

LIEUTENANT JOHN GORDON
OF THE DUNDURCUS FAMILY
MASSACRED AT PATNA 1763

2
1908

J. M. BULLOCH
C. O. SKELTON

KEITH
MCMVIII

National Library of Scotland



B000196892

Sadhu / Crest
Haven

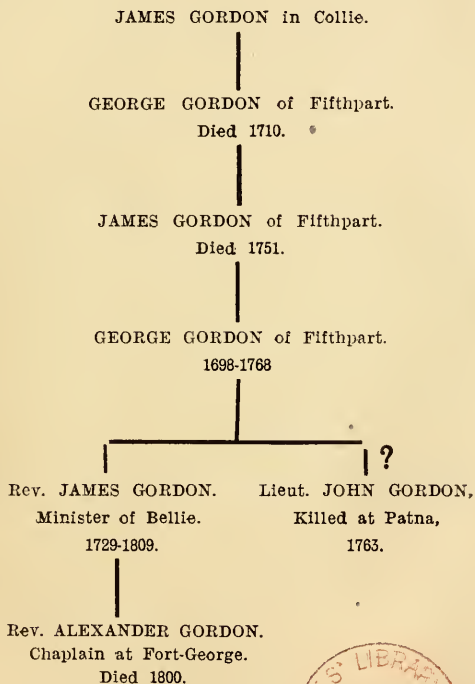
With Mrs Skelton's Compliments



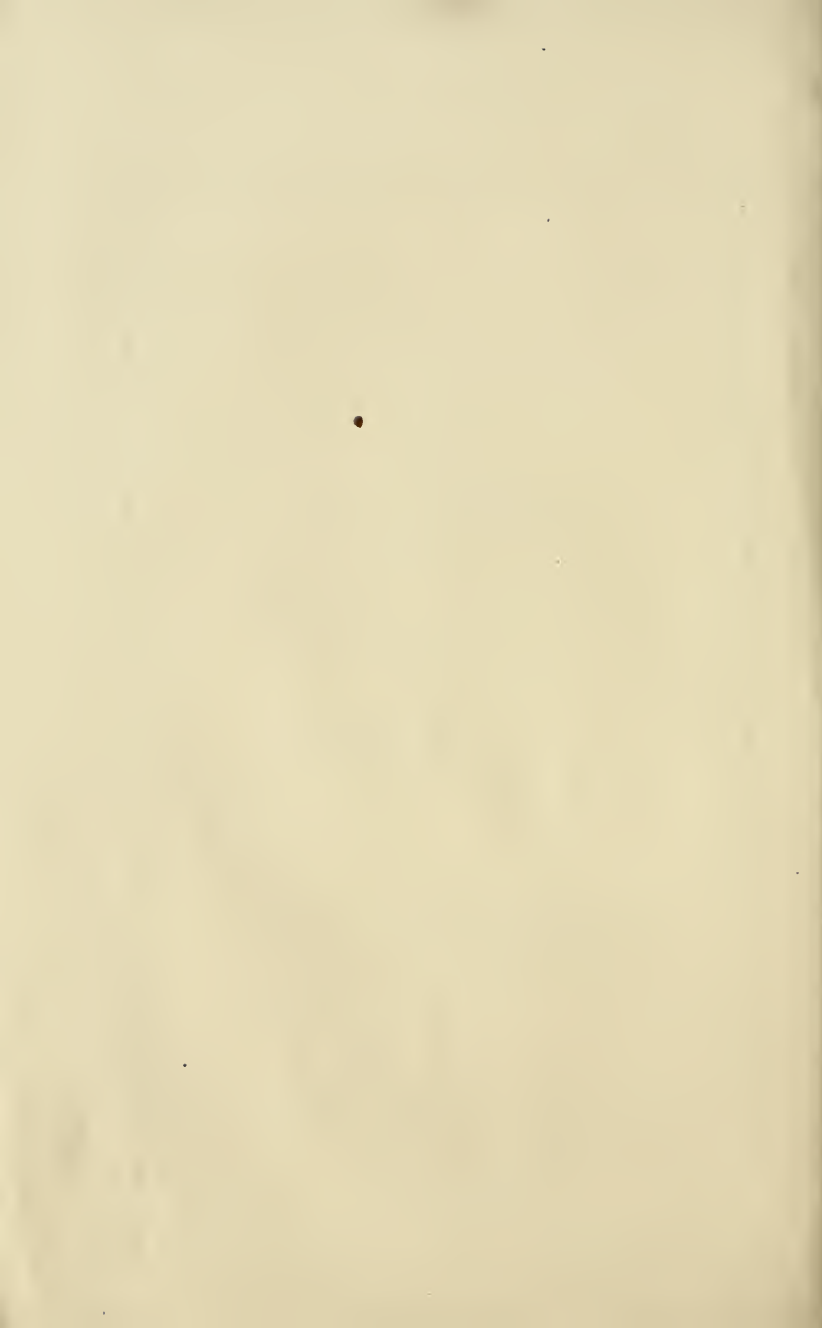
National Library of Scotland



B000196892



THE DUNDURCUS FAMILY OF GORDON.



THE FATE OF JOHN GORDON OF DUNDURCUS

MASSACRED AT PATNA, 1763

An extraordinarily interesting, though negligible looking, letter appeared in the issue of the "Aberdeen Journal" of June 25, 1764. It was from "an officer" of the 89th Regiment (raised by the Duke of Gordon in 1759), and dated from the East India-man Osterley, off Dartmouth, June 11, 1764. It announced the stormy passage home of the 89th Regiment, and contained this sentence:—

"You will soon see a particular detail in the papers of the disturbances which have happened lately at Bengal, where about 30 or 40 gentlemen have been basely massacred by the Nabob, who has been defeated by your troops, and if taken will meet with a proper reward for his cruelty. Lieut. John Gordon (son to Mr Gordon of Dundurcas) was one of the sufferers."

The "Gentleman's Magazine" (vol. 34, p. 340) for the same month had recorded the arrival at somewhat greater length:—

"The purser of the Osterley, East India ship, arrived at the East India House with the news of the safe arrival of that ship in the Downs from Bengal, where everything is said at length to be settled in tranquillity. But at the same time brings an account of a most barbarous massacre at Patna of our people, who were prisoners there, 58 of whom they murdered in cold blood in one night. Cossim Ally Cawn, not satisfied with this, continued the massacre of every European that was in his power. But the hand of Providence has been manifest in his total defeat. His troops were everywhere

routed, and he is now driven, a wretched exile, into a country where he must live, while he does live, in perpetual fear of a most tormenting death."

Who was John Gordon? Who was his father? What was his regiment? It seems a strange irony that he should have had to wait 143 years for a little niche in the temple of fame; and at such a length of time one is at a great disadvantage in discovering his real identity.

He was probably the son of George Gordon, laird of Fifthpart, Dundurcus (died 1768), and a brother of Rev. James Gordon, minister of Bellie (died 1809). The instinct for soldiering ran in the minister and his son to the extent of becoming army chaplains. It is quite probable that the Duke of Gordon, who presented the minister in 1769 to Bellie, had previously got a commission for John. But that is all guess-work. Indeed, but for this anonymous announcement in the "Journal," we would never have known that John Gordon was either in the army or at Patna when the horrible massacre occurred on October 5 and 11, 1763, nine months before the arrival of the news in England. His name occurs in Talboys Wheeler's little-known pamphlet, "A Memorandum on the Records in the Foreign Department" (Calcutta, 1865), but only as "Lieut. Gordon." So far as we can discover, the "Aberdeen Journal" as quoted is almost the only authority for stating that Gordon's name was John, and brief as the announcement is, one is very grateful for the moiety of identification.

