CHAPTER II

ADVENT OF EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS (Contd.)

Many remarkable military adventurers came to India during this period, and they left their unforgettable impact on the history of Hindustan. These adventurers served under some famous native rulers and perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that they were "the de facto masters of the situation." They "were the leaders of armies and the makers and unmakers of kingdoms; they organized the rule of the provinces and they settled the fate of dynasties." Mr. Banerji writes,

Thus the history of Hindustan under the free-lances is a volume of fascinating adventurers and romantic personalities, where the wealth and beauty of the land and positions of independent command lay as the ready prizes of cool head and daring heart without any need for high birth or legal title.

The career, activities and character of some well-known adventurers of this century who came to the country from far and wide is described below.

General Walter Reinhardt (also known as Somru, Samru or Sambre) (1720-1778):

Walter Reinhardt was a German military adventurer,

1. B.B., op.cit., p. 3.
He was born about 1720 at Strasbourg, originally a carpenter or perhaps a butcher. He was in French sea service. He was a man of obscure origin. His first station in India was at Chandernagor.

While in French service he was called Summer. This name continued. Later on, the Indians began to call him by Sumroc, a corruption of Summer. In India, he adopted the customs and manners of the country. He wore the Mughal

   (ii) According to Col. Malleson, Sombre came in 1754-55.*
5. Mr. Hutchinson mentioned Sombre's birth in 'Saltzburg'.
   *Lester Hutchinson, European Freebooters in Mughal India, p. 35.
6. (i) S.B., op.cit., p. 11.
   (ii) Mr. Keene writes Sombre's birth in Archbishop of Treves**
8. (i) Lester Hutchinson, op.cit., p. 35.
dress, and had a Zenana. He had dropped all thoughts of returning to Europe. He was well versed in Persian and Moorish tongues, both of which he spoke fluently.

After deserting the French service, he came to Calcutta in 1760. But after a few days, he again deserted and joined the French service at Chandernagar, where he became a Sergeant. But he could not remain in this service for long, and soon he joined as a trooper in the cavalry of Nawab Mansur Ali Khan Safdarjung*, one of the

Mr. Ahuja writes that he (Reinhardt) was called by European officers General Sambru because of his dark skin and a sombre colour (a sombremien). This European nickname later became prevalent amongst his rustic Indian soldiers as Sambru or Samru.

1. B.B., op.cit., p. 5.
2. (i) B.B., op.cit., p. 5.
3. (ii) Antoine Louis Henri Polier, op.cit., p. 95.
12. (i) B.B., op.cit., p. 5.
17. (iv) H.A.C., op.cit., p. 400.

Nawab Mansur Ali Khan Safdarjung (1739-1754): Safdarjung was a Nawab of Oudh, who succeeded Burhamanul-Mulk in 1739. Then he was appointed a Wazir of Oudh in 1748 by the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah. He remained Wazir until his death in 1754.

* Nawab Mansur Ali Khan Safdarjung (1739-1754): Safdarjung was a Nawab of Oudh, who succeeded Burhamanul-Mulk in 1739. Then he was appointed a Wazir of Oudh in 1748 by the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah. He remained Wazir until his death in 1754.
Lucknow Princes, who was the father of Shujah-ud-Daulah. He again quit the service of Nawab. Perhaps desertion had become a habit with him.

After wandering here and there he joined the army of Mir Qasim. Here, he raised a brigade of trained sepoys in the French style. Bidwell writes, "With this he earned a distinction, which he was to share later only with the French regular officers with Tipu Sultan and a cavalry commander called Fleury in the Army of Hindustan, of actually defeating a British force." The British considered him as an sworn enemy of their race. He fought many battles in the service of Mir Qasim. He captured the fort of Mongir, where 40 British officers, civilians and some 100 soldiers, were mercilessly killed. In this incident, he participated and it is generally called Patna Massacre of 1763. He became more notorious after butchering these men in Patna. After this, he left

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17. Ibid.

18. W. Crooke, The North-Western Provinces of India, (London, 1897), p. 120.


   (ii) W. Crooke, op.cit., p. 120.
the service of Mir Gasim and joined the army of Gregory, an Armenian, who had the title of Georgeen Khan. Here also, he could not remain for long, and soon left his service.

In the year 1764, he joined the army of Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh. The ruler employed him for training his armies on European pattern. Later on, the Nawab sent him to fight against the Sikhs, but he was defeated by them. As he could not obtain his salary from the Nawab, Samru resigned his service. Some writers mention that he left the service due to the fear of British government.

Later on, he was employed by the Jat Raja Jawahar Singh of Bharatpur (1763-1768) where he took part in his master's unsuccessful siege of Delhi in 1765. He was raised to the rank of a General. Then he had also his personal army of about six to seven thousands disciplined troops and 16 pieces of cannon.

(ii) According to Malleson it consisted of 3 battalions of Infantry, 200 horses and 14 guns well mounted:
There he met a young girl of Arabian extraction, whose personal attractions and exceptionally fair complexion charmed him. She was united to him "by all the forms considered necessary by persons of her persuasion when married to man of another." Her name in history is known as Begam Samru.* But this was his second marriage, he was already married to a Muhammadan girl. From the previous marriage he had a son named Louis Balthazar Reinhardt,** who obtained the title of Zafaryab Khan from the Emperor Shah Alam II (1728-1806).

After some wanderings Sombre at last came to Delhi and joined the army of Mirza Najaf Khan (1737-1782), a wazir of Emperor Shah Alam II on September 11, 1774.30

   Some writers write that Mr. Samru purchased her as a dancing girl from Delhi.+ 

* Begam Samru (c.1750-1836):
   She was a daughter of Lutif Ali Khan, a Muslim of Arab descent at Kutana in Meerut district. She was married to Gen. Samru and later a French Officer. She was a clever, active, religious, cunning, and an able diplomat and warrior.


** Louis Balthazar Reinhardt (d.c. 1801):
   He was a son of Gen. Samru and Bahai Begam, a Muhammadan woman. He was married to Juliana (Bahu Begam) daughter of Capt. Lefevre. He was a weak-minded man.

29. B.B., op.cit., p. 16.

   (But Mr. Benerji mentioned that Sombre joined the army of Najaf Khan as late as June 1777; according to vol. of English Translation of Persian letters written in 1777, No. 74, B.B., op.cit., p. 11.)
Here he took command of a body of Mughal horse. He not only trained the army, but also remained faithful and helpful to his master. Here Samru received sufficient pay. He served his master honestly till his death. Thus, for his good and faithful service, Najaf Khan gave him reward as a jagir of Sardhana, situated in the upper Doab about 12 miles from Meerut. He became the founder of this estate and there he built a fort also.*

General Samru died** at Agra on 4th May, 1778 at 31.

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* Earlier Gen. Samru got possession of the districts of Panipat, Sonepat and Karnal from the Emperor Shah Alam II. In this way, he became a powerful Nawab of Haryana. Begam Samru 'enabled him to claim rightly the honour of being the first German Governor of a part of modern Haryana and U.P.+


** Perhaps Begam Samru did ... not like her husband after assuming the property and command of the army of Gen. Samru. Captain Orlich, an European traveller, mentioned a story about the death of Gen. Samru. According to Captain Orlich++, "Later on, ambitious Begum soon grew tired of her husband. In one of these happy moments, the Begum conceived the idea of having two rings made, each filled with poison, and gave one of them to her husband, with the mutual promise, that, if they should ever be separated, and one should hear of the death of the other, the survivor should take the poison which was concealed in the ring. Somro was soon after seized with a severe illness, which confined intelligence of a rebellion in the province; and as delay would be dangerous, the Begum, mounted on an elephant, put herself at the head of troops, and at parting reminded her husband of their reciprocal promise. A few days after her departure, a battle ensued, during which the Begum sent a confidential person to Sirhind with the news that she was killed. Somro had scarcely received the melancholy intelligence, when he opened his ring, took the poison and died in 1770". Captain Leopold Von Orlich, Travels In India Including Sind and The Punjab, vol. II, (London, 1845), pp. 205-206.
the age of 58 years. He was buried under a masonry, which is still to be seen in the Roman Catholic cemetery there, his tomb bearing a Portuguese inscription. It reads as follows:

Aquvi Lazo Walter Reinhard morreo aos 4 de Mayo no Ano de 1778.

which means 'Here lies Walter Reinhardt died on 4th May in the year 1778.'

After his death, Begam Samru took charge of his jagir as well as his forces. When she took the command of the army, her chief military officer was a German.

The story of Gen. Samru's death can be true, but his death in 1770 seems to be incorrect.

++ Capt. Calich travelled with a relation of Begam Samru in a ship on April 14, 1847. He got this information from a relation of Samru.

32. (i) B.B., op.cit., p. 12.


* (i) After the death of Gen. Samru, Shah Alam granted the province of Nawab and many other pargana as jagir to the family of late Gen. Samru.++

(ii) Gen. Samru had "an" Oltamgha jagir i.e. a jagir with hereditary rights. This jagir was situated in the Jamuna-Gangetic Doab. It stretched from Aligarh to Huzaffarnagar in U.P. and from the outskirts of Kernal to the outskirts of Delhi (including Panipat and Sonepat in Haryana).**

39. The Indian Empire.
40. H. Montgomery-Peterson, The Indian Empire.

Additional notes:

Arbitrarily-mnen

(17) Mr. Petter, witnesses that the 9th Battalion of

the 40th Regt. was composed of 4,000 men of whom nearly 30 were

employed on the Buraperon patterns. He had also employed

a large number of Buraperon military adventurers. Mr. Petter,

named Petter, 39. Gen. Samum had a large army, which was

sent to the relief of the Buraperon patterns. He had also employed

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named Petter, 39. Gen. Samum had a large army, which was

sent to the relief of the Buraperon patterns. He had also employed
His character is a subject of fierce controversy among writers. According to an European observer Samru's soldiers were never famed for their military achievements. Atkinson wrote, 'They never gained a gun and never lost one until they were defeated by the British at Ajanta Ghat. Samru was distinguished for his excellent retreats. His troops were the most mutinous in India, and are said to have frequently attacked their own officers and beaten them with clubs, whilst on more than one occasion Samru was tied astride a gun and exposed to the mid-day heat, to compel him to obey their wishes.'

Sombre was illiterate to the full extent of the word. He could neither read nor write. He was however versed in the Fersian and hocrish tongues both of which he could speak fluently and accurately enough. He was, as may be judged from his conduct at Patna, of a cruel and merciless disposition. Beale mentioned that Sombre had "some merit as a soldier, but wholly obscured by a treacherous and blood-thirsty disposition." He considered him as an unspeakable scoundrel, who "was the perpetrator of one

   (iii) C.G., op.cit., p. 6.
of the most atrocious smallerc massacre of defenceless
people ever recorded in History. Mr. Banerji writes,
"Gen. Samru was by temperament a grave, sullen and
morose man." According to a Muslim writer he was a
"man of a flint-like heart, without any regard to the ties
which bound him to those unfortunates." Compton wrote
"He possessed a certain degree of low and crafty intelli-
gence, 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."44

Others hold a different view of Gen. Samru. He was
"a plain man both in his dress and equipage and way of
life, not disowning or at anytime to conceal his mean
origin and the humble state in which he has formerly been." According to Cecil Burns, "He actually took to religion,
and either as a thanks-offering for the loot he had acquired
or as a propitiatory gift to Heaven in mitigation of
sentence for his villainies, he restored the ruined chapel
of the old Roman Catholic Mission at Agra, founded in
Akbar's reign. Furthermore, he endowed the priesthood and

41. Hutchinson, op.cit., p. 34.
42. B.B., 'Begam Samru', The Journal of the Bihar And Orissa
44. H.A.C., op.cit., p. 403.
45. A.L.H. Folier, op.cit., p. 95.
became quite the bright ornament of the Christian Congregation, thus hoping that the ardour of belated sanctity would camouflage the horrid exhalations of a life of crime, a truly German estimate of the Almighty's Intelligence."46

Gen. Samru was a famous European adventurer, who served under about 14 masters in India. In the service of various rulers, he trained their armies upon European pattern. He fought many battles under the service of Indian rulers. He became notorious due to the massacre of Patna. He lacked some military qualities. He did not maintain strict discipline, that is why, his troops became most mutinous in India. But he was a simple and honest man. He was very much devoted to the religion. He repaired some Catholic Churches in India. Though he was an illiterate yet he was a clever and an intelligent person.

