 cavalry. Tipu, then captured Cuddalore. Meanwhile, Haidar's possessions on the western coast were menaced by English attacks, and Tipu had to be sent there. Tipu hurried from the vicinity of Karur to the relief of Palghat. He chased the army of Humberstone, who however was successful in reaching Ponnani, where Macleod had come to his rescue. Tipu besieged the town, when the news reached of Haidar's death.

Haidar was suffering from Carbuncle from November 1782. All physicians, Hindu, Muslim and French, did their best to cure him, but failed. He died on 7th December 1782 at Narasingrayapet near Chittoor at the age of 60. Various rumours were current at the time of Haidar's death. Most of them originated with the English who desired to create an impression that Haidar had turned a defeatist and that he wanted Tipu to make peace soon. All these were wishful thinking. They were intended to show to the world that even such a powerful ruler and a warrior like



British illustration of Sayed Sahib leading Hyder Ali's forces during the Siege of Cuddalore



Hyder Ali's Tomb, Srirangapatna

Haidar was obliged in the end to recognize the invincible might of the English. What seems to have happened was that when Haidar realized his end was not far, he asked Tipu to be summoned soon. On the afternoon of the day he expired he called his high officers, Purniah, Krishna Rao, Shamaia, Mir Sadiq, Abu Muhammad, Muhammad Ali, Badr-ur-Zaman Khan, Ghazi Khan, Maha Mirza Khan and others and told them that after his death they should serve Tipu as faithfully as they had served him⁴.

His death was kept in guarded secret lest confusion should prevail in the camp. Maha Mirza Khan was dispatched post-haste to Tipu inviting him soon to the camp. Haidar's body was deposited in a large chest and sent under heavy guard as if a valuable treasure was dispatched to Srirangapatna. At Kolar the body was for the time being deposited before it was removed to Srirangapatna where it was buried in the grand mausoleum built by Tipu.



Sir Munro



Srirangapatna Fort Wall

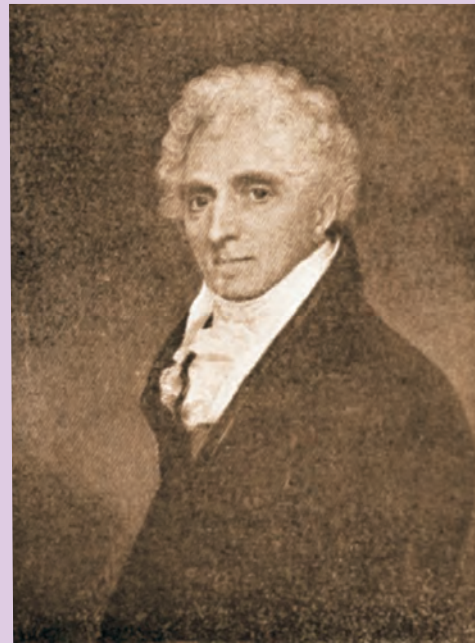
4. Haidar Namah, p. 100.

A feeble attempt was made by a few discontented officers like Shams-ud-din, the Bakshi and Muhammad Amin, the commandant of 4000 horse, to support the claim of Karim Saheb, Haidar's second son. But the conspiracy was soon found out and nipped in the bud. The miscreants were put in irons and sent to Srirangapatna. The army remained all through loyal to Tipu, who commanded the highest esteem. They had very poor opinion of Karim Saheb. Tipu received the news of his father's death on 11th December, and he hastened soon towards Chittoor. On reaching Coimbatore he passed some administrative orders, Syed Muhammad Mehdevi to take charge of the fort of Srirangapatam relieving Muhammad Shitab, and Arshad Khan to remain on the defensive at Palghat. He reached the main camp on 2nd January 1783, and when he gave audience to his principal officers he seated himself on a plane carpet as an expression of grief for his father⁵.

Tipu succeeded to a large kingdom which was bounded in the north by the river Krishna, in the south by the State of Travancore and the district of Tinneveli, in the east by the Eastern Ghats and in the west by the Arabian sea. His treasury in Srirangapatna contained three crores of rupees, besides a large treasury at Bidanur, jewels, valuables and so on. His army consisted of 88,000 men including garrisons and provincial troops. His army was considered the best fighting force in India, which had distressed the mighty English.