It is quite astonishing, however, how little is known about the 1763 massacre at Patna, which has been quite overshadowed by the horror of the Black Hole of Calcutta, though that occurred seven years before; and still more by the Mutiny which broke out in 1857 at Dinapur, the military station attached to Patna. As an example of the ignorance about Patna, it may be mentioned that Mr H. G. Keene, C.I.E., in his recent book, "Hindustan under Free Lances," makes the extraordinary statement that Dr Fullarton, the only man who escaped, "is not known to have left any written record of the massacre," and he goes on to show that the massacre was not a "myth." As a matter of fact, however, not only did Dr Fullarton present a report to the Council, but it has actually been printed. Besides it, we have two other accounts. The three accounts may still be seen (in MS.) at the India Office:—

(1). Dr William Fullarton's report to the Council at Calcutta; down to October 15, and dated December 19, 1763.

(2). Journal kept by William Anderson, surgeon to the army; from June 23 to October 6. He was massacred.

(3). Journal kept by Peter Campbell; from June 23 to August 16. He also was massacred.

The three narratives will be found in Appendix 2 of Wheeler's "Memorandum." The book, however, is so rare that there is no copy of it in the India Office Library nor in the British Museum. Nor does it contain the entire available data, for two letters which Surgeon Anderson wrote to John Davidson, surgeon in Bengal, on August 26 and October 6, 1763, have never been printed at all, remaining still in manuscript at the India Office. Yet even all these documents do not go to the origin of the massacre, which belonged to political rather than military history, so that the meagre mention of the massacre in the "Aberdeen Journal" of 1764 was after all quite excusable.

The trouble arose, as the troubles of our Empire-making always will arise, through our interference with the local conditions in the sacred name of civilisation. In 1761 we replaced the famous Mir Jaffir, Nawab of Murshidabad, by his son-in-law, Mir Kassim, who, we imagined, would prove more pliable for our purpose. But so far from being grateful, he declined to play the puppet or to let the strings be pulled by us. He soon let us see that he had a will of his own, and that he cherished dreams of independence. He therefore began to forge a weapon with which to strike. Retiring from Murshidabad to Monghyr, a strong position on the Ganges, he began drilling an army on European models, relying much on the advice of one Walter Reinhart, the villain of the piece, who had joined his army with a battalion of foot.

Reinhart had an extraordinary history. His origin is obscure. Lewis Ferdinand Smith in his "Sketch of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India" (1805), says (p. 15) that Reinhart was a native of Salzburg and a butcher by trade. Some say he was a Swiss. Mr Boase, in "The Dictionary of National Biography," says he came from Strasbourg and was originally a carpenter. Beale in his "Oriental Biographical Dictionary," followed by Keene in his "Hindustan under Free Lances," says he was born in the electoral province of Treves about the year 1720. He entered the

French army as a common soldier, "taking," so Beale declares, "for his nom-de-guerre 'Summer,' which his comrades from his saturnine complexion turned into 'Sombre,' and the Indians by corruption into 'Samru' and 'Shamru.'" The flag of France had taken him to India, where the great struggle for mastery was in progress. But like many soldiers of fortune of that period, "Sombre" was not very particular as to whom he fought for. So when the French surrendered in 1750 to the British at Trichinopoly with Law (the nephew of John Law, the notorious Scots financier), who commanded the French force, "Sombre" joined the British army. But in 1756 he deserted and rejoined the French, accompanying Law to Bengal in the capacity of a sergeant. Then, according to Mr S. C. Hill's "Major-General Claud Martin" (p. 24), he took part with Gregory Khan, the Armenian general in the service of Mir Kassim, and was in a position of some importance when Mir Kassim fell out with the English.

We ourselves afforded Mir Kassim an excellent opportunity of asserting his independence, by a piece of administrative bungling. Mir Kassim agreed to a convention which was accepted by Vansittart, the Governor, by which a transit duty of only 9 per cent. should be paid by English traders, which was far below the rate exacted from other merchants. The convention was repudiated by the Council, and so Mir Kassim, by way of retaliation, decided to abandon all duties whatever. In April, 1763, we sent two envoys, Hay and Amyatt, to treat with Mir Kassim at Monghyr. The feeling of revolt, however, was abroad, and when the Nawab's officers fired on an English boat, the whole country was soon in a blaze.

Mir Kassim had at his disposal an army of 40,000 men (of whom 25,000 had been trained on European lines)—the biggest force that had ever opposed us in India. All we could put up in opposition was an army of from 2300 to 3000 men, of whom only 850 were Europeans, commanded by Major Thomas Adams (1730?-1764). But despite this disparity of numbers, we were so little afraid that Mr Ellis, on behalf of the Company, seized Patna—now the great emporium of the Ganges between Cawnpore and Calcutta—where we had established a "factory." The "seizure" was effected on June 24. Fullarton, however, tells us that for seven days before that, preparations of war had been carried on with great vigour on both sides. Mindialy Cawn, who governed the city, was employed in

repairing the ramparts, clearing the ditch, posting troops on the walls, and doubling the guards to the westward of the city. The factory walls were likewise repaired; the ditch was cleared; and two 24-pounders were mounted; the terrace top of the Factory House was all round fortified with sand bags; and two 3-pounders were mounted there.

The date for seizing the town, June 24, seems to have been chosen deliberately as a way of celebrating the battle of Plassey, where Clive had routed the Hindus under Surajah Dowlah seven years before (June 23, 1757). Patna was to be the rout of the Mohammedan power to Bengal, and though we "muddled through" in the long run, the desirable consummation was not effected without a great deal of unnecessary suffering, in which Lieut. John Gordon sacrificed his life.

Plassey and its glories dazzled the diarists. Anderson writes on June 23:—

"Being the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, we all dined at the Factory, when it was easy to observe by the faces of the gentlemen that somewhat of importance was on the carpet, for our Council had been sitting, and orders were issued out for the guards to be relieved by the awkward men, and the captains to meet the commanding officer at his quarters at eight in the evening. It seems the gentlemen at the Factory had advice of Mr Amyatt's negotiation at Mongheer being broken off, and a day appointed for his departure; also that a strong detachment of horse and Sepoys, to the number of 3000 with six guns, were on their march to Patna, so that as war seemed inevitable, they thought it best to strike the first stroke by possessing themselves of the city of Patna. However, they were willing to wait for certain advices from Mr Amyatt."

Campbell starts his story in much the same strain:—

"This day I dined at the Factory with most of the officers in commemoration of the battle of Plassey, when I observed by the private conferences of Messrs Ellis and Carstairs that the public embroils which had been long threatening appeared to be coming near to a crisis, which made me take Carstairs aside and ask him whether he thought it was safe to stay longer in the city. He told me for that night I may, but no longer, and invited me out to his garden

"June 24.—This morning I employed myself in settling matters with my Banian and getting my things sent out to Capt. Carstairs's. I dined at the Factory, where the gentlemen kept everything very private. Arrived at Carstairs's about 4 o'clock. Upon enquiry of him understood that they intended attacking the city to-morrow morning; but he had just received a chit from Mr Ellis, wherein he mentioned he had received intelligence by the Cosid that Mr Amyatt had been entertained by the Nabob with a nauch (nautch) and came home mightily pleased. Wherefore he thought their intentions of attack should be deferred till he heard from Mr Amyatt himself, which he expected that evening; and should then give him immediate notice. Betwixt 8 and 9 a message arrived that he had heard from Mr Amyatt and that he had leave of the Nabob to proceed to Calcutta on the 24th, wherefore he ordered the attack should be made in the morning. As they formerly agreed, most of the officers supped with Carstairs, and I came into the factory between eleven and twelve and found all the gentlemen making all the preparations for the attack."