General Benoit de Boigne (1751-1830):

Benoit la Borgne alias de Boigne was a French military adventurer. He was born at Chambery, in Savoy on 8th March, 1751.47 His father was a hide merchant in

that town. Boigne was restless and romantic, and ambitious of fame and distinction. His father wanted him to be a lawyer but he refused. When he was of 19 years, he joined the famous Lord Clare's regiment of the Irish Brigade as Commissioned Officer in France in 1778.

After this, Admiral Orloff of Russia appointed him captain in a Greek Corps in the service of Catherine of Russia in 1774, who was then engaged in hostilities against the Turks. Later he was captured and is said to have been sold as a slave for 50 dollars in Constantinople. Here he heard stories about Indian wealth, Maharajas and queer customs from various traders who used to return from the East.*

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48. S.B., op.cit., p. 16.
(ii) Brig. Young, op.cit., p. 22.

* Bidwell wrote, "In the imagination of 18th A.D. Europeans, the East was a compound of Marco Polo, the Arabian Nights and II Seraglio. In India, splendid and barbaric kings sat on thrones made of Ivory and lapis lazuli over Cellars full of pearls and diamonds, who went to war on elephants, and when they were killed their distraught queens threw their jewels to the poor and climbed on to their husband's pyres and burned themselves alive." S.B., op.cit., p. 18.
In January 1778, he arrived in Madras where he was commissioned in the "John Company" English East India Company. At that time, there was no obstacle in regard to nationality for service in English Company's army. Its white regiments contained men of various nationalities of Europe, and any trained officer was welcome. de Boigne fought, as a subaltern, in the 6th Battalion (Baillie's) of infantry during Haider Ali's invasion of the Carnatic.

In 1780, he resigned from the army and left Madras. He arrived at Calcutta in 1782. He was received by Warren Hastings (1732-1818), the Governor-General, who gave him letter of introduction to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and British Resident (named Middleton) at Lucknow. He stayed there for five months with Polier, a Swiss engineer, and learnt Persian.

He joined Sindhi's army where he became a famous officer and received pay of 1000 rupees a month. He not only raised the strength of Sindhi's army, but also trained troops on European pattern and introduced new fighting weapons.


* Here he raised at his own cost 2 battalions, each of 800 men.+
In the year 1785, he was taken into the service of Appa Khandi Rao, Sindhia's general. He raised two battalions and followed Appa Khandi Rao in the invasion of Bundelkund. In 1786, he went to Kalinjar. In 1787, he took part in the battle of Tunga (also called Lalsot) fought on 28th - 29th July. From 1788 to 1790, he fought against Ismail Beg Samadani the Mughal courtier, and took part in the battles of Fateh (20th June, 1790), Harda (10th September, 1790) and Lachheri (1st June 1793). He also met Emperor Shah Alam II on 7th August 1791.

On 12th February, 1792, de Boigne married Koti Begum, the adopted daughter of Najaf Luli Khan's second wife, in Delhi.\(^57\) Later when Najaf Luli Khan was defeated by Sindhia, he took protection with Boigne. He supported Najaf Luli Khan with a monthly pension.

In 1794, Mahadji Sindhia suddenly died of fever near Poona. After this, Daulat Rao Sindhia succeeded him. Due to certain circumstances, the relations between de Boigne and his new master became poor. Moreover he was now tired and wanted to leave the country. So he took permission to resign. Before leaving, he gave the parting advice to Daulat Rao Sindhia, "never to quarrel with the British."


He bade farewell to his army after a splendid review at Aligarh, and via Lucknow he set off for Calcutta on Christmas Day in 1755. He was accompanied by an Indian lady* who may have been his wife, and her two children - Ali Bux, later Charles Comte de Boigne and Bunnoo, later Alexandra (daughter of de Boigne)**. His convoy consisted of four elephants, 150 camels and a long train of bullock carts, the whole escorted by his personal bodyguard regiment, splendid in their green and scarlet and silver-fringed pagris. Economical to the last, he sold the whole unit to the East India Company before he sailed.59

He took his wife (she was the daughter of a cavalry officer of Persian origin)*** to England. It is believed that he discarded his wife 'like an old horse'60 for some domestic purposes.

In London, he married for the second time the young daughter of a French ambassador. Afterwards, he went to

* In 1853, an old Indian lady called Helene (Boigne) Bennet, later she became Christian, died and buried at the Paris Churchyard of Horsham in Sussex.

** Mr. Yeats-Brown writes that Ali Baksh was baptised as Charles Alexander, and his daughter Bunnoo, became a Christian under the name of Anna. She died in 1810. Charles Alexander married into the French nobility, and his descendants are still living.+

+ F. Yeats-Brown, op.cit., p. 57.

59. S.B., op.cit., p. 81.


60. Ibid, p. 83.
France along with his children, where his daughter died while still a girl. But his new bride left him very soon. So he settled down in Chambery and used to help the sick and orphans of Savoy. He made two hospitals, a library, a school for poor girls and a lunatic asylum.

In 1814, Louis XVIII made him Hon. Field Marshal for his extraordinary services. He also got a Marshal de Camp, a Knight of the Legion of Honour and a Chevalier of the order of St. Louis. In 1815, he was created a Sardinian Count and received the Grand Cross of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus. In 1822, Victor Emmanuel appointed him Lieutenant General in the army of Sardinia, and created him Comte de Boigne. He died at Chambery on 21st June 1830 at the age of 79.

Thus, de Boigne remained an opaque character and all his qualities were external and these could be observed. He was a great military commander in Sindhia's army. Brig. Young writes that 'Boigne was a Glubb Pasha' of his day. He was clearly a strong, capable and resolute man. One can picture him as a Swiss or Swedish or Scottish captain.

* Mr. Bhattacharya wrote, "It was an unfortunate marriage. De Boigne had made great conquests, but he failed to win his wife's heart". Bhabani Bhattacharya, Glimpses of Indian History, pp. 145, 146.
** Lt. Gen. Sir John C. Glubb (also called Glubb Pasha): KCB, CMG, DSO, CBE, MC was a great British military commander in Arab legion in Middle-East during World War II.
of mercenaries, with a high standard of professional conduct. He as general was equal to Arthur Wellesley." Mr. Owen wrote, "He was unquestionably a frank, loyal, and thoroughly high-minded man in Sindhia's service." Mill wrote, "The Military talents of de Boigne and the efficiency of his troops were the grand instrument which facilitated or rather produced, the victories, and enlarged the dominions of Sindhia, in the region of Jumna." According to a Calcutta Journalist, "In his military capacity he softened, by means of an admirable perseverance, the ferocious nature of the Maharattas. He submitted to the discipline and civilisation of European soldiers who till then had been regarded as Barbarians. It was de Boigne, who introduced into the North-West-provinces the germs of that civil administration which the English have since successfully developed." He had his own collectors for revenue system. He improved cultivation system, repaired tanks and

Mr. Marshman writes that Boigne had raised 18,000 regular infantry, 6000 irregular, 2000 irregular horse and 600 Persian cavalry with 200 pieces of artillery., John Clark Marshman, Abridgment of the History of India, (London, MDCCCLXXX), p. 231.
reopened watercourses. He kept two separate departments i.e. Persian and French, and also established a medical staff and ambulances for public.

He was on good terms with East India Company in India. He was fully aware of the military strength and resources of the English. When he first entered Mehadji Sindhia's service, one of the principal articles of agreement he contracted in writing was "Never to bear arms against the English." Cotton wrote, "In his deportment he was commanding, and he trod like Ajax with the majestic step of conscious greatness .... He raised the rising power of Madhaji Sindhia to a height which Madhaji Sindhia could never expect or seriously hope: he fixed and consolidated that power and established it on the firm basis of a powerful well disciplined and well paid army." He also introduced Galloper guns or horsedrawn light artillery in the Maratha army. His 'Cheria Fauj' or 'the army of birds' was famous for its fast marching.

68. Ibid, p. 80.
   An experienced man of the world with a firm grip on essentials, he, therefore, invited the British and French officers in the army to maintain cordial relations with the British.
   + Lt. Col. L.H. Thornton, op.cit., p. 239.
De Boigne was a born leader of men. There was something in his face and bearing, "that depicted the hero and compelled implicit obedience. In deportment he was commanding, and walked with the majestic tread of conscious greatness. The strong cast of his countenance and the piercing expression of his eyes, indicated the force and power of his mind. On the grand stage, where he acted so brilliant and important part for ten years, he was at once dreaded and idolised, feared and admired, respected, beloved." 72

Mill writes, "He was active and laborious to an astonishing degree; understood profoundly the art of bending to his purposes the minds of men; was popular (because men felt the benefit of his equitable and vigilant administration.)" 73 He was "the first to settle European indigo planters in the Aligarh district." 74 Mahadji Sindhia also gave him 32 villages in Ferozabad district. 75

Gen. de Boigne was a bold, brave, and an able general of Sindhia. He was a man of above 6 feet height with giant
bones, piercing eyes and large features. He was calm, reserved and courteous. During his eleven years services for his master, he not only improved the condition of Maratha army but also that of the civil administration under his command. In India, he introduced for the first time Galloper guns or horse-drawn light artillery in 1790, of which the East India Company took this idea later. He was honest and faithful to his master. By his ability and devotion he became the Subedar, the Governor-General of the Imperial heart-land of Hindustan, and even acted as Viceroy of Mahadji Sindhia. However two weaknesses can be detected in the army that he created. There was no proper chain of command. He failed to select promising officers to train them for higher appointments.

General Pierre-Cuillier Perron (1753-1834):

Pierre Francois Cuillier or Perron was a great French military adventurer who came to India in search of fortune. He was born at Luceau, near Chateau-de-Loir, Sarthe, on 6th August 1753.76 He was the son of a cloth merchant

(ii) Alfred Martineau, Le General Perron, (Paris, 1931), p. 20. (Some writers mention Perron's birth in 1755)*


b) H.A.C., op.cit., p. 221.
named Martin Cuillier and his wife, Marie-Anne Lefevre. But the business of his father failed, and he became bankrupt.

Then Pierre Cuillier ran away from home at the age of 18 and reached Nantes by way of Angers in 1774. There "he bravely set off to make his own way in life, and laid out his little stock of money to set up as a pedlar of handkerchiefs and trinkets." But he failed miserably in this mission. Afterwards, at Inret in Nantes, he got a job in a cannon factory. He stayed there for several years and won the reputation of an intelligent worker, acquired good technical knowledge which was to stand him in good stead in later life. He earned from his comrades the nick name of Perron as a diminutive of Pierre. Later on, he joined the French army only for a short period.

Then he became a member of the crew in the Sardinian frigate of French Admiral Suffren's eastern fleet. This fleet arrived at Malabar Coast in about 1780. Like other European adventurers, he had 'India fever' and soon deserted the French ship.

From Malabar coast he went to upper India, where he was employed by Col. George Sangster in 1781-2 who commanded

the army of Rana Chhatar Singh of Gohad* in Central India. Col. Sangster was commander of Madec Corps, which had been sold to Rana of Gohad. Sangster also managed a gun-foundry, for his ruler because Rana Chhatar Singh had found him an intelligent man and particularly useful in the cannon-foundry. So, Perron acted as artillery man in the army of Rana of Gohad.

