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 A PARTICULAR
ACCOUNT OF THE
EUROPEAN MILITARY
ADVENTURERS OF HIN-
DUSTAN 

From 1784 to 1803

COMPILED BY HERBERT
COMPTON, EDITOR OF
"A MASTER MARINER," &C.

ILLUSTRATED

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TO

LESTOCK REID, ESQUIRE

(Of the Bombay Civil Service)

THIS ATTEMPT TO PERPETUATE

THE MEMORY OF

MANY BRAVE MEN

IS INSCRIBED

WITH

REGARD AND GRATITUDE

INTRODUCTION.



THE European Military Adventurers of Hindustan belong to an heroic age which seems further removed from our's than the mere lapse of a century suggests. It is probable that, saving to the student of Indian history, their names are but as indistinct items on a forgotten scroll, whose record is nearly obliterated by the dust of oblivion. They and their deeds are blended into a barbaric past, when history was written in blood not in books, and of which scarce a vestige remains in the civilised Indian Empire of the Victorian Zenith. And yet only a hundred years ago these dead and gone Adventurers created armies, conquered kingdoms, overturned princes and ruled provinces, winning such distinctions and wielding such personal power as are not within the reach of modern endeavour. Forming a link between the eras of Oriental despotism and European government, they bedizened the introduction of Western enlightenment with the gaudy paraphernalia of the East. But Fate planted them in one of those periods of transition which by their very nature are temporary, and they share with it a short-lived fame. Their individual places in History are limited to a paragraph or, at most, a page. They are but units in the sum of India's story—stray drafts on its capital of achievement which have been retired, filed away and forgotten. None heed these faded personalities now. The whisper of De Boigne's name is as powerless to compel attention as the thunder of his cannon to create terror; the mention of George Thomas awakens no responsive recognition even in hearts alert to the influence of Romance and Adventure; the political opinions of Perron have long ceased to affect the price of India stock, or set heads wagging in Leadenhall Street. As for the lesser Soldiers of Fortune—the centurions and the lieutenants of the Mercenary Armies of Native India—they are dust of the common dust, whose memory the greedy march of English enterprise in the East has shuffled out of sight, reducing their achievements to the common level which displays not a headstone to view. Yet each in his different way, designedly or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, worked towards one common end by

assisting in bringing about the conditions that paved the way for the establishment of English supremacy in India; and each, when his personal share in the drama was finished, and the last great act opened, passed off the stage unnoticed and unknown, and left the completion of the task, and the applause it evoked, to other actors.

A word of explanation is necessary concerning the title chosen for this book. The "Hindustan" therein referred to is the circumscribed territory defined by that fine old geographer, Major James Rennell, in his "Memoir of a Map of Hindostan," published in 1785. It was a territory bounded by the Indus on the west, by the "Burrampootra or thereabouts" on the east, by the Himalayan mountains on the north, and "by the countries of the Deccan on the south, so that the whole peninsula to the south of a line drawn nearly from Balasore to Broach is not reckoned Hindostan." It is necessary to thus localise the Adventurers whose lives are sketched in the following pages in order that they may not be confounded with the innumerable European Free Lances, who served the courts of Haidarabad and Mysore and other Native Princes in Southern India.

The period in which the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan flourished began in 1784, during the Government of Warren Hastings, and ended in 1803 during that of the Marquis Wellesley. Those twenty years saw the rise, the reign, and the ruin of Independent Military Adventure in India. To De Boigne belongs the honour of having initiated the wonderful system that took root and grew with the fatal rapidity of an exotic. He created for Madhoji Sindhia—"A Ruler of India"—the first complete army of regular troops employed by the Native Princes of the country. The example was soon followed by the Nizam of Haidarabad, and, in a different degree, by Tipu Sultan. In 1796 there were three great disciplined military establishments in the service of the leading Indian Courts, commanded by Frenchmen in the French interest, and employing European arts and tactics of war. Their destruction and extermination was forced upon the Marquis Wellesley by the political exigencies of the times, and was the most important work of his administration. De Boigne's army, which had passed under the command of Perron, was the first of these three organisations to be called into existence and the last of them to be broken up.

The political and, indeed, international importance of the European Military Adventurers of India can be gauged from the following extract from a despatch written by the Marquis Wellesley in 1798:—

"In the present weak state of the Nizam of Haidarabad's Government, the French corps in his service would (in the event of a war

between the English and Mysore, which was anticipated) openly join Tipú Sultan, and by a sudden blow endeavour to seize the Nizam's territories, and to secure them to the Dominion of France under an alliance offensive and defensive with Tipú Sultan. . . . The interest and the inclination of Sindhia, who entertains a large army in his service under the command of a French officer (Perron), would lead him to engage with Tipú Sultan and the French. . . . The junction which might thus be effected between the French officers, with their several corps in the respective services of the Nizam, of Sindhia, and of Tipú, might establish the power of France upon the ruins of the states of Poonah and of the Deccan."

Although this book does not deal with the French Fractions of Haidarabad and Mysore, their existence and importance must be noted, because they are intimately connected with the subject treated. In Haidarabad, in addition to the Nizam's irregular soldiery, there was a trained army of 14,000 men and 30 guns under the command of Piron, who had succeeded the famous Raymond. The native army of Mysore numbered 75,000 troops of all arms, and included Tipú's "European or French Force" of 550 officers, non-commissioned officers and men. Finally Sindhia could muster 40,000 disciplined infantry with 880 guns, the whole commanded by Perron, who was assisted by an efficient staff of 800 Europeans. Sindhia's Brigades were one factor, and, as events proved, the most formidable factor in that possible combination which a hundred years ago threatened the existence of the English power in India. The story of those Brigades is the story of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan.

I am desirous of taking this opportunity of recording my obligations to two gentlemen for help received. Mr. Edmund Neel, C.I.E., the assistant secretary in the political department of the India office, facilitated a search through many volumes of Government records, and kindly assisted in regard to those of a secret nature which were not open to my inspection; and Count de Boigne placed at my disposal a memoir of his illustrious grandaïre's life, and cleared up one doubtful point of great interest.

In compiling the following pages a great many authorities have been consulted, but it would be tedious to give in detail the names of all the works from which fragments of information have been gleaned. The principal ones are indicated in the list printed below, to the first four books in which I am particularly indebted. The sketch of De Boigne's life was written before the two French biographies indicated came under my observation, and they have only been used to correct a few minor statements of fact, chiefly of a personal nature. In the

life of George Thomas, his memoirs have been very closely followed, but a great quantity of extraneous and uninteresting matter has been eliminated, and a good deal of additional information incorporated. With regard to Perron, so far as I am aware, there is no detailed biography of this adventurer in existence, and the one here presented is compiled from original sources. The lives of the lesser adventurers have been culled from a great variety of works, by far the most important of which is the one written by Lewis Ferdinand Smith.

An earnest endeavour has been made to secure correctness of narrative, but in some cases it has been rendered very difficult, and success rendered doubtful, by divergent statements and contradictory dates bearing on the same incident.

H. C.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

- A Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India. By LEWIS FERDINAND SMITH. Calcutta, 1806.
- Military Memoirs of Lieutenant-Colonel James Skinner, C.B. By J. BAILLIE FRASER. London, 1851.
- The Military Memoirs of George Thomas. By COLONEL WILLIAM FRANKLIN. Calcutta, 1803.
- A History of the Mahrattas. By JAMES GRANT DUFF. London, 1826.
- The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G., during his administration in India. London, 1837.
- Memoire sur la carrière de M. Le Général Comte de Boigne. Chambéry, 1830.
- Une page inédite de l'histoire des Indes. Le Général de Boigne (1751-1830). Par VICTOR DE SAINT-GENIS. Poitiers, 1873.
- Memoirs of the Puthan Soldier of Fortune. . . . Ameer Khan. Compiled in Persian by BURAWAN LAL. Translated by H. T. PRINSEP. Calcutta, 1832.
- Illustrations of some Institutions of the Mahratta People. By W. H. TOWN. Calcutta, 1818.
- The History of the Reign of Shah Anum. By COLONEL WILLIAM FRANKLIN. London, 1798.
- The Calcutta Monthly Register, 1790; The Calcutta Monthly Journal, 1798-1800; The Hindostanee Intelligencer and Oriental Anthology, 1801-1802; The Asiatic Annual Register, 1801-1811; The Asiatic Journal, 1831, etc. Selections from the Calcutta Gazette. By W. S. SETON KERR. Calcutta, 1864.
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of these people no such sentiment as *amor patriæ* is to be found, above affection for a few clods of earth or stumps of trees, merely from their having been imprinted on their recollection from the sportive period of infancy. The Indian is, in this point, a citizen of the world. It not unfrequently happens that fathers, sons, and brothers embrace different services, and meet in battle array on the ensanguined plain against each other, perhaps unwittingly to fall by each other's hands."

ARMSTRONG, MAJOR.—Major Armstrong succeeded Major Plumet in the command of Holkar's Second Brigade of regular infantry in 1802, and distinguished himself at the battle of Poonah in the same year. On the breaking out of the war with the English in 1803, Armstrong determined to quit the chief. But he did not effect this without the greatest difficulty, and was obliged to sacrifice all his arrears and most of his property, barely saving his life by a secret flight. Had his intention been suspected he would assuredly have shared the cruel fate of Vickers, Dodd, and Ryan, whom Holkar barbarously put to death for refusing to fight against their own countrymen. Major Armstrong lived to enjoy a pension of Rs.1,200 a month from the British Government, as a compensation for his loss of employ.

BAOURS, MAJOR [orthography doubtful; also written Bahors].—Major Baours was a Frenchman, and began his career in the Begum Somru's force, to the command of which he succeeded in 1788, after the murder of Pauly at Delhi. When De Boigne raised his first brigade Baours gladly left the Begum's employ to take the command of a battalion in Sindhia's service. His career was, however, soon cut short, for he was killed at the battle of Pátan in 1790.

BELLASIS, JOSEPH HARVEY, CAPTAIN.—This fine young adventurer was probably a cadet of a well-known Bombay family of the same name, one member of which rose to the command of the artillery in the Peshwa's service. Captain Bellasis was originally an ensign in the Honourable Company's Corps of Engineers, but was impelled by his pecuniary embarrassments to seek to retrieve his fortunes in the service of the Native princes, and in a rash moment resigned his commission, and penetrated into the Maráthá dominions. He had seen and heard of many adventurers who had reached the summit of ambition, power, and riches as soldiers of fortune in the interior of India, and who did not possess greater talents or stouter resolution than himself; for he was a young man allowed by all to be an honour to his profession. His courage was undaunted, his integrity irreproachable, and his

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generosity unbounded. He had an excellent knowledge of military science, was elegant in person, and endowed with great activity of body and energy of mind, and was, moreover, an excellent scholar, conversant with Greek and Latin, and understanding music and painting. To these accomplishments he added a fascinating address and an open disposition. Such was the young English gentleman who in 1796 cut himself adrift from his fellow countrymen, and entered the service of the Maráthá chief, Ambaji Ingliá, for whom he raised four battalions of regular infantry. He soon found out the mistake he had made. Ambaji was "tainted with the worst principles of the worst Asiatic;" and Bellasis lacked the powers of intrigue, the assiduity and the duplicity necessary to rise in such a service. Yet he tried hard to do his duty, and it is recorded that Ambaji's battalions would have been "as fine as any in Hindustan, if the parsimony of the chief had not rendered futile their commander's labour and genius." In 1797 Bellasis was engaged in the storm of Lohár, and in an assault of uncommon boldness his battalions suffered heavily. Notwithstanding this, he was ordered, immediately after the capture, to march his shattered and fatigued corps to storm another fort, named Gopálpur, fifteen miles distant, leaving his dead unburied, and his wounded unattended to. Such inhuman orders could only be justified by the most cruel necessity, and Bellasis, with the fine feelings of a soldier and the propriety of a commander, refused to obey them. This refusal, which was eagerly expected, was made the pretext for discharging him and his battalions, and plundering their effects. Two years later his distress and his necessities drove him once more into Ambaji's service, and he obtained the command of two battalions in James Shepherd's party. With these he took part in the siege of Souda, and whilst gallantly leading his men on to victory was shot through the head in the assault on Lakwa Dáda's entrenchment.

BERNIER, AUGUSTINE, MAJOR [spelt Bunnear and Burnear by contemporary writers].—Major Bernier was a French adventurer, and began his Indian career in the service of the Begum Somru, and was one of the witnesses to that lady's marriage with Le Vassoult in 1798. Later on he commanded a battalion in Perron's Third Brigade, under Louis Bourguien. Bernier was a brave and able soldier, and Skinner states that at the battle of Georgegarh in 1801 he saved Bourguien from a disastrous defeat by his ability and courage. He was killed a few weeks later at the grand assault on the town of Hánsi—a fact which, it is curious to note, was brought to light so recently as November, 1891, for Skinner erroneously states that Bernier was killed in the

attack on Thomas's outposts whilst rallying his men, who had been beaten back. A correspondent of a Lahór paper thus writes on the date above mentioned :—

"A marble tomb, in a broken condition, has been found by Mr. Stanley Skinner in his village of Barsi, close by Háni, bearing an inscription to this effect: '*To the memory of Augustine Bernier, late Major in the service of H.H. Dowlut Ráo Scindia. Killed in the storm of Háni, on 10th December, 1801, while gallantly leading on his troops. Aged 32 years.*'"

Bernier was a great favourite with his soldiery, by whom, as well as by his fellow officers, his death was deeply regretted.

BIRCH, LIEUTENANT.—Lieutenant Birch was originally an officer in George Thomas's army, in which he fairly distinguished himself. He proved faithful to his chief during the long and trying siege of Georgegarh, and accompanied him in his flight to Háni, which he helped to defend until Thomas was forced to capitulate. Birch then appears to have joined Perron's service, for he remained in Hindustan, and was one of the officers in Maráthá employ who took advantage of Lord Wellesley's proclamation offering pensions to all British subjects who, on the declaration of the war, left the Maráthás and passed over to the English. Birch appears to have been awarded a pension of Rs.800 a month, and after the battle of Delhi, when General Lake left Colonel Ochterlony in command of the Capital, received the command of two Najib battalions raised to assist in holding the city. Soon afterwards they were detached against Bapú Sindhia, Daulat Ráo's governor in the Saharanpur district, but were shockingly beaten, and lost four of their guns—a catastrophe which so incensed Colonel Ochterlony that he refused to entrust any more of the Company's artillery to Sindhia's late officers, many of whom were now in the British service and in command of newly raised levies, recruited from the dispersed remnants of Perron's Brigade. Birch, after his defeat by Bapú, re-assembled his battalions, and was stationed on the Punjab frontier, where, in 1804, he assisted Skinner to defeat a large body of Sikhs.

BOYD, J. P., COLONEL.—Boyd was an American. When Raymond increased his corps at Haidarabad to such an extent as to make it too formidable, the British Government, as a counterpoise, suggested to the Nizam that he should raise two fresh corps, to be commanded by officers whose sympathies were with the English. Boyd, who owned a party described as "a ready formed and experienced corps of 1,800 men," was engaged, and in 1795 took part in the battle of Kardla. In the

following year, when Raymond was at the height of his power, and it was rumoured that he premeditated an attack on the British Resident's camp, Boyd and Finglass (another English adventurer in command of a corps) at once paraded their troops, and signified their intention of supporting the Company's cause. The trouble, however, passed over, and they were not called upon to act. A few months later misunderstandings arose between Boyd and the Court of Haidarabad, fermented probably by Raymond, and the American quitted the service, taking his party with him. He was next engaged by the Peshwa of Poonah, who paid him a salary of Rs. 8,000 a month. In October, 1796, Boyd assisted in the operations which resulted in Baji Ráo being seated on the *masnad* as Peshwa, after the tragical death by suicide of Madhu Ráo. The next year he was raised to the command of the Peshwa's regular Brigade, and the last mention of him is in connection with some local disturbances which broke out at Poonah in 1797.

BOURGUIEN, LOUIS, COLONEL [spelt also Bourguienne, Bourquin, Bourquin, and Bourkin].—This individual, who was known amongst the Natives as *Locee Sahib*, was a Frenchman, whose real name was Louis Bernard. He came to India in Admiral Suffrein's fleet, landing at Pondicherry, where he remained some time. He then made his way to Calcutta, and enlisted in a mercenary regiment of foreigners in the Company's service, known as Captain Dozat's Chasseurs. Upon the reduction of that force Bourguien turned his attention to civil pursuits, and for some time exercised the calling of a cook at Calcutta, his craft in culinary matters being superior to his skill in military ones. Later on he started business as a manufacturer of fireworks, and in this capacity accompanied a gentleman named Gairard, the proprietor of the Vauxhall Gardens at Calcutta, to Lucknow. He then returned to the military profession, and obtained an appointment in the Begum Somru's force, from which he entered that of De Boigne about the year 1794, when he is found rated as a lieutenant on a pay of Rs. 200 a month. No mention of his name appears again until August, 1800, when he joined the Rájah of Jaipur, with one of Perron's battalions, to assist against Lakwa Dáda. Soon after this he was detached to capture Ajmir, but the fort proved too strong to be taken, and he was defeated in December and obliged to fall back. He then invested the place, and on the 7th of May, 1801, secured its surrender by bribery. But meanwhile General Perron had become greatly dissatisfied with his conduct of the siege, and sent Captain Symes to supersede him.

Bourguien was so enraged at this that he offered his services to the Rájah of Jaipur, but Partáb Singh declined to accept them for fear of disobliging General Perron, by whom he had recently been reduced to a state of abject submission. So Bourguien swallowed his mortification, and retained his appointment in Sindbia's army. He seems to have been undeservedly fortunate, for in a few weeks he was promoted to the command of the Third Brigade, and in August entrusted with the conduct of the war against George Thomas. A full account of this campaign has been given in the sketch of Thomas's life. Although at the head of ten fine battalions of infantry and a large body of Hindustani horse, Bourguien was outwitted and outmanœuvred by Thomas, and finally defeated at the battle of Georgegarh. This led to his supersession for incapacity for the second time within the year, but after Pedron had retrieved affairs Bourguien was once again entrusted with the command of operations, and eventually forced Thomas to surrender at Hánsi. He was then detached with his brigade to collect tribute in the Sutlej states, and in November, 1802, we find him at Jind negotiating matters of considerable importance with Rájah Bág Singh. He remained in the Sikh country till the middle of 1803, his last exploits being the capture of Rohtak, and the levying of a tribute of Rs.15,000 from the Karnal district. In June of this year, when war with the English was imminent, Perron ordered Bourguien to encamp at Pánipat, and shortly afterwards to march down and occupy Delhi. In August hostilities broke out, and simultaneously Ambaji Ingliá was appointed to supersede Perron. Bourguien, although a "bosom friend" of the General—Skinner states they were relatives—was the first to revolt against him, and the chief instrument in effecting his downfall. The events leading up to the battle of Delhi, and Bourguien's brief tenure of power, have been fully recorded. He surrendered to General Lake shortly after the British victory, and was deported to Calcutta, from whence, in course of time, he found his way to Hamburg, and so to Franca. He retired with "an immense fortune," and there his history ends. "He was not only a coward, but a fool," was Skinner's brief commentary on him, and Smith describes him as being "as wicked as he was weak." He gained a certain reputation from the mere fact of his being in nominal command of the enemy at the battle of Delhi, but it was a totally spurious one, for he was the first to fly the field. With the exception of Sombra, and perhaps Michael and Fidèle Filoze, there is no more contemptible character amongst the military adventurers of Hindustan than Louis Bourguien, cook, pyrotechnist, and poltroon.

BROWNRIGG, MAJOR.—Major Brownrigg was known as *Burandee Sahib* amongst the natives, but there is no proof that this derogatory designation was anything but an unhappy corruption of his proper name. He was an Irishman by birth, and a very brave and able officer, much liked by his soldiery, and highly esteemed by Daulat Ráo Sindhia, for whom he raised an independent corps. He is first heard of in 1799, when he stormed and captured the fort of Kolapur, near Poonah. During the next year he was chiefly employed in opposing Pareshrám Bháo, the Peshwa's commander-in-chief, during the political revolutions and disorders that prevailed in the Deccan. He then accompanied Sindhia to Malwa, and in July, 1801, made his famous defence against Jaswant Ráo Holkar, who, after defeating MacIntyre, attacked Brownrigg's entrenched camp near the Narbada. Brownrigg's force was vastly inferior in numbers, not exceeding four battalions, but his position was an exceedingly strong one, with the river in his rear, and his front and flanks intersected by ravines, which prevented Holkar's cavalry from acting. He was, moreover, well supplied with artillery, being accompanied by Sindhia's grand park. He defended his position with great judgment and intrepidity, and finally obliged Holkar to retreat, leaving two guns behind him. Three months after this Brownrigg assisted Sutherland in winning the notable battle of Indore, in which Holkar's entrenchments were stormed at the point of the bayonet, and all his guns taken. By this time Brownrigg had risen very high in Sindhia's favour, which made him an object of jealousy to Perron, who, when he came to Ujjain, in March, 1802, found means to encompass his disgrace, and Skinner mentions him as having been "put in arrest under fixed bayonets" for intriguing against the General. What became of Brownrigg's corps after this is not quite clear, but it is possible it was incorporated in Perron's army, for a few months later Brownrigg was at Koil, from whence, a little while before the breaking out of the war with the English, he was sent back to the Deccan in command of five battalions of the newly raised Fifth Brigade. Sindhia, however, soon ordered him back to reinforce Perron's army in Hindustan, and he reached Agra just after the battle of Delhi had been fought. Although Brownrigg's battalions were refused entry into the fort, he was permitted to join Hessing, Sutherland, and the other European officers residing there, and shared with them the confinement they were presently placed in by the revolted garrison. After the fall of Agra, Brownrigg entered the British service, obtained the command of some irregular levies, and was employed in the war against Jaswant Ráo Holkar. He fell in an unequal conflict before Sirsa, in the Hariána

district, on the 19th of February, 1804, his troops being overpowered by superior numbers and defeated for want of good arms. It was the first repulse he had experienced in the course of twelve years of active and arduous service. He was an amiable man and a fine soldier, whose defeat of Holkar in 1801 was one of the most brilliant episodes of Maráthá civil strife.

BUTTERFIELD, CAPTAIN.—Captain Butterfield was the son of an officer in the Honourable Company's service. He appears to have sought a career in the Native courts early in life, and before 1790 was employed by the Rájah of Karaoli, whom he quitted in order to enter the service of Thakúr Dúrjan Lál, a Rajput chief, from which he was tempted away by the superior inducements of Sindhia's army. It is probable that he joined De Boigne when the Second Brigade was raised, for in 1794 he had risen to the rank of a captain, though on a pay of only Ra. 200 a month. Some years later he was still a captain in the Second Brigade under Colonel Sutherland. When Lakwa Dáda joined the rebellion of the Bhais, Ambaji Ingliá was ordered to attack him, and Butterfield, with two battalions and ten pieces of cannon, acted under the chief. Marching to Kotah they engaged the Bhais army at a place called Chand-khorí, when Ambaji's irregular troops deserted, and the whole brunt of the attack fell upon Butterfield's two battalions. After fighting for two hours it became apparent that not only cowardice but treachery was rife in Ambaji's army, for some of his troops went over to Lakwa, in consequence of which Butterfield was forced to retire, and lost a great number of men before he could get to a place of safety. Eventually he made good his retreat to Shégarh. For his conduct on this occasion he received a very flattering letter from Perron. No further mention of his services can be found.