June 25.—Our army consisted of 150 European rank and file, 40 artillery, and 2,200 Sepoys. Two o'clock in the morning was the hour appointed for the attack. Fullarton then embarked with 23 sick Europeans in boats and got them safely up the Ganges to the Factory by nine o'clock in the morning. He tells the military side of the story thus:—

"At half an hour before one (in the morning) the troops under command of Captain Carstairs marched from the cantonments in two divisions, and Captain Carstairs having sent 50 Sepoys—25 to each of the grand roads at 11 the night of the 24th June to take everybody that might pass that way till the arrival of the troops—they took fifty prisoners, a great many of whom were Hurcarras [messengers]; by which means they had not the least intelligence in the city. The first division commanded by Captain Carstairs, consisted of 150 Europeans, Captain Talby's battalion of Sepoys, and five companies of Captain Wilson's. The second division consisted of 50 Europeans, Captain Turner's battalion of Sepoys, and two guns. The first division with the scaling ladders came down the great western road. The second came

through the town right down to the west gate, and there remained under cover. The first division planted their ladders near the south-west bastion of the city. They mounted and got in with little opposition and little loss. They marched down along the walls to the west gate, which they opened (our guns and small arms keeping a constant fire from the Factory upon the city), and the second division and guns came in. Lieut. Downie, who commanded in the Factory with three companies of Sepoys, a little after our troops had got possession of the west gate, stormed the Birbunna gate; got in with little loss; and marched to the killa [fort], partly by the river-side, partly by lanes near the river. Captain Tabby with his battallon went round the walls and drove the enemy from them, posting his own guards as he went, and came to the east gate. By the time both our divisions had got into the city, Mirza Mindialy Cawn, the Governor, had intelligence of it, and collected a body of horse and gunmen, and marching down the main street, he met Captain Carstairs, who with Captain Turner's Sepoys, Europeans, and guns, lined the street and filled the lanes and the tops of the houses of both sides, and a warm scuffle ensued with loss on both sides. Captain Perry and Lieut. M'Dowell were both killed; Captains Jouker and Willson were wounded; and 30 Europeans killed and wounded, with a number of Sepoys, but our grape and musketry was so warm that they retired, and Mindialy Cawn with the rest of the commanders went out at the east gate of the city and took the road towards Futwa. Our troops marched to the east gate after them, and there met Captain Tabby, who had just arrived, having come round the walls. The east gate was immediately shut, the bridge leading into it broken down, and the Sepoys sent along the killa walls down to the river side, and took possession of the only gate remaining in the hands of the enemy, called the water gate. After this, several messages passed between Captain Carstairs and Mr Ellis, and everything seemed to be over. About 9 o'clock Captain Carstairs came to the Factory with several of the officers. At 10 we heard firing in the killa, and the gentlemen went to the Fort. The firing continued and increased. One Lollsa jemadar of foot, who had his women in a house in

the killa, did not chuse to leave them, so retired into his house with 30 men, and there remained quiet till some of our Sepoys began to plunder his house. He then, in defence of his women, drove them out."

"There were likewise about 200 men who had secreted themselves in a large house near the killa called Chelsetoon. Lollsa, after having driven the Sepoys from his house, fired on the sentries that were posted on the walls of the killa near his house, and sent a message to Mindialy Cawn, who with the rest of the principal commanders had got the length of Fatwa Bridge, that if he could return he would be able with his assistance to drive the English out of the city. Mindialy Cawn met at Fatwa with Aleem Cawn, 100 horse and 20 camels loaded with fire arrows from Mongheer for his garrison. Just at the time of his receiving Lollsa's message, he immediately returned, and by the way picked up about 1000 horse and foot that were flying from the city. At the same time that Lollsa sent to Mindialy Cawn, he sent likewise to the Chelsetoon and told those men that were there that he had still defended part of the killa and desired their assistance. About 50 of them came to him by a small passage from the Chelsetoon to the killa, and there they defended themselves till near 12 o'clock, when Mindialy Cawn arrived.

"About this time our Sepoys were employed in plundering the town, and little order or obedience to their officers was observed. Nor could a sufficient body of them be got together to make a stand, so that Mindialy Cawn met with little resistance in driving all our troops out of the city. As our people went along they met with enemies everywhere. The Sepoys, who had concealed themselves in the different houses upon hearing of the Naib's return, sallied out everywhere and fired on them, so that about 3 o'clock they arrived at the Factory in the utmost confusion, having lost in the retreat Lieut. Reed of the artillery, Lieut. Downie of the Sepoys killed, and Lieut. Parry wounded. Several attempts were made by the officers to rally both the Sepoys and Europeans; but to no purpose. It was generally imagined that great part of the Sepoys were gone off with what plunder they had got, and that night at a muster there were only about 170 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys to be found. The confusion of

such a number of troops with the sick and wounded in so small a place as the Factory must be easily imagined, and that evening about sunset the city was strongly reinforced by Marcott, with 1500 Sepoys and 2 guns and some horse, who that night began to ply us with musketry from the walls, and cannonading the Factory from the west gate. Messrs Greentree and Pickering were called in from the cantonments, where they had been left with 200 new Sepoys."

June 26.—A brisk cannonade was kept up by both parties during the whole of this day. In the evening a council was held to see how the disaster of the previous day was to be retrieved. Anderson says that various alternatives were proposed:—

"1.—The Factory being but small and badly provided with firearms and provisions for 1200 Sepoys and 200 Europeans; besides, we must have expected to be entirely shut up with the fresh troops which would have come from Mongheer; therefore to defend it was thought to be of no purpose.

"2.—To take boats and proceed by water to Calcutta; but in the first place boats could not be procured for such a number, and we must have expected an opposition at Mongheer, where intelligence must arrive one day before us.

"3.—To cross the river and march down on the opposite side. This must have been to sacrifice many, as we must have embarked in the face of a numerous enemy, and who had doubtless troops ready opposite Mongheer to meet us. Besides it was impossible without bullocks and coolies to have either guns or much ammunition with us.

"4.—Therefore the final determination, and indeed that had most chance of succeeding, was to procure by force as many boats as we could; send them up to Phytazy Pass, to cross the river there with our howitzer, march up the Sarcar Serang country, and so cross over to Sujah Dowla's country."

Campbell adds that it was "found impracticable to carry any guns, but we carried a howitt, but no shells. The reason of that I don't know; both which, we experienced afterwards, would have been of the utmost consequence to us. Our treasure amounted to pretty near a lack. That was shipped off; but by some mismanagement one boat that part of it was put in sunk as she was setting off,

and with difficulty saved. The other was too deep and ran aground, which obliged them to throw some of it overboard, so that there was deficient 20,000 rupees."

The refugees got separated, which makes the narrative difficult to tell consecutively; and as we do not know what party Gordon accompanied, it will be necessary to use all three narratives in telling the story.

Fullarton says that about 12 o'clock he was ordered by Ellis to proceed with what boats he had collected to Paleejah Ghat, about six miles up the river, and there to remain for further orders. At 3 in the afternoon he was ordered to get the boats ready for transporting the troops over into the Sarcasaring country as soon as possible. At 10 at night they arrived, numbering about 170 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys, with a howitzer. Our troops, on their leaving the Factory, set fire to the gunge and all the large Betlenutt bungalows near the Factory, to hinder the enemy's approach, and an officer with 30 Europeans remained in the Factory half-an-hour after the main body marched off, to bring up the rear with the baggage, but the fire from the city was so warm that the coolies and lascars threw most part of the ammunition down and deserted, so that only seven barrels of musket ammunition was saved, and the Sepoys and Europeans had only twelve rounds [of ammunition] a man.

June 27.—The embarkation (30 boats being used) lasted from three to ten o'clock in the morning. Fullarton's party included Anderson, Lady Hope, and the wounded. Anderson says that soon after the embarkation Capt. Tabby's Sepoys were ordered to march to the ground to the north of the French Factory, and there wait for the Europeans. Mr Ellis with a company of Sepoys from that body, attended by some civilians, made the best of their way to the boats. Capt. Carstairs with the Europeans and Turner's Sepoys kept up a brisk fire till near 12 o'clock, and everything being quite ready, spiked up the guns, etc., and marched out and so proceeded to the boats without the least molestation. "About 2 we began to cross as quick as possible, and without confusion, but before a third were over it began to blow and rain, so that the boats could not cross. In the meantime those who had crossed over were alarmed with a body of horse running to attack them. They beat to arms, got the howitzer ready, and advanced 200 or 300 yards to be clear of the village, and so waited

for them, but they thought proper to keep at a distance."

