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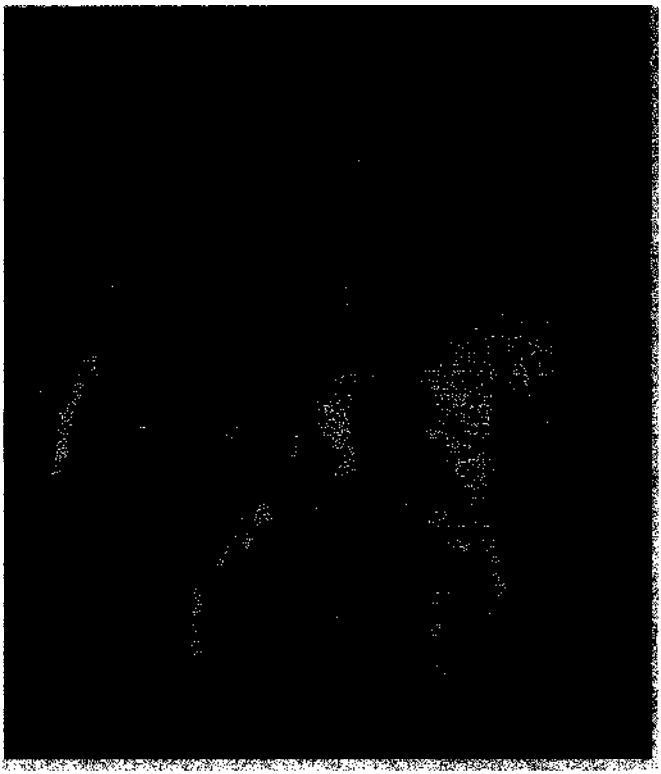

LORD LAKE AT FATEHGARH.

ROM THE PICTURE BY HOME IN THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL, CALCUTTA.
BY PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES.

FATEHGARH CAMP

1777-1857

BY

C. L. WALLACE, M.C, I.C.S.,

Magistrate and Collector, Farrukhabad.

LUCKNOW :

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The Picture of Lord Lake.

The painting of Lord Lake and his Staff at Fatehgarh in November 1804, executed by the artist Robert Home during his residence at Calcutta (1795-1814), stands at the far end of the Portrait Gallery in the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta. This picture, reckoned to be one of the finest in Calcutta, was for a long period of time relegated to the obscurity of the staircase in the Town Hall. Nothing was visible but the dim figure of Lord Lake, sitting on a horse of brown colour. In 1901 a restoration was carried out by Mr. Alexander Scott, which revealed the brown horse to be a grey charger, and showed Lord Lake's son and A.D.C. on a black horse on his right. In the background the details of a military review made their appearance. The following inscription is on the picture : " Gerard, Viscount Lake, Baron of Delhi and Laswaree, Commander-in-Chief in India 1800-1807. Born 1744. Died 1809."

Robert Home, the artist, was a native of London. He had exhibited at the Royal Academy before arriving at Madras, probably in 1790. From Madras he moved up to Calcutta, and from that place found his way to Lucknow. He was appointed as Court Painter by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula. In 1795, however, he was back again in Calcutta, but a second time securing the post of Court Painter to the King of Oudh, he returned to Lucknow, and is mentioned as having painted the portrait of Bishop Heber there in 1824. He then apparently settled at Cawnpore.

CHAPTER I.

THE TEMPORARY BRIGADE.