Prosecution of the war

With the accession of Tipu, the State of Mysore got a bold, imaginative, restless and a revolutionary leader. He had a set of programme for his life, to preserve and protect the liberty of the land, and lift it to the high pedestal of prosperity. He had the required resources and the ability for the purpose, the interest and the motivation, the skill and the energy. But the difficulty was that he was too



Col. Mark Wilks

5. Wilks, Vol. II, pp. 171-72.

ambitious and too visionary, too radical and too impatient. He desired to accomplish too much in too short a time. The time was not propitious. The support from the base was wanting. The foes across the frontiers were cunning. He failed accomplishing most of his objectives, as his foes cut short his life in the midst of his experiments. Yet posterity would place the crown of credit on his head as all that he thought was so useful to the country.

His accession to power was peaceful, although he had been away in Malabar at the time of his father's death. He had inherited a powerful kingdom, an overflowing treasury and a strong army. Yet his position was by no means enviable. The very extent and power of his kingdom excited jealousy and hostility in his neighbours. He was in the midst of a war with an enemy far superior in strength and strategy. Warren Hastings had not only broken the Indian confederacy but also had stirred up Tipu's adversaries to conquer their lost territories and reduce his power. The Treaty of Salbai which was ratified soon after Haidar's death had not only disengaged the Indian powers from the struggle against the English but also had brought about the unhappy prospect of the Maratha union with the English in order to compel Tipu to surrender his northern possession. Anderson was busy in Sindhia's Court concluding an Anglo-Maratha offensive alliance against Tipu. The Marathas had forgotten the English excesses which had caused such havoc to their interests in Poona, and were now in league with the power which had set out to destroy them. Like the Nizam in the First Mysore War, who had deserted his own erstwhile ally, the Marathas were now joining hands with their own foes against an ally, who had rushed to their aid in the First Anglo-Maratha War.

Besides this, Tipu's sudden return from Malabar to the east on Haidar's death gave the English a chance to occupy Mangalore and Bidanur. The treachery of Ayaz, the commander of one of his forts, facilitated their task. Moreover, the plot of the Rani of Mysore, to overthrow Tipu, was vigorously pushed through by the English⁶. Colonel Fullarton captured the Fort of Karur on 2nd April 1783. Tirumal Rao hoisted the Raja's flag on the ramparts of this fort near Coimbatore. The management of the Fort was also entrusted to him. The Rani was active in Srirangapatna to hasten a *coup d'etat* through a few disaffected officers like Rangaiah, Singaiah, Anche Shamaiah and Subbaraj Urs, who held key posts in the administration. A few more forts Aruvakurichi, Dindigal and Dharapuram fell to the English. As if all this was not

6. Supra

enough, the English had excited the Raja of Travancore, the Zamorin of Calicut and the Malabar Nairs to join the English against Tipu. Constant rumours reached that the Marathas had collected a large army to cross the Krishna. Thus Tipu's position soon after his accession power was far from happy.

The youthful Tipu was determined to face the challenges. He found out the Rani's plot and severely punished the conspirators. The next pressing problem was the vigorous prosecution of the war. He paid attention to military matters, cleared all arrears due to the troops, and assured them that they would get the salary regularly every month. A French officer was employed to remodel the irregulars and organize the artillery. He instructed the officers to treat the prisoners of war generously. He took care to remove all obstacles in the supply of provisions and necessities to the army. In short his first task on assumption of office was to boost the morale of the armed forces, and keep them in that condition.

Meanwhile, the news of Haidar's death was received with a great satisfaction by the English at Madras, and they desired to take full advantage of it. Stuart had succeeded Coote to the command of the army. If he had immediately struck the Mysore army, while Tipu was away in Malabar, disastrous consequences would have followed to the Mysoreans. But Stuart remained inactive. It was only Fullarton and Lang who were advancing from the South. The state of the English army in the Carnatic was bad for the usual reasons of the lack of supplies. Having remained inactive for two months after Haidar's death, Stuart moved on 5th February 1783 towards Wandiwash to attack Tipu. On 13th February an engagement took place in which Tipu overpowered the English and compelled them to retreat towards Wandiwash. The Mysoreans chased the English army which lost nearly 200, killed or wounded. Stuart was so frightened that he withdrew the garrisons of Wandiwash and Karanguli, lest they should fall to Tipu, and blow up their fortifications. However, Tipu did not capture these places, for he had to rush to the Malabar where a Bombay army was threatening his western possessions.