Fullarton's party a little before sunset on the 27th marched from Paleejah to Ryputtee, a distance of eight miles, where the army got no provisions but a little rice, the country people being afraid to supply them on account of the Phonsdar Nideram's being in arms to oppose the English. Ellis ordered Fullarton to take charge of the treasure with all the boats, and allotted for their guard a company of Sepoys.

June 28.—Fullarton's boats, which were fired at by Sombre's troops, were joined at three in the afternoon by the other boats. Chiran, where they met, was 10 miles from Rypuldee, which Campbell's party reached on the 27th.

June 29.—The army proceeded to Agaib Gunje. Fullarton says they were discontented for want of provisions the day before. This being a village of the Company's, they got some rice. The boats were in this morning, before the troops marched, and reinforced by Lieut. Armstrong with another company of Sepoys. "We had news that Nideram was coming to fight with us with 3000 horse and 5000 foot."

June 30.—"We marched from Agaib Gunje to Maripoore five coss (ten miles). The boats came up within a coss of the camp into the Dewa river, but it was with great difficulty, we being obliged to track. Nideram came and was defeated, with no loss on our side, but about 200 of his men killed. This day a boat that fell in the rear was taken. A havildar and eight Sepoys were in it. Three of them were killed. The rest joined, but without their arms. Nideram went towards Chuprah a few coss, where he met Shimroo [Sombre] with three battalions of Sepoys and eight pieces of cannon and a large body of horse sent from Patna after us. Shimroo made Nideram return, but we had no intelligence of them. Our harcarras had all deserted, and none of the country people would come near us."

July 1.—"The army came to the banks of the Dewa, a coss from where they lay at Maripoor. The Dewa formed three streams at this place. Our boats got into the middle one, and could not pass through for want of water. They were half a mile from the army, and were ordered down to the place where the three streams met. The army likewise moved this morning, and, in marching off the picket, 100 Sepoys lost their way, and had a warm scuffle with part of Shimroo's guards. Only

the subadar and 35 Sepoys with the colours got to us. About 8 o'clock we were surrounded by Shimroo with three battalions of Sepoys, eight pieces of cannon, and a body of about 10,000 horse and foot, Nideram included. Two of Shimroo's battalions had European arms, and one country matchlocks. On their approach, orders were sent for the 200 Sepoys (that had been left to guard the boats) to join us. We got the howitt landed and prepared to receive them. They came within 800 yards, and began to cannonade us. There was a nulla about 50 yards in our front, but little water in it, and a small bank in the front of our line, behind which we were drawn up. The enemy did not seem much inclinable to attack us, but kept up a brisk fire from their artillery and jinjalls. About 10 o'clock it was determined that we should attack them, and Mr Ellis, being much fatigued and somewhat out of order, came down to the boats and ordered some liquor to be sent up to the men. A little after this, Captain Carstairs was mortally wounded [in the thigh] with a jinjall ball, and the command devolved on Captain Tabby. Our people were not allowed to fire on account of the great scarcity of ammunition, and the enemy began to come near and nearer, but very slowly.

"At three in the afternoon a company of their Sepoys came down to the banks of the nulla, and lay behind them and kept a warm fire of musketry on us. They all after this moved down by degrees and tried to stop the cannon and fire, and then moved again. Our troops were much fatigued for want of provisions, etc., and being exposed to a warm fire all day. About half an hour after sunset the firing increased, and they began to ply us with musketry, crossed the nulla, and attacked us on all sides. About eight at night the Europeans broke and fled; the Sepoys stood their ground, keeping a warm fire upon the enemy till all their ammunition was expended, when they likewise gave way. Lieutenants Pickering and Crofts, both of the Sepoys, were killed, and the rest of the gentlemen that were in the field were taken. The boats where Mr Ellis was, finding the fire cease, some of the officers that could swim crossed the branch of the river (for the boats lay on an island), opposite to where the action was, pushed off and got into the river. Messrs Ellis, Howitt, and Smith, with Captain Jouker, thought proper to write to Nideram to send some of his people to conduct them to Patna to Mindialy Cawn, and it was likewise determined that Mr

Ellis should write to Mindialy Cawn desiring that he should send orders for conducting him and the gentlemen safe there. About 10 at night I was sent with a letter to Mindialy Cawn in a small dingee, and got down to Patna about 12 next morning."

July 2.—"I sent immediately to the Naib to let him know that I was come. He sent for me and used me very well, sending an order to Nideram to conduct the gentlemen safe to him, but before that could arrive, they were all taken by Shimeroo that morning about 10. I was kept close prisoner in the killa, and at night the Naib came and desired me to write a chit to some gentlemen that were come in a budgero to Hagipore to come to him, as they might be ill-used by the country people; which I did."

July 4.—"They came two days after and were sent immediately to Mongheer; but were sent back again, and kept in the Chelsetoon. They had buried Captain Carstairs, who died of his wound in his budgero. These gentlemen were Captain Wilson, Lieut. Armstrong, Ensign Mackay, Mr Anderson, surgeon, and Mr Peter Campbell, and two soldiers."

Anderson says that on reaching the fort at Patna, where they were brought to the Durbar, they were kindly received by Ali Mindialy Cawn, who had victuals brought in plenty. "After giving us betle we were shown to our apartment under the care of Merza Caleel, a near relation of his own, who for the short time we remained with him did his utmost to render everything as agreeable as possible to us, even the most menial services. He sent for us to his own room and had some country spirit for us to drink; gave orders to bring up all our things and that there might not be the least thing touched. We thought ourselves extremely happy in such gentle usage, for the Nabob himself came in, sat down with us at Merza Caleel's, and told us he expected Mr Ellis with 30 gentlemen and 20 soldiers the next day [July 5], for they had set out from Chupperah. At 9 we returned to our apartments, where Mr Fullarton came an hour after and acquainted us that orders had come for sending us to Mongheer, and we must go immediately. This surprised us much, as it was very dark, and the stream rapid, but by speaking to our friend Merza Caleel it was put off till the morning. Accordingly, early we got all ready and had everything sent to the budgerow, where he went himself to see us safely delivered to the jemadar who had charge of

us. He had sent some bread and a roasted kid into the boat for our use, which we took very kind. Captain Wilson with great difficulty persuaded him to accept his sword in a compliment."

July 6.—Anderson's party was sent back to Mongheer, while Ellis with the rest of the "gentlemen" arrived at Patna. Fullarton petitioned the Nabob to be allowed to see Ellis, but was refused.

July 8.—Ellis with the rest of the "gentlemen" were sent back to Mongheer, and there confined. There was 45,000 of the Company's cash aboard the budgerow where Mr Ellis was taken, and some plate, which was given to him to put in the care of some of the Nabob's people, to be given him when he wanted it, some time. It remained with Caja Petruss, afterwards with Mamodom Cawn.

July 16.—Fullarton was sent down to Mongheer, and there confined separately from the rest of the "gentlemen," who were all well used, though strictly confined. He had victuals sent regularly by the Nabob twice a day.

July 18.—The whole party, sent back again from Mongheer, reached Patna at ten o'clock in the morning. Campbell says:—"Soon afterwards, Captain Wilson was sent for ashore. About 12 we were all sent for; understood that the Governor was at the west gate. We were received by the Dewan; were kept in a sort of Durbar place immensely close and hot; had dinner brought us. The Governor did not come in till 6, and soon afterwards he sent for us; received us very politely, and made us understand we should have every indulgence in his power. He assured us that we should have a much more airy and retired apartment than what we were in at present, and provided us with the Dewan's bungalow for the night, which was very cool and pleasant. He at the same time acquainted us he believed the reason of our being sent up here again was owing to the letter he wrote the Nabob, wherein he mentioned to him, if he had not convenience at Mongheer, he begged he would return us to him."