THE territory covered by the Farrukhabad District frequently changed rulers during the eighteenth century, for it was almost exactly divided between two rival Governments. The portion to the north of the Kali Nadi paid tribute to the Nawab of Rohilkhand, while the administration of the country to the south of that river lay in the hands of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, or the "Nabob Vizier", as he was popularly called by Englishmen of the time. With the help of forces sent by Warren Hastings the Nawab Vizier was able to defeat the Rohillas in 1774, and acquire the suzerainty of the whole district. The local potentate was the Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad, whose allegiance had now to be given to Lucknow together with an annual payment of four and a half lakhs of rupees. The Nawab Vizier himself was within a year involved in difficulties, which forced him to enter into the Treaty of Fyzabad with the East India Company in 1775, and he agreed to a regular brigade of the Company's troops being stationed in Oudh for his protection. The Cantonment of Cawnpore, or "Cawnpore Camp", thus came into existence. He later applied for a force to be officered by British officers, which would be incorporated with the Company's troops, and paid from his revenues. He had already in his service a large body of troops commanded by British officers; and this fact must not be forgotten, since many of the battalions of infantry, which were officially posted to the new camp of Fatehgarh after August 1777, were already in the vicinity of Farrukhabad, or living in the Cantonments at Mainpuri and Faizpur Camp (3rd Brigade) near Bilgram in the Hardoi District. Scattered detachments, too, were on duty in Rohilkhand and all over the Mainpuri and Etawah Districts, Lt.-Colonel Thomas Goddard being in command.

The proceedings of the Governor-General's Council dated the 4th August 1777 were contained in a resolution that the troops "now in the

Nabob of Oudh's service and commanded by British officers should be transferred to the Company and annexed to the three existing brigades ". It was ordered that the Vizier's troops in and around Farrukhabad should be united and modelled into a new brigade. Colonel Goddard in compliance with these orders formed the new, or temporary brigade, and was its first commauder up to October 1777. The resolution also contained some instructions in detail. Each of the three regular brigades was required to send three battalions of infantry and one company of artillery to him, each battalion to be commanded by a captain and two subalterns. Each company of artillery was to have a captain-lieutenant and a lieutenant-fireworker. In addition, there were to be four regiments of cavalry with a captain, two lieutenants and 480 troopers in each. One regiment was not to be raised for the time being. The brigade was to be called the " Temporary Brigade ". It was to continue for two years, and be relieved by similar detachments from the other three brigades. Troopers were to be mounted on their own horses. Returns were to be made as in the Company's army. Stores would be sent from the Patna and Chunar magazines at the Nawab's expense. Troops were to be clothed from the Company's warehouses. The new brigade was to be counted as a fourth brigade in one general return, but at the same time to be returned by Commanding Officers of the different brigades to which they belonged as detachments from those brigades. The three brigades sent 28 British sergeants for the infantry, and 10 British sergeants for the artillery of the new brigade.

It is evident from these orders that the brigade was at that period a larger formation than the brigade of after years. The whole Bengal Army, roughly twenty-five thousand men in strength, was divided into three brigades by the organisation of 1765. A brigade was made up by 1 European battalion, 1 company of European artillery, 1 cavalry regiment, and 7 infantry battalions. The result of the Governor-General's orders was that each detached a force equal to a modern brigade, in order to form the Temporary Brigade at Fatehgarh. The Nawab Vizier gave up nine infantry battalions, which were allotted, three to each of the Bengal Army brigades; and the intention was to form the Fatehgarh garrison

out of the battalions replaced by the Nawab Vizier's troops. There was probably some difference in discipline and training to the disadvantage of the Nawab Vizier's troops, who had less British officers and no British non-commissioned officers, as compared with the Company's troops. The former however were actually cantoned in, or near, the area of the new Temporary Brigade. It would have been o waste of time to march them to Dinapore, Midnapore, and other distant Cantonments of the Bengal Army brigades, to which they now belonged. They were accordingly left where they were, and joined their brigades on paper only. The three companies of Indian artillery remained with the Temporary Brigade. This was the first employment of such artillery by the British. Up to that date the artillery companies had been European in personnel. The three companies of the new artillery actually received a greater number of officers than that which had been ordered. Major Patrick Duff was the Officer Commanding; and he had under his command three captains, one lieutenant, five lieutenant-fireworkers, an adjutant, and a quartermaster. As subsequent events showed, the artillery proved to be the most efficient and best disciplined corps of the Temporary Brigade. Its British non-commissioned officers were men of good stamp. They were selected for posts bearing responsibility, like those of provost sergeant, supervisor of bazars, and supervisor of bullock lines. The infantry were relieved almost annually after 1780 and both officers and men, grumbled a good deal over it. The cavalry, on the other hand, were left at Fatehgarh for four years, the *2nd* Regiment staying with short exceptions for nearly twenty years.