DAWES, CAPTAIN.—Captain Dawes was an officer in Perron's First Brigade under Sutherland. Little is known of his career. In February, 1802, he was detached by Daulat Ráo Sindhia to pursue Holkar after his defeat at Indore. Dawes had only four battalions of regular infantry and six ragamuffin battalions belonging to Ambaji, and was unable to effect anything of importance, or stay Holkar's rapid predatory course, though he carried on a desultory campaign in Khandésh for some months, and won a few small skirmishes. When Holkar advanced against Poonah, Dawes was sent to oppose him. His army was utterly inadequate for the work, and inferior in every respect to Jaswant Ráo's, notwithstanding which he strongly urged

Judaseo Bhao, the Maráthá general, to force a battle. The defeat which followed is historical, and was the indirect cause of the war between the English and Sindhia in the following year. Dawes's battalions behaved with signal courage, fully sustaining their reputation, but they were completely overpowered. Of their four officers, three—Dawes, Catts, and Douglas—were killed, and one taken prisoner. The guns lost on this occasion were the first ever captured in action from any of De Boigne's battalions.

DERRIDON, LOUIS, MAJOR [spelt also Deridan, Derridoven, and Dareebdoon].—Major Derridon was a half-bred Frenchman and brother-in-law to General Perron, who married his sister. He was also related to Colonel John Hessing, probably in the same degree, for the Colonel's son, George Hessing, is described by Skinner as Perron's nephew. Major Derridon commanded a battalion in Hessing's corps, and was present at the battle of Ujjain, when Holkar defeated four of Sindhia's battalions, and killed nearly all their officers. In this action Derridon was wounded and taken prisoner, and Colonel John Hessing paid Ra. 40,000 to ransom him from Holkar, though Sindhia, according to a local paper published at the time, subsequently refunded the amount. Derridon then repaired to Hindustan, and when Perron discharged most of his English officers in 1802, received a high appointment in his army. He was at Agra when the fort was captured by General Lake in 1803. Lady Fanny Parkes, in her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque," incidentally mentions that this officer was living at Koil in 1838, "in a house formerly the property of General Perron." His grandsons were owners of the same property as late as 1871.

DODD, MAJOR.—Major Dodd was an Englishman, and succeeded Captain Gardner in the command of a brigade in Jaswant Ráo Holkar's service, which was composed of four battalions of infantry, 200 cavalry, and 20 guns. It is probable he took part in the battle of Poonah. He was one of the British officers beheaded by Holkar in 1804 for refusing to fight against their own countrymen.

DONELLY, CAPTAIN.—Captain Donelly was an Irishman, and commanded a battalion in Perron's Second Brigade, under Colonel Pohlman. All that is known of him is that he was killed at the storming of Shahpúra in 1799, when Pohlman was beaten back with a loss of a thousand men killed and wounded. Perron in a letter to De Boigne mentions the death of this officer, whom he refers to as "your protégé, Donelly."

DRUGEON, CAPTAIN.—Captain Drugeon was a Savoyard by birth, and a countryman of De Boigne. He was born at Hyenne, near Chambéry where his father resided in the château of Bergen. The circumstance of his brother having risen to the rank of a general in the Sardinian army seems to indicate that Captain Drugeon was a man of good family. In 1787 he was at Paris, and probably came out to India in the French service. He was one of De Boigne's oldest officers, and in May, 1794, was Brigade-Major of the Second Brigade, and drawing Rs. 400 a month pay. When Perron was transferred to the command of the First Brigade and sent to the Deccan, Drugeon accompanied him, and succeeded to his command in 1797, when he was promoted to De Boigne's vacated post. Drugeon saw some fighting at Poonah, but not of a very creditable kind. In June, 1798, after the Bhais had fled for protection to Amrat Ráo, that chief was induced by Sindhia to repair to Poonah for negotiation. But no sooner had he encamped on the outskirts of the city than Ghatkay Ráo, Sindhia's father-in-law, made a treacherous attack upon him with two Brigades of infantry under Drugeon's command. Opening fire from twenty-five guns upon Amrat Ráo's unsuspecting troops, he speedily threw them into confusion, and then charging with the infantry put them to flight and plundered their camp. Soon after this Drugeon appears to have fallen into some grave trouble, for a local paper records that he was deposed by his own officers, and, under orders from Perron, superseded by Colonel Duprat. He attributed his disgrace to the machinations of his enemies. In 1800, partly at the request of De Boigne, who appears to have retained a regard for him, he was restored to Perron's favour, and appointed to the commandantship of the fort at Delhi, and ten months later to the charge of the Emperor's person, on a salary of Rs. 800 a month. About this time he wrote an interesting letter to De Boigne, from which many of the following particulars are gleaned. He mentioned he had saved Rs. 80,000, which he had invested in the Company's Funds, and hoped to be able to pay for his passage to Europe without trespassing on this capital, which would constitute a sufficient provision for his old age. He deplored De Boigne's departure, declaring that his presence was necessary to re-establish Sindhia's fortunes on a sound basis, and that his return would be hailed like that of a Messiah, "in such veneration and adoration are you held, especially by the troops, who invoke your name only in their songs." As for Perron, Drugeon describes him as "like the King of Prussia for power, and like a Croesus as regards riches, which fall on him night and day like the most abundant rain, in the form of rupees. He is courted by all the rājahs and chiefs of the country and also by Sindhia, who is afraid

of him. You have made the soup, which he has only the trouble of supping." His own misfortunes, Drugeon goes on to state, had been very heavy. "If my jealous enemies," he protests, "had not done me an ill turn with Perron, I would have been a rich man to-day. I try to forget them—for what can I do? God Almighty cannot undo what has already been done." Such is his philosophical reflection, but doubtless he found a balm to his wounded spirit in the fact that the Emperor's person, his correspondence, and all his household were entrusted to his care. After detailing some local news, which has been incorporated in the sketch of Perron's life, Drugeon goes on to say: "I very much desire to return to Europe, but I am hindered from doing so by an entanglement with a lady of the country, whom I love very much, and whom I have taken up with to assist me to forget my past cares. As to taking her with me, can I do so? I do not at all wish to desert her. Kindly give me your advice. She is a niece to the Nawáb Súlímán Khán, and a widow, seventeen years old, and is incessantly telling me she would rather die than leave me. I am speaking to you as a confessor, and I await your answer before deciding anything."

Drugeon remained at Delhi till the breaking out of the war with the English, and is constantly referred to in the Persian newspapers of the period. Much of the information concerning Perron's movements recorded in the life of that adventurer has been gleaned from the published reports which Drugeon made to the Emperor. In August, 1808, when Bourguien revolted against Perron, and stirred up a mutiny in the Second and Third Brigades, Drugeon resisted him, and after refusing to surrender the treasure he had charge of, turned him out of the fort, which he prepared to defend with the 5,000 men forming its regular garrison. After the capture of Delhi by the British, Drugeon, who seems to have stuck to the treasure, attempted to "deposit it" with the Emperor, but the transaction was regarded by General Lake as a "fraudulent transfer," and it was distributed as prize money to the troops. Drugeon was deported to Calcutta, and eventually found his way to Europe, and died at Nice in 1824.

DUDRENEC, THE CHEVALIER [written also Du Dreneo, Du Dernaig, Duderneq, Du Derneo, Dodernaigue, Dudernaigue, and Dudernek. Known to the natives as *Hasur Beg*].—Had the history of the Chevalier Dudrenes been properly recorded, it would without doubt have afforded as interesting a career of romance and adventure as any in these pages. The following fragmentary particulars have been pieced together from a great variety of sources, and even in their skeleton form suggest a

remarkably eventful life. Dudrenec was a native of Brest, in France, and a gentleman of refinement, education, and agreeable manners. He came of a good family, his father being a commodore in the French navy. The Chevalier arrived in India about the year 1778, as a midshipman on board a French man-of-war. Leaving his ship, he made his way to Delhi, where he obtained employment in Madoc's corps in 1780, two of his fellow officers being the Count de Moidavre and the Chevalier Cressy. With Madoc's party he served in turns the Rájahs of Bhartpur and Gohad, and Najaf Kuli Khán, the Wazir of the Emperor Shah 'Alam. About the year 1782 Madoc retired, and Dudrenec entered the service of the Begum Somru, whose force was at this time commanded by Pauly. With this lady he remained till 1791, a little previous to which he obtained the command of her troops. But he resigned the appointment to enter the service of Tukaji Holkar, who offered him Rs. 8,000 a month to raise and discipline a brigade of four battalions of regular infantry. In the following year this force suffered an annihilating defeat from De Boigne, at the battle of Lakhairi, when all its guns were captured, and its ranks broken and dispersed. Dudrenec only saved his life by throwing himself down amongst the dead, and simulating death. But his battalions had shown such stubborn fighting powers before they were destroyed, that Tukaji Holkar listened to their commander's representations and consented to raise another brigade, advancing Dudrenec a large sum for this purpose. The new force was enlisted in 1793, and two years later took part in the battle of Kardla, being associated with Perron's battalions and sharing with them the honour of a somewhat easy and bloodless victory. From the seat of war they returned to Indore, where they reposed in peace for three or four years, and by 1797 their strength had increased to six battalions. On the death of Tukaji Holkar, Dudrenec was much puzzled whether to cast in his lot with the imbecile but rightful heir, Kasi Ráo, or with the dashing but illegitimate Jaswant Ráo. He declared for the former, and for a time carried on a campaign against Jaswant Ráo, whom he at first defeated, but at whose hands he sustained a serious reverse in 1798. After this Amir Khán, Holkar's brilliant ally and *fidus achates*, found means to tamper with Dudrenec's troops, and by offering them increased pay gained over a great number, and created a mutiny amongst the rest, when they were encamped at Mahéshtar. The Pathán chief, galled at a defeat received at the hands of the Chevalier, had vowed not to wear a turban till he had reduced Dudrenec. This came to the knowledge of the latter when he was at Mahéshtar, in great straits for want of provisions, and he sent a wakil to Amir Khán offering to

come to terms with Jaswant Ráo. The Amir reported the overture to Holkar, who, with characteristic perfidy, proposed to allure the Frenchman to an interview and then assassinate him. But the Pathán, though not a man of many scruples, could not bring himself to consent to this, and, after some persuasion, extracted a promise of honourable terms for the Frenchman. Armed with this authority, he proceeded to Jámgát, near Mahéshwar, to receive the Chevalier's surrender. Dudrenec met him some distance out from his camp, gave him a salute with all honours, and invited him to his tent, where he first desired him to be seated, and then pointing to the silk handkerchief Amir Khán wore in lieu of a turban, took off his own head covering, and, with joined hands, said: "As your vow prevents you from wearing a turban till you have conquered me, see, the object is accomplished! Bareheaded I lay my head's covering before you, and acknowledge my defeat. Nay, if you wish to make me your prisoner, here is my sword. I surrender it, and you may take me to your camp." This, being conformable with the European custom, pleased Amir Khán very much, and he expressed himself fully satisfied with the speech. The Chevalier then gave the Amir his own turban, and put on the silk handkerchief the Pathán was wearing, after which he escorted him to Mahéshwar. Having transferred to him all his jewels, stores, and treasures, he accompanied him to the Maráthá camp, to be presented to Jaswant Ráo. In consequence of the protection extended by Amir Khán, Holkar dared not harm Dudrenec, but he still designed evil against him in his heart. "Whereupon," to take up the thread of the narrative from the pages of a Native historian, "it happened that on that very night the Maharajah was sitting on the bank of the Nerbada river, amusing himself with firing at a mark, when the matchlock burst and inflicted a severe wound in the eye, by which he entirely lost the sight of it. Of a truth He that knows all things, secret and divulged, is not to be deceived! In the twinkling of an eye, upon the eye of the Maharajah fell this just retribution for the treacherous designs he meditated against *Hasur Beg*." In the end Holkar accepted Dudrenec's submission, and restoring him to the command of his brigade, sent him, in 1798, to occupy and administer the districts of Tonk and Rampúra, where he remained two years.

In 1800, when Lakwa Dáda was restored to favour by Sindhia, he appears to have obtained Dudrenec's assistance for the subjugation of Jaipur, in which Holkar was probably interested. On the 12th of March of that year the Chevalier effected a junction with Perron's second brigade, commanded by Pohlman, and shortly afterwards was engaged with his corps at the battle of Malpura. A spirited account

of the charge of the Báthor cavalry, which destroyed 500 of his force, exists in the pages of Skinner's memoirs, and has been already quoted in the sketch of Perron's life.

In August of the following year Dudrenez, having made up his mind to leave Holkar, showed an inclination to follow the fortunes of Lackwa Dáda, who had been again disgraced and deposed from office by Sindhia, but he eventually decided on joining Perron's service, being invited to do so by the General himself, who offered him the post of second in command, *vice* Sutherland dismissed, and a brigade. Dudrenez was at this time at Rampúra, where he always kept his family and property under the protection of Zalim Singh. He had the greatest difficulty in escaping, for his troops, who refused to follow his fortunes, pelted him out of camp, and then, at the instigation of a Native named Shamrao Nadik, surrounded his house, with the intention of putting him to death. He was saved by the intervention of Zalim Singh, the regent of the ruler of the territory. Jaswant Ráo, on hearing of this, demanded his surrender from the old Rajput, but the latter refused to perpetrate such an act of treachery, and in the end a small sum of money was paid by Dudrenez to Holkar, by way of compensation, and he was permitted to depart to Hindustan with all his money and belongings.

On arriving at Koil Dudrenez entered Perron's army, and early in 1808 was given the command of the Fourth Brigade. In February of the same year he marched to the Deccan to reinforce Sindhia, but just before the breaking out of the war with the English he was sent back to Hindustan, and left Daulat Ráo's camp at Jalgaon on the 18th of July. About this time Ambaji Inglis was appointed to supersede Perron in the command of the Brigades, and Dudrenez exhibited more attachment to the Native than to the European Commander-in-chief—a desertion which stung Perron acutely. On his way to Delhi Dudrenez received information of Bourguien's defeat, and seeing little prospect of ultimate success, abandoned his command, and on the 30th of November surrendered to Colonel Vandaleur at Mattra. Thus ended a career full of adventure, incident, and peril. The Chevalier seems to have been a singularly unfortunate commander, for he suffered several disastrous defeats. His faithlessness had such an effect on Jaswant Ráo Holkar, that he withdrew all countenance from any whose nationality was French, and after the Chevalier's defection gave orders that no adventurer of his nation should be allowed to enter his service. As will be seen by this slight sketch (in which, it is to be feared, there are many inaccuracies due to an attempt to reconcile divergent statements and dates), Dudrenez served no less

than seven different masters during the period of his Indian career. It is difficult to see how he deserves the many encomiums that have been passed on him by various writers, for there is no record of his having won any substantial victory. His surrender to Amir Khán was singularly spiritless, and his notions of loyalty were decidedly questionable.

DUPONT, JOHN JAMES, MAJOR.—Major Dupont was a native of Holland, and an officer in Filoze's corps. After the suicide of Fidèle Filoze he succeeded to the command of four of the battalions and was with Sindhia when war with the English broke out. His force took part in the battle of Assaye, where they shared in the defeat and dispersion of Daulat Ráo's army. According to one account Dupont was engaged in the battle of Ujjain in 1801, where he was wounded and made prisoner with Derridon and Humphertson.

DUPRAT, COLONEL.—Colonel Duprat was a Frenchman and an officer in Perron's army. He succeeded Drugeon in the command of the First Brigade at Poonah in 1798, but only held the post for a year, being relieved by Colonel Sutherland. He was in command of five battalions of infantry which attempted to surprise the camp of Amrat Ráo, the Peshwa's brother, after the Bhais had fled to him for protection. This occurred on the night of the 7th of June, 1798. He failed in the attempt, and being briskly attacked in return, was compelled to draw off, and it was not without considerable loss that he made good his retreat. In the negotiations which followed the affair Amrat Ráo was prevailed on to come to Poonah, when Drugeon treacherously attacked and defeated him. Duprat's name does not appear in any subsequent records.

EVANS, CAPTAIN [also spelt Evens].—Very little information is available concerning this officer. He appears to have commanded the Begum Somru's party after Baours left it in 1789. He then entered De Boigne's service and rose to the rank of captain on a pay of Rs. 400 *per mensem*. Skinner mentions an officer of this name as having been taken prisoner with Colonel W. H. Tone at the storm of Sounda, and from another passage it is made apparent that he passed into Holkar's service. When war broke out with the English in 1808 a Captain Evens availed himself of Lord Wellesley's proclamation and "came in," receiving a pension equal to the pay he drew in the service of the state he was serving. But it is difficult to believe that an officer who commanded Somru's party so far back as 1789 was only

a captain in 1808, and there may have been two adventurers of the same, or similar, names.

FILOZE, FIDÈLE, COLONEL [also spelt *Filose, Felose, and Feloze*].—Fidèle Filoze was the son of Michael Filoze by a Native woman. When his father found it prudent to hastily resign Sindhia's service and leave Poonah, the command of his eleven battalions was divided between his two sons Fidèle and Jean Baptiste Filoze. Fidèle, however, retained eight of these with him in the Deccan and sent three only to his brother who was at Delhi. The first mention of Fidèle is in 1798, when he and George Hessing were directed by Sindhia to arrest Ghatkay Ráo, whose gross misconduct and contempt for the prince's authority had become intolerable, and this task they effected with great dexterity. Soon after this Fidèle succeeded to the command of his father's battalions. In 1801 he accompanied Daulat Ráo to Malwa, and on reaching the Narbada one of his battalions was detached under Colonel George Hessing to protect Ujjain, and a second shortly followed under Captain MacIntyre. Both were defeated and dispersed, the former at Ujjain, the latter at Núri. The remaining six battalions took part in the battle of Indore in October of the same year, and directly afterwards Fidèle was accused of a foul act of treachery, in having fired into Sutherland's troops as they advanced. It was asserted he had entered into a secret understanding with Holkar, and on these grounds he was seized and confined. According to one account he cut his throat in prison, in order to avoid the disgrace of condign punishment, but another states that the act was done in a fit of delirium following fever. Smith, though admitting his treason, somewhat unaccountably describes him as "on the whole a good, ignorant man," but he has been depicted in a much less favourable light by others, and Drugeon condemns him as a traitor who worked to ruin a master who had loaded him with favours. This is probably the more correct estimate of his character.

FILOZE, JEAN BAPTISTE DE LA FONTAINE, COLONEL [known to the Natives as *Ján Bateejis*].—Baptiste Filoze, as this individual is always called, was the younger son of Michael Filoze. When his father fled the country Baptiste was at Delhi, where his brother Fidèle sent him three of the eleven battalions they had inherited, and to these Baptiste added three more which he raised in Hindustan. This force assisted in the war against George Thomas in 1801, but was in a sorry state of discipline, and extremely insubordinate, the three original battalions being on one occasion expelled from Delhi by the

Emperor Shah 'Alam's orders on account of their atrocious conduct. This appears to be the single recorded instance of that king of kings having voluntarily promulgated a decree which was carried into effect, and both the order and its prompt execution seem to indicate that Baptiste's battalions were a public nuisance. After the fall of Georgegarh Baptiste—who, according to Thomas's memoirs, carried on a traitorous correspondence with him—returned to Delhi, and Smith says that Perron procured the transfer of these six battalions to his command by intrigue, and that they formed the foundation of the Fourth Brigade. This was probably the case, for in 1802 Baptiste proceeded to Ujjain to take over the command of the Deccan battalions left vacant by the suicide of his brother Fidèle. When war broke out with the English his force consisted of eight battalions of infantry, 500 cavalry, and 45 guns. Four of these were beaten and dispersed at Assaye under Dupont, and Baptiste, with the remaining four, escaped a similar fate by the circumstance of his having been left to guard Ujjain. When he heard of Sindhia's crushing defeat, he saved himself by hurrying off to Rajputana, but rejoined the prince on the conclusion of the war, and remained in his service for many years afterwards, being the single military adventurer of Hindustan who survived the disasters of 1803. People of his name, and probably his descendants, are to this day employed in the court of Sindhia, and Sir Michael Filoze is a highly respectable architect at Gwalior. In Broughton's "Mahratta Camp" there are several references to Baptiste Filoze, whose circumstances in 1809 were far from happy, for serious disturbances were constantly occurring in his corps, which was seldom out of a state of regular mutiny, owing to the men being in arrears of pay, and the tyrannical treatment they experienced from Baptiste. On one occasion he was removed from the command, after he and his European officers had been seized and confined, some being flogged, while others, with a refinement of cruelty, had their ears nipped in gunlocks, after which they were all expelled from the lines. They numbered forty, chiefly half-castes, but two or three were Englishmen. A little later on Baptiste was reinstated, through the interest of friends at court, who described him as "one of the greatest generals of the day"; which elicited the shrewd comment from Sindhia "that he had generally found these very great generals were also very great rogues." However, Baptiste obtained his reappointment, and evidently prospered, as the following extract from Colonel Sleeman's "Ramblee of an Indian Official" testifies:—

"After the Dusera festival in November every year, the Pindaris go Kingdom taking' as regularly as English gentlemen go partridge

shooting on the 1st of September. I may give as a specimen the excursion of Jean Baptiste Filoze, who sallied forth on such an expedition at the head of a division of Scindia's army just before the Pindari War. From Gwalior he proceeded to Kerowlee, and took from the chief of that territory the district of Sabughur, yielding four lakhs annually. He then took the territory of the Rájah of Chundeylee, one of the oldest of the Bundelcund chiefs, which yielded about seven lakhs of rupees. The Rájah got an allowance of Rs. 40,000 a year. He then took the territories of the Rájahs of Ragooghur and Bahadurghur, yielding three lakhs a year, and the three princes got Rs. 50,000 a year for subsistence amongst them. He then took Lopar, yielding two lakhs and a half, and assigned the Rájah Rs. 25,000. He then took Gurha Kotlah whose chief gets subsistence from the British Government. Baptiste had just completed his Kingdom taking when our armies took the field against the Pindaris, and on the termination of the war in 1817 all these acquisitions were confirmed and guaranteed to Scindia." Writing in 1838 Colonel Sleeman adds: "The present Gwalior force consists of three regiments of infantry under Colonel Alexander, six under Apajee, eleven under Colonel Jacob (Broughton mentions them as excellently disciplined in 1807, their commander enjoying a *Jaidad* and paying them regularly), and five under Colonel Jean Baptiste Filoze."

Baptiste remained at Gwalior till the breaking out of hostilities between the ruling Sindhia and the English in 1843. He was then commander-in-chief of the State army, which consisted of 30,000 regular troops and the famous park of artillery which had remained with it since the days of De Boigna. Just before the battles of Maharajapur and Panniar, Baptiste arranged that he should be locked up by his own men so as to avoid fighting the English. The reason of this was that he had £40,000 invested in Company's paper. With the exception of two, all the other officers of his army withdrew from the contest, knowing the hopelessness of success. The war was begun and concluded with these two battles, both fought on the same day, and after it Baptiste and his officers were removed from their commands and employment of every kind.

Thus Baptiste's career is traced for forty-seven years in the service of Sindhia—a record no other military adventurer can boast of.