The Bombay army was active on the western coast. General Mathews took Honnavar and Bidanur. The Madras Government whose army had made no progress in the east felt greatly relieved, and thought that it was the only course left to divert Tipu's attention from the Carnatic. Tipu did not allow the Bombay Government to retain its conquests for long. He fell on Mathews in April 1783 and compelled him to surrender Bidanur. Since the time of the heroic defence of Arcot by Clive, the English had never suffered the humiliation of surrendering an important fort they had captured. The terms of the surrender were that the garrison was not to take away

anything of the fort, that Tipu's guard had to escort them to Sadashivgarh from where they were to proceed to Bombay, that he should furnish them with provisions and transport to the sick and that they should deliver two hostages to guarantee the fulfillment of these terms.

The English broke these terms. They quarreled with Tipu over the manner of the surrender of their arms, violated the truce and fought with the Mysoreans. But they were soon overpowered and compelled to lay down their arms. Again, they appropriated large sums of money and treasures which excited the indignation of Tipu. When ordered a search of their belongings, "every knapsack was found to be lined with gold"⁷. The search resulted in the recovery of 40,000 pagodas. Besides, they had pillaged the public stores, burnt the government records, and refused to release the prisoners. Tipu could hardly stand this breach of trust, and hence he ordered to put them in irons, and then marched them off to several forts. There is no evidence to prove that he infringed the terms of the capitulation.

From Bidanur Tipu proceeded to recover Mangalore, which had been captured by the English. With the appearance of Tipu, Campbell retreated into the fort. Tipu besieged the fort which went on from 20th May to 2nd August 1783. Just when the fall of the fort seemed imminent, the French who were co-operating so long deserted Tipu on the plea that peace had been concluded between the English and the French in Europe. It must be remembered that the French had sent the much awaited reinforcements to India under the veteran general, Bussy, who had earlier figured in the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy in India. He had arrived in March 1783 at Tranquebar with 27 ships and 5000 men. Suffrein, the ablest of the French Admirals, was already present in India with a powerful armada, which had cut off all supplies by sea from Bengal to Madras. At a crucial time when Haidar was no more, this French assistance was a great help to Tipu. But it arrived so late in the day, when the major campaign of the war were already over, and when they did arrive they were rendered helpless as the news too came from Europe of the cessation of hostilities.

Tipu felt very bad on the conduct of the French in unilaterally withdrawing from the war. However, he had no alternative to concluding an armistice with Campbell on 2nd August 1783. The hostilities in Mangalore ceased on certain conditions.

7. The Captivity of James Scurry, p. 306.

Campbell was to retain the fort and Tipu, its trenches and batteries. Both parties were to put 100 of their troops in the other's camp. The English officers were allowed to visit the French. Neither party was to repair the breaches. Tipu was to establish a bazaar nearby to supply the garrison with provisions at fixed rates. Campbell was to purchase provisions at a time only for 10 or 12 days and no more. Communication facilities were to be provided to the English only by land and not by sea, nor through Tipu's territory. No breach of the terms of the ceasefire was to be allowed. Thus Tipu was able to frustrate Bombay efforts to harass him by making surprise attacks on his western possessions.

While Tipu was busy with these campaigns in Malabar, Madras thought of a pincer movement to launch simultaneous attacks from the northeast and the south. They sent a force under captain Edmonds to attack the northeast of Mysore, while Fullarton was to march from the south. They occupied Kadapa under the pretext that its Nawab needed their assistance. An internal quarrel gave them an opportunity. The new Nawab of Kadapa, Syed Muhammad, who invited the English was a pretender to the throne which really belonged to Mir Khamruddin Khan, who was a vassal of Tipu. The English failed in this venture. Mir Khamruddin asserted his claim and recovered his territory. This shows that even the tributaries of Tipu could stand up to the British challenge.

The course of the war suddenly took a different turn from 24th June 1783 when news arrived of the cessation of hostilities in Europe on 9th February 1783. It was timely for the English at Madras who had been greatly distressed for want of supplies. On the arrival of the French in India, Tipu's army had almost paralyzed the Madras army under Stuart, who was almost reduced to the point of surrender unless Fullarton marched to his relief. The good news saved the English, and made Fullarton's assistance unnecessary. They hastened in sending a flag of truce to Bussy for the suspension of hostilities against Cuddalore. They invited his attention to Article 16 of the treaty of Versailles by which Tipu, the ally of the French, was also to cease hostilities.