The formal transfer of the Vizier's troops to the Company's service took place in September 1777. Fatehgarh was selected as a Cantonment in order to cover Lucknow, and for communication with that place and the detached posts in Rohilkhand. From Fatehgarh the Jumna ghats could also be watched, and incursions by those fords prevented. The Nawab Vizier had an empty fort at Fatehgarh, which could be made useful. By this fort was a flat plain along the Ganges, containing the three villages of Bholepur, Bhakramau, and Husainpur, which survive to-day in the two former cases as integral parts of Cantonments and the Municipal Area of Fatehgarh. The plain was devoid of trees, except in the vicinity

of the villages, and was covered with out-croppings of kankar. It was, notwithstanding these disadvantages, considered as suitable for the new Cantonment, or " Camp ", as it was called up to the Mutiny.

Long before the official resolution of the 4th August some orders must have been issued to the Commander of the Vizier's troops; for the laying out of the Fatehgarh Camp started in May 1777. There is evidence of the occupation of the Fatehgarh plain at an even earlier date, namely in 1776, in which year a cavalry regiment was being raised by Captain Marsack just outside Farrukhabad City. Lieutenant R. Foley of the 5th Battalion of Sepoys, commanding a company of the Nawab Vizier's artillery, made his will on the 1st November 1776 in camp near Farrukhabad. He was killed in action near Mainpuri in the following March; for throughout the whole year 1777 the country around Farrukhabad was in a state of great confusion, refractory zemindars shutting themselves up in their forts, and setting the Nawab Vizier's Government at defiance, particularly along the Jumna in the Etawah District. Sheo Singh, master of the forts at Ahaundi and Tungha, was the most notorious. During a greater part of the year Lt.-Colonel Goddard was opposing him with a strong body of the Nawab Vizier's troops, until at the end of the year he was driven across the Jumna. In consequence of these operations the concentration at Fatehgarh, therefore, appears to have been very gradual. Troops were moving there from Mainpuri during the winter of 1776-77. Mainpuri, in fact, had not been evacuated by April, since on the 3rd April Captain Charles Ware sent a complaint to the Governor-General from that place. He protested against being superseded in promotion by Captain Thomas Nay lor.

Charles Ware (1740-1803) started his career in the 85th and 84th Foot, being present at the capture of Manila in 1762. He had served, on the Bombay side of India with the 84th, and left the regiment with other officers on transfer to the Bengal Army of the East India Company, when the regiment went to Bengal from Bombay in 1764. He had thus been serving several years in the British Army before Naylor had even arrived in India. Naylor went out to India in 1764 as Purser of the " Success ", Indiaman. He obtained a cadetship from Lord Clive in the

following year, and it is hard to understand how he could ever have been placed above Ware, The latter, however, was made senior, and put in command of the 24th Battalion of the Temporary Brigade, Naylor commanding the 30th. The 30th Battalion survived all changes up to 1931, when it was known as the 4/1st Punjab Regiment. Ware became a notable character. He commanded the 1st Brigade in the Rohilla War of 1794. On the outbreak of the 2nd Mahratta War he was a Major General commanding at Fatehgarh, and joining Lord Lake's Grand Army at Gursahaiganj was put in charge of the Right Brigade. He was present at all the actions fought by Lord Lake, until he lost his life at Laswari, his head being taken off by a round shot. He was known to be the most hospitable man in the country ; for he had entrusted his savings to a friend, who embezzled them, and on hearing the news he vowed he would never again save another penny.

Fatehgarh Cantonment was modelled on that of Mainpuri, and a general order dated the 18th May 1777 by the Q. M. G. of the Nawab Vizier's forces definitely marks the beginning of the work of laying it out. This general order, which unfortunately has not been traced, allotted sites for officers' Iningalows and lines for the sepoys. Subsequent reports give information about the Lines, but beyond the fact that the bungalows were first constructed on the bank overlooking the Ganges no details about them have been given. This much is known that the three bungalows from Hospital Ghat, which in later years housed the General Hospital, formed the headquarters of the Temporary Brigade. The general appearance of the bungalows, lining the Strand Road, can be easily imagined, since a few years later these residences were said to be like those at Cawnpore. It was many months, however, before house accommodation could be fully provided. In December 1777 artillery and cavalry officers were still living in tents.