He was married at Delhi on 16th December, 1782. His wife's name was Madeleine Derridon, a French Eurosonian, whose brother was an officer in Sindhia's service. Later on, Rana of Gohad eventually disbanded his force in 1784 and then Perron was employed by Lestineau, a French Officer, into the service of Jat raja, Ranjit Singh of Bharatpur (1776-1805).

Later, Perron joined the service of Sindhia in 1790. Lestineau's troops had been taken in the army of Sindhia by General de Boigne, and named as Bharatpur Battalion. In Sindhia's army, Perron was promoted to the rank of Captain and took the command of Lestineau's battalion (now called Bharatpur Battalion).

After this, Perron took part in the battle of Patan (1790) in the Shekawati country. There he played a significant role in the siege of the strongest fortress Kanaund (24 miles south of Dadri) in 1792. He defeated Ismail Beg Hamadani, and made him a prisoner. In this conflict, he lost his right hand by explosion of a grenade. Due to this disability, he received various nicknames e.g. Ekdest Sahib or 'One-handed' and Jundi Shah, the king with a stump. For his excellent services at Kanaund, he was promoted to the rank of Major. He also got the title of 'Sir' and the sepoys called him 'Sir One-Hander'.

After the death of Mahadji Sindhia in 1794, his adopted son, Daulat Rao Sindhia became the ruler of Gwalior. Daulat Rao was only 15 years old boy. General Boigne was the commander of the Sindhia army at the time of Mahadji Sindhia's death. Boigne was also serving as a Governor in Northern India. The power of Daulat Rao was weak in Northern India. There were rebellions by the neighbouring chiefs. The civil administration of Maratha Government was also in a bad shape. There was also shortage of money. Thus Daulat Rao had to consolidate his power. At that time, Perron had already attained a strong position in the army of Sindhia. He was promoted rapidly from Major to Brigadier. He also took part in the battle of Kharda (March 11, 1795) against the Nizam.
After the retirement of General de Boigne, Perron became the military adviser of his new master, Daulat Rao Sindhia. In 1797, he got both the appointments of Commander-in-Chief and the Governorship of Hindustan, which made him virtually the Maratha regent of the Empire and guardian of the Emperor Shah Alam. Hence he "arranged and pursued a systematic plan to aggrandise his authority and his riches; he was successful in both, from Lahore to Kotah and from Koil to Jodhpur, the country obeyed his will and dreaded his frown."  

Perron left the First Brigade in the South and arrived at Aligarh for taking over his enormous responsibilities in Northern India in February 1797. He had to face many difficulties in his mission. He made his main base at Koil and improved the fortification and quality of the garrison. Here, he fought in Bias, took Delhi, Agra and fought the battle of Jaipur against the Rajputs in 1801.

Later on, he turned towards the increasing power of George Thomas who had set up his own kingdom in Haryana territory by taking advantage of the political disunity in the region. He was a source of danger even to the power of General Perron. But in 1802, with the collaboration of

other powers, Perron was successful in defeating George Thomas in the battle of Georgegarh. Later on, he fought against Sindhis's rival Jaswant Rao Holker (1781-1811) in the Deccan region in 1801-1802.

At last, he became a victim of the intrigues of his principal officer. The British power was also alarmed at the increasing power of General Perron. The British declared war against him under General Gerard Lake in 1803. The British took the fort of Delhi and Agra.

General Perron came to Aligarh with his army to face the British. But, unfortunately, his high-ranking officer, Louis Bourquin, betrayed him. He deserted him and joined the British. General Perron's position became weak and ultimately he had to surrender to General Lake. Thus ended his eventful career in India.

He left India in about 1805 and arrived at France in 1806. He had two children and he settled down in a Chateau near Vendome in his native Loir at Cher. He died on 21st May 1834\(^{84}\), and on his tomb in the cemetery at Authon, the following epitaph is written:

Pierre Francois Guiller Perron
Ancien Generalissime des Armees de Scindiah
et due Great Mogal
1753-1834


(ii) Martineau, op.cit., p. 209.
(Bidwell writes Perron's death in 1836; S.B.,op.cit.,p.241)
Perron who became the virtual ruler of Northern India on behalf of Sindhia showed uncommon judgement and military and civil talents. According to Young he was a first rate trainer of troops, a good disciplinarian, a brave leader, a man of ability and immense energy. About Perron's dignity, Sarkar wrote "His administrative capacity, industry, and cool calculating habits made him stand apart from the common run of European military adventurers in India, whose boisterous life of vice made them a disgrace to any service."

Perron's remarkable rise to power and his ascendancy in the affairs of Hindustan gave alarm to the British. The English company regarded his rise as a new French danger to their position. Hence their efforts to defeat him.

Perron's fall was due to a number of factors. Long exertion, unshared and unrelieved responsibility, the hot climate and his illness had at last worn him down. Perron was also betrayed by his officers like Pedron, Dudrenq, and


Marquess Wellesley and other British statesmen, who watching the activities of Perron, mentioned that Perron was building up a strong French state in the heart of India with the aim of extending it to the Sutlej river and beyond.

** J.N.S., op. cit., vol. IV, p. 252.
Louis Bourquin. He was not well served by his subordinates. So, Perron has been treated harshly by history. Some of his French writers spread unfair stories about him.* But "he never used the leisure of his embittered old age to set down the story of his remarkable climb from quarter-master-sergeant to uncrowned king and Commander-in-Chief."88

He built a number of buildings in India. He also constructed a famous 'Saheb Bagh' in Aligarh, which has an inscription on its main gate.89

Perron was a brave soldier, artful politician and a good administrator. He was a remarkable man, who ruled India virtually as a dictator for about seven years. During this period, he governed, expanded the army and fought many campaigns. He had to face the opposition of many powers like the Rohillas, Afghans, Rajputs, Sikhs, and Napoleon and the French mentioned that Perron was as a traitor to his native land, because he caused the failure of the Egypt expedition; abandoned Tipu, the ally of the French and the scourge of the English. He also proved as a traitor to his master (Daulat Rao) because he never warned him not to fight against the British. Moreover, he disorganised the regular armies of Sindhia, and delivered his forts and districts to the English. For example, he collected 80 lakh revenue from Sindhia's territories but gave him only 40 lakh which represented Perron's dishonesty.

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Mughals, and particularly an Irish adventurer, George Thomas. He was faithful, honest and good diplomat.

General Francois de Raymond (1755-1798):

He was a French adventurer who was born at Serignac in Gascony on 20th September 1755. He is known by various names: Michel Joachim Marie Raymond, Michel Raymond or Monsieur M.J. Raymond. His father was a merchant. He was educated at Paris, and he came to Pondicherry in India for trade in 1775. Then he joined the army of Haider Ali as Sub. Lieutenant.

After some time, he was employed as a Commissioned Officer in French battalion in 1783, which was commanded by Chevalier de Lasse, an European Officer, in the service of Haider Ali of Mysore. Then he became A.D.C. to General de Bussy where he helped to increase and improve the French army by recruiting a band of 'Gardis' or 'Telingas' who subsequently proved to be excellent disciplined soldiers. On the death of de Bussy, he entered the service of Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad in 1786.

In Nizam's service, he became the General of his army. His pay was Rs 5,000 a month. He introduced new methods of drill and discipline in the army. He trained Nizam Ali's army which had 20 battalions of Infantry and

15000 men with parked artillery. He had also 124 Europeans under him. Then his army was called 'Corps de Francois de Raymond', and he was received in his own cantonments with a royal salute. He also built cannons and guns in the foundries at Hyderabad.

Raymond's last battle was against Sindha - the famous battle of Kharda, some 100 miles west of Poona, on 11th March, 1795. When the battle was in progress, the Nizam ordered brave Raymond to retreat from the field. Sindhis's commander, Perron, exploited this opportunity and defeated the army of Raymond. The military career of Raymond came to an end after this battle. It is said that he died due to poison on March 25, 1798, at the age of 43. He was buried at Osmangurh near Hyderabad.

Colonel Malleson writes about Raymond's character:

No European of mark who preceded him, no European of mark who followed him in India, ever succeeded in gaining to such an extent the love, the esteem, the admiration of the natives. The grandsons of the men who loved him then revere him now. The hero of the grand-fathers is the model warrior of the grand-children. Round his tomb at the present day, there flock still young men and maidens.

92. (i) Bidwell wrote that Nizam had 11,000 infantry and artillery with French officers, S.B., op.cit., p. 78.
94. (i) Col. G.B. Malleson, Final French Struggles In India And on The Indian Seas, p. 284.
93. (i) Col. G.B. Malleson, Final French Struggles In India And on The Indian Seas, p. 131.
listening to the tales told by wild dervishes of the great deeds and lofty aspirations of the Paladin to whom their sires devoted their fortunes and their lives. 95

He was not only interested in military or political affairs, but he also took a wide interest in Indian culture. It is said that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Afterwards, he assumed the name of Hajee Mustapha which gives the evidence that he had embraced Islam. So, in 1739, he published a French translation of the "Siyar-ul-Matakhirin" of Ghulam Husain Khair of Tiba Tibai under the name of Hajee Mustapha.

Raymond was a brave and active General in Nizam's army. He was a good diplomat gifted with "conciliatory demeanour", and he could negotiate with skill.

Colonel James Skinner (1778-1841):

Skinner Brothers (James Skinner and Robert Skinner) played an important role in the era of adventurers of late eighteenth century in India. They were Scots. More famous among the two was James Skinner who was born in 1778.96 His father was Hercules Skinner, an officer in the army of East India Company. Perhaps he had the rank of a lieutenant.

Hercules was married to an Indian Rajput girl (later called Jeany Skinner) who had been captured at the age of 14 during a war against Raja of Benaras. He had three sons and three daughters. So, James Skinner had mixed blood of Indian and Scottish race. Hercules, after marriage, made India his home.

James Skinner took his education in an English school in India. In 1795, he became a printer in Calcutta, but left the job very soon. Now, he was keen to join the army. He was introduced to de Boigne, the French General of Sindhia's army. He was commissioned in the battalion of Najibs in 1795 on a salary of Rs. 150 per month. The Najib's battalion was commanded by Capt. Pohlmann.

The battle of Malpura (1800) was fought between Sindhia and Raja Pratap Singh of Jaipur. Skinner fought under the command of a German military adventurer named Colonel Pohlmann. Raja Pratap Singh was defeated by Sindhia's army, but Skinner was badly wounded. However, he was saved by a Chamar (a worker in leather) woman, and in return, he gave a thousand rupees to her. After this, he was promoted to the rank of Captain for his admirable service in Sindhia's army.

In May 1801, he was posted to Col. Pedron's brigade. He fought against the famous Irish adventurer, George Thomas of Hansi. At that time George Thomas had already established his own kingdom in Haryana. The Marathas and other powers were upset by George's rising power. The neighbouring Sikh chiefs were also afraid of his powerful army. So Sindnia and other native chiefs attacked Thomas in 1802. Skinner took part in this battle and Thomas was defeated in the battle of Georgegarh or Jehazgarh in 1802. The Marathas took the whole territory of George Thomas.

In 1803, the Anglo-Maratha war broke out. In the North, Lord Lake was fighting against Daulat Rao Sindhia, Sindhia's power was broken, army shattered and his territories (Delhi, Agra region etc.) annexed into British Empire. His large army was disbanded. A large number of Europeans serving in the Sindhia army were thus thrown out of employment. Skinner joined the service of East India Company. In the end of 1804, he chased Jaswant Rao Holkar to the Jumma river. So, he received a horse, a beautiful saddle and silver trappings from Gen. Lake. In 1805, he fought against Amir Khan of Tonk at Sherekote, Afzalgarh and Moradabad, and in return of this service, he got 2 swords and a pair of pistols from Gen. Lake.