FILOZE, MICHAEL, COLONEL.—Michael Filoze was a low-bred Neapolitan of worthless character, yet not without a certain address and cunning that enabled him to advance his interests. In his native country he had followed the calling of a mulcteer, before

he enlisted in the French army and came out to Madras, from whence, after several vicissitudes, he made his way to Delhi, and enlisted in the Rana of Gohad's service, in the corps commanded by Madoc. De la Fontaine, a Frenchman, was a fellow officer, and it was evidently after him that Michael named his son Baptiste, who was born at Gohad in 1773. In 1782, when the Rana was defeated by Sindhia and his battalion broken up, Michael Filoze lost his employment, and it has been stated that during the next eight years he served one of the Native states of Southern India. But if so, he evidently returned to Hindustan, for about the year 1790 he found means to recommend himself to De Boigne, who appointed him to the command of a battalion in his First Brigade. It was some time before he rose to any substantial rank, for in May, 1794, he was only rated at a pay of Rs. 800 per month. In the previous year he had been selected to accompany Madhoji Sindhia to the Deccan, and later on he successfully intrigued to get his battalion made into a separate command, independent of De Boigne's. It formed the nucleus of the corps he raised, which eventually numbered eleven battalions. In 1797 Michael Filoze found it prudent to fly from Poonah, under the following circumstances. Nana Farnavis, the Peshwa's prime minister, and the most able statesman in Maráthá history, was induced to return a formal visit of ceremony paid him a few days previously by Daulat Ráo Sindhia, of whom he was suspicious and distrustful. But Michael Filoze pledged his word of honour for the safety of the old minister, and so overcame his scruples; notwithstanding which the Neapolitan seized Nana and made him over a prisoner to Sindhia. This perfidious act excited the just indignation of all the European officers in the service of the Native states, whose general character was impugned by it, and who, in Grant Duff's words, "though mere soldiers of fortune, were as distinguished for good faith as daring enterprise." The Maráthás themselves excused Michael's treachery, saying that he was ignorant of what was intended, and ascribing it to sudden coercion by Ghatkay Ráo. It should further be mentioned that in a letter to a current newspaper Michael Filoze strenuously denied his guilt. The Nana was too powerful a personage to be kept a prisoner long; for a time he was confined in the fort of Ahmednagar, but in the following year he obtained his liberty by a payment of ten lakhs of rupees. Directly Filoze heard he was treating for his liberty, and likely to obtain it, he decamped to Bombay, leaving the command of his eleven battalions to his sons. Drugeon, who brands Michael Filoze as a traitor, mentions that he

set out for Europe, "but died"—whether on the voyage or after his arrival there is not specified. Grant Duff confirms Drugeon's estimate of this adventurer's character, as does Smith, who describes Filoze's party as one that "never performed any action of military or political consequence."

FINGLASS, CAPTAIN.—This officer was an Englishman, and formerly a quarter-master in the 19th Dragoons, where he bore a good character. He and Colonel Boyd, at the head of two independent parties, were introduced into the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad as a counterpoise to Raymond's overgrown power. In the year 1795 Finglass's corps numbered about 800 men, and took part in the battle of Kardla, where it shared in the defeat the Nizam brought upon himself by his pusillanimity. After this it was increased, and in 1798 numbered 6,000 men. Early in this year Raymond died, and was succeeded by Piron in the command of the "French army" of 14,000, which was disbanded in the following October by Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, under orders from the Governor-General. With the dispersion of these troops, and the cessation of the danger they threatened, it became a question whether or not Finglass should be allowed to retain his corps. In the end Lord Wellesley sanctioned its continuance, and, furthermore, permitted Finglass from time to time to purchase ordnance, ordnance stores, and muskets at Fort St. George. It is possible that the Haidarabad reformed troops, now in the service of the Nizam, can carry their traditions back to the days of Captain Finglass.

FLEUREA, CAPTAIN [also written *Floury*].—Captain Fleurea was a Frenchman and a cavalry officer in Perron's army. After the battle of Koil in 1803, when Perron precipitately fled to Agra, he detached Fleurea, with 5,000 Hindustani horse, to carry fire and sword into the Company's district of Cawnpore. Fleurea came across a small British outpost at Shikóabad, commanded by Colonel Coningham, and after four days' fighting forced it to surrender. It was not a very brilliant performance, but still the single advantage gained by any of Perron's troops during the war. On hearing of the fall of Aligarh, Fleurea's troopers carried him back to Agra, from whence he made his escape with great difficulty after Perron's flight, joining the General at Lucknow, and accompanying him to Calcutta.

FREMONT, COLONEL [spelt also *Frimont* and *Fremond*].—Colonel Frémont was a Royalist and commander of the French forces at

Chandernagore. But he quitted the service, as did most of the other officers in 1790, on the breaking out of the French Revolution. Proceeding up country, he applied to De Boigne for employment, and was appointed to the command of one of the two original battalions, and, when the Second Brigade was formed, promoted to the head of the First with a salary of Rs. 1,400 a month. In 1792 he distinguished himself at the storm of Balahiri, a hill fort forty-five miles east of Jaipur, on which occasion Captain Bulkeley was killed. An interesting account of this campaign appears in *The World* (a newspaper printed at Calcutta), in the following letter, dated from a place called "Ringhass," on August 6 and 10, 1792:—

"We arrived at this place on the 5th, our force consisting of the Second Brigade and 15,000 regular Mahratta horse, but excluding irregulars. This is a stone fort, upon a scientific plan of construction, surrounded by a ditch thirty feet deep, twenty-four feet wide, and capable of defence with such men and discipline as ours. It belonged to the Rájah Deby Sing, a tributary to the Jeypore Rájah, to whom he has refused the established tribute, amounting to two lakhs and a half, offering only a small portion. We arrived early, and after summoning the place to that effect, at nine o'clock we opened our trenches, and kept up a severe fire on the place till ten o'clock, by which time we had effected a capital breach between one of the bastions and a head of the curtain. The garrison had but few guns, with which, and musketry, they contrived to annoy us heartily. We opened two mortars after dark, which created, as was intended, dreadful confusion among them.

"Captain Chambaud's battalion and a select body of Rohillas were ordered for the storm in two divisions, with orders *not to spare the sword*. The time, three in the morning. However, the order had reached the garrison, and by a capitulation at half-past two they saved the lives of the remaining people. Deby Sing had quitted the fort previously, leaving injunctions to his officers not to surrender on any terms. The garrison are all prisoners now with us, and the stock of provisions and stores is valuable to us. The valuable property was carried off to the Rájah; however, what was left more than pays the amount offered.

"Deby Sing has another strong fort, called Sikker, about eight *cos* distant, where he has resolved to hold out, and we are determined to bring him to implicit obedience or bondage. He has a chosen force, a strong fort, good guns, and three months' provisions, and the country around is without water."

Frémont brought this expedition to a successful conclusion. The

next mention of him is two years later, at Datia, whither he was sent to punish the Rájah. The following account of this campaign is extracted from the "Asiatic Researches." "Gopal Ráo Bhow marched against Dutieya (in 1794) to compel payment of tribute and exact a fine. He was opposed. An engagement ensued, in which the Dutieya troops charged, sword in hand, the veteran battalions of De Boigne, which were commanded by Major Frémont, an officer of ability and experience. The Bundélnas showed no fear of the musket and bayonet, and there were several instances of grenadiers cut down, while their bayonets were buried in the breast of their assailants' horse. The Brigade lost 800 men in the attack, and Major Frimont himself assured me that nothing but a continual discharge of grape from the guns prevented it from utter destruction." In another account the victory is attributed to the judicious disposition of Frémont's artillery, and the gallantry of his men in some severe close fighting, in which they routed the enemy with considerable slaughter.

In 1795 or 1796 Frémont died, and this left Perron the senior officer in the force, and paved the way for his promotion to the chief command.

GARDNER, WILLIAM LINAKUS, COLONEL. — In its social aspect Colonel Gardner's life is the most romantic of any recorded in these pages. Born in 1770, he was a great grandson of William Gardner, of Colleraine, and a nephew of Alan, first Baron Gardner, a distinguished admiral in the British navy, who received the thanks of Parliament for his services. Colonel Gardner was educated in France, and came out to India in the King's service, and after rising to the rank of captain quitted it to enlist under the banners of the Native princes. There was a Scotch officer of the same name who entered Sindhia's service in 1792, was Brigade-Major of the First Brigade in 1793, commanded the Second Brigade in 1794, and was at the storm and capture of Sohawalgarh in 1795, where he was assisted by George Thomas. But as his Christian name is given as James in one place it is doubtful whether he was the same individual as the officer under notice. Colonel William Gardner entered Jaswant Ráo Holkar's service in 1796, and raised a brigade of regular infantry for that chief. But a disagreement arose between them, and Gardner left him. The story of his escape is thus told by himself:—

"One evening, when in Holkar's service, I was employed as an envoy to the Company's forces, with instructions to return within a certain time. My family remained in camp. Suspicion of treachery was caused by my lengthened absence, and accusations were brought forth against me at the durbar held by Holkar on the third day follow-

ing that on which my presence was expected. I rejoined the camp while the durbar was in progress. On my entrance the Maharajah, in an angry tone, demanded the reason of my delay, which I gave, pointing out the impossibility of a speedier return. Whereupon Holkar exclaimed, in great anger, 'Had you not returned this day I would have levelled the *khanáts* of your tent.' I drew my sword instantly and endeavoured to cut His Highness down, but was prevented by those around him; and before they had recovered from the amazement and confusion caused by the attempt, I rushed from the camp, sprang upon my horse, and was soon beyond the reach of recall."

To account for Colonel Gardner's indignation it must be explained that he was married to a Native lady, and that the *khanáts*, or canvas walls of his tent, represented the privacy of the *senána*, and to have cut them down implied the exposure of the inmates, an insult for which there could be no atonement. Through the influence of friends Colonel Gardner's wife and family were allowed to join him shortly afterwards—a piece of generosity hardly to be expected from such a character as Jaswant Ráo Holkar.*

The story of Colonel Gardner's marriage, as related by himself to Lady Fanny Parkes, is one of romantic interest. He was married by Muhammadan rites to a princess of the house of Cambay, a state on the western seaboard of India, and probably when he was an officer in the British service. This is his description of the incidents leading to the union:—

"When a young man I was entrusted to negotiate a treaty with one of the Native princes of Cambay. Durbars and consultations were continually held. During one of the former, at which I was present, a curtain near me was gently pulled aside, and I saw, as I thought, the most beautiful black eyes in the world. It was impossible to think of the treaty: those bright and piercing glances, those beautiful dark eyes completely bewildered me.

"I felt flattered that a creature so lovely as she of those deep black, loving eyes should venture to gaze upon me. To what danger might not the veiled beauty be exposed should the movement of the *pardah* be seen by any of those present at the durbar? On quitting the assembly I discovered that the bright-eyed beauty was the daughter of the prince. At the next durbar my agitation and anxiety were extreme to again behold the bright eyes that haunted my dreams and my thoughts by day. The curtain was again gently waved, and my fate was decided.

"I demanded the princess in marriage. Her relations were at first

indignant, and positively refused my proposal. However, on mature deliberation, the ambassador was considered too influential a person to have a request denied, and the hand of the young princess was promised. The preparations for the marriage were carried forward. 'Remember,' said I, 'it will be useless to attempt to deceive me. I shall know those eyes again, nor will I marry any other!'

"On the day of the marriage I raised the veil from the countenance of the bride, and in the mirror that was placed between us, in accordance with the Mahomedan wedding ceremony, I beheld the bright eyes that had bewildered me. I smiled. The young Begum smiled too."

This young princess was only thirteen years old when she was married: "An event," says Colonel Gardner, "which probably saved both our lives." She was eventually adopted as a daughter by Akbar Shah, who succeeded Shah 'Alam as Emperor of Delhi. For over forty years husband and wife lived a life of perfect happiness, and she died of a broken heart in August, 1835, six months after Colonel Gardner.

Subsequently to his departure from Holkar's service Colonel Gardner had another very narrow escape for his life. In 1808 he was confined a prisoner by Amrát Ráo, who, when war broke out with the English, caused Gardner to be fastened to a gun, and threatened with immediate execution if he refused to take the field against his fellow countrymen. The Colonel remained staunch, and in the hope of wearying him out, his execution was suspended, and he was placed in charge of a guard, who had orders never to quit sight of him for a single instant. Walking one day along the edge of a steep cliff, which led by a precipitous descent to the river Tapti, Gardner was suddenly inspired to make a daring dash for liberty, and perceiving a place fitted for his purpose, he called out "Bismillah!" ("In the name of God"), and flung himself down a declivity some forty or fifty feet deep. None were inclined to follow him, but an alarm was sounded. Recovering his feet, he made for the river, and plunged into it; but after swimming for some distance he found pursuers were gaining on him, and sought shelter in a friendly covert, where, with merely his mouth above water, he waited until they had passed. He then landed on the opposite side, and proceeded by unfrequented paths to a town in the neighbourhood, which was under the command of a Native whom he knew, and who afforded him protection. After remaining in hiding for some time, he ventured out in the disguise of a grass cutter, and reached the British outposts in safety.

At one time it would appear, from a passage in Major Thorn's "War

in India," that Colonel Gardner was in the service of the Rájah of Jaipur; but in 1804 he returned to his allegiance to the British Government and raised a famous cavalry corps known as "Gardner's Horse," which achieved a great reputation. His best services, both in the field and in diplomacy, were performed under the King's flag. He had a profound knowledge of the native character, and had adopted many of the ideas and opinions of the people with whom he passed a great portion of his life. But this did not prevent him from being an acceptable companion to his own countrymen, with whom he was always a great favourite. Lewis Ferdinand Smith describes him as "a gentleman and a soldier of pleasing address and uncommon abilities." His figure was tall and commanding, and his handsome countenance and military air rendered his appearance very striking. Lady Fanny Parkes, from whose interesting "Wanderings of a Pilgrim" many of the foregoing facts have been gleaned, formed an intimate friendship with Colonel Gardner, and speaks of him, in his old age, in terms of the warmest admiration and regard. For many years prior to his death he resided on his *jaghír*, or estate, at Khasganj, sixty miles from Agra. His Begum bore him two sons and a daughter. His eldest son James married a niece of the Emperor Akbar Shah. The younger, Alan, was united to Bibi Sahiba Hinga, and left two daughters, Suzan and Hármuzi. The latter was married in 1836 to her relative, William Gardner, a nephew of the second Baron Gardner. Their son, Alan Hyde Gardner, succeeded to the title, and is the present holder of it. He married in 1879 Jane, a converted princess of the House of Delhi, and has an heir, born in 1881. There is a most interesting pedigree of this family on p. 420 (vol. i.) of the "Wanderings of a Pilgrim," which illustrates in a very curious way the thread of connection by intermarriage between the heirs and descendants of an English Barony, the Imperial House of Taimúr, the Kings of Oudh and the Princes of Cambay. The degree of relationship is too intricate to be explained in detail, but the present Lord Gardner is grandson of a Prince of Cambay, and nephew to a late Emperor of Delhi, and a late King of Oudh. This sketch cannot be more suitably concluded than by an extract from Dod's Peerage.

"GARDNER (Ireland) created 1800. Baron Gardner, 1806 (United Kingdom), by which title he holds his seat in the House of Lords. Baronet, 1794 (Great Britain). Alan Hyde Gardner, son of the late Stewart William Gardner, grandson of the first baron. B. 1836: M. 1879, Jane, daughter of Angam Shekoe. Succeeded his kinsman in 1888. Residence, Village Munowta, near Nadri, Etah district. Heir, Son Alan Legge, born October 25, 1881."

GESLIN, MAJOR.—Major Geslin was a Frenchman, and commanded a battalion in Perron's Second Brigade. When the war of 1803 broke out he was appointed to succeed George Hessian in command of the brigade, the latter being sent to take up the commandantship of the fort of Agra, rendered vacant by the death of his father, Colonel John Hessian. Geslin, meanwhile, joined Bourguien at Delhi, and opposed him when he revolted against Perron's authority, and usurped his command. Bourguien, having failed in every attempt to seduce Geslin from his allegiance, incited the brigade to mutiny and place the Major under arrest, which they did. After the battle of Delhi, Geslin was one of the officers who surrendered to Lord Lake, and were deported to Calcutta.

HARDING, MAJOR.—Major Harding was a very gallant young English adventurer, whose career though short was brilliant. He raised a brigade of four battalions for Jaswant Rao Holkar, which he brought to a high state of efficiency and discipline. He met his death at the battle of Poonah, whilst charging Dawee's guns side by side with Holkar. In the very moment of victory he received a cannon shot in the shoulder, almost the last one fired in the action. Jaswant Rao, although wounded in three places, immediately hurried to the spot where Harding was lying, to afford him assistance and consolation. But the wounded officer was sinking fast, and he only had time to express a wish to be laid to rest by the side of his fellow countrymen in the burial place of the British Residency at Poonah—a dying request that was scrupulously fulfilled.

HARRIOTT, CAPTAIN.—Captain Harriott was an Englishman, and an officer in Perron's Fifth Brigade. He was one of the Europeans confined by the mutinous troops at Agra, previous to the capture of that fortress by General Lake. Taking advantage of the terms of Lord Wellesley's proclamation, he passed over to the British Government, and obtained the command of one of Sindhia's battalions which were taken into the Company's service after the war, and saw some fighting with it in the Hariána district in 1804.

HEARSEY, CAPTAIN.—Captain Hearsey was one of Thomas's officers, and assumed temporary charge of the camp at Georgegarh after the memorable battle of the 4th of September, 1801. It was owing to his error of judgment in not retiring to Hânsi, that Thomas's fall was indirectly due. He appears to have possessed very little military ability, but was faithful to his chief, and not only accompanied him in his flight

to Hânsi, but fought bravely to the end. After Thomas's fall Hearsey entered the service of some Native state, whether Sindhia's or Holkar's it is impossible to say; but he was one of the officers who availed themselves of Lord Wellesley's proclamation in 1808, and received a pension of Rs. 800 a month from the British Government.

HESSING, GEORGE, COLONEL.—George Hessing was a half-caste Dutchman, being a son of Colonel John Hessing by a "Native woman." But though Grant Duff describes the mother in these terms, there is little doubt but that she was a sister of Major Derridon and Madame Perron, for Skinner mentions that George Hessing was the General's nephew. Hessing was known amongst the Natives as *Jorus Sahib*, a corruption of his Christian name, which cannot bear comparison with the sonorous *Jowruj* applied to Thomas. The first mention of George Hessing is in 1798, when, in conjunction with Fidèle Filoze, he expertly effected the capture of Ghatkay Râo. In 1800, on the retirement of his father, he succeeded to the command of a brigade of four battalions, which he quickly increased to eight. The next year he accompanied Sindhia to Malwa, and on reaching the Narbada was sent forward to protect Ujjain against a threatened attack by Holkar. Although it was in the rainy season, and the country flooded with water, Hessing made an astonishingly rapid march, and arrived at the capital in June. Amir Khân soon attacked him, and kept him in play till Holkar defeated MacIntyre and attempted to repeat the success against Brownrigg; but being repulsed by the latter officers, he joined Amir Khân, and made a concerted assault on Hessing's entrenchments outside the walls of Ujjain. Hessing behaved in a most cowardly manner, flying at an early period of the action, and leaving his troops to be annihilated, and his eleven European officers killed or wounded and taken prisoners. Just previous to the battle of Ujjain he had despatched four of his battalions to his father at Agra, whither he now made his way. He was soon called upon to march with these to assist in the war against George Thomas, and it was through his lines that *Jowruj Jung* cut his way when he escaped to Hânsi. After this Hessing returned to Agra. Smith states that his four battalions were taken over by Perron in 1808, and made the foundation of the Fifth Brigade, Hessing being promoted to the command of the Second, in succession to Robert Sutherland; but he did not hold the appointment long, for his father died in July, and he was transferred to the commandantship of Agra. He was here when General Lake captured the fort, but not in command, for he had been previously deposed and confined by his

mutinous troops. At the last moment he was put forward to negotiate terms for the garrison. Skinner asserts that he was "too rich a man to defend the fort well, and soon found means to dissatisfy the garrison," but this opinion seems ill founded. Hessian's fortune was estimated at five lakhs of rupees, besides money in the Company's funds. After his surrender he retired to Chinsúra for some time, and eventually removed to Calcutta, where he died on the 6th of January, 1826, aged forty-four years.

HESSING, JOHN, COLONEL.—Colonel Hessian was a native of Holland, and was born in 1740. He came to India in 1764, and entered the service of the Native princes. After many adventures, no records of which appear to exist, he joined De Boigne, and obtained the command of one of the first two battalions the General raised. He was present at the battles of Lalsót, Chaksana, Agra, and Pátan. After the latter he quarrelled with his commander and left him. Soon after this he was specially employed by Madhoji Sindhia to raise a body-guard for that chief, and accompanied him to Poonah in 1792. By degrees Hessian increased his party to a small brigade of four battalions. In 1800 ill-health obliged him to resign his command in favour of his son George, and, "covered with wounds received in war," the fine old Dutchman retired to fill the post of Commandant of the Fort of Agra. Here "in his judicial capacity he so tempered justice with mercy, that he was universally loved and esteemed, and in this honourable retreat passed the remaining years of his life, spending with liberality a well-earned fortune." He had many opportunities of extending hospitality to British officers, who visited Agra for amusement or curiosity. Lord Metcalfe, then a young civilian and Assistant Resident at Daulat Ráo Sindhia's camp, met John Hessian at Agra in March, 1801, and thus describes the incident:—"I breakfasted by invitation with the Dutch Commandant, Colonel J. Hessian. I found him with his son, who commanded in the engagement at Oojein, where his battalions were defeated; a Mr. Marshall, an Englishman, and two others, whose names I have not learnt. The breakfast consisted of *kedgeree* (rice and eggs), fish, game, fowls, curry and rice, stews, oranges, pears, pomegranates, eggs, bread-and-butter, cakes of all kinds, pancakes, and a number of other dishes which have escaped my recollection—amongst others I have forgotten to enumerate cheese. The Dutchman was as polite as a Dutchman could be, and very well meaning, I am certain. On the following day I breakfasted and dined with him again."

John Hessian died on the 21st of July, 1808, aged sixty-three years, of

which thirty-seven had been spent as an adventurer in military service in India. From some passages in Skinner's "Memoirs" it appears the Colonel was father-in-law to Robert Sutherland, and it seems certain that his wife was a sister of Madame Perron. Smith describes John Hessing as "a good, benevolent man and a brave soldier." A beautiful mausoleum was erected to his memory in the Catholic burial ground at Agra. It was designed in imitation of the Táj, and cost a lakh of rupees!

HOPKINS, CAPTAIN.—Captain Hopkins was the son of a field officer in the Honourable Company's service, and one of George Thomas's officers. He was an extremely gallant man, greatly beloved by his chief, whom he accompanied in the invasion of the Sutlej States, where he was twice wounded whilst gallantly storming Native forts. He met his death at the battle of Georgegarh. Thomas was deeply affected by his loss, and thus refers to him in his memoirs:—"The firmness of his behaviour during the whole period of his service, as well as the manly resignation which he exhibited at the close of life, stamps his character as that of an amiable man and a brave and gallant soldier." And Skinner gives it as his opinion that, "had Thomas possessed another officer like Captain Hopkins, he would have gained the day at Georgegarh." Hopkins's battalion was the only one that remained faithful to Thomas to the last. When Thomas retired into British territory, after his surrender at Hánísi, he sent a present of Rs. 2,000 to Hopkins's sister, who had just been left an orphan by the death of her father, with a promise that if this sum was not thought enough, he would extend further benevolence to her out of his ruined fortunes.