The Q. M. G. of the Nawab Vizier's troops, who was responsible for the laying out of Fatehgarh was Captain Primrose Thompson, of whom very little is known. Ten years before he was an Ensign. He died at Cawnpore in October 1778, being styled, " Late Q. M. G. to the Vizier of Indostan's Army ". His proceedings at Fatehgarh are revealed by

papers dealing with a fierce quarrel with Captain Marsack, who since the beginning of the winter of 1776 had been busily engaged in raising a cavalry regiment near Farrukhabad City. The following interesting details about the latter officer have been given by Major Hodson. Charles Marsack (1735-1820) was a natural son of George II by Marguerite de Marsack. He was an Ensign in 1765, but resigning his commission in the following year, was readmitted in 1766. He resigned a second time in 1779, and left India. He purchased Caversham Park, Oxon, from the 1st Earl Cadogan, and in 1787 was J. P. and High Sheriff of the county. He died at Caversham in 1820, aged 84.

On the 22nd of May Colonel Goddard had to go to Lucknow. He left in temporary command Captain Ware, who himself on the 15th June had to take a colunvi into Rohilkhand in order to relieve troops. Ware handed over charge ot Fatehgarh to Marsack by letter, as the latter was three or four miles away. The senior officer at Fatehgarh was Captain Primrose Thompson, who was involved in a good deal of bother at the time. He was guarding a vast quantity of stores, which had been dumped down on the plain by the Fort. He had just laid out lines for the infantry, and the sepoys were objecting to the form of the huts. They did not approve of double rows of huts behind bells of arms, as ordered by Thompson. They showed their disapproval by trying to set them on fire. Thompson complained particularly of the l/2nd and 5th Regiments. He wanted orders to be issued, and did not know that Ware had gone. He asked Ensign Hicks, who was acting as Adjutant, to show him the orderly book. That day, the 17th June, Hicks was away at Lutinbagh, the name of the place where Captain Marsack was then raising his regiment. Thompson found that Marsack was in charge, although he was several miles away, and could be therefore of no assistance in laying out the Cantonment. Objection was at once made to Colonel Goddard, who wrote to Marsack and ordered him to hand over charge to Thompson, since he was not at Fatehgarh, and not in proper charge because his regiment was not yet part of the brigade. On the 19th June at midnight Marsack wrote a general order which he dated the 19th June, giving the, substance of Colonel Goddard's order. He inserted this general order

into the orderly book. The next day Thompson assuming charge of Fatehgarh and examining the orderly book, found the general order in it. His first act as Commanding Officer was to have that order erased.

It was the hot weather, and both officers were living in tents. It is no matter for surprise therefore, to find that a violent quarrel broke out, which was the cause of a lengthy correspondence with Goddard in Lucknow. On the 23rd June Thompson plaintively remarks in one of his letters to Lucknow, (and both he and Marsack seem to have written three or four a day to Goddard.) " Since you left me, it seems to be my fate to be for ever writing and yours to be ever reading " ! Colonel Goddard was unable to settle the dispute, which continued to rage furiously for another two months. The whole file, a most voluminous one, was sent up to General Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief at Calcutta. On Goddard's return to Fatehgarh, both officers appeared before him in conformance with the Commander-in-Chief's order that the matter was to be settled at once. Thompson apologised for erasing the order. Colonel Goddard censured Marsack for inserting his letter into a general order as " unnecessary and unmilitary." He considered that Captain Ware had been wrong in handing over command to Marsack.