In 1806, the British promoted him to the rank of Colonel. In 1814, after obtaining a pension, he settled at Hansi. But in 1825, he again fought in the battle of Bharatpur. On June 13, 1831, he became a Brevet Colonel. He got the title of Companion of the Bath from the British Government. He also got the Mughal title which was indicated on his seal i.e. 'Hasir-ud-Dowlah Colonel James Skinner Bahadur Ghulam Jahan - most Exalted Victorious' at Var. In 1830, he was promoted to the rank of temporary Brigadier.

He spent his last days at Hansi and died on 4th December, 1841. He was buried at Hansi with full military honours and his charger being led at the head of a long procession of his 'Yellow boys'. Later on, in 1842, his remains were buried in St. James Church at Delhi.

J. Baillie Fraser, a close friend of James Skinner, describes his character, "he was in truth, a gallant soldier, a zealous officer, a steady friend, a worthy noble-minded man, and in spite of his dark complexion, a true and loyal Briton." According to Sir William Henry

100. George William De Rhe-Phillipe, op.cit., Part II, p.312.
Sleeman, "Skinner was unquestionably a man of extraordinary military genius, and his ferocity and recklessness as to the means he used was quite in keeping with the times." In Sindhia's army, "he learnt Indian military methods - Marathe horsemanship with its wild and rapid manoeuvres, the use of sword, lance, bow and arrow." In British army, he created the irregular cavalry corps called Col. Skinner's Horse or Sikander Sahib's 'Yellow Boys', which he formed from the squadrons of General Perron's Hincustani Cavalry. Holman writes,

It was Skinner, who brought to perfection a multi-purpose light cavalry that could be used in a remarkable variety of roles: long range reconnaissance and pursuit, internal security, escort duties, settlement duties from storming refractory strongholds to breaking up robber bands, secret missions, man-hunts, police work, infantry support in pitched battles, indeed anything requiring for its success the elements of speed, ingenuity, surprise, or just sheer hard work.

Skinner's Horse had bright yellow uniforms i.e. a yellow tunic with a red turban and cummerbund edge with silver for the non-officer men. And for officers, the uniform was a dark blue jack with a silver facings, a red and gold striped cummerbund, white buckskin breeches, black

106. Holman, op.cit., p. 252.
wellingtons, and a Dragoon helmet with a white cockade. Later on, there were two Skinner's Horse and they became 1st Bengal Cavalry and 3rd Bengal Cavalry.

Skinner had a medium height, and he was unable to straighten his left leg on account of an old battle injury. He walked with a marked limp. He was a simple-hearted man, modest, guileless and very emotional. He had a mixture of European and Asiatic manners. He used to smoke a hookah and had his durbars in Hansi. 107

He was a "model partisan leader, honest, faithful, active, brave and resourceful." 108 His martial figure, bold features and erect carriage, indicated his position that he was generous, humane and frank, though liable to sudden outbursts of temper. His manners were affable, gentle and courteous. But he was given to sexual indulgence; he had 14 wives of different races.* Capt. Mundy wrote about Skinner that "a man of wild and ungoverned passions, and the last scene of his life was Othello exaggerated'.... His passion for sex, and extravagance in expense knew no bounds." 109 He knew Persian very well. He wrote his own

107 Philip Mason, Skinner of Skinner's Horse, p. 233.
* When he died, about 80 people claimed to be his children.** Holman, op.cit., pp. 161,212.
recollections in Persian, later on which were edited by his close friend, J. Baillie Fraser. He also wrote in Persian a book named 'Tazkirat-ul-Umara'.

He got a rich jagir in Aligarh district, granted by the British to the two brothers, i.e. James and Robert Skinner. He had also "a group of estates in Hisar, Delhi, Karnal and some Punjab districts. He possessed the area of his estates i.e. 251 square miles in Hisar, 2.6 in Delhi and 21.4 in Karnal."\textsuperscript{110}

Skinner was a fearless and brave fighter. He took part in a number of battles. His favourite weapon was a lance, and most of his men were armed with it with a round black shield and a sword. He improved the army of Sindhia and created new battalions. He was respected by his officers. He was also a good scholar. He also built a church of St. James in Delhi.

Colonel Louis Bourquin:

Louis Bourquin was a French military adventurer. He was known amongst his natives as Looee Sahib. Little is known about his early life. He came to India in early 1782. At Calcutta, he enlisted himself in a French Company in a European unit known as 'Captain Doxat's Chasseurs'. However, he left this service in 1787.

He joined the army of Begam Samru, the widow of German adventurer, General Samru. He served her for 6 years. When, there was a revolt in Begam's army, he was imprisoned with 4 other officers on the charge of hatching a conspiracy to accomplish a coup d' état along with Le Vassault. After some time he was released and he left the army of Begam Samru. In 1794, he came to Dib, where he got a Commission into the Army of Hindustan of Mahaaji Sindhia. In Sindhia's army, he was commissioned in the rank of Lieutenant, and he received a pay of 200 per month. Very soon he was promoted as a senior officer in Sindhia's army. He had considerable knowledge about arms and ammunitions. When the army of Sindhia and his allies were fighting against George Thomas of Haryana in 1801-02, Bourquin also played an important role in defeating George Thomas. After George Thomas's defeat, he rose to the rank of a Colonel. Afterwards, he was employed to collect the tribute in the Cis-Satlej states in 1802.

After the downfall of George Thomas, Perron was increasing his force for establishing his supremacy in Hindustan. Louis Bourquin was a commander of one brigade of General Perron's army. But, during the siege of Aligarh, Bourquin betrayed his master General Perron. He was thinking of establishing his own authority in Northern India. The

result was that General Lake took advantage of the situation and he succeeded in his mission. General Perron had to surrender the fort. After the victory over General Perron, Lake turned his attention towards Bourquin. Bourquin was as "intoxicated by success and dazzling dreams of wealth and power as surely as if he had taken a dose of bhang."\(^{112}\) He was thinking himself to be Commander-in-Chief and supreme in Hindustan.\(^*\) But soon, General Lake defeated Bourquin. This was the end of the career of this French officer. Afterwards, he was sent to Calcutta, from where he sailed for his native country, France.

Louis Bourquin served in the army of various rulers. He took part in a number of battles and played an important role in defeating George Thomas. However, his Indian career is marred by continuous betrayal and treachery. His contemporaries described him as both weak and wicked.

Colonel John William Hessing (1740-1803):

John Hessing was a Dutch military adventurer. He was born in Holland in 1740. He came to India in 1764 after deserting a Highland regiment in his country. He was

\(^{112}\) S.B., op.cit., p. 226.

* On that occasion, he had '12 battalions of infantry across Jamuna with 68 pieces of artillery, regular cavalry and some sikh horse. He fought against General Lake near Aligarn in which he lost 3000 men, while Lake lost only 478 troops'. Holman, op.cit., pp. 84, 85.
first employed by Nawab Nizam Ali Khan of Deccan. Col. Sangster was at that time serving the ruler of Gohad, and he employed some able European military adventurers. One of these European military adventurers engaged by Colonel Sangster was John Messing. Later Sangster's corps was absorbed in the growing army of Sindhia.

Hessing took part in a number of battles. He was present at the battles of Lalsot, Agra, Chaksana and Patan. Then he retired with the rank of Colonel in 1795. When John Messing grew old, he handed his corps to his son, George Messing in 1800. Later on, his corps was absorbed into the Army of Hindustan to become the Fifth Brigade. He died on 21st July, 1803 at Agra, and he was buried there where a mausoleum of red stone was built in Roman Catholic burial ground.¹¹³

John Messing was a brave and an intelligent officer in the army of Sindhia. For his honest and excellent services, he was appointed the governor (Kiladar or garrison commander) of Agra. He was respected and those who knew him personally greatly lamented his death. He was "an excellent father, a human magistrate, a generous patron, a polite gentleman, charitable to the poor, hospitable to his friends, benevolent to all mankind."¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Beale, op.cit., p. 159.
¹¹⁴ The Asiatic Annual Register, 1804, p. 46.
Colonel Rene Madec (1736-1784):

Rene Madec was a French military adventurer. He was born in the province of Brittany \( ^{115} \) in 1736. He came to India and was recruited as an officer in the French army in Southern India. Afterwards, he deserted the company's army and came to Delhi. There he joined the service of Najaf Khan and raised a corps of 5 battalion of Infantry, 500 cavalry and 20 guns. Later on, he left Najaf Khan's service and joined the army of Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh. He also took part in the battle of Buxar (1764). After this, he joined the army of the ruler of Bharatpur in 1776. But he left the Jat's service and had rejoined his countrymen at Pondicherry where he fought against the English.

Under the service of the various rulers in India, he raised his own force, the Madec corps, which was complete unit in all respects. He trained his army upon the European military pattern. He introduced fine discipline and excellent drill in his brigade. In 1782, he sold his corps to Chhatar Singh, the Rana of Gohad, in Central India. Col. Sangster, who was the Commander of the army of the Rana of Gohad, took the command of this Madec's brigade. After some time, Chhatar Singh disbanded his force. And his brigades were taken by the Sindhia's General, de Boigne in

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1784. Boigne attached this brigade into the army of Hindustan.

Rene Madec did not stay long in India and he went to France where, in 1784, he was killed in a duel due to his reckless impetuosity. 116

Rene Madec was an able and bold officer. He served under many rulers in India. He fought battles under his various masters. Though illiterate, he was an intelligent and active officer. He also wanted to establish French influence in the regions of Northern India. 117 Not only was he a great military commander in the field but also a brilliant diplomat. Besides a great soldier, he was also a businessman. Along with warfare he carried his business activities. He came to be known as the Nawab.

Colonel Antoine Louis Henri Polier (1736-1795);

Col. Polier was a Swiss engineer, nephew of Paul Phillip Polier, the Commandant of Fort St. George (Madras). He was born in 1736 and his early life was spent in his native country. He landed in India at the age of 17 in 1753. Afterwards, he joined the service of English East India Company. He served for some time in Madras and Bihar. Later on, he was promoted to the rank of Captain in the army,

and was appointed Assistant Engineer at Calcutta. He was praised by all for his construction work of Fort William.

Afterwards, he entered into service of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh. But he soon became a victim of the hostility of Warren Hastings and had to resign his service in 1775. He again joined the Company's service in April 1782 in the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in Lucknow. In 1789, he retired and then he went to France and settled down near Avignon. He was married two years later. There he was murdered on February 9, 1795.

Colonel Polier was not only a brilliant soldier but also an excellent engineer. His outstanding work as an engineer was the construction of Fort William. He was a very honest man and an officer of good merit. He was also a good writer and knew Persian language well. He had also a collection of Vedas, which he presented to the British Museum during his life-time. He kept his diary in which he wrote an account of the happenings in Hindustan. He has also given the details of the Court of Emperor Shah Alam, which was published later on as Shah Alam II And His Court. His writings throw light on the social customs of the people of the time.

Colonel The Chevalier Dudrenac:

Dudrenac was a French military adventurer. He was a native of Brest in France. He came of a good family.
His father was a Commodore in the old French Navy. He arrived in India as a Midshipman or cadet in the year 1773. Then he deserted the French service to seek his fortune as a soldier with one of the Indian rulers.

After this, he obtained employment in Madec's Corps in 1780. Here, he got lot of experience and military knowledge. When Madec retired in 1782, Dudrenac joined the Reinhardt's brigade under the command of Begam Samru. With this lady he remained till 1791.

Afterwards, he joined the army of Tukoji Holkar of Indore, and received a pay of Rs 3,000 per month. Here, he was completely "Indianised" and he adopted many Indian customs. When he surrendered to Amir Khan (1768-1834), later a Nawab of Tonk in Rajputana, then he placed his turban at the Pathan's feet and joined his hands in the traditional Hindu greeting.