This was the second time when Mysore was embarrassed by its allies by their unilateral action. The first time was when the Marathas concluded a separate treaty at Salbai, without consulting Haidar, and now the French were doing the same thing. Just at the time when things were taking a favourable turn for Mysore, new developments altered the situation. Madras sent two commissioners, Sadlier and

Staunton, to Bussy announcing the peace in Europe, and seeking suspension of hostilities in India as well. In different circumstances of Madras having an upper hand militarily, such urgency in the suspension of hostilities would never have been thought of. Now that their position was miserable because of the union of Tipu with the French, they were in a great hurry. Within three days after the commissioners reached Cuddalore, the armistice was signed on 2nd July 1783. Both the English and the French attempted to involve Tipu also in the armistice, just as Sindhia had attempted to include Haidar in the Treaty of Salbai. But Tipu was reluctant to stop fighting, and looked upon the French conduct as a stab in the back.

However, on second thought Tipu realized that with the desertion of the French, the threat of the Anglo-Maratha alliance, the advance of Fullarton from the south and the simultaneous campaigns in three fronts, eastern, western and southern, his chances to beat the English were remote. Therefore, he revised his decision and concluded the armistice a month later on 2nd August 1783 at Mangalore. With this hostilities ceased both on the eastern and on the western coast of India.

The period of armistice from August 1783 to March 1784, when the war came to an end, was one of uneasy truce. Both parties had reluctantly agreed to an unavoidable situation hoping that they would seize the first opportunity to outwit each other later to gain advantage in the peace negotiations. The English were the first to violate the armistice both in the Canatic and in Malabar. Fullarton did not cease hostilities in the south, and proceeded to make preparations to invade Mysore. He stormed the fort of Palghat and secured large quantities of provisions, military stores and cash to the extent of 50,000 pagodas. He then advanced to Coimbatore and captured it on 28 November. The letters of the commissioners forwarded by Roshan Khan were ignored. The defiance of Fullarton was not without the sanction of the Madras government which was a party to the armistice. Macartney would send two sets of orders one through Tipu's officers, and the other direct to Fullarton. In the first he commanded him to desist from the hostilities, and in the second, he asked him to retain Palghat and other possessions "as a security for the Garrison of Mangalore" and as a bargaining point to secure favourable terms in the peace treaty. On 13th December 1783 Macartney sent specific orders not to restore the captured places taken after the armistice, as they would afford "the means of retaliation" against Tipu. Even as late as January 1784 he was giving similar instructions. It was only when he was fully convinced that such duplicity would result in fresh flare up of hostilities that he asked Fullarton to withdraw to the limits he had occupied on 26th July 1783. But before he retired he caused considerable damage to

Tipu by plundering Coimbatore, carrying off provisions, guns, ammunitions and cash. Instead of delivering up the forts to Tipu's officers, he handed them over to the agents of the Rani of Mysore, who had been implicated in a plot against Tipu.

Thus the English committed an open breach of the armistice for two obvious reasons. One was to strengthen their own hands to wrest favourable terms at the time of negotiating peace. Quite a few of the English forts were in Tipu's hands, whereas many of them were in their hands. Tipu had recovered even those places which Bombay had seized. Therefore, Madras was anxious to retain some of their gains, although they had been obtained by breach of trust. Secondly, these places would yield them rich resources at a time they were distressed for money, supplies and provisions. Sullivan had concluded a treaty with the Rani who had promised to pay three lakhs of pagodas on the fall of Coimbatore. Just to extract this money from the Rani, they broke their armistice and took Coimbatore. This conduct of the English was quite in tune with their policies since the battle of Plassey.