The Infantry Lines and bungalows were all in being by the time the transfer of the Nawab Vizier's troops to the East India Company's service took place in September. The records show that the troops had considered themselves to be in the new service even many months previously. The words "Nawab Vizier'[7] had been employed as an official description without real meaning. It was evident that all troops turned their eyes to Calcutta. In September the appointments to the new brigade were settled. At Fatehgarh on the 17th, Lieutenant p. Young wrote to Colonel Goddard for leave in a letter the (juaint phraseology of which is worth reproducing: " Sir, he wrote, " the repeated shocks that my health has received during nine years which I have had the honour of serving the Hon'ble Company in this country, renders it indispensably necessary for me to return to Europe by the ships of this season, which the Surgeons advise as the only possible means I have left of recruiting a shattered constitution. I am therefore reduced

to the disagreeable necessity of applying for permission to go to the Presidency in order to prepare for my voyage, which I flattei myself you will be kind enough to consent to and that you will be pleased to make my request known to the Commander-in-Chief." The leave was granted, but nowhere in the letter or in the Commander-in-Chief's order is the amount of leave mentioned.

The constitution of the new brigade was announced as follows :—

General Staff.	Colonel M. Leslie.	Commanding.
	Lt.-Colonel T.Goldard.	Second in Command.
	Lt. R. Frith ...	Major of Brigade.
	Captain Cockcrell ...	Secretary.
	Lt. T. Hoggan Lt. W. Patterson }	Aides-de-Camp.
	Lt. P. Hay ...	Persian Interpreter.
	Ensign A. Kyd ...	Field Engineer.
	N. Middleton ...	Paymaster.
	L. Oliver ...	Auditor of Accounts.
	W. H. Bird ...	Commissary of Musters, and Dy. Judge Advocate.
Surgeons ...	J. Laird, G. Boyd, B. Harwood, K. Murchison, W. Gowdie.	
Artillery ...	Major P. Duff ...	Commanding.
Cavalry ...	Major W. Hessman ...	Commanding.
Infantry ...	Major A. F. Auchmuty ...	Commanding.

The brigade artillery comprised the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Companies. The cavalry corps was made up by the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Regiments. There were nine battalions of infantry. A reorganisation on the 5th December 1777 altered the numbers of all units and settled their commands. The Temporary Brigade then appeared in its final shape.

Cavalry ... 1st Regiment (Capt. Wray) became the 1st.
2nd Regiment (Capt. Webber) the 2nd.
3rd Regiment (Capt. Fairfax) the 3rd.

Artillery ... 1st Company (Capt.-Lieut. Hill) the 6th.
2nd Company (Capt.-Lieut. Sampson) the 7th.
3rd Company (Capt.-Lieut. Harris) the 8th.

Infantry ... 1st Bn. (Capt. Erskine) the 22nd.
4th Bn. (Capt. Hoggan) the 23rd.
8th Bn. (Capt. Ware) the 24th.
2nd Bn. (Capt. Stewart) the 25th.
5th Bn. (Capt. Penning) the 26th.
9th Bn. (Capt. Baillie) the 27th.
3rd Bn. (Capt. Rawstorne) the 28th.
7th Bn, (Capt. Landeg) the 29th.
6th Bu. (Capt. Naylor) the 30th.

Colonel Matthew Leslie, commanding the 1st Brigade, took over command of the Temporary Brigade at Fatehgarh on the morning of the 29th October 1777 from Colonel Goddard, and reported thai day to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings. He was probably the most experienced officer then serving in Bengal, and had seen much active service. Major Hodson describes his career as starting in 1745. " Matthew Leslie, Surgeon, to be Second Surgeon's Mate of Our Garrison in Our Island of Cape Breton, N. America/' are the words of the first notice found about him. He was one of the three Surgeon's Mates to the Hospital in N. America in 1754. There he was appointed directly as Lieutenant, 48th Foot, without being Ensign. He was present in America during the Seven Years' War. After serving in the expedition to Fort du Quesne, the battle of Quebec in 1759, and the capture of Havana in 1762, he was transferred as Lt.-Colonel to the Bengal Army in 1768. He commanded the Right Wing of the forces in the 1st Rohilla War.