July 19.—"Early in the morning we were brought down from the bungalow to our old apartment. But as we were in hourly expectation of being removed to a proper place allotted for us, we thought nothing of it. About 10, in one end of the room where we were a fire was lighted, which had almost suffocated us with heat and smoke; it was to dress the Dewan's victuals, as he is a gentoo he cannot dress in any of the Morman's cook-rooms. Upon our complaining, they assured us it

should be done no more. We passed that day very disagreeably; were greatly surprised to find no order for bringing our things from the budgero, nor any other place appointed us. The cause we understood to be the Dewan being affronted at our being laid in his bungalow the last night. We got a few bottles of wine from the Dutch Factory, but our guard understanding it, insisted upon seizing them, which they accordingly did to the great mortification of some of our messmates."

Anderson says:—"To-night we found it very disagreeable on account of heat, bugs, and a noisy guard, who occupy the verandah of our apartment"; and who consisted of a jamidar, 20 gunmen, and two Sepoys with "screwed" bayonets.

July 21.—Campbell writes:—" . . . Got a pack of cards and amused ourselves with a game at whist. Much troubled with flies, and the time hangs very heavy. We are to lie in the veranda as before. Had all our baggage from the budgerow, and find that our boys have stole 138 rupees; are afraid to deliver them up to justice, upon account of our transaction at Hadjipore; allowed two of them to go away whom we judge to be guilty."

July 22.—Anderson writes:—"About 4 in the afternoon we were called on a sudden from our apartment, leaving two soldiers. We were led in to the city, and on our way met two Europeans with a guard, who told us there were 15 of them come up from Mongheer. We were led through several windings and byways to a place where all sorts of prisoners are confined, for after passing two compounds we came to a third where we observed some prisoners in irons, which gave us but an indifferent idea of the place, more especially as the apartment we were put in was quite close, damp, and hung with cobwebs. . . . We had not been here an hour before we began to be somewhat better reconciled to it, for all our things were sent to us very carefully. We found this a place for State prisoners, and several people of some consequence have been here ever since Ramnarain's misfortune. There are about 200 Peons as a guard to this prison, who allow us to walk all the length of the square, so that we find we are here more retired and have more liberty."

July 23.—Campbell writes:—"We had a very agreeable night, and begin to like our prison much better than our former apartments. Passed the day very agreeably. Sent out and purchased victuals for ourselves. Sent in the evening to the killa to know whether we were to expect enter-

tainment from thence or not. Were given to understand that we must provide for ourselves in everything we wanted. Have visits from some of our fellow prisoners, whom we find to be very sensible men, and condole with us in our present situation."

July 24.—Campbell writes:—"Had a pleasant night, and find our new habitation quite retired and as agreeable as we could expect. Have employed tailors to make us some banians shirts, etc., Had a leg of roast mutton and curry, steaks, etc., for dinner, and a draught of good cool sherbet to wash it down. We were a little alarmed about 5 with our keeper and his guard, taking out four or five pair of irons, thinking they might be for our use, as he gave us a small hint the night before, in a joke, how we should like them, but we soon found they were only examining them to see if they were in good order."

July 25.—Campbell writes:—"Our man Nicolo smuggled in a bottle of Dutch liquor, which was very acceptable. He got also in the evening a bottle of gin."

July 26.—Anderson writes:—"To-day close and sultry, which makes the flies very troublesome to us. Had a small recruit of two bottles of gin, which is two days' allowance. The economy we have established is to drink twice a day. Dine at one and take a walk, and in the evening are asleep at 10. Supper we have none. The intervals are filled up with reading, gaming, and converse with our fellow prisoners."

July 29.—Anderson writes:—"On sending to-day for our victuals the consumah said he had not his master's orders, by which means we were disappointed of our dinner."

July 30.—Anderson writes:—"To-day we sent our servant to the Nabob to request that we might be allowed to send to the Dutch for a little liquor daily, as custom had rendered it necessary for our health; also that we might have a daily allowance in money rather than in victuals, as it was not dressed in our way, both of which he granted, allowing us four rupees per day and liberty to bring in two bottles of liquor per day. Sunday 31.—Had a case bottle of gin brought in with authority, having procured a case from the Dutch doctor for 50 rs. rather than give 2 rupees a common bottle, which runs 10 wine glasses, when a case bottle runs 30, but we find it much adulterated, which considering the Jew we bought it of is not surprising."

July 31.—Campbell writes:—"Very heavy rains for these two days. Our former cook has left us, which would have distressed us much, had it not been for Ensign Mackay, who has a thorough knowledge in cookery, and has officiated in that office greatly to our satisfaction for these two days. We have provided ourselves with another cook, and Nicolo purchased a case of gin from the Dutch Snout's Scraper for 50 rupees. We purpose bringing in two or three bottles at a time according to our allowance, as it comes much cheaper by being bought in a quantity. The Snout's Scraper being a great Jew, he also sold two knives and forks, and two cups and saucers for the small price of 4 rupees."

Meantime a strong effort was being made by Major Adams and his little army to rescue the prisoners and inflict a blow on Mir Kassim. Adams began his campaign on July 2, but it was not till a month later, August 2, that he was able to strike. He did so at Gheria, defeating Mir Kassim badly. The battle, which lasted four hours, opened doubtfully. At one time the Nawab's troops broke through a portion of the British line and captured two guns, but the gallantry of the King's troops, and the steadiness of our Sepoys, admirably generalled by Adams, saved the day. The Nawab, savage at his defeat, then had Hay and Amyatt, whom he had allowed to leave, assassinated on their way back to Calcutta. The news of these events dribbled through to the prisoners in Patna with the most agonising effect. One day they were elated; the next depressed. The news of the murder, however, was confirmed on August 11 by Bernet and Thompson, who were taken to Patna by the Nawab himself. They told him Amyatt and Ensign Cooper had been killed at Muradabad.

"They had embarked all the party and sent the horses, etc., with the seises by land, meeting with contrary winds. It was ten days ere they reached Muradabad, when at once they saw troops drawn up on each side of the river, with some great guns. They hailed them and desired them to come to, but, we not taking notice of them, some of them fired, on which some of our Sepoys began to fire also, and killed somebody on the shore, on which great guns and vollies were fired, which obliged them to put to the opposite shore. where was the least fire. Mr Amyatt notwithstanding the fire landed with a pair of pistols. He took the Nabob's perwanna in one hand and held it up to them and a pistol in the other, and



advanced to the top of the bank, where he was shot in the leg, and soon after cut to pieces. Ensign Cooper met the same fate in making resistance."

On August 9 the Nawab himself was uneasy. Anderson writes:—"The Nabob of this place is preparing to set out for Mongheer in a few days. Harcarras are in constant motion here transporting families and effects of the merchants out of the city. Troops from the smaller Phousdars are ordered to join at Mongheer, and a bridge building at Ruinulla. The selts are made close prisoners and great commotion among the great at Mongheer. It is said our troops are marching up, and by the latest advices were 15 coss from the lowest capital."

Fullarton's narrative records nothing from July 16 to August 10, when he writes:—"August 10.—"The Nabob left Mongheer and the fort was left in charge of Mamodom Cawn." Fullarton says:—"He treated us with the greatest lenity to appearance and pretended to carry on a treaty with Mr Ellis, but it was all a sham, for he never was in earnest. I was allowed to see the gentlemen, on account of Captain Turner's being ill, who afterwards died of a flux."

August 12.—Anderson writes:—"Numbers here are sending their families over the river. Mindialy Cawn set out to-day with the 200 Moguls and some Sepoys to Mongheer. To-day two padres, who had a few days ago gone from hence to Mongheer, returned on account of the confusion on the roads. They report the Nabob and all his troops are gone from thence, and it is believed he goes to make his last effort."