Brigadier General Macleod was also guilty of the breach of trust. Bombay had sent him to the western coast with three vessels loaded with provisions and a detachment of Hanoverians to help the Mangalore Garrison to hold on for a longer period. By the time he came armistice had been concluded, according to which supply of provisions by sea was prohibited. Despite this clause, Tipu had permitted him to land, and had even made arrangements for his stay in the town. He was treated kindly, and was presented with a palanquin, a horse and a *Khilat*. He was invited to have a free and frank talk with Tipu for two days, on 20th and 21st August 1783. Those discussions centered on concluding a peace. The General had argued that a protracted war would not be in Tipu's interests. The Marathas and the Nizam were depicted as more dangerous threats to his power than the English. Tipu appreciated these sentiments, as he admired valour and frankness in others, but he also knew the worth of British friendship. He knew that their late anxiety for peace was more due to their adverse circumstances than any real change in their policy. Therefore, when it was his turn to speak, he dealt at length on their faithless conduct, their refusal to deliver up Trichinopoly, and their breach of Madras treaty in refusing to send any aid. But Macleod dubbed these grievances as old disputes whose renewal would not solve the present issue. He appealed to Tipu's humanity for the release of the prisoners. Tipu was willing to oblige them if the General were to proceed to Srirangapatna to take personal delivery of them. Tipu was prepared to discuss the terms of a permanent peace, but the general pleaded his inability as he had no authority to discuss the terms of peace.

Despite these friendly discussions, Macleod attempted twice to throw provisions by sea, which was a clear breach of armistice. When Tipu stopped his supplies to the fort, Macleod appeared with a squadron and a large army on 22 November and insisted on sending 4000 bags of rice. Far from yielding to the threat Tipu was prepared for the renewal of war. But through the efforts of the French envoy Piveron de Morlat, a clash was averted, and a compromise was made. Instead of 4000 bags of rice, 1000 bags were permitted into the fort. Even this was a concession which Tipu showed, for the armistice did not permit storage of provisions for more than ten or twelve days.

But Campbell could not hold the fort for long. The difficulty was not lack of provisions, but the disease, the breakout of epidemics and the inclement weather to Europeans. Scores of men were dying because of scurvy. The Europeans were on the verge of mutiny, and the sepoys were deserting daily. In such circumstances Campbell was forced to capitulate on 29th January 1784. The fort was to be exchanged for some other in the Carnatic. The Garrison was to march out of the fort in full military honors, and to be sent on boats to Bombay at Tipu's cost with provisions for the journey. They could carry all their belongings but nothing of the Sultan. Tipu strictly honoured these terms. The English regretted much the loss of the fort. Tipu was happy that the repeated breaches of the armistice had resulted in their own discomfiture.

Macleod was guilty of one more breach of trust. He attacked Cannanore, captured the fort, imprisoned the Bibi, its ruler, and obtained lakhs of pagodas and large quantities of provisions. The pretext for this high handed action was that the Bibi had imprisoned certain English troops who had been driven ashore in November 1783 by the sinking of their boat, *The superb*. But the real reason was the English anxiety to own a fine natural port. Macleod wrote, "It is much more valuable to us than Mangalore because no enemy can step between it and sea⁸". The Bibi was not released until she signed a treaty as dictated by Macleod, by which she agreed to pay three lakhs of pagodas, place her fort at their disposal, grant them the sole monopoly of the pepper trade and waive her claim to the booty captured by them as prize money⁹. The Madras government approved of these proceedings, but Bombay objected to his concluding a treaty without their consent, annulled it, and ordered

8. Military Sundry Book, 17th January 1784, Vol. 61, pp. 766-7.

9. Sec. Proc. 13th April 1784.

the restoration of the place to the Bibi. In spite of their orders the place was not restored until the conclusion of the treaty of Mangalore.

In certain other ways also the English did not strictly observe the terms of the armistice. They instigated the Raja of Coorg to revolt against Tipu, as Coorg formed a strategic area to march on Srirangapatna. Besides, they gave refuge to the Raja of Cherikal, a tributary of Tipu. They excited the Malabar chiefs to cast of their allegiance to Tipu. Fullarton reported to Madras, "The Rajah of Calicut or the representative of the ancient Zamorins is now with me and I receive much assistance from the Brahmins and other inhabitants of this country, on whom I bestow every mark of favour and protection, in order as much as in my power to preserve the English name from the stain too often incurred by violence and oppression"¹⁰. It was this disloyalty of the Malabar chiefs that proved later so disastrous to Tipu's interests in the Third Mysore War.



Malabar Coast, Calicut

10. Military Sundry Book, 17th January 1784, Vol. 60A, p. 299.