Afterwards he joined the army of Jaswant Rao Holkar. Here he raised his own corps. However, he did not remain long in the service of Holkar. About the year 1801 he joined the army of Hindustan under the command of General Perron.

In 1803, war broke out between Daulat Rao Sindhia and the British. When the battle of Assaye was in progress, Dudrenac was commanding Sindhia's fourth brigade. But he deserted and surrendered at Mathura on 30th October, 1803
to one of General Lake's Brigadiers. Afterwards he received a pension from the British and later he died in India. He was called Hazur Beg. Sarkar writes that Dudrenac was a young man, alert, active, full of courage and knew Hindustani language very well. He was always in good humour and all the Mughal lords love him.

He served under about seven different masters in India. He took part in a number of battles. He also raised his own corps which was trained upon European pattern. He was an intelligent and active officer. But he proved to be weak and he often deserted his masters.

Colonel Robert Sutherland:

Robert Sutherland was a Scottish military adventurer who was employed in the British army. He was known to the native as 'Sutlej Sahib'. Nothing is known about his early life. He came to India and joined 73rd Food Highland regiment as a commissioned officer. Soon he left English service and was employed in the army of Sindhia under the command of General de Boigne in 1790. In May 1794, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant and received a pay of Rs 200 per month. In 1796, he fought against the Rajputs in Bundelkhand. Then he was promoted to the rank of Colonel.


In 1801, he fought the battle of Indore under the command of General Perron and he won the battle. Later on Sutherland became a rival to General Perron, and he began to consolidate his own position. He often conspired against Perron whom he wanted to dislodge. In 1802, Perron struck and he dismissed Sutherland. Afterwards he was imprisoned in the fort of Agra by the orders of Sindhia. In 1803, General Lake of the British army, captured the fort of Agra. Then Sutherland was released from the fort by the British army. Later on, he received a pension of Rs 800 a month from the British and he died at Mathura after some time.

He was an intelligent, able and active European officer in the service of Sindhia's army. But some of his contemporary officers like Skinner hated him because of his deceitful and shifting nature. Moreover Major Palmer, in a letter to Governor-General, also writes about Sutherland's character that he was not a talented or respectable officer in the Sindhia's army. 120

Colonel William Francklin (1763-1839):

William Francklin was an English military adventurer. He was born in 1763. William Francklin was educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge. He joined the

120. Foreign & Political, 1796; Maj. Palmer to G.G., 6th January, 1796, Fort William, 22nd January, 1796, No.52.
army of the East India Company in 1783. He was attached to the Bengal Native Infantry. He took part in some battles in India against Indian powers. He was promoted to the rank of captain. When General Perron defeated George Thomas of Haryana in 1802, then Francklin met the Irish Raja near Benaras for writing his (George Thomas's) life story.

In March 1801, he became Major and then he arose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in 1814. After his retirement he went to England where he died in April, 1839, at the age of 76.

He was an intelligent, active and well educated adventurer. He wrote the Military Memoirs of George Thomas. He was also the author of Observations made on a tour from Bengal to Persia, History of the Reign of Shah Alam and Rajemehal of Gaur. He knew Persian and Hindustani language.

Captain Joseph Harvey Bellasis (d. 1802):

He was an English military adventurer who came to India like other European military adventurers. Nothing is known about his early life in his native country. He was an able engineer, who obtained commissioned rank in the corps of Engineers in the East India Company's army in India. He served in the Bengal Corps Engineers. Later on,
because of his debts, he resigned from the Company's service, and attracted by high pay and openings in the Maratha service, he joined in 1796 the army of Ambaji Ingle, one of Daulat Rao Sindhia's famous officers.

In Ambaji's service he got good facilities to improve the army of his master. He gave training to his battalions upon European pattern. He raised an efficient brigade of four battalions for him. He also took part in a number of battles. Later on he left the service of Ambaji Ingle and joined the service of Ali Bahadur.  

He again joined the service of Ambaji in 1799. He was killed in the battle of Sounds, 3rd May, 1801.

Captain Bellasis was an active and brilliant military adventurer. He served in the English East India Company as well as in Sindhia's army. Keene writes, "Bellasis is said by Smith to have possessed all the advantages of undaunted courage, military service, and an excellent education, an elegant person, great activity of body and energy of mind, he was generous, open candid, affable, an accomplished scholar and a finished gentleman, 

of fascinating address."  

Besides, "his soldierly qualities, he could actually speak Greek and Latin and play violin."  

Bellasis was a brave and an able soldier. He was also an excellent engineer. He was also well educated and could speak many languages. He was also interested in music. He trained Sindhia's brigade upon European model.

The following European military adventurers served under the command of various Indian rulers. The early life of some of them is not known. Though these military adventurers served the Indian rulers for a short period, yet they left a significant impact of their military activities. They trained the armies of Indian rulers upon European fashion. Among these European adventurers, some were minor officers in the armies of Indian rulers. But many of them displayed brilliant qualities in their military activities. Among them some were killed in battles in India, some of them went to their native countries; many adventurers lived in India and died on Indian soil. The career, character and the account of the military activities of such adventurers under the service of Indian rulers is briefly mentioned below:

1. Lieutenant Abbot:

An English adventurer in the 1st Brigade under Gen. de Boigne.

2. Major Ahmuty:

He was a shepherd who joined Ambaji Inglia's service. He defeated Amir Khan near Kunch.

3. Capt. Almond:

He was an Englishman also called 'Allamond' by his natives. He was an officer in the 1st Brigade under General Boigne.

4. Major R.L. Ambrose:

Major Ambrose was an English adventurer who came to India during the late 18th century. He joined the service of Jaswant Rao Holkar. He was also the author of an Indian tract named, *A letter on the present crisis of affairs in India, addressed to Edward Parry, Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable East Indian Company.*

5. Major Armstrong:

He was an English officer who succeeded Major Monsieur Flumet in the command of Holkar's Second Brigade of regular infantry in 1802. He also took part in the
battle of Poona in 1802. In 1803, he left the service of Holkar and joined the army of the British. Later on, he was granted a pension of Rs 1200 a month by the British government.

6. Captain Atkins:
   
   An officer confined by mutinous troops at Agra in the beginning of 19th century.

7. Lt. Aumont:

   He was a French military adventurer who served Nizam's army in 1787. 125

8. Major M. Baours (d.1790):

   He was a French military adventurer. His early career is not known. He came to India and joined the army of Begam Samru and became a commander in 1783. Then he left Begam's service and joined the army of Sindhia. He was killed in the battle of Patan in 1790.

9. Lieutenant Beckett:

   He was ADC to Gen. Perron. Later he joined the British service.

10. Capt. Robert Bell:

   He was an English adventurer in the 1st Brigade under Gen. Boigne.

11. Major Augustine Bernier (1769-1801):

He was a French adventurer who came to India in the late 18th century. He was born in 1769. He joined Begam Samru's service, and he was one of the witnesses to Begam's marriage with Le Vassoult, a French adventurer, in 1793. Afterwards, he joined Sindhis's army under General Perron. He took the command of Third Brigade under Louis Bourquin. He was a brave and an able soldier, and Skinner states that in the battle of Georgegarh in 1801 by his ability and courage he saved Bourquin from a disastrous defeat. In November 1801, Bernier was killed in the attack on Thomas's outposts in Hansi while rallying his men who had been beaten back.

12. Captain John Brereton Birch (1766-1829):

Birch was a British military adventurer who came to India in the last decade of 18th century. He was born in 1766. Perhaps he joined the army of East India Company, but soon he resigned from the Company's service and joined the army of George Thomas of Haryana. He trained his troops and fought some battles. For his excellent services, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. After the fall of Thomas, Birch perhaps again joined the British army. He died on 17th December, 1829 at the age of 63 and buried in Old Cemetery of Barrackpore. Birch was one of Thomas's

126. C.R. Wilson, List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments In Bengal, vol. I, (Cal., 1896), p. 159.
officers who remained faithful and honest to his chief throughout the siege of Georgegarh and the defence of Hansi.

After the defeat of Thomas he joined the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia. But very soon he resigned and rejoined the English Company's service. In 1804, he assisted Skinner to defeat a large body of Sikhs. He retired at the rank of Captain. He received a pension of Rs 300 a month.

Birch served under many masters in India. He trained the armies of his masters. He took part in many battles in the service of Indian rulers. He was a brave, an intelligent and an elegant officer. He proved to be loyal and honest officer to George Thomas of Haryana.

13. Colonel John Parker Boyd:

He was an American mercenary who came to India in about 1789. He was born on 2nd December, 1764 at Newbury Port, Massachusetts. He joined the American army but left very soon in 1783. Then he was employed by the Peshwa who paid him a salary of Rs 3000 a month. He trained and raised a regular Brigade in Peshwa's army. He also took part in the battle of Kharda in 1795. Afterwards he left Peshwa's service and tried to join the service of

Daulat Rao Sindhia, but Sindhia refused to have him, and he later on went to Bombay where he made a plan to leave for Europe. But he joined the army of Nizam of Hyderabad in 1800. He trained the armies of Nizam upon European pattern. He also raised his own corps in the service of Nizam. But some misunderstanding arose between Boyd and the Court of Hyderabad. So he quit his service and took his party with him. His subsequent career in India is not known.

Boyd served in the armies of many rulers. He trained the armies of Indian rulers and also raised his own corps in India. He took part in a number of battles. He was a good soldier but not very loyal to his Indian masters.

14. Major Brownring (d.1804):

He was an Irish adventurer who came to India in the last decade of the 18th century. He was called Barandi Sahib by the natives. He was commissioned by Gen. de Boigne in the army of Sindhia, where he became commander of the Fifth Brigade. He took part in the battle of Ujjain against Jaswant Rao Holkar in the year 1801. Afterwards, he joined the army of Daulat Rao Sindhia, but very soon he was arrested by Gen. Perron due to his disloyalty and sent

Later he was released from the imprisonment. Then he joined Sindhia's forces with 4 battalion of sepoys and 27 field-pieces. Then he took part in a number of battles. But he again proved to be disloyal to General Perron during the attack of Aligarh in 1803. He was imprisoned in Agra by General Perron. But, after the defeat of Gen. Perron, he was released. Afterwards, he joined the British army, and obtained the command of some irregular troops. Browning was killed during the English campaign against Jaswant Rao Holkar at Sirsa on 19th February, 1804.

Browning was an intelligent and active officer. He fought many battles in the army of Sindhia. But like many of his tribesmen, he was not loyal to his master.

15. Capt. Bulkeley:

He was an officer under Col. Frement in the 2nd Brigade of Gen. Boigne. Later he was killed at Balahiri on 5th August, 1792.

16. Captain Edward Butterfield:

He was an English adventurer, son of an officer in the Company's service. In 1790, he joined the army of Raja of Karaoli. Later on, he left his service and joined the service of Thakur Durjan Lal Khichi. Later he joined

130. P.R.C., vol. IX, No. 112; J. Collins to G.G., Camp near Burhanpur, 19th April, 1803, p. 182.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.
the second Brigade of Gen. de Boigne in 1794. He became Captain but got a pay of only Rs 200 a month. Then he joined Ambaji near Gwalior with 15000 Maratha horse and 12 battalions of foot. He took part in the battle of Chanderkhori, south-east of Kota. Afterwards he was dismissed by Gen. Perron for some serious offence. Then he also took part against Lakwa Dada during the revolt of Bhais. No other activity of his stay in India is known.

17. Ensign* Carnegie:

He was a Scottish who joined the Maratha service. He was brother of Col. Carnegie in the company's service. Later he was dismissed by Gen. Perron in Aug. 1803.

18. Capt. Catts:

He served in Capt. Dawes' forces at Poona. Then he was killed in a battle against Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1802.