LEGGÉ, THOMAS.—The name of "Tom Legge" has been rescued from oblivion by the graphic pen of Colonel Tod, the author of "The Annals of Rajásthán," and from a contribution of his to the *Asiatic Journal* the following particulars are excerpted:—Legge was a native of Danagadee, in the north of Ireland, his father being a shipowner in a small way, and engaged in the emigrant-carrying trade to America. Tom Legge was very wild in his youth, and, rejecting all his father's offers to establish him in a respectable calling, ran away from home and shipped on board the *Swallow*, sloop of war, bound for Madras. Arrived in India, his vagrant principle asserted itself, and, deserting his ship, he tramped his way to Haidarabad, in Sind, supporting himself by begging. This must have been about the year 1775. He stayed in the lower Indus districts for five or six years,

and then proceeded to Multan, and from thence through the desert to Jaipur. After a short residence in Rajputana he entered the service of the Ját Rana of Gohad, being appointed to a post in Sangster's corps. From this officer Legge learnt the art of casting cannon and whatever belonged to their management, and with the possession of this knowledge, and the revival of the errant principle within him, he resumed his travels. Bidding farewell to Sangster, he steered his course to Kabul, where his talents gained him a situation on a pay of three rupees a day. Here he remained some years, receiving very kind treatment, and rendering himself so useful that, when he desired to leave, he was obliged to escape by stealth. Journeying north, he crossed the Hindu Kush and entered Badakshan, and was so well received that he stayed there for a considerable time and contracted a left-handed marriage. On quitting this country he went to Bokhára, where he exercised his art for some time, and there, as elsewhere, his only difficulty was to get away. He afterwards visited Herát and Kandahár, and in this mode of life spent twenty years, serving almost every power between the Indus and the Caspian. At length, tired of this nomad existence, he set out for Jaipur, where he determined to settle down for the rest of his days. Here he married a daughter of Dr. de Silva, a grandson of the celebrated Favier de Silva, whom the King of Portugal sent out to assist the astronomical studies of Jai Singh, the prince who founded Jaipur. This alliance obtained for Legge the command of a Najib battalion in the Jaipur army, but his first service with it proved his last, for in storming the stronghold of a refractory chief he received two wounds. It was shortly after this that he came to Colonel Tod's camp to obtain medical assistance. "I was poked down with a pike, and shot through my thigh, and I've come to your honour's camp to get cured, for they can make no hand at it at Jaipur," was his explanation of his appearance, and the speech was intermingled with forcible and patriotic expressions of joy at seeing the British flag waving in front of the Colonel's tent. His stay here extended for some months, during which Colonel Tod heard all the incidents of his adventurous life, and records the pleasure he felt "in listening to the variegated history of this singular being, who had retained, amidst these strange vicissitudes, an artlessness of manner and goodness of heart which were displayed in many notable instances during his abode of some months in our camp." Legge was in many ways an eccentric and cosmopolitan character. He practised the healing art, alchemy, and divination. He was very benevolent, and his accurate memory had mastered and retained an extraordinary stock of wild Central Asian legends, which he used willingly to retail

to any one who would listen to him. He suffered from a delusion that during his wanderings he had discovered the Garden of Eden. The road which led to it was through a spacious and dark cavern, and an angel with flaming wings guarded its entrance. Deep down in the heart of a mountain was situated a beautiful garden, filled with delicious fruit, with piles of gold bricks at one end, and of silver at the other, and various other marvels. The location of this imaginary spot was in the Hindu Kho. Another striking and praiseworthy characteristic of Tom Legge's was his reverence for the Bible, a copy of which he carried about with him in all his travels and wanderings. The doctor who attended Tom Legge was a Scotchman, and although his patient's brogue could not be mistaken, there was blended with it a strong Scotch accent, and the doctor fancied he recognised a countryman. "At this Tom's meek spirit took fire; the *quærs* involved a double insult, to his country and to his veracity, and he exclaimed with warmth, 'You may take me for a Spaniard or a Portugese, or what you *plase*, sir, but I tell you nothing but the truth, your honour, when I say I'm an Irishman.' Colonel Tod instantly poured the oil of gladness on his wounded spirit by saying he did not doubt his word, but that the doctor was a Scotchman, and wished to know whether, from his accent, he might not claim Tom as a fellow-countryman. Tom's countenance brightened as he rejoined, with a tone and expression which could only come from a genuine son of Erin, 'Sure, an' was not me mother a Mackintosh?'"

Tom's wound did not heal, and he felt himself slowly wasting away. "I do not fear death, your honour," he said to Colonel Tod, "and could I get my life written and my boy sent to Calcutta I should die contented." At length he expressed a desire to return to Jaipur, and everything necessary was provided him; but he had not long quitted the camp before despair overtook him, and, throwing away his clothes, he took up his post in a deserted tomb and proclaimed himself a *Fakir*. In this condition he was discovered by the wife of Sindhia's General, Jean Baptiste Filoze. She acted the good Samaritan towards him, but it was too late, and poor Tom Legge died shortly afterwards in the year 1808. Alas! the pity of it that his book was never written. Literature might have been the richer by another work like "Tom Coryat's Crudities."

LE MARCHANT, CAPTAIN [also written Le Marchand].—Captain Le Marchant was a Frenchman, and entered De Boigne's service about the year 1792. In 1794 he had risen to the rank of captain, and was drawing Rs. 800 a month pay. Four years later Perron appointed him

"Prefect" of Delhi, and there, in command of two battalions, he faithfully discharged the trust reposed in him, and proved himself an active and diligent officer. He died in November, 1799, and his widow assumed the command of his battalions, and refused to surrender them to a successor. In March, 1800, a Native was appointed to the post, but the spirited widow declined to recognise his authority, and Perron was obliged to send Emilius Felix Smith to dislodge the defiant lady. She had taken up a strong position, and fortified it with four guns, but despite her gallant resistance she was eventually compelled to surrender, after having held her late husband's appointment for four months. The custom of a widow succeeding to the command and emoluments enjoyed by her husband was not an uncommon one in India. The example of the Begum Somru naturally suggests itself, but others can be adduced as illustrating this somewhat singular system of succession. There was in 1790 in the Peshwa's service a corps commanded by a European named Yvon, on whose death an Englishman named Robinson was appointed to succeed him. But Mrs. Yvon immediately hurried to Dharwar, where the corps was stationed, deposed Robinson, caused him to be imprisoned, and assumed the command herself. Another instance occurred in the service of Haidar Ali of Mysore. A Portuguese officer named Mequinez, who had on one occasion rendered signal service to the prince, was slain in a battle with the Maráthás. Haidar Ali immediately conferred the command of his battalion upon the widow, Madame Mequinez, and invested her with the rank of colonel, which she was to enjoy until her son became old enough for the post. This lady accompanied the regiment everywhere; its colours were carried to her house, and she had a private sentinel at her door. She received the pay of the force, and caused it to be distributed, and the deductions made from it, in her own presence. When the regiment was drilled and paraded she inspected it herself, but in time of war her second in command led it into action. Her fate was rather a humiliating one. She married a "mongrel Portuguese sergeant"; whereupon Haidar Ali reduced her to a sergeant's rank and pay, because, by her own voluntary action, she had degraded herself!

LESTINEAU, MONSIEUR [also written *Lesteneau*].—Lestineau was a Frenchman, and commanded a regular corps in the service of Ranjit Singh, the Rájah of the Játs, about the year 1768. After the defeat of Lalsót, Madhoji Sindhia entered into an alliance with Ranjit Singh, and thus it happened that Monsieur Lestineau's corps acted with the Maráthás in the battles of Chaksána and Agra. In the former his

troops were stationed on the right wing, and shared with De Boigne's two battalions the barren honours of the day, and after making a staunch and gallant resistance, were forced to retire owing to the desertion of the Maráthá cavalry. Lestineau and his corps accompanied the Maráthás to Delhi after the victory of Agra, and he was detached to assist in the pursuit of Ghulám Kadir, who had fled to Meerut. When Ghulám was captured, his saddle-bags, stuffed with the jewels which the miscreant had looted from the Emperor's palace, fell into Lestineau's hands, who with these, and the pay of his battalion, absconded shortly after his return to the capital. He reached British territory in safety, and eventually found his way to Europe, with his ill-gotten wealth.

LE VASSOULT, COLONEL [spelt also Le Vassou, Le Vaisseau, Le Vaisseaux, Le Vaissaux, Le Vassoc].—Le Vassoult—assuming this to be the proper orthography of his name—was a Frenchman, and a person of talent, good birth, and pride of character. He entered the Begum Somru's corps, and after rendering his mistress essential service in the management of her artillery, was promoted to the command of it in 1798. Two years later, in order to obtain complete control of her party, he married the Begum. He always felt a profound contempt for the officers in the force, and refused to sit at meals with them, treating them in a haughty manner, and attempting to reform the character of the troops with stern severity. This speedily led to a mutiny, and Le Vassoult lost his life under circumstances which will be found fully related under the heading of "Sombre."

LUCAN, CAPTAIN [also spelt Luccan].—Captain Lucan was an Irishman, and an officer in Perron's army. When the war of 1803 occurred, he availed himself of the Governor-General's proclamation, and left Sindhia's service. At the storm of Aligarh he volunteered to show Lord Lake's troops the way to the gate, and the Commander-in-chief mentions him in the following terms in his despatch of the 4th of September, 1803, announcing the capture of the fortress:—"I feel I shall be wanting in justice to the merits of Mr. Lucan, a native of Great Britain, who recently quitted the service of Sindhia to avoid serving against his country, were I not to recommend him to your Lordship's particular attention. He gallantly undertook to lead Colonel Monson's storming party to the gate, and point out the road through the fort, which he effected in a most gallant manner, and Colonel Monson has reported having received infinite benefit from his service." Lucan was rewarded with a commission in the 7th Regiment of Foot, and retired to Europe, where he was killed in a duel.

of Rs. 24,000—"for the job," as Skinner somewhat disparagingly puts it. General Lake mentions Lucan again in his despatch of the 10th of October following:—"To Mr. Lucan's information and exertions on this occasion [the battle before Agra] as well as on every other, I feel myself very much indebted." Subsequently Captain, or as he ought perhaps to be called, Lieutenant Lucan was appointed to the command of a large body of irregular cavalry, and attached to the force under Colonel Monson, which was employed in keeping Holkar in check. Monson met with a disastrous defeat after a short campaign in Holkar's territory, and Lucan was detached to protect his rear. When the troops were leaving Bampurá he might have saved himself if he had retreated directly Jaswant Ráo's advance guard came in sight. But he desired to win a name for himself, and thought he might do so by making a brilliant charge before falling back. He was deserted by most of his men, and soon surrounded by Holkar's best cavalry, and after sustaining a gallant fight, in which his few faithful troops were cut to pieces, he was wounded and taken prisoner. He was confined at Kotah, and shortly afterwards died, according to various accounts, by poison, by torture, or from the effects of his wounds. In the "Life of Amir Khán," by Bhowan Lal, it is made to appear that Lucan fell in hand-to-hand conflict with Holkar himself, and the apocryphal exploit is commemorated by some Persian verses, of which Prinsep gives the following metrical translation:—

"The Maharáj at Lucan flew,
As swoops the falcon on its prey,
His water-tempered blade he drew
And streams of gushing blood found way!

The broken host took flight and fled,
Death was among them freely dealt,
Sepoys and soldiers, black and white,
The sword's keen edge in plenty felt.

A Raging Lion, Jaswant Ráo,
Came upon Lucan, brave and bold,
And striking at his neck one blow,
His head upon the green sward rolled.

The army saw their leader's fate
And forthwith in confusion turned;
Such the reward of those, whose hate,
Against Holkar, proved

It is, perhaps, as well to mention that, despite these circumstantial and gory details, the above incident is purely imaginary.

MACINTYRE, CAPTAIN.—Nothing is known of this adventurer, except that he was an officer in Hessing's or Filoze's brigades, and was detached by Sindhia in June, 1801, to support the former at Ujjain with two battalions. He was cut off by Jaswant Ráo Holkar at Núri, twenty-seven miles distant from the capital, and compelled to surrender.

MACKENZIE, LIEUTENANT.—Lieutenant MacKenzie was an officer commanding a battalion in Perron's Third Brigade under Bourguieñ. He was present during the campaign against Thomas, and behaved with gallantry at the final assault on Hánsi, where he was wounded.

MADOC, COLONEL [spelt also *Médoc*].—Next to Sombre's, Madoc's was the oldest "party" in Hindustan. Madoc was an illiterate and ignorant Frenchman, who had formerly been a private in the French army in Southern India, from which he deserted in 1774, and found his way to Delhi, where he entered the service of Najaf Khán, for whom he raised a corps of five battalions of infantry, 500 cavalry, and 20 guns. He gathered around him several very respectable and competent officers, amongst whom were the Count de Moidavre and the Chevaliers Dudrenec and Cressy. Colonel Malleson states that Madoc commenced his career as early as 1757, and that he was one of Sombre's officers, and served at the battle of Buxar. He was a gallant man, but deficient in military knowledge, and with more enterprise and bravery than prudence and science, and his battalions generally failed in their attacks from the rash impetuosity of their commander. After leaving Najaf Khán's service, Madoc entered that of the Rána of Gohad in 1776, and a little later experienced a disastrous defeat in the defiles of Biána in the Méwatti district, where his force was attacked by a large band of Rohillas, during a heavy storm of rain, and annihilated, twelve of his European officers being killed, and all his guns and baggage captured. Madoc escaped by flight, and found refuge at Fatehpur, from whence he repaired to Agra, and set to work to cast new guns and raise and discipline another corps. When it was ready for service, by a species of transaction not uncommon in those days, he sold it to the Rána of Gohad in 1782, and its command devolved on Major Sangster. Madoc, having realised a small fortune, retired to Europe, where he was not long afterwards killed in a duel.

MARSHALL, JAMES, CAPTAIN.—Captain Marshall was a Scotchman, and a gentleman of good family and education. He began life as a midshipman in the Company's navy, but in a spirit of adventure left the sea, and took service with the Native princes, obtaining the command of a battalion in Hessing's corps. He is spoken of by a contemporary as a brave soldier, an intelligent officer, and a man of liberal sentiments and amiable manners. Little is known of his active career in Sindhia's service, except that he was one of the officers who was confined by the revolted troops at Agra in 1803, and it is probable he was engaged in the war against George Thomas. Having surrendered to General Lake in terms of the Governor-General's proclamation, he was awarded a pension of Rs. 500 a month by the British Government, and shortly afterwards appointed to the command of some newly-raised levies, and sent to keep order in the Hariána district. He was shot through the heart about the year 1804, whilst gallantly storming a town, in the discharge of his duty to his King and country. "Such characters are rarely seen," writes Lewis Ferdinand Smith. "I knew him long, and he was esteemed and respected by all who were acquainted with his many excellent and amiable qualities. He was cut off in the flower of his life. As he received the fatal bullet, he grasped the hand of his friend, Captain Harriott, smiled at him, and dropped back dead."

MARTINE, CLAUDE, GENERAL [also written Claud Martin].—Claude Martine was a Frenchman. He was born in the year 1732 at Lyons, where his father carried on the business of a silk manufacturer. It was intended that he should follow the same calling, but his adventurous spirit would not submit to so tame a career, and running away from home at an early age, he enlisted in the French army. He soon distinguished himself by his activity and energy, and was advanced from an infantry to a cavalry regiment. In 1757 the Count de Lally was appointed to the government of Pondicherry, and requiring volunteers for his bodyguard, Martine made application to be enrolled, and was accepted. Accompanying Lally to India, he arrived there in 1758, but had not been long in the country before he began to experience trouble. Lally's ideas of discipline were inordinately severe, and his behaviour and manners toward his subordinates harsh and tyrannical. His treatment might have been necessary, for a large portion of his bodyguard had been recruited from military criminals and deserters under sentence, who were drafted into it as a punishment. But Lally's sternness had the effect of increasing rather than diminishing the insubordination, and when, a little later, Coote advanced and laid siege

to Pondicherry, the whole of the Governor's bodyguard deserted *en masse* to the English, by whom they were well received. On the return of the British troops to Madras, Martine volunteered to raise a corps of French chasseurs from amongst the prisoners of war, for service under the Company's flag. His proposal was entertained, and he received a commission as ensign. Shortly afterwards he was ordered to Bengal with his corps, but, during the voyage, the ship in which he sailed sprang a leak, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he saved his men in the boats, and eventually landed them safely in Calcutta. In due course he was promoted to the rank of captain, but in 1764 his men mutinied, notwithstanding his exertions to keep them faithful, and the corps was broken up. Martine's conduct on this occasion was greatly commended by the authorities, and, being an able draughtsman, he was rewarded by an appointment in the north-eastern districts of Bengal, where he was sent to survey the country. His work was so satisfactory that, on its completion, a similar appointment was found for him in the province of Oudh.

This was the turning-point in his career, which had hitherto been more eventful than profitable. Having fixed his headquarters at Lucknow, he employed his leisure in exercising his ingenuity in several branches of mechanics, and, amongst other things, manufactured "the first balloons that ever floated in the air of Asia." This brought him under the notice of the Nawáb, who conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, and especially his skill in gunnery, that he solicited permission from the Bengal Government for Martine's services to be transferred to him, and this being granted, the adventurer was appointed superintendent of the Nawáb's park of artillery and arsenal.

Martine did not neglect the opportunities thus opened out to him, and speedily ingratiated himself with his new master, whose confidential adviser he became. In the many political changes that took place in Oudh during the next twenty years the Frenchman always contrived to remain on the right side, making himself indispensable in negotiations between the Nawáb and the Company. At the same time he was careful not to push himself forward into public notice, preferring to remain the power behind the throne; and although he seldom appeared at Darbar, he had more real influence than the Nawáb's ministers in shaping the course of events.

Martine's salary was largely increased, and he enjoyed, in addition, extensive sources of emolument, such as were always open to men in positions of confidence in the Native courts. He became the recognised channel for petitions from all who desired any favour from the

Government, and in this capacity enormous bribes and presents of great value found their way into his hands. He educated the Nawáb into an appreciation of the products of Europe, and then acted as his agent in procuring them. He established extensive credits with the Native bankers, and so obtained a large share in the profitable public loans made to his master. Finally his position at Court was esteemed so secure that, in a country distracted by war and internal troubles, he soon became a sort of "safe deposit" for the valuables of the Nawáb's subjects, charging a commission of 12 per cent. for the custody of articles committed to his care. By these and similar methods he acquired an immense fortune during his long residence at Lucknow.

Martine's pleasure in life seems to have been limited to the mere accumulation of riches, for he derived none from spending them. In his peculiar way he was sufficiently hospitable, but his table was not calculated to attract guests, either by the elegance of the entertainment or the geniality of the host. Of his private bounty during his life very few instances are recorded, though it is known that from time to time he assisted his family at Lyons. The principal object of his ambition or vanity seems to have been the attainment of military rank, a fact the truth of which is emphasised by the epitaph he wrote for his own tomb. During the time he resided at Lucknow his promotion in the Company's service continued; for although he relinquished his pay and allowances, he retained his commission. In 1790, at the commencement of the first war with Tipu Sultan, he presented the Company with a number of fine horses to mount a troop of cavalry, and in return was gazetted to the rank of colonel, thus achieving the object for which the gift was made. Six years later, when the Company's officers received brevet rank from the King, Martine's name was included in the *Gazette*, and to his infinite satisfaction he became a major-general. Lord Teignmouth described him in 1797 as a man of much penetration and observation, whose language would be elegant if it corresponded with his ideas; but he talked very broken English, interlarding every sentence with "What do you call it?"—"Do you see?"

Amongst the most remarkable points connected with Martine was his house at Lucknow, which was a castellated edifice built on the banks of the River Gúmí, and designed for defence if necessary. It was constructed strictly on hygienic principles, for it contained a series of rooms—or flats, as we should call them in these modern days—adapted to the varying temperature of the different seasons of the year. Thus in the hot season he resided in a subterranean suite of

chambers, which were always cool and sheltered from the fierce glare and heat outside. When the rainy season came on, he ascended to an upper story high above the ground level and its malaria. In the cold weather he changed quarters again, and descended to the ground-floor. The house was fitted with many curious mechanical contrivances for comfort; the ceilings of the different apartments were formed of elliptic arches, ornamented most elaborately, whilst the exterior decorations were equally fanciful and florid. The furniture was on a par with the building, and the walls of the rooms were covered with glasses, prints, and pictures, estimated at many thousand pounds in value. Not the least curious feature in this building—which was called *Constantia*, from the motto *Labore et Constantia* carved on its front—was a room containing a vault designed for Martine's place of sepulture. He built this because the Nawáb refused to pay him the price he asked for the edifice; whereupon, in a fit of pique, he declared that his tomb should be handsomer than any palace in the kingdom. His subsequent interment therein had the effect of desecrating the place in the eyes of the Muhammadans, for no followers of the Prophet can inhabit a tomb.

For the last fifteen years of his life Martine suffered greatly from stone. He cured himself once by a successful though crude and painful course of treatment; but a recurrence of the disease terminated his life in the year 1800, at the age of sixty-two.

On the 1st of January of the same year he executed an extraordinary will, which he drew up himself. It contained over forty clauses, and began by acknowledging with penitence that self-interest had been his guiding principle through life. His fortune, amounting to nearly half a million sterling, he bequeathed in innumerable legacies. Amongst them were three to the poor of Calcutta, Chandernagore, and Lucknow, the interest of which was to be doled daily at certain fixed places, distinguished by tablets bearing an inscription in English, French, or Persian, according to the location, and notifying that the alms distributed were the gift of General Martine, and to be so disbursed in perpetuity. He left a large sum in trust to the Government of Bengal for the establishment and endowment of a school to be called *La Martiniers*, which still exists, and where on the anniversary of his death a sermon was to be preached, followed by a public dinner, at which the toast of "The Memory of the Founder" was to be drunk in solemn silence. To his relatives and the town of Lyons he bequeathed large legacies, and two separate sums to that city and Calcutta, their interest to be devoted to releasing poor debtors from gaol on the anniversary of his death. He left directions

that his house Constantia should never be sold, but serve as a mausoleum for his remains, and he committed it to the care of the ruling power in the country for the time being. Such were the elaborate precautions taken by this eccentric man to keep his memory alive and hand it down to posterity.

The thirtieth clause in his will was perhaps the most remarkable of all. It ran as follows: "When I am dead, I request that my body may be salted, put in spirits, or embalmed, and afterwards deposited in a leaden coffin made of some sheet lead in my godown, which is to be put in another of sissoo wood, and then deposited in the cave in the small round room north-east in Constantia, with two feet of masonry raised above it, which is to bear the following inscription:—

" MAJOR-GENERAL CLAUDE MARTINE,

Born at Lyons, January, 1788.

Arrived in India as a common soldier, and died at [Lucknow, the
18th of September, 1800] a major-general;

and he is buried in this tomb.

Pray for his soul."

His wishes were faithfully fulfilled, and when Lady Fanny Parkes visited the tomb in 1831 she mentions that a bust of the General adorned the vault, lights were constantly burning before the tomb, and the figures of four Sipahis, as large as life, with their arms reversed, stood in niches at the side of the monument. In the centre of the vault was a large plain slab bearing the inscription above recorded.