Colonel Leslie's first occupation was a minute inspection of the new Cantonment. His reports to the Commander-in-Chief at Calcutta are full of interest. All that is known of Fatehgarh and its appearance in the first year of its history, is derived from them. He found the state of the troops to be anything but satisfactory. The officers were irascible and prone to quarrel at the slightest pretext; and the history of the first twenty years of Fatehgarh's existence is chiefly the relation of quarrels and courts-martial, which kept the Officer Commanding and his Deputy Judge Advocate continually busy. The echoes of one such quarrel were

still to be heard at the time of Colonel Leslie's arrival. The trouble arose on the appearance of Captain Law with the advance squadron of Captain Webber's 2nd Regiment of Cavalry from Benares. Captain Webber had been left at Allahabad ill of fever. Captain Law immediately on arrival arrogantly demanded several months' pay and horse rations from O'Donnell, the Paymaster, who referred to Colonel Goddard for orders, since Captain Webber had also written for them. In any case such demands had to be refused. Colonel Goddard agreed, and replied that no payments would be made until Captain Webber arrived. Law fell into a furious rage, and as seems to bu the invariable custom of the eighteenth century officer, drafted an appeal to the Commander-in-Chief against his Commanding Officer in language which was anything but temperate. He stigmatised Colonel Goddard's order as " injurious to himself and contradictory to the rules of the service." Goddard's order, however, was upheld at Calcutta.

Leslie reported to the Commander-in-Chief on the 5th November that most of the Temporary Brigade with almost all the stores were away with Colonel Goddard in the District. He found the troops were long in arrears of pay and in want of rations. The night before (4th November) he discovered that disaffection was so great among the troops that he feared a mutiny would break out. Captain Fairfax's 3rd Regiment of Cavalry was in a dangerous state. A number of duffadars belonging to the other two regiments had become supernumerary. They were ordered to join Captain Fairfax's regiment as privates until vacancies could be found for them. They demanded to be paid off and discharged Leslie had no cash. The duffadars became clamorous on parade, and on Captain Fairfax ordering the ringleaders to be arrested, drew their swords, and attacked the stable guard in order to make off with their horses. The Cavalry Lines, it should be remembered, were at Rakha. In the midst of the tumult Captain Fairfax's horse bolted. It was some time before he could call up a battalion of sepoys from Fatehgarh, and have the stables surrounded. The mutineers, however, including 78 duffadars and 100 troopers, got away from Rakha with four horses. In the darkness a few others were wounded by bayonets, and it was not until dawn that order

was restored. A second inisforlune for the Officer Commanding was apparent the next morning, when the body of the new cavalry commander, Major Hessman, was brought into Fatehgarh for burial, and this at a time when the cavalry corps was in special need of a firm controlling hand. Major Hessman was on his way to take up his appointment, when he quarrelled with Colonel Ironside at Kanauj. The result was a " rencounter," as Leslie reported it, or duel, in which Hessman was killed outright. Major Auchmuty brought in the body. Colonel Goddard was called in from field service, and given the command of the cavalry, Colonel Muir taking his place. The month of November was not to finish without further trouble for the new commander. The sepoys, thinking that their arrears of pay were to be withheld, became mutinous on the 18th, and planned to seize the artillery. Colonel Goddard arrived at the Lines with Captain Webber's regiment of cavalry, Captain Rawstorne's battalion, and the heavy artillery. An outbreak was thus averted, and some arrears being doled out discontent was allayed.

The District, too, was producing as much worry as that caused by the insubordination at Fatehgarh. The ruler, or Amil, of the District on behalf of the Nawab Vizier was at this period the famous Almas Ali Khan, He was the sworn enemy of the zamindars, and constantly demanded the aid of the troops to drive them from their forts. His headquarters were at Mehndi Ghat near Kanauj. The remains of his camp, an excellent example of eighteenth century field fortifications, are still to be seen at that place in splendid preservation. Almas Ali Khan had just borrowed Captain Landeg's battalion, and had not returned it. He now asked for two more battalions and some heavy artillery. Leslie refused the requisition, and the Governor-General backed him up. It was essential to preserve the zamindars' forts along the Jumna and in the Duab for keeping off the Mahrattas, and it was most inexpedient to allow Almas Ali Khan to destroy them. Leslie's opinion, in fact, was that the troops at Fatehgarh should be employed to help the zamindars. With that object in view he had placed a detchment at Etawah, a second at Tungha Fort near Kalpi, a third at Derinagar on the other side of the Ganges to protect Rohilkhand, and a whole battalion at Moradabad for the internal