19. Ensign D'Agincourt:

He was a French military adventurer who joined the service of Azim ul Owlah at Hyderabad. He commanded about 1500 men in the army. 134

* Ensign: a term used in the Brigade of guards to denote second lieutenants.

20. Captain Dawes (d. 1802):

He was a British adventurer who came to India in the last decade of 18th century. He joined the army of Daulat Rao Sindhia. He became a commissioned officer in the Perron's First Brigade under Col. Sutherland. In February 1802, he took part in the battle of Indore against Jaswant Rao Holker. After serving Sindhia for a short period, he joined the Peshwa's regular battalions. Later on he was killed in action which took place on the plain of Hadapsar near Poona on 2nd October, 1802.

21. Major Louis Derridon:

Derridon was a French military adventurer who came to India in search of a job in army. He joined the army of Daulat Rao Sindhia and commanded a battalion in the Hessing's corps. He also took part in the battle of Ujjain. In this battle he was wounded and taken prisoner. He served in the army of Sindhia till the destruction of Sindhia brigades by the British. He also fought in the battle of Assaye in 1803. In this battle he was taken prisoner along with other European officers. He spent remaining years as a British pensioner at Koil. He died in India after some time.

Derridon was an elegant and active officer. He had also good relations with General Perron possibly because the later had married his sister. Throughout he remained loyal and honest to his master, Daulat Rao Sindhia.
22. Major W. Dodd (d. 1804):

He was a native of Britain who came to India and joined the army of Jaswant Rao Holkar. He had 4 battalions of infantry, 200 cavalry and 20 guns in the army of Holkar. He also took part in the battle of Poona. But later on, he refused to fight against his own countrymen, and he was executed by the orders of Holkar in 1804. He proved to be loyal to his countrymen.

23. Captain Donelly (d. 1799):

He was an Irishman. He joined the army of Sindhia and commanded a battalion in the Perron's Second Brigade under Pohlmann. He was killed at Shahpur in 1799.

24. Lieutenant Douglas Doolan (c. 1801):

He was a young British military adventurer who came to India and enrolled in Amrit Rao's army. Then he joined Sindhia's army in Hessing's Brigade. Afterwards, he was killed in the battle of Ujjain against Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1801.

25. Ensign Dorson:

He was a French adventurer who joined Sindhia's army in Col. Sutherland's Brigade.

26. Ensign Douglas:

He was an officer in Dawe's battalion at Poona. Later on, he was killed in a battle against Jaswant Rao Holkar.

27. Colonel Drugeon (d. 1824):

Drugeon was a native of France. His brother was a General in Sardinian army. He joined the French army in his native country. Then he came to India in 1787 and joined the service of French Company's army. Later on he joined the army of Sindhia in 1794. He became a commander in one of the Sindhia's brigades in 1797 and received a pay of Rs 400 a month. He fought many battles and was promoted to the rank of Colonel. Though not a very distinguished soldier, yet he got the responsible post of the governor of Delhi. He remained governor till the destruction of the brigades by the British power. Afterwards, he went to Calcutta and sailed for Europe. He died at Nice in 1824.

28. Colonel John James Dupont:

Dupont was a native of Holland. In India he joined the army of Daulat Rao Sindhia. In the battle of Ujjain in 1801, he was wounded and taken prisoner along with Major Derridon. He also took part in the battle of Assaye (1803). Nothing is known about his further career.
29. Colonel Duprat:

He was a French European military adventurer who came to India and served in Sindhia's army under the command of General Perron. He was not an able and active officer. Weak and lax, yet he commanded the First Brigade in 1798 and was promoted to the rank of Colonel.

30. Major Jean Estienne (1746-1821):

He was a French military adventurer who was born in 1746. He joined the service of Begam Samru and served for 35 years. He died on Sunday, 3rd June 1821, and was buried in Gurgaon district.

31. Captain Evans:

He was an English military adventurer who joined the army of Begam Samru in 1789. He succeeded Major Baours in her service. Later on he left Samru's army and joined the army of Sindhia under Gen. de Boigne. Afterwards, he was promoted to the rank of Captain and he earned a pay of Rs 400 a month. His subsequent career in India is not known.

32. Captain Fanthome:

He was a French cavalry officer perhaps in the service of Nawab of Oudh in the last quarter of the 18th century.

33. Ensign Fergusson:

He was a Scottish adventurer who joined the army of Sindhia. Later he was dismissed by General Perron in 1803.

34. Colonel Michael Filoze:

Michael Filoze was a French military adventurer who started life as a muleteer in Italy. He came to India for his future career in 1770. He received no education, but had some knowledge of military affairs. Then he joined the army of Rana of Gohad under a French officer, Colonel Madec. In 1782, when Rana was defeated by Sindhia's forces, Filoze left the service of Madec and went to South India where he joined Sindhia's army in 1790. He received a pay of £ 300 per month. Here he trained one Maratha brigade in European drill and discipline. He also became commander of the battalion of First Brigade. He also raised his own corps which was called Filoze's corps. Later on in 1802, the corps which was originally raised by him, was bequeathed to his two half-caste sons named as Fidele and Jane-Baptise.

35. Colonel Fidele Filoze (b. 1778-1802):

Fidele Filoze was the elder son of famous French adventurer, Michael Filoze, who was a colonel in the army of Sindhia. He was born at Agra in 1778. Fidele Filoze took the command of his father's corps named as Filoze's
He took part in the battle of Ujjain. During the battle of Ujjain, he was suspected of treachery and Sindhia wanted to execute him. However, he committed suicide in the prison cell in 1802.

According to Smith, he was "an 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." 137

36. Colonel Jean Baptise De La Fontaine Filoze (b 1775-d.1846):

He was the younger son of Michael Filoze and a brother of Fidele Filoze. He was called 'Batis Sahib', or 'Jan Battis'. He was born at Fyzabad in Oudh in March 1775. 138 He joined Sindhia's army and in 1802 he went to Ujjain to take over the command of Deccan battalions. In 1803, he was Commander-in-Chief of the State army of Sindhia. After the destruction of Brigades he lived in Gwalior. So, he remained for about 47 years in the service of Sindhia. It was a record that "No other military adventurer can boast of." 139 He died on 2nd May 1846. 140 He married to a daughter of Louis Derridon. He was an elegant, brave military officer and he proved to be loyal to his master.

139. H.A.C., op.cit., p. 354.
37. Captain Finglass:

He was an Irish adventurer who joined the British army as a quarter-master in the 19th Dragoons. Then he came to India and left the British army to join the army of the Nizam of Hyderabad in about 1794. In 1795, he raised his own corps which consisted of about 800 men. He also took part in the battle of Kharda. In 1798, his corps was raised to 6000 men. His later career is not known.

38. Colonel Fleury:

He was a French military adventurer who came to India in the last decade of 18th century. Then he joined the army of Tipu Sultan (1753-1799) of Mysore. In Tipu's service, he became a regular officer in the Cavalry Corps. Later on, after Tipu's death, he joined the Army of Hindustan under Sindhia's power.

In the army of Sindhia, he was a cavalry commander. For his brilliant services, he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. He had about 4000-5000 Hindustani Horse under his command. He remained in the army of Sindhia till the destruction of Brigades by the British. He was an able and active officer who remained faithful to his master.

39. Colonel Frement (d. 1796):

A Frenchman of Royalist sympathies, he left his country's army after the French Revolution and came to India in 1790. Here he joined the army of Sindhia under Gen. de Boigne and got a salary of about Rs 1400 a month. He became the commander of the First Brigade in 1792. In 1792, he took part in the battle of Balahiri, a hill fort, 45 miles East of Jaipur. Afterwards, for his good services, he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. He died in about 1796. He was an excellent and honest officer and he served his master faithfully.

40. Ensign Fyson:

He was a French adventurer who joined Sindhia's army under Colonel Sutherland. Nothing is known about his later life.

41. Major James Gardner:

James Gardner was a British adventurer who came to India and joined the Second Brigade in the army of Sindhia in 1792. Afterwards he took part in an action in the battle of Sohwalgarh against George Thomas of Haryana in 1795. Nothing is known about his later career.

42. Colonel William Linaeus Gardner (b. 1770):

Gardner was a Scottish military adventurer who came to India and served the King's regular force as a
commissioned officer. He was born in 1770. He was educated in France. Later on he left the army of English company and was employed by Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1798. After sometime he came into the service of Peshwa. He married the daughter of the Sultan of Cambay. He was not steadfast in his service to the Peshwa. The Peshwa's commander, Amrit Rao, became very furious. He tied Gardner to a gun and threatened to blow him away if he did not swear to serve on. But later on Gardner was able to escape from his guards and jumped over a cliff and swam across a river. In 1803, he joined the service of the Raja of Jaipur. Afterwards he rejoined the British service in 1804 and raised a famous Corps known as 'The Gardner's Horse'. Here he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. After this he took his pension and settled with his Muslim wife at his jagir at Khaganj, 60 miles from Agra.

Gardner was an able officer who served under many masters in India. He was honoured with the title 'Baronet' in 1794 by the British Government. He was also created a 'Baron' in 1806. Mr. Smith described him as "a gentleman and a soldier of pleasing address and uncommon abilities and his figure was tall and commanding, and his handsome countenance and military air rendered his appearance very striking." He was married to Manzil-ul-Nissa, the elder

sister of Hyder's princess.* He had also got some estates from the Emperor, Akbar Shah whose niece was married to his son.  

43. Colonel Geslin:

He was a French military adventurer who joined Sindhia's army in India. Then he became a commander of the Third Brigade of Sindhia's army. He fought in the battle of Assaye in 1803 and after the destruction of Brigades, he surrendered to General Lord Lake of the British army. Later he was deported to Calcutta.

44. Lieutenant John Graham (d. 1801):

Graham was an English adventurer who came to India and joined Sindhia's army as a junior regimental officer. He was killed in the battle of Ujjain fought between Sindhia's army and Jaswant Rao Holkar in the year 1801.

45. Ensign Guerinnier:

He was a French military adventurer who joined Sindhia's army. Later he surrendered with Louis Bourquin to the British army in the battle of Laswari.

* Mr. Yeats-Brown writes that she bore him two sons and a daughter, and died in 1835, shortly after her husband's death, of a broken heart. Their descendant, Lord Gardner, married a princess of the House of Timur in 1879.**

** F. Yeats-Brown, op.cit., p. 61.

143. Holman, op.cit., p. 228.
46. Ensign Hanove:

He was a French officer in Dawes' battalion at Poona. Afterwards he was imprisoned by Jaswant Rao Holkar in a battle. Nothing is known about his later career.

47. Colonel Hardinge (d. 1802):

Hardinge was a British military adventurer who deserted the English Company's army in India. He entered the army of Jaswant Rao Holkar and raised three regular brigades of four battalions. Later on he was killed at the gun-muzzles in the battle of Hadapsar near Poona on 25th October, 1802.

48. Major Harriott:

He was an English adventurer who joined Sindhia's army. He became an officer in the Perron's Fifth Brigade. After the destruction of Sindhia's Brigade, he joined the British army. He also took part in fighting in Haryana region in 1804.

49. Ensign Harvery:

He was an English military adventurer who deserted Company's artillery at Kanpur. Later he joined Sindhia's army in Boigne's 1st Brigade.
50. Major Hyder Young Hearsey (1782-1840):

Hearsey was an English adventurer who came to India in search of a job. He was born in December, 1782.\textsuperscript{144} He was the son of Andrew Wilson Hearsey. He was educated at Woolwich and he joined Saadut Ali Khan's service at Benaras in 1798.\textsuperscript{145} In the same year he was appointed ADC to Nawab-Wazir of Oudh. Later in 1799, he joined the army of Sindhia where he became ADC to General Perron. In 1799, he became Deputy Commander of the fort of Agra. His last employment was with George Thomas, the Raja of Haryana. But after the defeat of George Thomas, he left his army and joined the British service in 1803. There he received a pension of £800 a month.\textsuperscript{146} He also fought against the Gurkhas at Barrum Deo and he became prisoner at Almora in 1815.\textsuperscript{147} He was married to Princess Zuhur-ul-Nissa, daughter of one of the deposed princes of Cambay.\textsuperscript{148} He had two sons i.e. Capt. William Moorcraft Hearsey and Capt. John Bennet Hearsey both entered king of Oudh's service in 1836, and had also a daughter Harriet, who died in London in 1848.\textsuperscript{149} He died on 8th August, 1840 at Kareli near Budaon.