Perchance it sufficiently summarises Martine's life, for his career was disfigured by much that was ignoble and inglorious. Yet, conning it after the lapse of nearly a hundred years, one cannot help reflecting on the achievements of the man epitomised in the few terse words. Dynasties have died out, thrones have tottered and fallen, kingdoms have crumbled into dust and been forgotten since this private soldier sought to perpetuate his name; and it is not an unpleasing thought that the atonement of his testamentary charity still keeps alive the pious memory of the founder of *La Martiniers*.

MONTAGUE, EDWARD, LIEUTENANT.—Lieutenant Montague was the son of Colonel Montague, of the Bengal Artillery, and an officer in Hensing's brigade. He was killed at the battle of Ujjain in 1801. He is described in an obituary notice published at the time as a most accomplished young man, who had been educated at the Royal

Military Academy at Kensington, and received a more ample education than was generally esteemed necessary for the army. *Tempora mutantur*; as witness the groups of great-brained, young aspirants, who periodically cluster round the doors of Burlington House to prove their sufficient intellectual powers.

MORRIS, JOHN.—John Morris was an Englishman, and commanded one of George Thomas's battalions. He is only mentioned once in Thomas's memoirs—namely, in the description of the battle of Fatehpur, where he distinguished himself and was wounded. "He was a brave man," wrote his master, "but better adapted to conduct a forlorn hope than direct the motions of troops on the field of battle."

PAINE, CAPTAIN.—There appear to have been two officers of this name. One, a captain in the Chevalier Durenco's corps, was killed at the battle of Malpura in 1799, in the charge of Báthor cavalry that overwhelmed the force; the other, a lieutenant in Perron's Fourth Brigade, was wounded in the storm of Sounda, in 1801. As both incidents are gleaned from Skinner's memoirs, it is possible that they refer to one and the same individual, and that he was only wounded, not killed, in the first action.

PAULY, COLONEL (PAOLI).—Colonel Pauly was a German, and selected by the Begum Somru to command her husband's party after Sombre's death in 1778. He engaged too much in Oriental politics, and espoused the cause of Prince Jiwan Bakht, who, in 1782, desired to rid Shah 'Alam of some of his unruly nobles, and undertook to secure the arrest of a powerful minister named Mirza Sháfi Khán; whereupon the latter fled, and the Emperor appointed Jiwan Bakht Amir-úl-Umra, or Chief of the Nobles. But Mirza Sháfi entered into an alliance with several other rebel nobles, and, collecting a large army, marched against Delhi, sending forward a *vakil* to Shah 'Alam, demanding his restoration to power. The Emperor was intimidated, and summoned a council, at which Jiwan Bakht proposed to sally forth and fight the rebels, a line of action which Pauly strongly supported, undertaking to defeat Mirza Sháfi's following with his battalions of regulars. But the Emperor was too frightened to act boldly, and ordered Pauly to enter into an amicable arrangement. The German obeyed, and a general reconciliation of all parties was outwardly agreed to, but scarcely had Pauly entered the rebels' camp to arrange for carrying the agreement into effect, than a party of horse, who had been placed

in ambuscade, fell upon him, and, dispersing his escort, "by a bloody process cut off the head of Mr. Pauly."

PEDRON, COLONEL.—Colonel Pedron was a Frenchman, and a native of Hennebon, near L'Orient. He served in Monsieur Law's corps at Lucknow in 1760. Law, it may be mentioned, was a son of the financial genius known as "Mississippi" Law, whose speculative enterprises in France produced a parallel to our South Sea Bubble in England. Law was at Chandernagore in 1756 when Clive captured it, but managed to make his escape into the Upper Provinces with about 250 of his countrymen, whom he kept together till the year 1761, when he was defeated and forced to surrender to Major Carnac. But prior to this a great number of his Europeans deserted, and amongst them was Pedron, who returned to Oudh, and took service with the Nawáb Wazir at Lucknow. When the French were expelled from that ruler's dominions at the instigation of the English, Pedron obtained employment under the Rájah of Berar. After this a great blank occurs in his history, for he is not heard of again till 1790, when he entered De Boigne's First Brigade as a lieutenant, and was posted to Maítra, and shortly afterwards purchased his majority. In 1795 he was promoted to the command of the Third Brigade, and must have been a man of considerably over fifty years of age. In 1799 he was engaged in the siege of Delhi, which the Native commandant, despite Sindhia's orders, refused to deliver over to Perron: After a blockade of five weeks the gates were opened "to the impulse of gold," but whether to Pedron or to Sutherland is doubtful, as the honour has been assigned to both. In 1800 Pedron raised the Fourth Brigade when the threatened invasion of Hindustan by Zernán Shah caused Perron to increase his army. His next service was against Lakwa Dáda at Sounda in 1801, but he effected so little with his eight battalions that Perron proceeded in person to the seat of war, and stormed the rebel chief's entrenchments. Soon after this hostilities were declared against George Thomas, and when Bourguien demonstrated his utter incapacity, Pedron was sent to supersede him. That he was successful was again due, in a great measure, to the "impulse of gold"—a metal in which he seems to have had more faith than in steel, for he displayed little military talent, and no courage, whilst the methods he adopted of tampering with Thomas's troops were not such as commend themselves to European notions of honourable warfare. But he gained his ends, and after Thomas's flight to Hánsi, made over the command to Bourguien again, and returned to Aligarh to recruit his brigade, which had been weakened by casualties and transfers to the Third.

Here he remained for eighteen months in charge of Perron's headquarters, and when the rupture with the British Government occurred in 1808 he was entrusted with the defence of the fort, and was the recipient of the famous letter from Perron which exhorted him to hold the place while one stone remained upon another. But this desperate resolution was not in Pedron, and he was anxious to surrender without a blow, and only prevented from doing so by the spirit of the troops under him, who, on the first indication of his weakness, deposed and confined him, and elected a Rajput named Baji Ráo to the command. Aligarh was taken by storm on the 4th of September, and Pedron was made a prisoner of war, or to be more exact, was transferred from Maráthá to English bondage. Thorn describes him as "an elderly man, clad in a green jacket, with gold lace and epaulettes"—which is the last record discovered of this adventurer.

PILLET, J., CAPTAIN.—Captain Pillet was a Frenchman, in Lestineau's corps, in the service of the Rána of Gohad, to the command of which he succeeded by seniority when Lestineau absconded after securing Gúlam Kádir's saddle-bags. He was, however, unable to control the men, who broke into mutiny and were disbanded. Pillet subsequently entered the service of the Rájah of Jaipur, and about the year 1794 made a long report to the British Government on the resources of that country, with a view to an alliance. As the leading feature of the proposal was that the Rájah should keep up an army of 50,000 men, and the Company pay for it, it did not receive that attention which doubtless both Partáb Sing and Pillet fondly hoped.

PIRON, COLONEL [often mis-spelt Perron].—Colonel Piron, who is constantly confounded in historical books with General Perron, was a native of Alsace. He was in the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad, and second in command to the famous adventurer Raymond, who raised a brigade of seventeen battalions for that ruler. Piron was an outrageous Jacobin, and in close touch with the French Republican faction in Mysore. On Raymond's death, in March, 1798, he succeeded to the command of the 14,000 men comprising the force, which was supported by a *Jaidad* yielding eighteen lakhs of rupees annually, and included a strong train of artillery and a complete military equipment. One of his first acts was to send to Perron, Sindhia's general, a silver tree and Cap of Liberty as a souvenir. His corps always hoisted the French national flag, and the lapels and epaulettes of the Sepoys' uniforms were embroidered with the words *Liberté et Constitution*. Piron and all his officers entertained ambitious designs, and considered

themselves as forwarding the interests of France. Their undisguised hostility to the English and pronounced principles soon compelled Lord Wellesley to take action against them, and he determined to effect the disbandment of the force. Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, assisted by John Malcolm, was told off for the task, and effected it with complete success on the 22nd of October, 1798, the operation being facilitated by the fact of the troops being in a state of open mutiny, and Piron and his officers in danger. The following account of the dispersal of this "French Army" (as Lord Wellesley calls it) is extracted from Kaye's "Life of Malcolm."

"Having reported to Colonel Roberts the favourable aspect of affairs, Malcolm drew up his detachment on the heights facing the French lines. There he was speedily joined by the European officers of the French corps, elate with joy at their escape from the hands of their infuriate soldiery, and actually, in the conjuncture that had arisen, regarding the English as friends and deliverers. The rest was soon accomplished. The Sepoys left their guns, laid down their arms, and in the presence of the two lines of British troops, moved off in a deep column to a flag planted on the right of the ground. Not a shot was fired, not a drop of blood was shed. Eleven or twelve thousand men were dispersed in a few hours; and before sunset the whole cantonment, with all their storehouses, arsenals, gun foundries, and powder mills, were completely in our possession. The celebrated French corps of Hyderabad had passed into tradition."

Piron and his compatriots confessed themselves very grateful, not only for their rescue from a grave peril, but for the humanity with which they were subsequently treated. It is difficult to estimate the exact qualities of this adventurer. Major Kirkpatrick, the Resident at Haidarabad, writing in 1797, describes him as younger than Raymond, and far more enterprising and active, and particularly fond of the military profession. But Sir John Malcolm, then Kirkpatrick's assistant, who had equally good opportunities of forming an opinion, records that "Piron is a rough, violent democrat, a man with more hostile dispositions to us than his predecessor Raymond, but less dangerous; being a stranger to that temper and those conciliatory manners by which the latter won his way to greatness. Piron has no ability, and his authority is far from being generally acknowledged." Events proved Piron was totally unfitted to step into the post made vacant by Raymond's death. He died at Chandernagore in 1805.

PLUMET, MAJOR.—Major Plumet was "a Frenchman and a gentle-

man—two qualities which were seldom united in the Mahratta Empire." Such is Smith's *dictum*. Plumet raised a party for Jaswant Ráo Holkar in 1798, and had a principal share in securing the victory of Ujjain, although a short time previously he had sustained a reverse when he attacked Major Brownrigg's position on the Narbada. According to one historian, he was wounded and taken prisoner in the latter affair, and not present at Ujjain; but another, with equal insistence, accords to him the honour of that day. He soon found Holkar "too cruel, cunning, capricious, and ungrateful," and left his service. Major Ambrose states that Plumet deserted his chief on the eve of the battle of Indore, and so conduced to the defeat which Jaswant Ráo sustained, and that this behaviour caused Holkar to brand all Frenchmen as "Duggerbáz," or Faithless. Major Plumet, after his brief career in the Deccan, retired to the Isle of France.

POHLMAN, COLONEL [also written Pholman and Balaman].—Colonel Pohlman was a native of Hanover, and a sergeant in a regiment composed of men of that nationality, formerly quartered at Madras, and one of several similar mercenary corps of foreigners in the Company's service, such as Doxat's Chasseurs, the Swiss *Regiment de Meuron*, and Claude Martine's company. Pohlman entered De Boigne's brigades about the year 1792 or 1798, and was a captain on the modest pay of Rs. 200 a month in 1794. In April of the following year he was in command of a Najib battalion in the Second Brigade at Mattra, to which James Skinner was posted when he first joined the service. Between this and 1799 he probably saw a good deal of service, for it is a period of which Skinner has much to relate. Early in 1799 Perron distrusted Sutherland, who was in command of the Second Brigade, and removed him from his post, which he bestowed on Pohlman, who shortly afterwards sustained a severe reverse in an unsuccessful attack upon the fort of Shápúra, when six of his battalions were beaten back with a loss of two officers and 1,000 men killed and wounded. Eventually he captured the place, when, it is pleasant to record, he treated the gallant Rajpút garrison with great humanity and consideration, permitting them and their women-folk to march out with all the honours of war, and the respect due to their heroic defence. In the following May, Pohlman commanded at the important battle of Malpúra, when his force consisted of his own brigade of eight battalions, five of the Chevalier Dudrenec's, and 5,000 cavalry. He inflicted a severe defeat on Rájah Partáb Singh, and captured 74 of his guns. This was the action in which Dudrenec's corps was ridden down by the Ráthors, and the victory was solely due

to Pohlman's good generalship. For the next two years he appears to have been quartered in Rajputana, to enforce payment of the tribute due, and keep the country under control whilst Perron's other brigades were engaged in the wars against Holkar, Lakwa Dáda, and George Thomas, in none of which Pohlman seems to have had any part. In 1802 he escorted Perron to Ujjain, and here, for the second time, superseded Sutherland, who was obliged to leave the service owing to Perron's hostility. Pohlman and the First Brigade remained with Sindhia in the Deccan till war broke out with the English. It is uncertain whether he was in command of Sindhia's infantry at the battle of Assaye, in which his brigade fought well, the artillery being splendidly served, and the men sustaining a stubborn fight against the genius of Wellesley and the valour of British troops for three hours. Pohlman eventually entered the Company's service, though without rank, and re-enlisted some of his old soldiers to form an irregular infantry corps. He is described as an exceedingly cheerful and entertaining character, who lived in the style of an Indian prince, kept a seraglio, and always travelled on an elephant, attended by a guard of Mughals, all dressed alike in purple robes, and marching in file in the same way as a British cavalry regiment; notwithstanding which melodramatic weakness, Pohlman was certainly one of Perron's most competent officers.

RAYMOND, FRANÇOIS DE, GENERAL.—François de Raymond (whose name Colonel Mallecon gives as Michel Joachim Marie Raymond) was born at Serignae, in Gascony, in 1755. He came out to India early in life, and in 1775 obtained employment as sub-lieutenant in a battalion commanded by the Chevalier de Lassé, in the service of Haider Ali of Mysore. His conduct brought him to the notice of the military authorities, and he received a commission as captain in the French army in 1783, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the famous Bussy. Three years later, on Bussy's death, Raymond entered the service of the Nizam Ali Khán of Haidarabad, for whom he raised a small corps of 800 men, hiring the weapons with which they were armed from a French merchant on the coast, at the rate of eight annas *per mensem* for each musket. When the confederate war against Tipu Sultan broke out, and the English, Maráthás, and the Nizam were leagued against the ruler of Mysore, Raymond's command was raised to 700 men, and he distinguished himself so much in the campaign that he grew into great favour with Ali Khán, and his force was augmented to 5,000 men, his own pay being increased to Rs. 5,000 a month. At the battle of Kárdla in 1795 Raymond's battalions

numbered 10,840 men, with 28 guns and 46 tumbrils. The regularity with which this force was paid enabled him to fill its ranks with deserters from the Company's services, to whom he held out tempting inducements. He is also said to have encouraged French prisoners of war on *parole* to escape and take service under his flag. The battle of Kardla was the only occasion except the Mysore war in which, during a service of seventeen years, Raymond met a foreign foe. He was forced to retire from the field, but was not defeated, for the retreat was solely due to the Nizam's pusillanimity, and ordered at a moment when Raymond's battalions were stoutly and, peradventure, successfully holding their own. He was next employed in reducing to submission the Nizam's rebellious son and heir, Ali Jáh. - In this he met with stout resistance, and was obliged to send for reinforcements to one of his subordinates named Baptiste, on being joined by whom he quickly brought the expedition to a conclusion, and secured the person of Ali Jáh, who committed suicide, leaving Sikander Jáh heir to the throne. This Prince was accustomed to swear "by the head of Raymond," whom he regarded as the first of men, with the single detraction that he belonged to a nation that had murdered its king and queen. After the battle of Kardla Raymond tried hard to obtain the Karpa district, which would have enabled him to co-operate with any French force making a descent on the Coromandal coast, with or without the concurrence of the Nizam. He already possessed an immense military territorial assignment which yielded fifty-two lakhs of rupees a year, in addition to an estate or *Jaghir* of his own, the income of which was Rs. 50,000. His salary was princely, and in the style of his domestic life he collected round him every luxury and elegance within the reach of a European in India. Previous to his death he further increased his force, which he considered "A French body of troops, employed and subsidised by the Nizam," to over 14,000 men, with a complete train of artillery, chiefly brass ordnance, worked by a well-trained corps of Europeans, and drawn by 5,000 bullocks. His cavalry numbered 600. He possessed, in his own right, all the guns and military equipage belonging to the force. The physique of his soldiers was not to be compared with that of the stalwart and warlike warriors whom De Boigne and Perron enlisted from the fine recruiting grounds of Upper India, but the men were well disciplined, and their parade appearance was good, whilst the service itself was extremely popular with the Natives.

Raymond was an ambitious and intriguing man, and one who understood the art of gaining his ends by engaging manners and conciliatory demeanour. After the battle of Kardla he began to

assume an almost kingly state, for his power made him the arbitrator of Haidarabad. All his regimental returns were headed *Corps de François de Raymond*, and he was received in his own cantonments with a royal salute. He stood in a position which would have enabled him, in the event of the Nizam's death, to elevate whom he pleased to the throne, and the overpowering influence which he acquired in the country was a serious menace to English interests. He was in close touch with the Government of France, and with Tipu Sultan of Mysore, and engaged in intrigues which had for their object an alliance against the British power in the East. He was also in correspondence with some of the European officers in Sindhia's service, and an interesting letter exists which he addressed to Michael Filoze in January, 1796, on the subject of the treacherous seizure of Nana Farnavis, the Peshwa's Prime Minister. This is worth quoting as showing Raymond's honourable feelings, and because of a rather quaint adaptation it contains of the "Rights of Man" theory to eighteenth century Maráthá politics—probably the first and last time the argument was used in such a connection. "A report prevails," writes Raymond, "that Nana Farnavis has been arrested contrary to the Rights of Man and to the clauses of the treaty for which you [Filoze] were security. I have no other interest in speaking of this but that which I take for every European whose reputation is dear to me." Then he goes on to request Filoze to obtain the Nana's restoration to liberty, and offers him a position and emoluments, "one-fourth more than you have with Scindia, and a *jaghir* of one lakh of rupees annually." The reason of this liberality is not obvious in the letter, but it suggests many inferences. The epistle concludes: "I will be shortly on your frontiers, when we shall be able to keep up a correspondence. Burn this letter if it should not suit you; but write to me. Raymond."

Two months later Raymond died—according to some accounts by poison—at the early age of forty-three, and in the enjoyment of a degree of power and consequence never reached by any other military adventurer in Southern India.

Raymond's character has been variously estimated by different writers. Major Thorn describes him as "a man of extensive knowledge and equal activity." Kaye, in his "Life of Malcolm," views his character in the following light: "Raymond was a man of great ability and address. . . . Had he lived the taking of his men (in 1796) would not have been an easy task. . . . His troops were admirably disciplined and equipped. Their store-rooms well filled with arms and accoutrements, and clothing from Europe of excellent quality, and they could with ease have armed 12,000 more men in a few

months. They cast excellent cannon, and made serviceable muskets in their different foundries, all of which, as well as their powder-mills, were under the direction of able and scientific Europeans." Malcolm's opinion has already been quoted in another page, namely, that Raymond was a man of "temper and conciliatory manners, by which he won his way to greatness." But it has been reserved for a contemporary historian, on grounds which it is a little difficult to understand, to elevate Raymond to the position of a national hero. "This remarkable man," writes Colonel Malleon, "is referred to by many English writers simply as 'an adventurer named Raymond.' That he was an adventurer is true, but he was one in the best sense of the term—chivalrous, daring, trustworthy, and a splendid organiser; one of those adventurers who, like Garibaldi in our own days, leave their mark on the history of the country in which their deeds have been achieved. . . . It may be said that no Indian Prince, not even Madhajeo Scindia, or his successor, Dowlut Ráo, ever had a finer or more efficient body of troops in his service [than those which Raymond raised]. In the campaign against the Mahrattas in 1796 (?), it was Raymond and his troops who repulsed the charge of the Mahratta cavalry and would have beaten them back altogether had not the Nizam and his troops abandoned the field. His reputation, great at the time, still survives, and it may be said with truth that the name of no European connected with India has survived seventy-six years after the demise of his body, to live with such eternal greenness in the hearts of the people of the country as does the name of Raymond in the memories and traditions of the great families of Hydrabad."

Those who have read these pages will hardly feel inclined to agree with this estimate of Raymond's superior talents as a military adventurer. A soldier of fortune is judged by his deeds, and Raymond's achievements in the tented field cannot for a moment bear comparison with those of De Boigne, Perron, or Thomas.

Passing to the other side of the picture, we have the opinion of Major Kirkpatrick, who was British Resident at Haidarabad in 1797, and wrote of Raymond as "by no means a man of vigorous mind or decided character, and very hard, and wanting liberality in pecuniary matters, which makes him much disliked by all his officers, except one or two he favours. He never showed himself to be much of a soldier, but was artful, and had an arranging head and conciliating manners when they suited his purpose." Captain Fraser, in "Our Faithful Ally the Nizam," describes Raymond as wanting in character, promptitude, and decision. Colonel Beatson, in his History of

the war with Tipu Sultan, has recorded the following opinion of the adventurer and his party:—"The corps commanded by Colonel Raymond, which, during the last war in Mysore, amounted to no more than 1,500 men, was at that period so defective in point of discipline as to be rather an object of contempt than jealousy to the Government of India. It has gradually augmented its numbers and improved its discipline under the command of the late Monsieur Raymond, until it nearly reached the number of 14,000, and had obtained a degree of discipline superior in every respect to that of any Native infantry in India, excepting the Sepoys in the Company's service. The corps formed the largest and most efficient branch of the military establishment of His Highness the Nizam, and the French officers had acquired a considerable ascendancy in his dominions and councils, and had manifested on several occasions the symptoms of a disposition so arrogant, overbearing, and adventurous, as to excite alarm in the minds of His Highness and his ministers."

The last quotation must be from the despatches of the Marquis Wellesley. "Raymond's force was avowedly designed to cope with one De Boigne had created for the Mahrattas, and was organised on very similar lines. Each regiment was officered by two Europeans, and there was a field train of fifty guns, and a small body of disciplined cavalry attached. The former was served by European gunners, many of them deserters from the Company's service. The parade appearance of the force was good, but the discipline was far from strict, and the slackness in this respect, combined with the regularity of pay, made the service a very popular one with the Natives, so that there was no difficulty in keeping the brigade up to its full strength. All the officers were Frenchmen, devoted to the doctrines of Jacobinism, and any amongst them who evinced Royalist tendencies were speedily dismissed. They fought under the French flag, and the Cap of Liberty was engraved on their buttons. Raymond was not a man of any great capacity or vigour, but in craft and intrigue he was an adept, and sustained his position by surrounding himself with a few favourites, who supported him through thick and thin. With his other officers he was far from popular, being a hard man, and in pecuniary matters extremely illiberal; for, although he derived vast revenues from enormous territorial assignments, he could never divest himself of his inherent avarice and meanness."

ROBERTS, LIEUTENANT.—Lieutenant Roberts was an Englishman, and commanded a battalion of infantry in De Boigne's First Brigade in 1790. He was present at the battles of Páthan and Merta, and

was severely wounded at the latter by a missile from a weapon known as an "organ," and which consisted of several gun barrels so joined together as to fire at once. Whereby it would seem that the Mitrail-lense was of Rajpütanic origin!

RYAN, MAJOR.—This unfortunate officer was an Irishman, and commanded a battalion in the service of Jaswant Ráo Holkar. His only claim to be remembered is as a victim to that chief's treachery, for he was one of the three British subjects who were cruelly beheaded in 1804 for refusing to take the field against their fellow countrymen.