August 13.—Anderson writes:—"By certain intelligence we have gained a complete victory over Marcott, taken nine pieces of cannon, 3 jemadars with 1300 horse and 1800 Sepoys and Europeans went over to us; five days ago Grogan Cawn got the Nabob to march down with the remainder of his force, but with great reluctance; all the prisoners are well at Mongheer; his treasure is there yet."

August 14.—"Hear that the Nabob marched five days ago with about six thousand men. Comjar Cawn has marched to join him with one thousand horse, and two thousand horse from Battea are on their way for the same purpose."

August 26.—On this day Anderson writes to his friend Surgeon, John Davidson, from Patna as follows (the letter is now printed for the first time):

—"Dear Davidson: As our fate must soon be determined, I have in case of the worst, put together all my papers, and would have you collect my money, and remit home as soon as possible in case of my decease. Be sure to administer to poor M'Dowel's estate, or if Peter Gallopin should have done it already, pray write home and do your endeavour to find out his friends and get a proper power to act for them, for £1000 may be of great service to them, and it is at least a duty due to the memory of our friend. I have sent you a piece of a diary which I kept, by which you'll be able to judge of our affairs, but as it is very incorrect don't expose me by it. Doctor Nicola will be able to find out M'Dowal's banyan and Griffiths Mr Ellis's writer, in case you should want them. Draw his pay at 30 rupees per month from July 1st if you can get it. I would have you in case of my death, write Foss Westcott, Esq., of Greenwich, and remit to my father what money of mine is in his hands. Direct to Foss Westcott, Esq., to be left at the Jerusalem Coffee House, Cornhill, London. Now, my friend, I have I think, settled my affairs and done what in prudence I ought to do for the good of my friends and relatives. I have nothing more to add, but that by the blessing of God I am prepared for the worst that may happen from the chagrin and disappointment of a cruel and exasperated tyrant, who, if he have in his own power, will doubtless cut us all off as he can never expect to be re-instated. He is at present governed by the Armenians, who, I am persuaded, will not permit us to be hurt, if they can help it, for both Marcott and Sumero have behaved generously to those that fall into their hands, so that we are not without hope. However, I entirely rely on that Being who knows what is best for us, and am resigned to His will. I wish you well in health of body, peace of mind, for it is better to be good than to be great."

"Adieu, Wm. Anderson."

"P.S.—By current rumour, both here and at Mongheer, also by advices from thence, His Excellency is making a disposition to follow the Begum and treasure which set out from here this morning. He only wants it to cross ----- then he follows. He purposes to lodge it and his people that adhere to him in a strong fortress almost inaccessible called Ratisgurnah in the hills in the Budgepore country near Macraco. I suppose from thence he may purchase sceders from Sujah



Dowla, and so make a push in the dry season. It is said he carries off upwards of three crores of rupees."

Adams struck his next big blow on Sept. 5 at Udha-nala. Describing the battle, from hearing of course, Anderson writes on Sept. 7:—"By a messenger from Muradabad in nine days have the account of an action confirmed as follows. The enemy made an attack on our fascine battery at night. Our people quitted it, and having let about 4000 men land (for they crossed the nulla in boats), they immediately surrounded them and cut them off."

Writing again on Sept. 10 he says:—"We have from Niccolo some confused account of our storming the enemy's trenches in the night, entirely driving them thence and taking all their camp and artillery. Soomero and Marcott are missing, and the beaten troops obliged to retreat. It is reported 6 jemadars who were with Comdar Cawn are gone off. Things in the greatest confusion at His Excellency's court."

Mir Kasim was more savage than ever, and resolved to have his revenge on the English prisoners in his hands. On Sept. 9, a few days after his defeat at Udha-nala, he announced in a letter dated Sept. 9:—"I will cut off the heads of Mr Ellis [the local Agent of the Calcutta Council] and the rest of your chiefs, and send them to you. Exult not upon the success which you have gained merely by treachery and night assaults in two or three places, over a few jemaldars sent by me. By the will of God, you shall see in what manner this shall be avenged and retaliated."

Major Adams wrote in reply on Sept. 14, 1763:—"It is true you have Mr Ellis and many other gentlemen in your power. If a hair of their heads is hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the English, and you may depend on the utmost fury of their resentment, and that they will pursue you to the utmost extremity of the earth; and, should we unfortunately not lay hold of you, the vengeance of the Almighty cannot fail overtaking you if you perpetrate so horrid an act as the murder of the gentlemen in your custody."

This threat evoked from the President the following letter to Mir Kasim, dated Sept. 19, 1763:—"I have received from Major Adams the copy of your letter, dated the last of Sept. Mr Amyatt and Mr Hay were sent to you as ambassadors, a title sacred among all nations; yet, in violation of that title, you caused Mr Amyatt to be attacked

and killed on his return, and Mr Hay you unjustly kept as a prisoner with you. You surrounded and attacked our factory at Cossimbazar, and carried away our gentlemen from thence prisoners in a most disgraceful manner to Mongheer, although they had no concern in the war nor resisted your people. In like manner, in all other parts you attacked the English agents who were carrying on their trade quietly. Some you killed and some were carried away prisoners and their effects were everywhere plundered. After these proceedings, do you ask for what reason Major Adams was sent with an army? You know the laws of God and man. As you declared you would turn the English out of the country and had proceeded as far as you can towards it, it became necessary for us to take measures for our own defence and for the care of our reputation. Thanks be to God that success has attended our army so far, and they will continue their march in the same manner as far as the Caramnassa; and, although we are shocked at the revenge which you threaten to take upon the lives of our chiefs, yet the honour of our nation and the interests of the Company will not be sacrificed to this consideration, nor the operations of our army be stopped. To put prisoners of war to death is an act which will appear shocking and unlawful, not only to Christians and Mussulmen, but to the most barbarous Pagans. Such sentiments are nowhere to be met with but among the beasts of the forest."

"After the battle of Udah-nullah, above a thousand of your officers and men were prisoners in the hands of Major Adams, who released them without the least hurt or injury. Reflect upon this and on your own character, and remember also that if you had followed my advice this war would not have happened."

Meantime affairs were going very badly with the prisoners at Patna, as we shall see by returning to the diaries.

Sept. 13.—Fullarton records:—"Mr Ellis and the rest of the gentlemen were sent from Mongheer. Messrs Ellis and Greentree were in palankins; Lushington, Smith, Lieut. Bowen, and Ensign M'Leod, and one other gentleman, who I don't remember, were on horseback. The rest were in irons, some in dooleys and some in harcarrys, and after their arrival at Patna were confined in Hadguhamelt's house."

Sept. 14.—Anderson writes:—"This place is quite

full of the defeat of His Excellency's troops and the consequence of it; people are going off daily."

Sept. 16.—Anderson writes:—"We have not had these nine days any allowance from the Nabob on account of the confusion here, the consequence of the late defeat of His Excellency's troops. To-day we divided what cash remained in our possession, which came to 30 rupees each, and have sent the greatest part of the effects of others which were with us to the Dutch factory. This precaution we have taken lest we be ordered to march up country with His Excellency."

Sept. 18.—Anderson writes:—"His Excellency's people are going off in troops. Mirza Caleel and Mindialy Cawn are both arrived here, having fled from the late action. Our gentlemen are on their way from Mongheer to this place, and it is thought His Excellency intends pushing through the hills to Bengal in order to draw our troops down, prolong time, or to gain some assistance, which he may be in expectation of from above. To-day sent my superfluous clothes to the Dutch factory. We also received nine days' allowance out of eleven due to us. Our peons here seem in great agitation, and in short the whole city seems ready to take wing."

Sept. 19.—Fullarton was sent from Mongheer to Patna, and confined alone in the killa.

Sept. 26.—Anderson writes:—"This evening heard that 10 Europeans at Bar had been tied and thrown into the river, so that from this we may guess what we are to expect."