\textsuperscript{145.} Ibid, pp. 38, 39.  
\textsuperscript{146.} Ibid, p. 51.  
\textsuperscript{147.} Ibid, pp. 57, 89.  
\textsuperscript{149.} Col. Hugh Pearse, \textit{The Hearseys}, pp. 95, 98, 118.
53. Captain Honore:

He was an officer in Sindhia's service who took part in the battle of Assaye.

54. Captain John Hopkins (d. 1801):

Hopkins was an English officer whose father was a field officer in Company's service. John Hopkins also joined the British army. But he soon left the British army and joined the forces of George Thomas of Haryana. He took part in the invasions of the Satlej states where he was twice wounded. Afterwards he was killed in the battle of Georgegarh on 29th September, 1801. George Thomas was deeply grieved upon his death, and he sent a present of Rs 2,000 to the sister of Hopkins. Hopkins was a bold, brave and an honest officer in the service of George Thomas. Thomas loved him for his faithful service.

55. Ensign Huddon:

He was an officer in Hessing's corps at Ujjain where he was killed in 1801.

56. Lieutenant Humphreestone:

He was in Sindhia's army in Col. Hessing's Brigade. Later he was wounded in the battle of Ujjain in 1801.

57. Colonel Jacob:

He was an officer in Sindhia's army under General Perron.
58. Ensign Jean-Baptise (d. 1799):

Jean-Baptise was a French adventurer who came to India in 1752. In 1761, he offered his services to Mir Qasim, Nawab of Bengal. He took part in some battles during the service of Mir Qasim. He attempted to save English prisoners at Patna in 1763, but he failed in his mission. Later on he returned to France in 1778 and died in 1799.

59. Lieutenant Jumeon:

He was a Dutch adventurer who joined Sindhia's army in Boigne's 1st Brigade.

60. General M. Jean Law:

He was a Franco-Scott military adventurer who came to India and served in the army of Nawab-Wazir of Oudh. He was called "Mushir Lass". He trained his army in drill and discipline, and introduced weapons upon European fashion. He joined the service of Raja Ramnarain in Bihar. Later on he surrendered to the British in 1761.

61. Thomas Legge (d. 1808):

An Irish adventurer, he was a native of Danagadee in the north of Ireland. His father was a trader and owned a ship. In about 1775, Legge came to India and landed at Madras. After some wanderings he joined the service of
Rana of Gohad. He was posted in Sangster's corps where he learnt the art of casting cannon. Later on he left his service and went to Kabul and then to Badakshan after crossing the Hindu Kush. He visited many places like Bokhara, Herat and Kandhar. He again came to India and settled down for the rest of his days in Jaipur. Here he married the daughter of Dr. de Silva, whom the King of Portugal had sent out to study astronomy in India. He died near Jaipur in 1808.

He was an active soldier who had travelled widely. According to Compton, "he was very benevolent, and his accurate memory had mastered and retained an extraordinary stock of wild central 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." He also stayed with Col. Tod for some months. Then he became a Fakir in his later life. He was in many ways an eccentric and cosmopolitan character who practised the healing art, alchemy and divination.

62. Monsieur Lestineau:

He was a French military adventurer who came to India and was employed by Raja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of

Bharatpur. Then he became commander of the Jat battalion, and he also raised his own battalion known as Lestineau's battalion. He took part in the battles of Chaksana (1788) and Agra (June 1788). He also fought against the army of Sindhia. He left the service of Jat Raja and joined the army of Najaf Khan, a Mughal noble. In December 1788, he captured the looted jewels from Ghulam Qadir Rohilla and then escaped to France with all cash and jewellery in 1789. He spent his last years happily in France.

Lestineau was an able military officer. He raised his own battalion which was well trained in drill and discipline. General Perron had also served previously in Lestineau's battalion. Later on his battalion was incorporated into the army of Sindhia.

63. Capt. William Long:

He was a descendent of the Earls of Derwentwater who joined navy under the commands of Rodney and Parker in 1782. Later he became an orphan and came to India where he joined the army of Sindhia. He was present in Indore battle in 1801. Then he resigned from Sindhia's army and joined the British army in 1803.

64. Captain Lucan:

Lucan was an Irish military adventurer who came to India and joined Sindhia's army under the command of
General Perron. He fought some battles under the command of General Perron. In the battle of Aligarh in 1803, he was captured by Amir Khan, the Nawab of Tonk. Later on, he joined the British under the command of Colonel William Monson. He was wounded in a battle against Jaswant Rao Holkar, and became a prisoner where he was tortured to death.

65. Capt. Lyenite:

He was a French military adventurer in Boigne's 1st Brigade.

66. Captain Macintyre:

Nothing is known about the early life of this adventurer. He was employed in Sindhia's army. In 1801, Daulat Rao Sindhia sent him with two battalions at Ujjain to support Hessing's Brigades. But he surrendered to Jaswant Rao Holkar on his way to Nuri, 20 miles from Delhi in 1801.

67. Lieutenant MacKenzie:

He was a military adventurer who joined Sindhia's army and became a commander of a battalion in Perron's Third Brigade under Col. Louis Bourquin. He took part in the battle of Hansi against George Thomas where he was wounded in 1801.
68. Lieutenant John Macpherson:

He joined the army of Sindhia in Colonel Hessing's Brigade. His father was a Captain in East India Company. Afterwards Macpherson was killed in battle of Ujjain in 1801.

69. Lieutenant Manvels:

He was an officer in General Perron's army who surrendered at Hansi to the British army.

70. Captain Le Merchant (d. 1799):

He was a French adventurer who served in the army of Sindhia in 1792. In 1797, he became Captain and he was drawing a pay of £ 300 per month. Then he became 'prefect' of Delhi in 1799 for a short duration. He died in November 1799. After his death his widow took the command of his battalion and she refused to surrender her corps to General Perron.

71. Captain James Marshall (d. 1804):

He was a Scottish adventurer. He had good education. He was a Midshipman in the English Company's Navy. Then he came to India and deserted the Naval service and joined Hessing's corps in Sindhia's army. In Sindhia's army he took part in the battle against George Thomas. Afterwards he surrendered to General Lord Lake during the
II Anglo-Maratha war, 1803. He was awarded a pension of Rs 500 a month. In 1804, he was killed in a battle in Haryana region. He was an intelligent and a brave soldier having amiable manners.

72. Major-General Claude Martin (1735-1800):

He was a French Military adventurer who was born on 5th January 1735 at Lyons. His father, Fleury Martin, was a silk manufacturer. Martin arrived in India as a common soldier in 1758. Then he served in the rank of a bodyguard of the French Governor of Pondicherry, Count de Lally. In 1763, he joined the army of the English as Ensign. He became commander of a company in the British service and was later attached at the court of Nawab-Wazir of Oudh. Here he also became a commander of the Nawab's forces. He devoted his life to art and crafts making guns and small arms for the Nawab. In Lucknow, he also manufactured the first balloon. Martin was a shrewd and energetic fellow, who became adviser to Nawab of Lucknow. In 1790, he assisted the British against Tipu Sultan and he cast a large 18-pounder bronze

154. Ibid.
cannon named "The Lord Cornwallis." In 1795, he became Major General in the British army. He died at Lucknow on 13th September, 1800. Martin was a brave, active and an intelligent officer. He also served the Nawab of Lucknow as a money-lender and banker. He set up his own trade. He also acted as an agent and a contact-man for the European merchants. He had little knowledge of English language. He also built a convent school and a city named after his name i.e. 'La Martiniere'. He was skilled in the art of gunnery for which he became a Superintendent of Nawab's artillery. He never married but adopted a boy named James Martin or Zulfiquar.

73. Lieutenant Macolloch:

He was an Englishman who joined Sindhia's army. He was killed in the battle of Georgegarh against George Thomas in 1801.

74. Colonel Meislback (d. 1819):

He was a Danish adventurer who came to India to seek fortune. He joined the service of Raja Himmat Bahadur Gosain. He raised the army of Himmat Bahadur

numbering about 6,000 troops on European pattern. He took part in a number of battles. He fought in the battle of Gokulgarh on behalf of King Shah Alam II. Afterwards he was defeated by the Bundelas near Ragheuli. His wife was killed in a clash in about 1790. After Himmat Bahadur's death, he joined the service of East India Company. He died at Serampore on 15th October 1819. He was a brave officer, and he remained faithful to Himmat Bahadur. 159

75. Lieutenant Edward Montague (d. 1801):

A British adventurer, he was the son of Colonel Montague of Bengal artillery. He was a commissioned officer in Sindhia's army. He commanded a battalion of the Hessian's brigade. Later on he was killed in the battle of Ujjain in 1801. He was a brilliant young officer who had been educated at the Royal Military Academy at Kensington.

76. Ensign John Morris:

He was a British adventurer who commanded one of the George Thomas's battalions. He also took part in the battle of Fatehpur in 1799 where he was mortally wounded. He was a brave and bold soldier as mentioned by George Thomas in his memoirs. He was active and honest.

77. Major James Murray (1771-1806):

He was an American adventurer who joined the service of Holkar. Later he joined the British service and was granted a pension of ₹ 400. He also fought against Amir Khan of Tonk. He died at Calcutta on 3rd September, 1806, leaving £ 40,000 for his wife, 'Bebee Jiu', a Moslem woman.

78. Captain Oliver:

He was an officer in Sindhia's army. He was wounded in the battle of Georgegarh.

79. Capt. Paish:

He was an officer in the army of Sindhia. Actually there were two officers of same name: one in Dudrenac's corps who was later killed in Malpura battle while the other was wounded in the battle of Seondha (1801).

Ensign Paradis:

He was a brave and active Swiss civil engineer who was employed in the French army by Dupleix. He won the famous battle over Maphuz Khan, the Carnatic Commander, in the year 1746.

81. Captain Monsieur Pauli (d. 1782):

Pauli was a German military adventurer who joined General Samru's army. Later on he became commander of the

160. H.S. Bhatia, (Ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 139, 140.
forces of General Samru. After the death of General Samru, his wife (Begam Samru) took command of her husband's forces replacing Pauli. He, therefore, joined the army of Mirza Najaf Khan. But after the death of Najaf Khan, Pauli joined the army of one of the Najaf's General named Mirza Muhammad Shafi. On account of intrigues and counter-intrigues in the Mughal court he was treacherously assassinated in prison by Muhammad Beg Hamadani on 28th December, 1782.

82. Colonel Pedron:

Pedron was a French military adventurer. He came to India and joined the army of General Monsieur Law at Lucknow in 1760. Later he was commissioned by Gen. de Boigne into Sindhia's army in 1790. In 1795, he took the command of the Third Brigade. Later he established his headquarters at Aligarh during the command of Gen. Perron who succeeded General de Boigne in 1797. Pedron was an old man of about sixty years. In 1800, he raised the Fourth Brigade in Sindhia's army. In 1801, he took part in the battle of Sounda against Lakwa Dada. He also fought against George Thomas of Haryana. Afterwards there was the battle of Aligarh between Sindhia's forces and the British in 1803. At that time he was the commander of the Aligarh garrison. Ultimately he had to surrender the fort to the British army, and he was captured by the British forces.
Pedron served under many rulers in India. He was a capable, honest, brave and stout elderly officer.