SALEUR, COLONEL [also spelt Suleur and Saleure].—Colonel Saleur was a Swiss or French officer, who succeeded to the command of the Begum Somru's corps, after the suicide of Le Vassoult in 1795. He had taken no part in the mutiny which led to his predecessor's death, but had, on the contrary, done everything in his power to prevent it. He was described as the "only respectable officer" who signed the Covenant entered into between the Begum and her rebellious soldiery. Saleur, who had been in the force almost since its commencement, increased its strength to six battalions, with 40 guns and 200 cavalry, and in 1802 marched with five battalions to join Sindhia in the Deccan after the defeat of Ujjain. The men were in a state of mutiny the whole way, as many of the colonel's letters, written in French, to his mistress testified. When war broke out with the English, Saleur's troops were with Sindhia, but only one battalion took part in the battle of Assaye, the other four having been left behind to guard the Maráthá camp and baggage, and owing to this circumstance they escaped destruction; and Colonel Saleur marched them safely to Burhanpur, and from thence back to Sardhána. Saleur was one of the witnesses of the Begum's marriage to Le Vassoult in 1798.

SANGSTER, MAJOR.—Major Sangster was a Scotchman, and a person of skill and ingenuity. In 1782 he obtained the command of the disciplined battalion of infantry which Madoc raised at Agra and sold to the Rána of Gohad. It consisted of 1,000 well-trained Sepoys and a respectable train of artillery. Sangster was skilled in the art of casting cannon, and those he turned out could compare with the best the Company manufactured, whilst his muskets, produced at a cost of ten rupees each, were excellent in every respect. When De Boigne raised his first two battalions, he engaged Sangster (whose master had been forced to surrender to Sindhia), and appointed him

to the charge of the arsenal at Agra. He appears to have led a very busy life, for in process of time other arsenals and magazines were established at Mattra, Delhi, Gwalior, Kalpi, and Gohad, of all of which he had the superintendence. The cannon balls were cast at Gwalior, where there were very fine iron mines, and gunpowder was manufactured at Agra, the saltpetre and sulphur being imported from Bikanir. No mention of Sangster can be found after De Boigne's resignation, though in 1801 a report appears in one of the Persian journals that "Lakwa Dáda has employed Mr. Sangster's son to raise and discipline a battalion for him," which seems to indicate that the father was still in the country. Young Sangster was probably the cadet "Songster" who surrendered to General Wellesley after the battle of Assaye.

SHEPHERD, JAMES, COLONEL [known to the Natives as *Jamus Sahib*].—James Shepherd was an Englishman of unusual enterprise and courage. When hardly emerged from childhood, he deserted his ship in Calcutta, and accompanied an officer to De Boigne's camp in the quality of a menial servant. He afterwards lived in the same capacity with a gentleman at Fatehpur. Shepherd was described as well calculated for the Native service, being a good-looking man and endowed with pliability of temper. About 1799 he took service under Ambaji Inglia, for whom he raised a brigade of regular infantry, which numbered five battalions, with 500 cavalry and 25 guns. Ambaji was a penurious chief, and stinted his officer in money, or he would have created a much more efficient force than one which is sometimes alluded to as the "ragamuffin battalions." Shepherd was engaged in the attack on Lakwa Dáda's position at Sounda in 1801, when he materially assisted in defeating that chief, but lost four of his European officers killed or wounded—poor Bellasis amongst the former—and a great number of his men. He was detached to pursue Lakwa Dáda after his flight, and kept him in play during Ferrou's campaign against George Thomas. It is a pity there is no detailed record of Shepherd's services, for he is stated to have seen much and been frequently wounded. "Without birth, education, or protection," writes Smith, "he rose from obscurity to consequence by his bravery, his perseverance, and his fidelity; his diligent toil and bold enterprise deserved all the success he won." On the breaking out of the war with the English, Shepherd and his party passed over to the Company's service, and he distinguished himself in Bundelkhand in 1804, where he gave the celebrated Freebooter Amir Khan a sound beating at Maltáon Ghaut, and on the 24th

of June completed his discomfiture by entirely defeating and dispersing his force near Kunch. Shepherds corps at this time consisted of 3,180 men, and was highly praised for its efficiency when General Lake reviewed it in 1805.

SKINNER, JAMES, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, C.B.—This compilation is so much indebted to "The Military Memoirs of Lieutenant-Colonel James Skinner, C.B.," that although that delightful and graphic biography of the stout old adventurer exists, a sketch of his career must be included in these pages, and the following has been condensed from the above work :

James Skinner was born in 1778. His father was a native of Scotland, and an officer in the Company's service, and his mother a Rajpútni, the daughter of a Rajpút landholder in the Mirzápur country. She was taken prisoner in the war with Chait Singh, the Rájah of Benares, during an action near Bijaigarh, and came under the protection of Ensign Skinner, to whom she bore six children, three sons and three daughters. The latter were all married to gentlemen in the Company's service. David, the eldest son, went to sea; James, the second, and the subject of this sketch, became a military adventurer; and Robert, the youngest, followed in his footsteps.

Skinner's mother died by her own hand in 1790, because it was decided that her daughters should be sent to school, and she conceived this would be a violation of the sanctity of the purdah, and that their Rajpút honour would be destroyed in consequence. After her death James and Robert were sent to a charity school, their father being still only a lieutenant, and unable to pay for their education. However, when he obtained his captaincy in 1798, he removed his sons to a boarding-school, where the charge was Rs. 80 a month for each. Two years later James was bound apprentice to a printer, on a seven years' indenture, and sent to the office to learn his business.

Three days sufficed to disgust him with his proposed calling, and he determined to run away to sea. On the third night he effected his escape, with sixpence in his pocket, on which he contrived to live for six days. When his money was exhausted he wandered about the Calcutta bazaar, working for any one who would hire him, and for some time picked up a precarious living by carrying loads or pulling the drill for Native carpenters at a pay of threepence a day. But before long he was recognised by a servant of his elder sister, Mrs. Templeton, who forthwith bore him away to his master's house.

After getting a good rating from his uncle, he was set to work to copy law papers, and remained so employed for three months, until his godfather, Colonel Burn, arrived at the Presidency. This gentle man, finding that young Skinner burned to be a soldier, gave him Rs. 800 and sent him to Cawnpore, where Captain Skinner's regiment was stationed, and whither the Colonel was soon returning.

Here Skinner arrived in April, 1795, and a fortnight later his godfather followed, and furnished him with a letter of introduction to General de Boigne at Koil. Proceeding there the youngster was very kindly received by the great man, who gave him an ensign's appointment in his brigades, on a pay of Rs. 150 a month, and posted him to a Najib battalion, commanded by Captain Pohlman, at Mattra.

Shortly after this De Boigne retired, and the temporary command of the army devolved upon Colonel Robert Sutherland, who was at the head of the Second Brigade, to which Skinner's battalion belonged. Skinner's first experience of active service was during a campaign in Bundelkhand, where Sutherland and Lakwa Dáda were engaged in reducing several refractory chiefs and rājahs to obedience. Here he assisted in two field-battles, and the storm and capture of five or six forts, which intensified his military aspirations. He now made it his study to master all the modes of Native warfare, and became proficient in the use of the Maráthá spear, the bow and arrow, and the sword exercise.

In 1796 Perron was appointed to the supreme command of the army of Hindustan, and arrived at Mattra in February of the following year. Soon after this the rebellion of the Bhaís broke out, and a large force was ordered to assemble at Gwalior, under Captain Butterfield, to which Skinner's battalion was attached. The first action in the campaign was the battle of Chandkhori, where, owing to his desertion by the Maráthá cavalry, Butterfield was defeated and obliged to fall back with a loss of 500 men. Skinner defended his rear during the retreat to a fort called Shérgarh, behaving very gallantly in the face of great difficulties and dangers, and bringing off his guns with safety. For this he received great commendation from Captain Butterfield, and General Perron hearing of it promoted him to the rank of lieutenant with the pay of Rs. 200 a month.

The Bhaís had now been joined by Lakwa Dáda, and retired to Chiturgarh in Udaipur, and thither Ambaji Ingliá, the new Maráthá commander-in-chief, followed them. Captain Butterfield was again in command of the infantry, and Skinner, now promoted to the charge of two battalions, accompanied him. A great deal of

skirmishing took place, but nothing decisive was effected. Nor were matters mended when Ambaji was joined by Colonel Sutherland and George Thomas, who had been temporarily engaged by the chief. The campaign, which was not without adventure for Skinner himself, was cut short by political considerations, and Colonel Sutherland being suspected of treachery by Perron, was superseded, and his command conferred on Major Pohlman, an officer under whom Skinner subsequently saw much service. It may be observed that Skinner did not care much for Sutherland, and there was a quarrel between the two before the Colonel left the brigade.

Soon after assuming command Pohlman was directed to take a fort called Jáipur, which was in the possession of a refractory Rajpút chief named Kasri Singh. In the first assault he suffered a severe repulse, but four days later succeeded in carrying the place by storm. This was one of the hottest affairs Skinner was ever engaged in. In Pohlman's life the name of this fort is given as Shapúra on very good authority, but from internal evidence it seems more likely that Skinner's location of the scene is the right one, there being a strong fort at Jajpur and none at Shapúra. From here the brigade marched to Delhi, at the siege and capture of which, as well as at that of Agra, Skinner was present, both cities having refused to acknowledge Perron's authority.

The next action in which Skinner was engaged was the battle of Malpúra, in which he showed distinguished gallantry. Lord William Bentinck, when he was Governor-General of India, mentions an incident in this battle in one of his political despatches to the Court of Directors on the subject of Skinner's public services. "I cannot refrain," he writes, "from relating an anecdote told me by an old Sirdar in the Jeypore service. He had a command in the battle of Buxar in 1764, and he must have been a hundred years of age; but he had still retained the erectness of youth, a fine martial appearance, and his faculties unimpaired. He described to me, with a manner and expression glowing with gratitude, how in the battle of Jeypore (*i.e.*, Malpúra), Colonel James Skinner, then a youth, led a charge of cavalry, captured a field battery which the Sirdar commanded, and then, by his humane and decided interference, saved his life." It is worthy of Skinner's habitual modesty that he does not relate this incident in his own description of the battle, but merely mentions how he nearly lost his own life in the final repulse of the Ráthors, being attacked by one of them, who charged into the centre of the square and killed his horse, Skinner only escaping with his life by an undignified retreat under a tumbril. After the battle Skinner was

the first to reconnoitre the Jaipur camp, into which he rode boldly, only to find it deserted. Here he looted two golden idols with diamond eyes, belonging to Rájah Partáb Singh, and trinkets to the value of Ra. 2,000, amongst them being "a brass fish, with two *chowrees* hanging down like moustachios." This curious object proved to be the *Mahi maratib*, or *Fish of Dignities*, a decorative symbol conferred by the Mughal emperors on rájahs of the highest rank, and equivalent to the Three horse tails of the Turkish Empire, or the Button of the Chinese mandarin. In this instance the decoration had been conferred on Rájah Partáb Singh. Skinner presented this valuable acquisition to the Maráthá General, and received in return a handsome *khilat* and considerable commendation.

A few days after this Perron joined the army, and Skinner visited Jaipur in his *suite*. From here he was detached, in independent command, to attack a fort near the Chambal river, belonging to a Rajpút chief named Ram Pal Singh. On arriving before this place, he found the low mud walls so nearly level with the crest of the glacis, that there was no touching the bastions with the battering train. He therefore opened trenches, and advanced by regular approaches to the glacis, and then ordered a mine to be carried under it. When this was sprung his three battalions rushed forward to the assault, and after one rather severe check the place was taken. Skinner was next ordered to assist the Karaoli Rájah, who had fallen out with his neighbour of Uníára, and hired several battalions, (amongst them Skinner's from Perron), to fight his battles for him. The force consisted of six battalions of infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and twenty guns; of these the only efficient troops were Skinner's.

The scene of the campaign was between the territory of Tonk and the Banás river, and here the two armies came in sight of one another. But the Karaoli chief was a coward, and an impecunious one to boot, and could not find money to pay his mercenaries, who became so dissatisfied and insubordinate, that Skinner sent for reinforcements to Colonel Pohlman. But before they arrived the Uníára Rájah took advantage of the troubles in his enemy's camp, and intrigued with the discontented levies, and a little later moved out to give battle; whereupon the whole of the Karaoli infantry, with the exception of Skinner's battalion, deserted to the enemy.

On seeing this, Skinner commenced a retreat towards a deserted village in his rear, which he gained with difficulty, driving off two of the enemy's battalions who charged him. Then the whole of their cavalry and infantry, amounting to 6,000 men, came on to the attack, and upon this Skinner recognised it was hopeless to attempt to hold

the village. So he decided to retreat, if possible, to Tonk, which was six miles distant, and evacuated his position, but was immediately attacked by the two battalions who had previously charged him, and were now aided by their cavalry. These Skinner repulsed, but not without the loss of one of his five guns, and his horse was killed under him. The remainder of the enemy now came up fast, and Skinner found further progress impossible, so he drew up his men on a level plain, and then made them a short but spirited speech, telling them they could but die once, and exhorting them to fight, and, if needs be, fall like good and brave soldiers.

Allowing the enemy to approach to within fifty yards, Skinner gave them a volley and then charged. Those in front gave way, and he captured their guns; but their flanks wheeled into action, and galled him terribly; whereupon Skinner threw his men into a square, and, as a last resource, attempted to gain some ravines about three quarters of a mile away. But it was to no purpose; the enemy, inspirited by his retreat, charged again and again, captured three more of his guns, and destroyed so many of his men that he had but 800 and a single field piece left. Driven to desperation, he called on his men to make a final sally, but as he was in the act of leading them forward he was shot through the groin by a matchlock man, and fell to the ground, and the remnants of his brave but unfortunate battalion were destroyed.

This happened about three o'clock in the afternoon, and he did not regain consciousness till the next morning, when he found himself despoiled of everything except his pantaloons. Around him were heaps of his dead and wounded Native officers and soldiers, among them a Subahdar with his leg shot off below the knee, and a Jemadar with a pike thrust through the body. All were tortured with thirst, and unable to move; and thus they remained in helpless agony through the long hot day, praying for death. Night came at last, but neither release from suffering nor assistance. The moon was full and clear, and about midnight it was very cold. So dreadful did the night appear that Skinner vowed to himself that if he survived it he would never go soldiering again, and if he lived to recover, that he would build a church to the God of his white father. The wounded on all sides were moaning and crying out for water, and the jackals kept flitting about like four-legged ghouls, tearing the dead, and coming closer and closer to the living, and were only kept off by stones feebly thrown at them.

Next morning an old man and woman came to the battlefield carrying a basket and a pot of water. To every wounded man the

latter gave a piece of *joari* bread and a drink of water. This revived Skinner, but as the woman was a *Chumarin* (an outcaste) the Subahdar, who was a high-class Rajpút, would take nothing from her hands, saying that a little more or less suffering was nothing, and that he preferred to die unpolluted.

Skinner was eventually rescued by a party of the *Uníára Rájah's* men, who came to the field to bury the dead, and send the wounded into camp. The poor Subahdar now got some water, and he and Skinner and the rest were lifted in sheets and taken to the Rájah's encampment. After a month the chief gave Skinner his liberty. It is pleasant to learn that the brave Subahdar also recovered, and that Skinner sent the poor *Chumarin* woman a present of a thousand rupees, and a message that he considered her in the light of a mother.

His wound now obliged Skinner to take leave, and in February he went down to Calcutta, where he stayed several months with his sister, Mrs. Templeton, returning to his duties in the month of January, 1801. In the May following he was engaged in the storm of Souda, having in the interval been transferred from the Second to the Third Brigade, which, under Pedron, had been entrusted with this attack. The column to which Skinner was attached lost three officers and 1,000 men killed and wounded, but captured Lakwa Dáda's guns. The casualties are Skinner's, and the prudent reader will do well to divide all his figures by three or four, and sometimes more; but in this sketch they are all given as he estimates them. After the victory Skinner returned with his corps to Aligarh.

Two months later he was again sent on active service, this time against George Thomas. The Third Brigade was now commanded by Louis Bourguien, an officer for whom Skinner had no respect whatever. The events of the war have already been very fully detailed (chiefly from Skinner's memoirs), and need not be repeated; although it may be noted that Skinner considers the battle of Georgegarh the severest one in which he was present during his military career. Later on he had a creditable share in securing for Thomas the terms which enabled him to surrender with honour to himself, and Skinner's conduct on this occasion, unassumingly related by himself, is worthy of the highest praise.

In March, 1802, Skinner, who had been posted back to his old brigade, the Second, accompanied Perron to Ujjain, and was present at the memorable Darbar when Daulat Ráo Sindhia's intended treachery was averted by the cunning and precaution of Perron. Skinner returned to Hindustan with the General, and a period of comparative inaction followed, till war broke out with the English in

August, 1803. On the 28th of that month all the British subjects in Perron's brigades were summarily dismissed the service, and a few days later Skinner joined General Lake's camp, under circumstances which his dark complexion rendered somewhat mortifying to the *amour propre* of a gallant man. But this was compensated by the treatment he received from the Commander-in-chief, who took a great fancy to him, and shortly afterwards, when 2,000 of Perron's Hindustani horse came over to the English after the battle of Delhi, appointed him to the command. On this occasion occurred an incident which shows how Skinner was beloved by his soldiery. When the troopers were asked whom they would have for their commander, with one voice they shouted—"Sikander Sahib," that being the appellation, half name, half sobriquet, given Skinner by the Natives. His own cognomen they pronounced *Is-kinner*, which they changed into *Sikander*, associated in their minds with Alexander the Great, as a compliment to Skinner's dauntless valour, which was a bye-word amongst them.

With Skinner's subsequent career it is not in the province of this compilation to deal. Perron's 2,000 Hindustani horse became a famous British irregular cavalry corps, known as *Skinner's Horse*, or more familiarly and affectionately as *The Yellow Boys*. They and their leader covered themselves with glory during the next thirty years, and their exploits and achievements won for Skinner the substantive rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army, and the coveted distinction of the C.B. A valuable jaghir in the Aligarh district was also conferred upon him. For many years his headquarters were at George Thomas's old capital of Hânsi (near to which some of his descendants are still living), and he performed able service, although his after life was not unchequered with some disappointments which he did not deserve. He made a host of friends, and found many admirers, amongst them such distinguished men as Lord Lake, Sir John Malcohn, Lord Metcalfe, Lord Minto, the Marquis of Hastings, Lord Combermere, and Lord William Bentinck. It is goodly roll of patrons and acquaintances for the offspring of a Company's ensign and a Rajpûtni girl, and one whose only introduction to high society was his own sterling worth!

Many anecdotes are related of Skinner, but only two or three can be here recorded. Perhaps his most remarkable characteristic was his modesty and utter contempt of all assumption. To the end of his life an old spoon was placed on his breakfast table every morning to remind him of his own humble origin and early days. In fulfilment of the vow he made on the battlefield of Unîâra, to build a church †

the God of his father if his life were spared, he erected the edifice of St. James at Delhi, at a cost of £20,000, and in the same spirit of modest humility before noted, often expressed a desire that when he died he should be buried, not within it, but under the door sill, so that all persons entering might trample upon "the chief of sinners."

Skinner's domestic habits were in some respects more Muhammadan than Christian, and he left behind him a numerous family by sundry wives, of whom he had at least fourteen. His eldest son, Hercules Skinner, was educated in England, and through the influence of Lord William Bentinck received a commission in the Hyderabad Contingent, much to his father's delight. In 1836 Colonel Skinner was confirmed, and during his latter years was sincerely pious, constantly studying the Bible, and preparing himself for his end. He died at Hânsi on the 4th of December, 1841, aged sixty-three years, and was buried there with military honours. But a little later his remains were disinterred, and carried to Delhi to be deposited by the side of his dearly loved friend and comrade, William Fraser (brother to his biographer), under the altar of St. James's Church. It had been his wish to be buried near Fraser, and it was felt proper that this wish should be fulfilled.

On the 17th of February 1842, accompanied by the whole of his corps, and a great concourse of people, the coffin was carried from Hânsi to Sitaram-ka-Sarai, on the outskirts of Delhi. Here all that was mortal of the gallant old adventurer was met by the civilians and military officers of the station, and a vast multitude from the city, and so escorted to its final resting-place. "None of the Emperors of Hindustan," said the Natives, "were ever brought into Delhi in such state as *Sikander Sahib!*"

SKINNER, ROBERT, MAJOR.—Robert Skinner was the younger brother of Colonel James Skinner. He entered Perron's army in November, 1800, with an ensign's commission, and was posted to do duty with his brother's battalion. The introduction of the young subaltern to his men was a characteristic one. The elder Skinner called his most trusty Native officers together, fine old soldiers, with scarred faces and grizzled beards, and steady, intrepid fellows every one of them. Then he drew himself up in military fashion, and pointing to Robert, said, "This is my brother; see ye be his protectors!" The veterans, stroking their beards, and carrying their hands on their foreheads, replied with grave emphasis—"On our heads be it!" James Skinner was not quite confident of his brother's discretion, and selected this method of safeguarding his inexperience,

Robert Skinner was present at the attack on Ram Pal Singh's fort near the Chambal, where he was wounded by a bullet in the neck, and obliged to return to Aligarh to recover. He rejoined his brother after the defeat of Uníára, and was soon afterwards promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and given the command of a battalion in the Second Brigade under Pohlman. The next occasion on which the two brothers served side by side was in the war against George Thomas. At the battle of Georgegarh the following incident occurred, touchingly related by Fraser in Skinner's memoirs: "James and Robert Skinner were engaged at different parts of the field, so that neither knew how the other fared. The cannonade was so fierce and continuous, and the slaughter so great, that all was smoke and carnage, and there was little communication between the different battalions engaged. When the battle ceased, a report came to James that his brother had been killed, whilst a similar one reached Robert as to James. Both, moved by one impulse, ran to the bloody field, without thinking of rest or refreshment, and sought all over for the body of the brother, but in the darkness, amidst the thousands of corpses, torn and mutilated by the cannon shot, neither found what he sought, and after a weary and fruitless search, they returned to the tent of their commanding officer to make their report. By a singular chance they entered from opposite sides at the same moment, and the first thing that met their eyes was the object on which their thoughts were dwelling. They saw nothing else, but ran and embraced, calling out each other's names before the officers that filled the tent."

Robert Skinner was engaged at the siege and storm of Hánsi, and at the latter led one of the three assaulting columns. In the hand to hand street fighting he approached so close to Thomas on one occasion, that "he got a cut at him, but his armour saved Thomas." It was characteristic of Thomas's generous nature that after his surrender he was "particularly gracious to the younger Skinner, whom he embraced, and showed him the cut he had received from him on his belt."

On the occurrence of the war with the English in 1808, Robert Skinner, after being dismissed from Perron's army, repaired to Sardhána, and took service with the Begum Somru, and when General Lake arrived at Sikandra was deputed by that lady to make terms for her, which he did successfully. Subsequently Skinner entered the Company's service, and was given the local rank of lieutenant, and appointed to the cavalry corps his brother commanded. In this he continued to serve for many years, performing excellent services, and winning many encomiums. In 1815 James Skinner, with the

generosity of disposition and brotherly affection which so distinguished his nature, desired to sever from his corps a portion to be made into a separate command for his brother, whose interests he thus hoped to forward. But Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, preferred the force being left intact, and Robert Skinner remained in command of the second regiment in it, but was promoted to the rank of local Major. In 1819 the Government granted him in perpetuity a small *jaghir* in the district of Aligarh ; but he did not live to enjoy it long, for his death occurred in 1821, before he had reached his fortieth year.