Sept. 30.—Anderson writes:—"The Nabob about three weeks ago proposed cutting all the prisoners off, but was prevented by Sombre, the Armenians, and seven of his jemadars. Grogan Cawn had 15 horses, which arrived here yesterday, but the gates were shut, and they not permitted to enter. As things go towards a crisis, our situation must create us much anxiety. It is said he will be at Ramnassera the day after to-morrow, so that our fates must be determined in two or three days at furthest."

Oct. 1.—Anderson writes:—"Mahmet Emy Cawn with the seltis and some of the prisoners still remain without the east gate. Twelve Europeans who came over with him arrived in the city to-day."

Oct. 2.—Ten Europeans arrived at Patna.

Oct. 3.—Many of the guard at Patna left the prisoners. The price of rice rose.

Oct. 4.—The Nabob arrived at Ramnarain's

gardens, and was due to enter Patna next day. The people busied themselves with mounting guns on the bastions.

Mir Kasim left to himself might have paused, for, if we are to believe Smith, it was "Sombre" who put him up to the massacre. The Nawab, himself, "started with horror at the diabolical idea of treacherously murdering the English in cold blood and refused." Smith goes on to declare that what was too villainous for the natives was "not too atrocious for the sanguinary temper of Sombre," who undertook "the criminal commission with ardour and alacrity."

Only one witness lived to tell the tale, namely, Fullarton. This part of his story is better known than the other, having been printed in 1765, in "Original Papers relative to the Disturbances in Bengal, 1759-1764" (ii. 294-300). He says:—

Oct. 5.—"Mr Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were inhumanely butchered by Shumroo, who came that evening to the place with two companies of Sepoys (he had the day before sent for all the knives and forks of the gentlemen). He surrounded the house with his people, and went into a little outer square, and sent for Messrs Ellis, Hay, and Lushington. And with them came six other gentlemen, who were all terribly mangled and cut to pieces, and their bodies thrown into a well in the square, and it filled up. Then the Sepoys were sent into the large square, and fired on the gentlemen there, and, rushing upon them, cut them into pieces in the most inhuman manner; and they were thrown into another well, which was likewise filled up."

Oct. 6.—Anderson taking up the tale on this date writes:—"Heard this morning that Mr Ellis and 47 gentlemen were cut off last night, so that doubtless our fate must be sealed in 24 hours, for which God prepare us all."

Here Anderson's diary ends. On the same day he wrote to his friend, Surgeon Davidson, as follows:—"Dear Davidson,—Since my last, His Excellency has been completely defeated, and in consequence obliged to retreat to Jaffir Cawn's gardens; and purposes coming into the city to-day. Sumero with the Sepoys arrived here last night, and I suppose to effect his wicked designs, for last night Mr Ellis and 48 gentlemen were murdered, and as almost an equal number remains, of soldiers and us, I expect my fate this night. Dear Davidson, this is no surprise to me, for I have all along expected it. I must, there-

fore, as a dying man, request you to collect and remit home my fortune as soon as possible, and write home a comforting letter to my father and mother. Let them know I die bravely as a Christian might, for I fear not him who can kill the body and nothing more, but rejoice in hopes of a future existence through the merits of my Saviour. Oh, Davidson, be not over anxious for a fortune; let mediocrity satisfy you, and go home and comfort your friends and mine. Endeavour to recover Mr Ellis's money if possible, but I believe the 14,000 rupees with Hancock is safe, which will be a help for my poor friends. You have full instructions in my other papers. You may give Nicola if he comes to you 200 rupees, and if you can, provide for him, for he is a good boy. Now, dear friend, I take my leave of you, hoping that that friendship will still subsist, for why may there not be the same friendship in a future state; friendship, founded on virtue, must subsist for ever. Fare you well, and may God give you satisfaction in life and joy in death.

—Yours,
William Anderson."

Oct. 7.—That is the last we hear from Anderson. The story is continued by Fullarton, who wrote on Oct. 7:—"The Nabob sent for me and told me to get myself in readiness to go to Calcutta, for that he had been unlucky in the war which, he asserted with great warmth, had not been of his seeking, nor had he been the aggressor; reproaching the English with want of fidelity and breach of treaty. But, he said, he had still hopes of an accommodation. He asked me what I thought of it. I told him I made no doubt of it. When some of his people then present mentioned the affair of Mr Amyatt's death, he declared that he had never given any orders of killing Mr Amyatt; and after receiving advice of Mr Ellis's having attacked Patna, he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces wherever they could find them. He likewise added, that if a treaty was not set afoot he would bring the King, the Marathas, and the Abdallahs against us, and so ruin our trade, etc. He had finished his letters and ordered boats and a guard to conduct me, when, upon the advice of some of his people, he stopped me and said there was no occasion for me to go. After his sending for me at first, he ordered the Sepoys in whose charge I was to go to their quarters, two Moguls and twelve Hircarabs to attend me, but to let me go about the city where I pleased. I then applied

for liberty to stay at the Dutch factory; which was granted.

"I applied to Mindialy Cawn for his interest on behalf of the gentlemen in the Chalfetoon, who were seven in number, and were not killed till Oct. 11, but, when he was petitioned about them, he gave no answer, but still sent orders to Shum-roo to cut them off. I likewise applied to Ali Ibrahim Cawn to intercede for them, but he gave him no answer."

All this time Adams was pressing on, and on Oct. 11 he captured Monghyr. Fullarton, continuing his narrative, writes:—

Oct. 14.—"The 14th, on the approach of our army, Cossim Aly decamped with his troops in great confusion, and marched as far as Fulwary, five coss to the westward of the city. The Hircarabs that were with me, having no orders about me, I gave them some money, which made them pretty easy."

Oct. 25th.—"After giving money to a jemadar that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch factory by the riverside, I set out in a small pulvar, and got safe to the boats, under the command of Captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city on the other side of the river; and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the army under the command of Major Adams, lying at Jutly."

Major Adams' account of the affair, dated Patna Oct. 18, 1763, as quoted in the "Bombay State Papers" (Home Series, vol. ii., p. 128), adds further particulars:—"The accounts which I have communicated to the President relative to the fate of our gentlemen at Patna are now confirmed by the arrival of several of their servants in camp. One Assuck, Consummah to Mr Allright, who gives the most distinct account, I intend to send down to Calcutta for your examination. He says that twelve days ago at seven o'clock in the evening, our gentlemen having drank tea, were acquainted by Mr Ellis's servant that Someroo was arrived with some Sepoys; on which Mr Ellis immediately ordered a chair to be brought for him; but instead of going to the gentlemen, he sent away the Mogul who had the charge of them, and went into the cook-room and gave orders to the servants, who were getting supper ready, to be gone. He then sent for Messrs Ellis and Lushington, who, being acquainted he had private business with them, immediately went to him and were instantly cut down. Afterwards Messrs Hay, Lyon, and

Jones were sent for and dispatched in the same manner, as were likewise Messrs Chambers, Amphlett, and Galston, who were sent for with Mr Smith, but he receiving a cut on the shoulder escaped into the room and acquainting the rest of the gentlemen, they defended themselves with bottles and plates (their knives and forks being taken from them after dinner), and obliged the Sepoys to retire; who immediately loaded their pieces and shot them; 25 were in irons. The above-mentioned gentlemen with others, amounting to 25 more, were not in irons. He adds that Captain Wilson, Ensign Mackay, Dr Campbell, and five or six more, were murdered at Chalisatoon, where they were confined with Dr Fullarton, who was the only gentleman that was not put to death, but that all the English soldiers were yet alive. This horrid massacre was perpetrated the night that Cossim Ali Cawn received the President's and my letter.

"The bodies of our gentlemen were most of them thrown in a well in the compound of the house they were confined in.

"They likewise say that immediately on the receipt of the news of Udha-nala being stormed, Cossim Ali Cawn ordered all the English to be sent out on the river and sunk there, but was prevented by Coja Gregore, who, had he lived, they say, would have prevented this horrid affair."