security of that area. One zamindar did not commend himself to Leslie. In view of the notoriety acquired by his descendants up to 1857, there seems to be justification for the expedition against the zamindar of Thathia in December 1777, when four battalions and one regiment of cavalry, accompanied by two companies of artillery and the " battering artillery " of the Nawab Vizier under Major Duff, set off under the command of Colonel Leslie himself for that place. On the 7th January 1778 this large force camped at Rampora, one and a half kos from Thathia, and so overawed the recalcitrant zamindar that he paid all arrears of revenue at once. The second expedition to Thatia was in 1803, an event which is marked by the tomb of the commander, Colonel Guthrie, still to be seen within a few hundred yards of the remains of the fort. The last holder of Thathia rebelled in the Mutiny, and the fort was completely demolished by a column under Major-General Windham. The lofty mound, covered with the debris of the fort, which stood upon it, is all that is left to-day.

The condition of the troops in 1777 left much to be desired. Discontent, due to the existence of long arrears of pay, was rife. There was a general aversion to coming on to the new establishment. The artillery corps with its " lascars and golandazes " was in excellent order and discipline, and this was the solitary exception. On the other hand the magazine and ordnance stores belonging to the artillery were in confusion and unserviceable to boot. The cavalry regiments and horses were in miserable condition. The discipline of all was bad. Captain Webber's regiment had a scandalous appearance, being badly clothed in dyed nankeen, and using worn out bridles and saddles. The infantry were in better order, but their clothing was not good. The Fort was in bad repair and empty. The magazine was in part of an old mosque and most insufficient. Leslie recommended that it should be moved to the Fort. He appointed a committee under Major Duff to examine the guns and ordnance stores of the infantry battalions; for each battalion had two brass guns, either five and a half, or six-pounders, in calibre. The committee discovered that out of the eighteen guns of the infantry and those also of the brigade artillery, no less than twenty-four were unfit for use.

Colonel Leslie had little chance of carrying out reforms. The report on the artillery was still being digested by him, when orders were received calling him to the command of the column which was to march across India from Cawnpore to help the Bombay Government against the Mahrattas. He left Fatehgarh on the 14th April handing over charge to Lt.-Colonel Muir. The energy which he had shown in Fatehgarh seems to have left him, and this is hardly a matter for wonder. Leslie led his column of six battalions from the 1st Brigade with some cavalry and artillery into Bundelkhand in a very leisurely manner. The hot weather was in progress, and at the very commencement of the march an officer named Captain Crawford died of sunstroke, a circumstance which afterwards was made the subject of recriminations between Warren Hastings and his rival F'rancis in the Council room at Calcutta, since Francis affirmed that Leslie had suppressed the matter. Leslie was no longer young, and was probably unfit for active service. Owing to his dilatoriness, the Bengal Government ordered Colonel Goddard to go and supersede him. Leslie died, however, at Rajgarh in Central India on the 3rd October 177S before the order of supersession reached him.

The next permanent commander was Lt.-Colonel Benjamin Wilding (1732-1780), for Colonel Muir seems to have been busy preparing for field service, and was only at Fatehgarh a few days. Colonel Wilding's report of the 19th May 177H gives invaluable details concerning the new Lines. These details together with scattered allusions in other reports, specially those of the annual surveys of public buildings in the Cantonments, make it possible to describe the extent and appearance of the Lines with some exactitude. Wilding had been a cadet as far ago as 1759, and had seen a good deal of service. In 1759 he was at the storming of Masulipatam and at Buxar in 1764. He was one of those who resigned during the " Batta Mutiny " and went home ; but he was readmitted and returned to India, subsequently commanding at Chunai· and Monghyr before coming to Fatehgarh. He died at Calcutta in command of the 2nd Brigade.