SMITH, LEWIS FERDINAND, MAJOR.—Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith, as the historian of the military adventures of Hindustan, and as an adventurer himself, and a writer of considerable ability, deserves a far more complete biography than can, unhappily, be compiled ; for he was a modest soldiery man, who preferred to write of the achievements of others, not of his own deeds. Of his early career little is recorded. He was the son of Major Lewis Smith, an officer in the Honourable Company's service, and entered Sindhia's army during the time that De Boigne was in command, though at what precise date it is impossible to say. He evidently knew De Boigne well and intimately, for in 1796 and 1797 he contributed two excellent letters, descriptive of the General's life and career, to the *Calcutta Telegraph*—a curious name for a newspaper in the last century, although, so far back as 1767, Edgeworth had invented his *Telegraph*, contracted into *Tellograph*, "a machine which describes words at a distance." This digression is, however, parenthetical. In the two letters alluded to, Smith indicates that he had a long daily intercourse with De Boigne. His first independent command on active service seems to have been in 1798, when he defeated the forces of the Bhopal State in an engagement, when he was at the head of a battalion of infantry and 100 cavalry. In December of the following year he was entrusted with the conduct of a more considerable campaign. An impostor named Sultan Shah gave himself out to be Ghulam Káder, the miscreant who blinded the Emperor Shah 'Alam in 1788, and whom he declared had never been killed, but escaped and reached Mecca. Sultan Shah, claiming this personality, pretended he had been ordered by the Prophet to recover Hindustan from the Maráthás, and re-establish the Muhammadan Empire. He appeared in arms in the province of Saharanpur, where he was opposed by a Maráthá official named Ramchander Palkia, whom he easily defeated. The *éclat* of this victory brought him a number of followers, and Perron found it

necessary to send Major Smith with three battalions against him. Smith was strengthened by some of the Begum Somru's troops, and the combined force marched against Sultan Shah, and on the 22nd of November, 1799, came upon him at the village of Défun, near the Káli Nádl. Smith at once crossed the river, but the Begum's battalions remained where they were, "for more security," as a contemporary chronicler quaintly puts it. An action took place, and the Impostor's army, which consisted of 10,000 Rohillas, 400 cavalry, and some small field pieces showed poor fight. Smith advanced quickly to within grape-shot range, and then poured several discharges into the enemy, who forthwith took to flight, and were chased for a considerable distance.

The next record of Smith's services is during the war with George Thomas, in which his achievements at first were less satisfactory. He was in command of a battalion of Bourguien's Brigade, and detached with this and two others to besiege Georgegarh, whilst the Colonel followed Thomas on a wild-goose chase into the Sikh country. The latter doubled back, shook off his pursuers, and swooped down on Smith, with a greatly superior numerical force. Smith at once raised the siege, and retreated upon Jhajjar. "Why Thomas did not follow me," he writes in his book, "I cannot say. If he had continued the pursuit I must have lost all my guns, and my party would have been completely destroyed. But Thomas spared me and remained at Georgegarh." Smith was rescued from his perilously weak position by his brother's arrival next day; but he did not forget Thomas's moderation, and amply repaid it. He was present throughout the whole of the campaign, and accompanied Bourguien to Hánsi; and when the latter had "subdued the garrison with gold, which in India is more irresistible than in Europe," Smith came forward to assist Thomas to obtain honourable terms of surrender.

In 1808 Smith accompanied Dudreneec's Brigade to the Deccan, and later in the year returned with it to Hindustan, and surrendered to Colonel Vandeleur at Mattra, a few days after the battle of Delhi, availing himself of the Governor-General's proclamation offering pensions to all British subjects in the Maráthá employ who resigned their posts, and being awarded one of Rs. 1,200 a month. "I have lost," he writes, "the hopes of an independent fortune, which I would have acquired from my rank, the result of my long service, in spite of Perron's injustice; and I should have starved had it not been for the political and munificent generosity of the Most Noble the Governor-General in allowing liberal provisions to the British officers, who were obliged to quit Scindia's service on the declaration

of war. We should have been wanting in principle, and in duty to our country, had we continued to serve its enemies." Besides being the author of "A Sketch of the Regular Corps in the Service of the Native Princes of India," Smith contributed several papers to the Asiatic Annual Register and other publications, for his style of composition can easily be recognised in many of the "Newsletters" which appeared in Indian newspapers during the time that Perrot flourished.

SMITH, EMILIUS FELIX, CAPTAIN.—Captain E. F. Smith was younger brother of Lewis Ferdinand Smith, and was born in Rohilkhand in 1777. He entered Sindhia's service at a very early age, but left on obtaining a commission in the 86th Regiment. This, however, he subsequently resigned in order to remain with his brother, and to this end re-entered Sindhia's service in 1800. Soon after this he was engaged in the reduction of two rebel battalions, commanded by the widow of Captain Le Marchant, who had refused submission to Perron's orders. He then obtained an appointment in the Hindustani Horse and accompanied Bourguien on the campaign against George Thomas. When his brother was defeated at Georgegarh, and obliged to fall back on Jhajjar, Emilius hurried to the relief at the head of his cavalry and "performed an astonishing rapid movement of eighty miles in ten hours, fraternal affection giving impulse to his course." Two days later he commanded the left wing of Bourguien's army at the battle of Georgegarh; and whilst gallantly leading it to the charge, his leg was severely shattered by a four-pounder cannon-ball. He was removed to Jhajjar, where he bore the tortures of an unskilful operation with manly fortitude, but sank under the fever which the wound and shock to the system induced. He died on the 8th of October, 1801, aged twenty-four years. Just before he expired he said with a sigh—"Ah why did I not fall on the plains of Egypt with my regiment. I should then have died without a regret." He fell a sacrifice to his ardour for his profession. He was a young man of fine character, affectionate disposition, and good education. Something of a poet, too, for many fugitive pieces from his pen found a corner in the Calcutta periodicals of the day.

SOMBRE, OR SOMBRE.—His infamy rather than his achievements have rescued the name of this notorious adventurer from oblivion, and awarded it an unenviable niche in Indian history. Sombre's real name was Walter Reinhard, and he was reputed to be the son of a butcher at Salzburg, where he was born in 1720. At the age of thirty

he came out to Pondicherry on board a French frigate, from which he deserted in order to enlist in the French army of Southern India. To hide his identity he assumed the name of Somers as a *nom de guerre*, but his saturnine features and lowering mien soon caused its corruption into the *sobriquet* of Sombre, which in turn was twisted by Native pronunciation into Somru.

Sombre appears to have spent some years in the Carnatic and Southern India before he made his way to Bengal. Arrived here, he first of all enlisted as a private soldier in a Swiss battalion in the employ of the Company, but eighteen days' experience of it sufficed, and he crossed the boundary into Chandernagore, and was appointed a sergeant in Mons. Law's force. But he was soon discontented with this, and once more abandoning his allegiance, proceeded to the Upper Provinces, where he assumed the Native style of dress, and entered the service of Suráj-ud-Daula, the Nawáb of Bengal, as a common trooper. This situation proved even less to his liking than his previous ones, and for the next two or three years he appears to have led a restless and vagabond existence, till 1760, when he joined the rebel *Faujdar* of Parnea, by whom he was appointed to the command of a small force, with instructions to drill it in the European method and bring it into discipline. In a few months the *Faujdar* suffered a reverse, which naturally determined Sombre to desert him. The adventurer now accepted a similar post under an Armenian name, Gregory, a member of a Calcutta family of repute, and the virtual minister of Kassim Ali Khán, who had succeeded Suráj-ud-Daula as Nawáb of Bengal. Fortune favouring Sombre, he was promoted to the command of two battalions. In 1768 a rupture occurred between Kassim Ali and the Company, and the former, enraged at the ill success of his arms, treacherously attacked and captured a large body of English residents at Patna, and in a spirit of wanton and blood-thirsty revenge, ordered them to be executed.

But the deed was too dark and foul a one for any of Kassim Ali's Native officers to undertake, and it was reserved for Sombre to ingratiate himself with his master by carrying out the crime. The details of this "execrable villainy" are thus given in the "Annual Register." "Somers invited above forty officers and other gentlemen, who were amongst these unfortunate prisoners, to sup with him on the day he had fixed for the execution, and when his guests were in full security, protected as they imagined by the laws of hospitality, as well as by the right of prisoners, he ordered the Indians under his command to fall upon them and cut their throats. Even these barbarous soldiers revolted at the orders of this savage European. They refused at first

to obey, and desired that arms should be given to the English, and that they would then engage them. Somers, fixed in his villainy, compelled them with blows and threats to the accomplishment of that odious service. The unfortunate victims, though thus suddenly attacked and wholly unarmed, made a long and brave defence, and with their plates and bottles even killed some of their assailants, but in the end they were all slaughtered. Proceeding then, with a file of Sepoys, to the prison where a number of the prisoners then remained, he directed the massacre, and with his own hands assisted in the inhuman slaughter of one hundred and forty-eight defenceless Europeans confined within its walls—an appalling act of atrocity that has stamped his name with infamy for ever.” Justice requires it to be added that in one account of this tragedy, it is asserted that Sombre's own life would have been forfeited had he refused to carry out Kassim Ali's commands.

British troops were soon marching up from Calcutta to avenge this foul deed, and Kassim Ali Khán's army was defeated. But before this happened Sombre had been invited by the Nawáb Wazir of Oudh to enter his service, and seizing the opportunity of Kassim Ali's distress, renounced his allegiance, extorted by violence the arrears of pay due to him, and then marched his two battalions to Lucknow, where he entered on his new appointment.

By the end of 1768 Sombre's force had increased to four battalions of infantry, one of cavalry, and a strong complement of artillery, and their commander enjoyed a high influence at Court, until war broke out with the English, and the Nawáb Wazir was defeated at the battle of Buxar, and compelled to sue for peace, when one of the principal conditions insisted on by the English was the surrender of Sombre. The Nawáb accepted the stipulation in theory, but pointed out that, in practice, Sombre was in command of an armed force, which made his apprehension impossible. He proposed, as an alternative, to poison or assassinate the adventurer, but this suggestion was declined. Meanwhile Sombre, suspecting the tenor of the protracted negotiations, took advantage of the delay to surround and plunder the Nawáb's Begums, who had been entrusted to him for protection, and also to rob his late master, Kassim Ali, who was at the time a refugee at the Oudh Court. Having thus acquired a large sum of money by methods perfectly in keeping with his past career, he secured the fidelity of his force by paying it up in full, and then marched to Rohilkhand. Here he entered the service of the Afghan chief, Hafiz Raimat Ali—the benevolent Rohilla ruler of Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings. But fear of the English soon drove him to leave



THE BEGUM SOMBRE.

*(From a medallion in Sleeman's "Rambles and Recollections
of an Indian Official".)*

the neighbourhood, and marching to Díg, he enlisted under the banners of the Ját Rájah of Bhartpur. His connection with this potentate was of a very short duration, for in a few months he was serving the Rájah of Jaipur in a similar capacity, but the Rajpút prince soon dismissed a mercenary whom he found too villainous for his service, and Sombre finally tendered his sword to Najaf Khán, the Wazir of Shah 'Alam, the Emperor of Delhi, and a nobleman who seldom refused the proposals of any military adventurers, and who agreed to pay Sombre Rs. 65,000 a month for the services of his party.

Up to this period of his career Sombre had served twelve or fourteen different masters, but he remained in the service of the Court of Delhi until his death. This fixity of employment was probably due to his having been assigned a rich *jaghir* or estate at Sardhána, a district some forty miles north of the capital, where he built and fortified his headquarters, and settled down.

From the time that he had quitted civilisation and Chandernagore, Sombre had adopted the native dress, and with it the custom of keeping a harem. At Sardhána he fell in love with a very beautiful, and eke remarkable woman, concerning whose parentage there are various accounts. One historian asserts that she was the daughter of a decayed Mughal nobleman, another that she was a Kashmiri dancing-girl, and a third that she was by birth a *Syudani*, or lineal descendant of the Prophet. Sombre was already married to a woman of the Massalman faith, who was still alive; but this did not prevent him from repeating the ceremony with this girl who had taken his fancy. His connection with her laid the foundation of the fortunes of his family, for the Begum Somru, as she came to be called, was not less notable for her beauty than for her extraordinary cleverness and force of character. She soon gained a great ascendancy over Sombre, and it was in a great measure owing to her influence that he abandoned his roving life and settled down permanently at Sardhána.

Sombre was an illiterate man who could neither read nor write, though he spoke Persian and Hindustani fluently. It is to his credit that he was never ashamed of his humble origin, and although his services were eagerly courted and bid for, and he enjoyed a position of considerable political power in the country, he despised show, and preferred a plain unostentatious mode of life. But with this single statement the category of his virtues is begun and ended. He possessed a certain degree of low and crafty intelligence, but was utterly destitute of military skill, martial spirit, or personal courage, whilst, considering the possibilities open to him, he was singularly devoid of enterprise and ambition. Shortly after entering Najaf Khan's service,

he was offered a large and important *Jaidad*, or military assignment of territory, which would have raised him to a princely position, but he preferred a monetary monthly payment, and refused the proposal. It is probable he feared the risk involved in occupying an extended territory necessitating the distribution of his troops, and preferred to keep them together and concentrated about his person. For it is known that after the massacre of Patna he suffered agonies of remorse and fear, and lived in the miserable and constant terror of being betrayed into the hands of the English to expiate his crime. To prevent such a fate he always carried poison about his person, with which to terminate his existence if necessary, and if his courage served him.

Sombre's disposition was merciless, cruel, and bloodthirsty, and he was totally wanting in honour and fidelity. Avaricious and unscrupulous to an astounding degree, he bartered his sword to the highest bidder, with the eagerness of a huckster disposing of perishable goods, and changed his fealty with the same unconcern that he changed his coat. His force was officered by Europeans, but few, if any, of them were men of respectability, and those he engaged were generally the very dregs and dross of society. The consequence was that his troops were generally in a state of pronounced mutiny and insubordination, committing every imaginable outrage upon the persons of their officers, whom they despised. They seldom obtained their pay until they had put their commander into confinement, and made him dig up his hidden treasure, if he had any, or borrow from bankers if he had none. If the troops were impatient it was their custom to divest Sombre of his trousers and straddle him across a hot gun. When one battalion had extracted its dues, he was often handed over to another to be further squeezed. In later years the Begum herself was subjected to the starving process, but Colonel Sleeman is the authority for stating that she was never actually grilled on a gun. The same writer states that it was Sombre's invariable rule when engaged in active service to draw up at a safe distance and await the course of events. If victory declared for the enemy he sold his unbroken force to the foe for a cash payment; if his own friends won, he promptly assisted them in plundering, and so secured all the tangible fruits of victory.

Lewis Ferdinand Smith has left on record a scathing criticism of Sombre's character as a soldier, and of the merits and qualities of his corps. "Sombre's party," he writes, "have never been conspicuous for their military achievements, nor famed for their military trophies. They never lost a gun and never gained one, until they were defeated

by the British army near Adjanta Ghát (Assaye). But they were remarkable for their excellent retreats. Sombre made it a rule in every action to draw his men out in line, fire a few shots, and then form square and retreat. This rule his party has ever since adhered to with inflexible exactitude; by which singular mode of prudent warfare they have acquired no laurels, yet preserved their reputation. They have been the most mutinous troops in India, and woe to the unfortunate European who was compelled by his necessities to enter into this party. Disgrace, if not death, attended them, from the frequent revolts of the soldiers, when they regularly wreaked their ire with clubs upon the shoulders of their European officers."

The latter years of Sombre's life were rendered a perfect purgatory to him by his distrust and suspicion of all around him. He died at Agra on the 4th of May, 1778, aged fifty-eight years, and was buried in the garden of his residence there. But three years later his widow, the Begum Somru, on being baptized and received into the Roman Catholic faith, caused his remains to be disinterred and deposited in the churchyard of that city. The following is the Portuguese inscription over his resting-place, in Padretola, Agra:—

AQUIIAZ	EO AOS4
OWALT	DE MAYO
ERREINHA	NOANNO
RD. MORR	DE 1778

After Sombre's death the command of his party, its pay, and the *jaghir* of Sardhána, were continued to the Begum Somru, who was always known by that name, although on her entry into the church she had been christened Joanna Nobilis. By means of her uncommon ability, gallantry, and masculine force of character, she proved herself equal to the responsibility. She gave the command to a German named Pauly, perhaps because he was a countryman of her husband, but, it has been suggested, from more tender reasons, and gradually entertained a considerable body of Europeans, both as officers and to work her artillery, which numbered forty pieces of cannon. These Europeans were of all nationalities, English, French, Germans, Swiss, Portuguese, Armenians, and half-castes, many of them being deserters from the Company's service. At one time the Begum employed over two hundred in her force.

But she was unfortunate in her officers, for the respectable ones all left her, and the others were a worthless, dissolute set of men, whose outrageous conduct often incited the troops to mutiny. Pauly was murdered "by a bloody process" in 1783; Baours, who succeeded him,

retired, so next did Evans and Dudrenec, all three disgusted with the "beastly habits" of their European subordinates. It was about this time that George Thomas rose to a position of importance, if not the actual control of her force; he, too, was forced to leave. It will be remembered that he was the officer concerned in the spirited succour which the Begum afforded to the Emperor Shah 'Alam, when he was trying to reduce Najaf Kuli Khán in 1788. Thomas departed about 1793, when the command of the party devolved upon Le Vassault, a gallant and good-looking soldier, with whom the Begum carried on an intrigue. She was presently married to him by Father Gregorio, a Carmelite monk, Major Bernier and Colonel Saleur being the witnesses of the marriage, which was kept secret. Colonel Sleeman states that Le Vassault proposed for her hand as the best method of securing his ascendancy over Thomas, to whom he was always hostile. Le Vassault was a gentleman by birth and education, and a soldier of honourable feelings; but he was stern and haughty by nature, and so thoroughly despised his subordinates that, after his marriage, he refused to associate with them on equal grounds, or admit them to a seat at his table. The Begum in vain endeavoured to persuade her husband to alter his demeanour, urging that their personal safety required that the officers should be conciliated. But her warnings were disregarded. They proved too true; Le Vassault's subordinates took umbrage, and declared that no man should command them who would not meet them on terms of perfect social equality. The troops sided with the officers, and determined to depose the Begum, and elevate Balthazar Sombre, a son of Sombre by his first wife, to the government. This woman was still living, nor, indeed, did she die till 1838, when she must have been over a hundred years old. She was buried at Sardhána, the cemetery of which place, it is curious to note, contained the bones of many centenarians.

Matters with the mutineers were brought to a crisis by Le Vassault's harsh treatment of a German officer named Legois (a friend of George Thomas), who was degraded for endeavouring to dissuade the Begum from making an attack on Hariána. This arbitrary abuse of power disgusted the troops, who had fought under Legois for many years, and were incensed at seeing him superseded by a junior officer. After remonstrating in vain with Le Vassault, they suddenly broke out into open mutiny. The Begum and her husband now became frightened, and determined to seek an asylum in the Company's territory. Neither of them understood English, but Le Vassault, with the aid of a grammar and dictionary, managed to communicate his wishes to Colonel McGowan, who commanded the advance post

of the British army at Anúpsahar. After some difficulty sanction was accorded, but a stipulation was made that Le Vassoult should be treated as a prisoner of war on *parole*, and reside with his wife at the French settlement of Chandernagore. This was in May, 1795.

The Begum's troops had, however, obtained information of what was going on, and immediately summoned Balthazar Sombre—or, as he was more commonly called, from a title bestowed on him by the Emperor Shah 'Alam, Zafar Yáb Khan—from Delhi to assume the government of the Sardhána State. Meanwhile Le Vassoult and the Begum managed to slip away, but their departure being discovered, a detachment was sent in pursuit to capture them. An agreement existed between the Begum and Le Vassoult, that in the event of their falling into the hands of the mutineers, neither should survive the other. In the commotion that ensued, consequent upon their being overtaken and surrounded, the Begum drew a dagger, and in a half-hearted way slashed herself slightly in the breast. Her attendants seeing the blood flow shouted out that their mistress had killed herself. Le Vassoult, who was riding a short distance ahead, hearing the tumult, inquired what it arose from. He was told that his wife was dead. A second time he repeated the question, and received the same answer. He then drew a pistol from his holster, and although he might easily have galloped off and saved himself, placed the muzzle to his mouth and pulled the trigger. The ball passed through his brain, and he sprang from his saddle a full foot into the air, before he fell dead to the ground. His corpse was subjected to every indignity and insult that the gross and bestial imagination of his officers and men could conceive, and left to rot, unburied, on the ground.

The Begum, who was only slightly injured, was carried back a captive to Sardhána, and kept chained to a gun for seven days, and deprived of all food except such as was conveyed to her by stealth by her female servants. Balthazar Sombre was seated on the *masnad*. He was a detestable compound of ignorance, weakness, cruelty, and debauchery, and it was not long before it became evident his rule had not a single element of stability.

The actual instrument of his deposition, and the Begum's re-establishment in power, was George Thomas, with whom she found means to communicate. He generously laid aside old animosities, and responded to her appeal for help. Balthazar Sombre was sent a prisoner to Delhi, where he died, some say, by poison, in 1803, leaving a daughter, subsequently married to Colonel Dyce, whose son became famous as the principal personage in the great Dyce-Sombre law-suit.

The command of the Begum's forces was now bestowed on Colonel Saleur, who, with thirty other European officers, signed a document swearing fidelity and allegiance to their mistress. As illustrating the class of men who filled the posts of command in this party, it may be mentioned that Saleur was the only one who could write his name, most of the others affixing their seals, whilst a few, to show the superiority of their accomplishments, subscribed two or three letters of the alphabet, not necessarily those representing their proper initials, but such as they happened to be able to form. The covenant was drawn out by a Muhammadan scribe in Persian, and as his conscientious scruples prevented him from acknowledging Christ as the son of God, the precious document was superscribed—"In the name of God, and of His Majesty Christ!"

The Begum never publicly declared her marriage to Le Vassault, and immediately after his death resumed her former name. So anxious was she to bury in oblivion an episode which certainly evinced weakness in a woman usually strong minded, and already well advanced in years, that she stipulated in her will that her heir, whose family patronymic was Dyce, should in addition assume the name of Sombra. To complete the story of poor Le Vassault's fate it should be added that doubts have been cast upon the *bona fides* of the agreement which the Begum originated, that in the event of capture at the hands of the mutineers neither should survive the other. This and her subsequent mock wound have been denounced as a piece of treachery on her part, designed to rid herself of her husband. There is, however, no actual proof of this, and Colonel Sleeman, writing in 1836, mentions that he heard "from grave old Native gentlemen, who were long in her service, that there really was too much truth in the story of her intimacy with the gallant young Frenchman, though God forgive them for saying so of a lady whose salt they had eaten for so many years." Under these circumstances the inhuman atrocity of the above suggestion is hardly conceivable.

Colonel Saleur raised the Begum Somru's party to six battalions of infantry, increased the artillery, and added a cavalry force. The corps is often mentioned in the political history of the next eight years, but it never distinguished itself, nor did the Begum lapse a second time from the path of prudence. Amidst the kaleidoscopic changes of Hindustan, she managed to preserve her power and independence intact, until her army, famous in peace, if not in war, met the English on the plain of Assaya. But even here fortune favoured them, for four of her five battalions, being left to guard the Maráthá camp, made good their escape, and only one was destroyed.