A similar account is given by Seid-gholam-Hossein-khan, who wrote a history of India in Persian (li. 505-6). He says:—"Somro, the European, that stony-hearted man, repaired to the house, then called Hadjiahmed's, where those ill-fated people were confined, and which, having become the burying ground of the English since that day, has had its name altered accordingly; and without the least hesitation or the least remorse he ordered all those unarmed men to be killed with musket balls. It is reported that in such a moment of distress and persecution those unfortunate men without losing courage marched up to their murderers and with empty bottles and stones and brickbats fought them to the last man, until they were all killed. It appears that two or three days before this event they had contrived by the means of their servants to procure abroad a number of muskets equal to their number with ammunition sufficient for their purpose. But they did not come to hand, for had they succeeded in this attempt they were resolved

to make their escape by main force, and, if not, to kill so many men in their own defence as should avenge their death and do honour to their memory."

The actual number of men massacred at Patna was 49, made up of 24 in the army, 16 Covenanted servants, and nine merchants. Besides these, 15 men lost their lives in the preliminary actions:—

Battle of Chupra	3
At Monghyr	2
At Muradabad	3
Assault on Patna	4
At Rungpore	3

The victims at Patna itself were as follows (as recorded in Talboys Wheeler's "Early Records of British India," pp. 318-328):—

MILITARY.	COVENANTED SERVANTS.	MERCHANTS.
Surgeon Anderson.	Amphett.	Allbright.
Ensign Armstrong.	Chambers.	Campbell.
Ensign Blewitt, senr.	Collings.	Folliot.
Ensign Blewitt, junr.	Croke.	Hardling.
Lieut. Bowen	Ellis.	Harris.
Ensign Crawford.	Eyton.	Howitt.
Surgeon Crook.	Gulston.	Johnstone.
Lieut. Gordon.	Hay.	Plaise.
Lieut. Greentree.	Howit.	West.
Lieut. Hamilton.	Hutchinson.	
Lieut. Holland.	Lake.	
Lieut. Hope.	Lushington.	
Capt Joecker.	Lyon.	
Lieut. Jones.	Oakes.	
Capt. John Kinch.	Round.	
Lieut. M'Kie.	Smith.	
Lieut. M'Leod.		
Lieut. Parry.		
Lieut. Richard Perry.		
Lieut. Roach.		
Capt. Summers.		
Lieut. Spunned.		
Lieut. Stewart.		
Capt Tabby.		
Capt. Wilson.		

The massacre was Mir Kassim's last coup. In October Major Adams marched on Patna and the town fell to his arms on Nov. 6. With its fall, Mohammedan power in Bengal was broken. Mir Kassim, for whose arrest the English offered £10,000, fled to Oudh, but his respite was brief, for just a year later, Oct. 23, 1764, Sir Hector Munro, himself an old Gordon Highlander, defeated the Nawab of Oudh, though he had but 857



Europeans and 6215 Sepoys to put against the Nawab's 50,000.

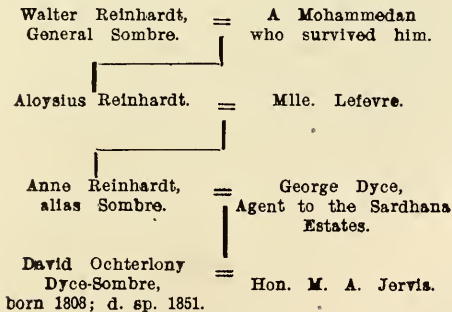
If Mir Kassim's dream was over, Sombre's had not yet reached its zenith, though the British offered £4000 for his head. He set out to seek his fortune in the disturbed districts south of the Jumna, finally taking service among the Bhurtpur Jats. In 1772 he raised two battalions, gradually augmented to four. Mr Keene gives a curious account of this strange army:—

"His following . . . comprised some low Europeans whom he had attracted from among the tramps of the time, with some guns and a few companies of men from the debris of Kasim's army. The total strength was then estimated at four battalions of foot, six field pieces, chiefly manned by Europeans, and a small corps of native cavalry. Those who are acquainted with the modern Indian loafer can best imagine the sort of ruffians that formed the gunners and officers of this force. Under fire a sort of stolid discipline prevailed; in camp, drunkenness and disobedience ruled supreme. The tactics of the brigade were simple; paying no attention to the grand disposition of the force with which they might be serving, they would enter the field from whatever quarter they deemed suitable; fire their guns with all possible precision as long as their side held its ground; if that side gave way they would retire their guns under a screen of infantry fire, and in case of a total defeat, pass over bodily into the service of the victors."

In 1774 Sombre got a good chance of changing colours. The Emperor of Delhi sent a minister to coerce the Jats, who had taken possession of Agra. The Jats were beaten, and Sombre's brigade went over next day to the conqueror. The reinforcement was welcomed. The brigade was taken into the Emperor of Delhi's service, a considerable fief near Delhi being assigned for its support, while Sombre was appointed to the charge of Agra, where he died in August, 1778. "He was buried in a fine tomb in the Catholic cemetery of the Civil Lines at Agra; and a still more substantial monument remains in the shape of a church, since converted into a printing office connected with the convent"—where a tablet still records the death of "Dominus Walter Rheinhard." Mr Keene says his actual tomb bears a Portuguese inscription.

Sombre married a Muslem wife, by whom he had a son. She went mad, however, and Sombre

kept house, as Mr Pinero euphemistically puts it, with a slave girl whom he had bought at Delhi. This lady, who is believed to have been of Arab origin, must have been quite as clever as Sombre, for she got his fief; was admitted with her stepson into the Catholic Church, 1781; and settled with her brigade at Sardhana, a village near Meerut, where she was known till her death in 1836 as the Begum. She married in 1792 a French officer named Levassoult, whom she put at the head of her brigade, which grew to five battalions, a regiment of Moghul horse, and 40 pieces of artillery. A portrait and an interesting account of her will be found in Mr Keene's book. She kept great style on European lines, and acquired a huge fortune, which she left to her step-great-grandson, David Ochterlony Dyce-Sombre. Although at her death her fiefs were confiscated and her brigade disbanded, her heir got £20,000 a year. Mr Keene gives the descent of Dyce-Sombre in tabular form:—



Dyce-Sombre had a curious career, and a sad end, which you will find detailed by Mr Boase in the "Dictionary of National Biography." For a time he was Liberal M.P. for Sudbury. He became insane (though he volubly repudiated the suggestion in a big book), and died at Davies Street, Berkeley Square, London, July 1, 1851, being buried at Kensal Green. After his death his sisters, Baroness Solari, and Mrs (Colonel) Troup disputed his will. The Scots (if not Aberdeenshire) destination of the murderer of Patna's issue is interesting in view of the Scotsmen he massacred at Patna.

Historians have found much difficulty in discovering "Sombre's" origin. But they have made a fair show of it. Surely there must be floating about somewhere in Elgin or Aberdeenshire, where John Gordon's (presumable) father died, some letters which would throw more light on the career of Sombre's victim at Patna. As it is, almost the only personal glimpse we get of the lieutenant is the list of his effects, which fetched 173.4 current rupees at the "publick outcry" at Calcutta on January 5, 1764. They consisted of ("Inventories at Mayor's Court," 1765; Records Department, India Office):—

Stockings, 5 pairs new and 9 pairs old	17.4
2 Coarse European sheets, 13 napkins, and 2 "pellercases"	7
1 Piece Madras chintz and 1 pallampore	12.12
1 Pair gurras and 2 remnants of gilmills	5.4
2 Small glasses	1.12
A lot of sundry odd things	4
3 Coats, 2 waistcoats, and 3 pairs of breeches	15
A Remnant of old brocade and 2 of black silk	7.12
3 Bracelets set in gold, 1 pair stone sleeve buttons, and a stone seal	15
A mahogany chest of drawers	71
A China ivory flower box	7