83. Lieutenant Girolamo Piaggio:

He was an officer in Sindhia's army who returned to his native country after the beginning of the 19th century. His nationality is not known.

84. Captain J. Pillet:

He was a French adventurer who came to India and served in the Lestineau's corps in the service of the Rana of Gohad. Later on he became successor of the Lestineau's corps in 1788. Afterwards he left the service of the Rana of Gohad, because he could not control his troops. In 1794, he joined the army of the Raja of Jaipur. Nothing is known about his later life.

85. Major Francisco Caetano Pinto:

He was an European officer in the service of Peshwa. He was an excellent artilleryman.

86. Colonel Jean-Pierre (Henri) Piron (1763–1807):

He was a French adventurer, and was a native of Alsace. He was born on 25th March, 1863. In India, he joined the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad. After the death of Raymond, a great commander of the Nizam in 1798,
he took the command of 14,000 troops. He died at Chandernagar on 21st October 1807. He was a brilliant officer. But he was also a rough and violent man. He was an honest and impressive military adventurer. He had a great affection of his fellow native countrymen in India.

87. Major Monsieur Plumet:

He was a French adventurer who joined the army of Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1798. He became a commander of Second Brigade and fought in the battle of Ujjain where he was wounded and taken prisoner. But Holkar did not come for his help. That is why he resigned from Holkar's service in 1802. He thought Holkar was cunning, ungrateful, cruel and capricious. Later he returned to his country.

88. Colonel Anthony Pohlmann:

He was a German adventurer from Hanover. On coming to India he joined the English company's service where he became a sergeant of the European battalion. Attracted by better pay and good prospects, he joined Sindhia's army in 1792. In 1794, he was promoted to the rank of captain and received a pay of Rs 200 a month. In 1797, he became Major in 2nd Brigade. He gave an excellent training to his brigade, and he was himself promoted to the rank of Colonel. In 1800, he fought successfully in the battle of Malpura but

162. Ibid.
was defeated in the battle of Assaye (1803) against the British. Later on he entered the army of British. He was a "blustering red-faced Hanoverian with a sword arm like an executioner's." He always travelled on "an elephant accompanied by Mughal guards dressed in purple uniform marching in file." He was a brave and honest soldier. He raised a well trained brigade called 'Pohlmann's Brigade'. In India, he was completely 'Indianised', keeping a Zenana full of wives. He lived like a great 'Bahadur' and had a personal elephant and cavalry bodyguard.

89. Lieutenant Rennick:

He was an Irish adventurer who joined the army of Sindhia in the 1st Brigade of General Boigne.

90. Lieutenant Emma Roberts:

Roberts was an English military adventurer who came to India and joined the army of Sindhia under the command of Gen. de Boigne in 1790. He also took part in the battles of Patan and Merta and was severely wounded. In 1812, he commanded an irregular corps of Skinner's Horse under the British. Nothing is known about his later life.

91. Ensign Rohan (d. 1790):

He was a French adventurer in the army of Gen. de Boigne. He was killed in a battle against the Rajputs in 1790.

92. Ensign Rostock (d. 1801):

He was a French officer under the command of General Boigne. He was killed in the battle of Indore in 1801.

93. Major Ryan (d. 1804):

Ryan was an Irish military adventurer in the service of Jaswant Rao Holkar. Later on he was executed by the orders of Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1804 because Ryan had refused to fight against his own countrymen.

94. Colonel Monsieur Saleur (1765-1812):

Saleur was a Swiss officer in the army of Begam Samru of Sardhana. He was born at Nanci of Lorraine in France in 1765. He was an eye witness to the marriage of Begam Samru with the French Officer Le Vassoult. When mutiny broke out in the army of Begam, Saleur was the only faithful officer who helped her in this grave crisis. Then he succeeded to the command of Begam Samru's corps after the suicide of her husband, Le Vassoult, in 1795. He increased the strength of the army to 6 battalions with 40
guns and 200 cavalry. He also fought against George Thomas of Haryana in conjunction with the army of Sindhia. In 1803, Colonel Saleur took part in the battle of Assaye with his four battalions. But he had to face defeat and returned safely to Sardhana with 3 out of 4 battalions. He died on Sunday 12th July 1812\(^\text{165}\), and was buried at Sardhana cemetery.

Colonel Saleur was an elegant, active and brilliant officer. He was loyal to Begam Samru. He not only trained the army of Begam Samru on European model but also greatly increased its strength.

95. Colonel George Sangster:

He was a Scottish adventurer who came to India and was employed by Chhatar Singh, Rana of Gohad. There he commanded Rene Madec's corps in the service of Rana of Gohad in 1782. It consisted of 1000 troops, who were trained upon European pattern and had an excellent train of artillery. But in 1784, Rene Madec's corps were taken by Sindhia's General, de Boigne, Sangster thus joined Sindhia's army. Here, he took the command of Madec's old corps. He also served in the gunnery factories of Sindhia. He cast excellent guns and made muskets as good as European model. Perron who became commander-in-chief of Sindhia's army later on was employed by him.

165. Vera Chatterjee, All This is Ended: The Life and Times of H.H. The Begam Samroo of Sardhana, (New Delhi, 1979), p. 149.
He was an able, active, brave and honest officer, who was raised to the rank of Colonel. He cast guns and trained the troops of his master.

96. Colonel James Shepherd:

James Shepherd was a British military adventurer. He was known to his natives as 'Jamus Sahib'. He came to India at Calcutta as a 'batman' or 'valet' to an officer. Later by dint of his bravery, 'fidelity and perseverance, he rose from total obscurity to the position of a commander. For some time he served the English army. Afterwards he joined Sindia's army. Here he commanded a brigade of trained regulars and took part in a number of battles. Then he left Sindia's army, and in 1799, he joined the army of Ambaji Inglia for whom he raised a brigade of regular infantry, which numbered 5 battalions with 500 cavalry. However, he rejoined the army of Sindia and took part in the battle of Sounda in 1801. After the defeat of Sindia in 1803, he again joined the English Company's army where he was promoted to the rank of a Colonel. He also raised his own corps known as 'Shepherd's corps. In 1804, he fought against Amir Khan of Bundelkhand. At that time, he had about 3180 trained troops. Then he received his pension and died after some time.

He was a Scottish officer, younger brother of Colonel James Skinner. He was born in 1781. He was employed in Sindhia's army in 1800 and he fought many battles during his service. In October 1800, he fought against the Rajputs near the Chambal river where he was wounded in the neck by a matchlock ball. He also fought against George Thomas of Haryana at Hansi. In 1803, he left Sindhia's army and joined the English Company's service as a Lieutenant. Then he was promoted to the rank of Major. In 1805, he fought against Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk near Ramgunga and Sambhal. He was victorious in these battles. In 1819, he was granted a jagir in Aligarh district, where he died in 1821.* After his death, his second battalion corps had been taken by Capt. Baddeley's Frontier Horse. He was a good soldier but changed his masters frequently.

98. Maj. Lewis Smith:

Maj. Lewis Smith was an English military adventurer who served in the army of the British. Later on he joined the army of Sindhia under the command of Gen. de Boigne.

* Miss Emily Eden who visited Delhi writes about his tragic end as follows: "he suspected one of his wives of a slight ecarp from the path of propriety - very unjustly, it is said - but he called her and all his servants together, cut off the heads of every individual in his household, and then shot himself."+

+Holman, op.cit., p. 195.

He trained Sindhia's troops upon European pattern. He had two sons i.e. Lt. Col. Lewis Ferdinand Smith and Capt. Emilius Felix Smith and both had brilliant career in India.

99. Captain Emilius Felix Smith (1777-1801):

He was an English adventurer born on February 14, 1777 at Rohilkhand. He was younger son of Major Lewis Smith. He joined Sindhia's army early in his life. Afterwards he left Sindhia's army and joined the army of British. In the British army he was appointed a commissioned officer in 36th Foot Regiment. But he resigned from his service and rejoined the army of Sindhia under the command of General Perron in 1800. He became the commander of a regiment of the Hindustani Horse.

In 1801, he fought against George Thomas of Haryana in the battle of Georgegarh. But he was badly wounded from a four-pounder which severely shattered his leg. Then he was removed to Jhajjar in a critical condition. He bore the torture of unskilful amputation with uncommon firmness; but he sunk under the fever which the wound and operation occasioned, and he died on 8th October 1801. Before his death, 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." 167

He was a brave and honest officer. He was well-educated and possessed a fine character. He was also a poet.

100. Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Ferdinand Smith:

He was a British military adventurer who was the elder son of Major Lewis Smith. He joined the army of Sindhia and took part in the battle of Bhopal in 1798. Later on, he fought many battles in Sindhia's service. He also fought against George Thomas of Naryana in Georgegarh. In 1803, he took the command of Dudrenac's Brigade in Deccan. Later he joined the British army and became Lt. Colonel in 1819. He was a brave and honest officer. He was not only a military adventurer, but also an excellent historian of military adventurers of India. He was the author of, *A Sketch of the Regular Corps in the service of the Native Princes in India*. He also contributed several papers to the *Asiatic Annual Register*.

101. Lieutenant Stewart:

He was an officer in General Boigne's 1st Brigade. Later he died at Rohtak in June, 1792.

102. Captain Symes:

He was a British adventurer who arrived in India and joined the army of Sindhia. He was known to his natives as 'Sank Sahib'. He was a commander of the Battalion in
Perron's first Brigade. In 1801, during the battle of Sounda he was badly wounded. Later on he died at Sikandara before the defeat of Sindhia in 1803.

103. Colonel William Henry Tone (1764-1802):

He was an Irish military adventurer who came to India in 1792. He was a brother of Irish rebel, Theobald Wolfe Tone. He was born in August 1764. In May 1797, he was employed by Baji Rao Peshwa. Then he left the army of Peshwa and served in the Regular Infantry of Amrit Rao. Later he joined Sindhia's army. He remained in the army of Sindhia under the command of Ambaji Ingles for five years (1796-1801). Afterwards he deserted the army of Sindhia and served in Lakwa Dada's army. In 1801, he fought some battles against the army of Sindhia. But he was captured by General Perron in the battle of Sounda. Later on he joined Holkar's service and was killed in a battle between Sindhia and Holkar on the bank of Narmada near Maheshvar in 1802. Holman wrote, "He was a tall and debonair, with a weakness for beautiful women and a devil-may-care attitude to his life of adventurer." He was an able and good soldier, but often proved to be disloyal to his masters.

104. Ensign Urquhart:

He was an officer in Colonel Hessing's Brigade who was killed in the battle in of Ujjain in 1801.

105. Colonel Le Vassoult (d. 1795):

He was a French military adventurer who joined the army of Mahadji Sindhia. He took part in the battle of Lalsot (also called Tunga) in 1787. After the battle of Lalsot he left Sindhia's army and joined the artillery of Begam Samru. In 1795, he obtained complete control over her army, and married the Begam also. But, during the Mutiny of Begam's troops, he committed suicide near Sardhana on 6th May 1795. Mr. Palmer writes about him, 'Vassalt, a man of violent and imperious disposition.' But the Begam "admired his polished manners and his reminiscences of Versailles."

106. Major Vickers (d. 1804):

Vickers was a British adventurer who joined Perron's Second Brigade under Major Pohlmann. He commanded one of the trenches in the siege of Georgegarh against George Thomas. Soon he left Sindhia's army and joined the army of Jaswant Rao Holkar. He became a commander of a brigade and took action in few battles. He also took part in the battle of Poona in October 1802 and was badly wounded. In May, 1804, when the war was broke out between Holkar and the British, he refused to fight against his own countrymen. And he was executed by the orders of Holkar at Nahar Maghana (Tiger's Hill).