Just before the declaration of war in 1803, Robert Skinner joined the Begum's service, and after the fall of Aligarh was deputed to arrange for her submission to General Lake. James Skinner tells the story so well in his memoirs that its quotation cannot be resisted. "When the Begum came in person to pay her respects to General Lake, an incident occurred of a curious and characteristic description. She arrived at head-quarters just after dinner, and being carried in her palanquin at once to the reception tent, the General came out to meet and receive her. As the adhesion of every petty chieftain was, in those days, of consequence, Lord Lake was not a little pleased at the early demonstration of the Begum's loyalty, and being a little elevated by the wine which had just been drunk, he forgot the novel circumstance of its being a Native female, instead of some well-bearded chief, so he gallantly advanced, and, to the utter dismay of her attendants, took her in his arms and kissed her! The mistake might have been awkward, but the lady's presence of mind put all right. Receiving courteously the proffered attention, she turned calmly round to her astonished attendants and observed, 'It is the salute of a *padre* (priest) to his daughter.' The Begum professes Christianity, and thus the explanation was perfectly in character, though more experienced spectators might have smiled at the appearance of the jolly red-coated clergyman exhibited in the person of the General."

The Begum lived for many years after this in friendly intercourse with the British. Bishop Heber saw her in 1825, and described her as "a very queer looking old woman, with brilliant but wicked eyes, and the remains of beauty in her features." "Queer and wicked" she had been in some of her actions, as the following anecdote shows. One day two of her slave girls set fire to her houses at Agra in order to make off with their paramours, two soldiers of the guard left in charge of them. These houses had thatched roofs, and contained all the Begum's valuables. The fire was put out with much difficulty and great loss of property, and the two slave girls were soon after discovered in the bazaar at Agra, and brought into the Begum's camp. She ordered the affair to be investigated by a drum-head court-martial, and in the usual summary fashion. Their guilt being established they were first of all flogged until they were senseless, and then buried alive in a pit dug in front of her tent. Another version of this atrocious story, related in Heber's narrative, states that the girls were buried in a hole dug in the floor of the Begum's own chamber, and that she had her bed drawn over it, and smoked her *hookah* unconcernedly over this living grave. But Colonel Sleeman, who was at the pains of sifting the story, vouches for the correctness of the

former version—although it is but one degree less horrible—which he heard from an old Persian merchant named Aga, to whom the slave girls originally belonged. “The Begum’s object,” explained the old Aga, “was to make a strong impression upon the turbulent spirit of her troops by a severe example, and she was entirely successful.”

When the Begum submitted to the English, her force consisted of six battalions of infantry, 400 horse, and a party of artillery served chiefly by Europeans. She possessed a good arsenal, well stored, and a foundry for cannon, both built within the walls of the fortress of Sardhána. The cost of the upkeep of her military establishment was about four lakhs of rupees a year, and her other expenses were not less than two, but the revenues from her *jaghir* of Sardhána were sufficient to cover both. When she accepted British protection her income increased very greatly, and there were no longer any calls for the payment of her troops, which were disbanded. She thus became immensely rich, and devoted large sums to charitable and religious institutions. Amongst other gifts, she sent to the Pope at Rome Rs. 150,000, to the Archbishop of Canterbury Rs. 50,000, and to the Bishop of Calcutta Rs. 100,000. To Catholic Missions in India she subscribed Rs. 180,000; and for distribution to the deserving debtors of Calcutta Rs. 50,000. She also built a handsome Roman Catholic Church and a Protestant Chapel at Meerut, to which place she removed her residence during her latter years. The Roman Catholic bishop here was an Italian from Milan, named Julius Cæsar. He was the medium of her donation to the Pope, for which he received his bishopric. His Holiness made the Begum’s recognised heir and step-grandson—Dyce-Sombre—a Chevalier of the Order of Christ, besides presenting him with a splint from the real cross as a relic.

The Begum was very diminutive in person, but possessed a wonderful dignity of carriage, and an uncommon resolution of manner. At Meerut she entertained from time to time several Governors-General and Commanders-in-chief. During the closing years of her life an immense army of pensioners enjoyed her bounty, and she acquired the character of a kind-hearted and benevolent woman. She died in 1836, leaving behind her a fortune of £700,000, a large portion of which was bequeathed to charities, and the rest to Mr. Dyce-Sombre, who married an English lady of title, and his two sisters, one of whom married an English officer, Captain Troup, and the other an Italian gentleman, Signor Sabroli.

BUTHERLAND, ROBERT, COLONEL [known to the Natives as *Bullej Sahib*].—Sutherland was a Scotchman, and originally an officer in the

73rd Regiment, from which he was cashiered. He was promoted to the rank of Major in the First Brigade in 1790, and in May, 1794, was still only a Major, but on a pay of Rs. 200 a month. Soon after this promotion came to him, and he obtained the command of the Third Brigade, and on the death of Colonel Frémont in 1795 was transferred to that of the Second. When, at the end of this year, De Boigne retired Sutherland was senior officer in Hindustan, and acted as chief commander of the troops. Perron was, however, considerably senior to him, and being in the Deccan with Daulat Ráo Sindhia, had little difficulty in obtaining the succession to De Boigne's appointment, in spite of all Sutherland's endeavours to secure it for himself. This was the beginning of a long and jealous feud between the two adventurers, which only terminated with the Scotchman's resignation in 1802. It is probable, though not actually recorded, that Sutherland was present at the battles of Pátan and Merta. In 1796 he was employed in the reduction of some revolted districts in Bundelkhand, bringing into obedience several petty rájahs, during which (in Skinner's words) he fought two general actions and captured half-a-dozen forts. His next service was against Lakwa Dáda at Chitúrgarh. This was the occasion when Thomas complained of Sutherland's conduct in having arranged a concerted attack on the rebel chief over night, and then unaccountably drawn off his forces without any assigned reason. Skinner records an incident which happened during this campaign, and does not rebound very much to Sutherland's credit. It appears that during the desultory progress of the war, Skinner was one morning exercising his horse "in full armour," and chanced to meet Harji Sindhia, a Maráthá chieftain, and a relative of Daulat Ráo. Harji invited Skinner to join him in his ride to a river close by, whither he was bound, at the request of the Maráthá General, Ambaji Inglis, to look for a ford. This expedition was subsequently proved to be a snare laid by Ambaji, in collusion with Lakwa Dáda—the enemy he was supposed to be fighting against—to bring about the destruction of Harji, to whom both the chiefs were hostile. As they rode along Skinner's suspicions were aroused, and he warned Harji, who was attended by 500 of his men, to be on his guard. His fears were not ill-founded, for almost immediately afterwards they fell into an ambuscade, and were attacked by a thousand of Lakwa Dáda's cavalry. Skinner and Harji immediately offered fight, and eventually succeeded in beating the enemy off, though not before the former's horse was wounded by a sabre cut, and he himself had received two or three sword blows on the body, from which he was only saved by his armour. Harji was wounded, but Skinner fortunately cut down the man who was attack-

ing him. Returning to camp, Harji invited Skinner to his tent, where all sat down in Darbar. Then the chief arose and said, "All those who fought with me this day were my servants, and did but perform their duty; but you are my friend, and fought for me as a friend." He then took a pair of gold bangles set with diamonds, and put them round Skinner's wrists, and also gave him a sword, a shield, and a fine horse.

When Colonel Sutherland heard of this he blamed Skinner for what had passed, and told him he should report the circumstance of his accompanying the chief, without leave, to Perron. But a little later he caused intimation to be conveyed to Skinner that if he would give him the horse he had received from Harji, nothing should be said of what had happened. Skinner sent back word he would give the bangles, but not the horse, the sword, or the shield. At this Sutherland was much incensed, and his anger was increased when he learnt that Harji had himself written to Perron praising Skinner's conduct.

"Soon after this," adds Skinner, with quiet satisfaction, "the Colonel himself was discovered intriguing with the Maráthá chiefs, and Perron discharged him, bestowing his command on Major Pohlman." This incident is related because it shows the existence of an old-standing quarrel between Sutherland and Skinner, and, in a measure, explains some of the strictures the latter, in his memoirs, takes occasion to pass upon the Scotchman.

Not long after this, Sutherland, having been forgiven through the interest of his father-in-law, Colonel John Hessian, was sent to the Deccan to take over the command of the First Brigade. The side-light here is interesting, for it establishes a connection by marriage between Perron and Sutherland, since the General and Hessian had married sisters. In another part of his memoirs Skinner mentions that Filoze and Bourguien were both related to Perron, but without mentioning the degree of connection. It would thus appear that there was a regular family party in command of Sindbia's brigades, for Perron, the two Hessings, Sutherland, Derridon, the Filoze's, and Bourguien must all have been more or less connected by marriage ties. Sutherland, indeed, was nephew by marriage to Perron, having married the General's niece; but, despite this, they cordially hated one another, and the Frenchman lost no opportunity of mortifying and vexing the Scotchman, with the object of getting rid of him, for it did not suit his policy that his second in command should be a British subject.

Sutherland assumed command of the First Brigade in 1769. Previous to this his principal services had been the storming and capture of Narwar with four battalions in 1765, and the siege and capture of Tori

Fatehpur in 1796, at the head of eight battalions. In the Deccan he was chiefly engaged in helping Daulat Ráo Sindhia to consolidate his power at Poonah, and it was not until 1801 that an opportunity occurred for him to really distinguish himself. In this year Sindhia returned to Malwa, leaving Sutherland and a portion of the First Brigade behind to support his interests at the Deccan capital during his absence. Then came the disastrous defeat of Ujjain, and Sutherland was at once summoned to his master's aid. As soon as the rainy season slackened, and the Nerbada became fordable, Sutherland was detached to retrieve the defeat sustained in June. With fourteen battalions of regular infantry and 20,000 Maráthá horse he gave battle to Jaswant Ráo Holkar and Amir Khán on the plain outside the city of Indore, where the latter had taken up a strong position. After an obstinate contest he gained a complete victory, drove Holkar and his troops from their entrenchments, took 98 guns, 160 tumbrils, and all the baggage, and wound up the exploit by plundering Indore. He lost 400 men in the action, which was a very severe one. Although a detailed account of this battle has been given in the sketch of Perron's life, it will not be out of place to quote the following description of it from the pages of "Pandurang Hári," which gives a graphic idea of the fight from a Hindu point of view. Pandurang Hári, it may be mentioned, was at the time a cavalry officer in Holkar's Maráthá Horse.

"I had just entered upon my new service when despatches arrived with orders for us to march to Indore, Holkar's capital. . . . A Mahratta army consists in general of horse and foot of every neighbouring nation, religion, and costume. It makes a very motley appearance, as it is under no discipline, and destitute of regular uniform. Few of the men in the same line, either cavalry or infantry, have weapons of a like form. Some are armed with sword and shield, others with matchlocks or muskets. Some carry bows and arrows, others spears, lances, or war rockets. Many are expert with the battleaxe, but the sabre is indispensable to all. The man in armour, of whom there are many to make up the variety, cut a very curious appearance. A helmet covers not only the head and ears, but protects the shoulders. The body is cased in iron network, or in a thick quilted vest. They give preference to the two-edged sword before the curved one used by the Persians and Arabs. . . . Every rájah, prince, or leader is responsible among the Mahrattas to the Peishwa, or head of the empire, for his general conduct. He pays tribute for his district, and attends when summoned with his quota of men, which is regulated by his wealth and population. He is supreme in command ov

his corps, which is attached alone to him and to his fortunes, and adheres to whatever party he supports. . . . After a fatiguing march we reached Indore, the capital of Jeeswant Ráo Holker. Our preparations were now complete, and we were confident of success. Our cavalry was a strange rabble, mounted on tall and short horses of every colour and kind. Saddles were always slipping off for want of girths; strings fastened to any old pieces of iron by way of bits, supplied bridles; old turbans served for martingales, and tent ropes for cruppers. The infantry was just as wretchedly accoutred as the cavalry. Everything was wanting and nothing regular. Here voices might be heard roaring out for ball, and there for muskets or arms. Those who were not fortunate enough to procure any weapon at all, supplied the deficiency by a bamboo pole, which they dignified with the designation of a spear. . . . The eventful day at length dawned. I awoke early, and opening my tent, looked abroad. All was dark and misty. Soon it was all alive in the camp, and as the day advanced clamour, turmoil, and preparation increased. The drums roared on every hand the call to arms. The war-elephants, caparisoned and ready, yelled with impatience, and towered loftily over all other living objects. The neighing of horses, the clash of arms, the buzz of impatient voices, the sounds of command, the march of the irregular and confused masses to their stations, was an impressive scene. Soon the firing of guns, at first slow and irregular, then more rapidly, convinced me the work of death had begun in some quarter, and it seemed speedily extending itself towards the station of my troop, which I had joined, well mounted, and with which I remained, with a fluttering heart, in awful suspense. The current of battle now rolled close by me, and action soon took away all reflection, for we had enough upon our hands. Our men were all lean kine, and too scantily fed to be much heavier than skeletons. Our horses were in little better condition, and when Scindia's cavalry came down on us we were knocked off on the ground before we could strike a blow. In vain I tried to rally and remount my men. I succeeded in prevailing upon only a few to rally; the best part of them turned tail and fled without once looking behind. Thus the division to which I was attached was speedily disposed of. Our infantry getting mixed with the cavalry that had been driven back by Scindia, was taken by it for the infantry of that chief, instead of our own, and the sabre began to cut among them as if they were a field of standing corn. I laboured in vain to rectify the mistake, and stay the slaughter of our own men. My voice was lost in the scene of death and discord, the rush of rockets, and the groans of the dying. How long this scene might have continued before it could have been put an end

to I cannot tell, if the attention of the cavalry had not been drawn to something, which even in the heat of battle was truly appalling to the sight, and made them, even there, think of self-preservation. A wounded elephant rushed in among them, mad with the pain of a ball he had just received, and rolled his unwieldy bulk through and over the slashed infantry, and among the terrified horse. Beast and rider were overturned and crushed beneath his tread, and all that lay in his path became victims to his fury. This effectually put a stop to the havoc the cavalry had begun, as the horses took fright and bore their riders off the field of action, leaving their own broken infantry to be trampled to death by the enraged beast. At this moment the cavalry of Scindia charged our artillery and captured it all together with our baggage. This was decisive. Jeswant Ráo Holker saw his world-conquering heroes disperse in every direction, and the battle terminated in leaving Scindia no enemies in view, the pursued soon leaving their conquerors far in the rear. The virtue of leanness, which served us so ill in the battle, was now of singular service in making our escape."

Pandurang Hari makes a mistake in describing Sindhia as present in person at the battle, for he was some miles in the rear with his baggage, and Sutherland was in command of the victorious army. It is curious that no mention is made of the regular infantry in this spirited description of the fight. The victory established Sutherland's reputation and confirmed him in his master's favour; so much so that at one time it was announced he had been appointed to supersede Perron, whose jealousy operated as much as any other cause in bringing him to Ujjain in March, 1802.

Perron soon obtained Sindhia's ear, and although Sutherland intrigued assiduously, he was disgraced and transferred to the command of the Second Brigade, which had escorted Perron down from Hindustan. This humiliation and "a remark of Perron's" caused the Scotchman to throw up his commission in disgust, and he returned to Agra "without leave," accompanied by a hundred cavalry. Sindhia, it was stated, was very much distressed at his departure, and Perron went personally to pacify his brigade, and promised them a new commander of equal rank.

Sutherland remained at Agra till the breaking out of the war with the English, and was one of the officers confined by the mutinous Agra garrison. He was associated with George Hessian in arranging the terms of capitulation, and the bearer of the letter to General Lake which "demanded a cessation of hostilities" on the 18th of October, 1808. Two or three days after this he and all the European officers in the place found protection under the British flag.

On the whole, Sutherland seems to have been a good officer, though doubtless his social qualities were not so commendable as his military abilities. His victory at Indore justifies his claim to be considered a more competent commander than most of his contemporaries. On his withdrawal from Sindhia's service he obtained a pension of Rs. 800 a month, under favour of the Governor-General's proclamation, which he enjoyed for some years. He died at Mattra, but the date of his death is not known.

SYMES, CAPTAIN [known to the natives as *Sunk Sahib*].—Captain Symes was the commandant of a Najib, or matchlock, battalion in Perron's First Brigade, and was wounded at the storm of Sounda. After this he was sent to supersede Bourguien, who had been fruitlessly endeavouring to capture Ajmir. From thence he proceeded to Tonk, which place he garrisoned for some time, until Jaswant Ráo Holkar attacked him, and forced him to retreat to Rampúra. He died at Sikandra a short time before the war broke out with the English.

TONE, WILLIAM HENRY, COLONEL.—Colonel W. H. Tone was an Irishman, and brother to the famous Irish rebel, Theobald Wolfe Tone. William was born in August, 1764, his grandfather being a respectable farmer near Naas, in county Kildare, and his father a coachmaker, who was ruined by litigation over the family property. Tone was intended for a commercial life, and bound apprentice at the age of fourteen to an eminent bookseller. This enabled him to indulge his passion for reading, and he perused every book of voyages and travels which he could find, and also some of military history and adventure. This literature heated an imagination naturally warm and enthusiastic to such a degree that, at the age of sixteen, he ran away to London, and entered as a volunteer in the East India Company's service. His first experience was unfortunate, for instead of finding his way to India, as he desired, he was sent to the Island of St. Helena, on which barren rock he remained in garrison for six years, and then returned to Europe. It was highly to his honour that, though he entered into such execrable society as the troops in the Company's service were composed of, and at such an early age, he passed through the ordeal without being affected by the contagion of their manners or their principles. He even found means in that degraded situation and remote spot to cultivate his mind to a certain degree, so that his brother, Wolfe Tone, was much surprised when he met him in London, after a separation of eight years, to find him

with the manners of a gentleman and a considerable acquaintance with the best parts of English literature. Tone had a natural talent for poetry, which he much improved, and composed several very elegant sets of verses. He was a handsome, well-made man with a good address, and extremely well received among women, whom he loved to excess. He was as brave as Cæsar and devoted to soldiering.

Having remained three or four years in Europe, by which time his father was utterly ruined by the law-suit alluded to, Tone resolved to try his fortune in India, from which step his brother did not attempt to dissuade him. Re-entering the Company's service in 1792, he arrived at Madras at the end of that year. With an advantageous figure, a good address, and considerable talents, he recommended himself so far to the colonel of the regiment in which he served, that he obtained his discharge and letters of introduction to persons at Calcutta, where he was advised to push his fortunes. A small military command enabled him to defray the expenses of the voyage, and procured him a gratification of £50 on his arrival at his destination as a reward for his exertions in quelling a dangerous mutiny which broke out amongst the black troops under his command on board, who had formed a scheme to run away with the ship. At Calcutta the persons to whom he had come recommended introduced him to a French officer named Marigny, who was second in command of the Nizam of Haidarabad's army, and happened to be at the Presidency purchasing military stores for his master. Marigny gave Tone an appointment in the Nizam's service, and promised him the command of a battery of artillery as soon as they should arrive at Haidarabad. The stores being purchased, Tone marched with the First Division, of which he had the command, and arrived safely at the Nizam's capital. After some time, Marigny followed; but by an unforeseen accident all Tone's hopes were blasted. A quarrel took place between Marigny and Raymond, the Frenchman in command, in which Tone, with an honourable indiscretion, sided with his friend. The consequence was that Marigny was put in irons, and Tone only escaped a similar fate by appealing, as a British subject, to the Resident at the Nizam's Court for protection. This circumstance, together with the breaking out of the war between the French and English, put an end to all prospects of his advancement, as all the Europeans in the Nizam's army were Frenchmen.

So Tone set out to return to Calcutta. On his journey, having travelled four hundred miles, and with two hundred yet to travel, which must have brought him into the district of Orissa, he dismounted from his horse to shoot in a jungle by the roadside. On his

return he found his servants and horses in the hands of five ruffians, who were engaged in plundering his baggage. He immediately ran up and fired at them, and shot one in the stomach, whereupon another returned the fire with one of Tone's own pistols, which they had seized, and wounded him in the foot. They then made off with their booty, and in this distressed condition the unfortunate Irishman had to travel two hundred miles in a burning climate and without resources. But his courage and good constitution supported him, and he at length arrived at Calcutta, where he speedily recovered his health. His friends there had not forgotten him, and when an opportunity offered of Major Palmer proceeding to Poonah to take up the appointment of Resident at the Court of the Peshwa of the Maráthás, they procured Tone a strong recommendation to that Court, and he set off with Major Palmer in high spirits and health, and with expectations of the command of a battery of artillery at least.

So far Tone's history has been extracted from the memoirs of his brother Wolfe Tone. Carrying the narrative forward, it would appear he reached Poonah about the year 1796, and found employment in Boyd's corps. Two years later he was selected by Amrat Báu, the Peshwa's brother, to command a proposed brigade of regular infantry, all the officers of which were to be British subjects, but the idea was abandoned. In 1801 he was in command of two hundred Sepoys assisting Lakwa Dáda and the Bhaís at the defence of Souda, where he was defeated by Perron's troops and obliged to surrender. The General behaved very kindly to him and his officers, supplying them with a handsome camp equipage, such as tents, camels, horses, &c. To the Colonel he offered service in his own army, but it was declined, and Tone was permitted to retire to Mahéswur, the capital of Holkar, and furnished with Rs. 10,000 for his expenses, and to enable him and his comrades in misfortune to recover their shattered fortunes.

Tone was killed in the following year, being struck by a bullet in the right temple in an action near Choli Mahéswur while serving with Holkar. His brother's biographer (his own nephew), writing in 1827, does not seem to have been aware of this, or, at least, does not specifically mention it.

Tone was the author of a pamphlet entitled "Some Institutions of the Mahratta People," which has been frequently quoted by various historians, so that he evidently cultivated his taste for literature to the end. Grant Duff, in his "History of the Mahrattas," refers in very appreciative terms to three letters which Tone had published.

giving an accurate account of affairs at Poonah in 1796. "I have examined minutely," he writes, "all which that intelligent gentleman wrote respecting the Mahrattas. What he saw may be relied upon; as to what he heard, I am less surprised that he should have fallen into error than that he should have obtained information so nearly correct." Smith describes Tone as a man of "undaunted valour and persevering enterprise; an unfortunate gentleman whose abilities and integrity were as great as his misfortunes had been undeservedly severe," and criticises his "Institutions" as "both elegant and accurate." Every one who was brought into contact with William Henry Tone writes well of him, and leaves us with the impression that he was a brave and amiable man.

VICKERS, MAJOR.—Major Vickers was a half-caste, and an exceedingly gallant young soldier. He entered Perron's army as a lieutenant in the Second Brigade, under Major Pohlman, and commanded one of the trenches in the siege of Jhajgarh, displaying great bravery in leading the storm of that formidable place. When the Chevalier Dudreneo deserted Holkar's service, Vickers was appointed to the command of his corps, and behaved with great courage at the battle of Poonah, in October, 1802, his intrepidity and steadiness conducing much towards the victory, and being at the time a theme of admiration amongst all military men. In 1804, when war broke out between Holkar and the British, the chief sent for Vickers, and asked him if he would fight against his countrymen. The young man positively refused to do so, as did also two other adventurers—Dodd and Ryan. Whereupon Jaswant Ráo, assigning as a justification a treasonable correspondence which he accused them of carrying on, ordered all three to be beheaded, and the sentence was carried into effect at Nahar Maghána (Tiger's Hill) in the month of May, 1804. Their heads were fixed on lances in front of Jaswant Ráo's camp, and a public crier proclaimed that such would be the fate of any European who might fall into Holkar's clutches.

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