Two bridges marked the right and the left ends of the Lines respectively. By these bridges were set up Sepoy Guard Rooms, consisting of thatched roofs, supported by mango wood posts, and with grass mats as

walls. These bridges, several times renewed since the eighteenth century, are still in use, for they bridge deep nullahs, and are essential for preserving communications within the Cantonment. The bridge on the right of the line carries the road to No. 2 Bungalow and Hospital Ghat, and is nearly opposite the Indian Military Hospital. The Lines started in the compound of the present Military Hospital, and stretched without a break nearly to the Queen Victoria Memorial by Fatehgarh Town. In front of the right of the line, that is, where the Mint House now stands, was a long shed of thatched roof and mango wood posts, in which were kept the guns of the brigade artillery. Their stores were placed in an old mosque, belonging to the adjoining village of Husainpur. The bridge and Sepoy Guard Room on the left of the line were behind No. 15 Bungalow. The bridge now carries the Post Office Road over the wide nullah leading to Bargadia Ghat. The road was not built, however, until after 1857. The left of the line was occupied by the guns of the infantry battalions, eighteen in number. The gun sheds together with the quarters of the gunners prolonged the line nearly up to Fatehgarh Town. Between these two bridges on both sides of the Mall Road, two rows of bamboo and straw huts provided accommodation for six battalions, each battalion having ten bells of arms in front of it on the edge of the parade ground, and facing west. These bells of arms were 12 feet square, made of sun-dried bricks, and covered by flat mud roofs under a thatched outer roof. There was one quarter- and one rear-guard for each battalion, built in exactly the same manner. On the right of each battalion was a small bungalow for British sergeants, 28 of whom had been sent to the Temporary Brigade for employment with the infantry.

The abundant vegetation and avenues of him trees, which now exist in this part of the Cantonment, have changed the scene. In 1777 the ground was a flat and barren plain, covered with kankar stone. There were no trees of any description. The plain stretched from the Fort to the ravines near Rakha, which was called the " Rear " in contemporary reports. The cavalry set up their quarters and stables on the old hunting preserve of the Nawabs of Farrukhabad, forming an almost separate Cantonment of their own. The brigade bazar was formed between the

cavalry and the infantry, and became the nucleus of the existing town of Fatehgarh. It was merely a collection of straw huts, which in eighteenth century language were called " boutiques/' Besides the dusty track, which bisected the Sepoy Lines, there was only one other road. Along this road, following the bank of the Ganges, the officers set up their houses in such numbers that the space must have been badly congested. The three end bungalows to the north by Hospital Ghat were reserved for Brigade Headquarters. Hospital accommodation consisted of two sheds in the Infantry Lines, and a larger collection of huts and mud buildings by the bazar, which seems to have been in or near to the present Company Bagh in the Civil Station. A bungalow was built next door to the Fort, but with this exception there appears to have been no houses built anywhere outside the Strand Road. The whole society of Fatehgarh iu the eighteenth century congregated in this road which, it must be remembered, started farther to the north than it does at present. It began at Hospital Ghat, traversing the plain iu front of No. 2 Bungalow, so as to give access to the bungalows on the river bank. The ruins of the old bridge, by which the road crossed the nullah to the north of the Court, where the officers of the 10/7th Rajput Regiment now play squash racquets, can be plainly discovered in the undergrowth. The road then emerged from the Park by the present entrance of the Officers' Mess, and continued, as it does now, to the Civil Lines and Rakha. The oldest public work in Fatehgarh is on this road. The bridge over the nullah by No. 13 Bungalow has the following inscription let into the wall by the road-aide. " This bridge was erected by subscription of the officers etc. at this station. A. D. 1788." It was not until 1838 that the road was metalled, drained, and tunnels made to carry off the rain water. The Junnels cost Rs. 2,000. The Bargadia Ghat nullah, which crosses the road, was carefully preserved from trespassers, as the best kind of thatching grass grew in it.

West of the Strand Road lay the Lines of the Sepoys, and further west again the parade ground continued right up to the walls of Farrukhabad City, an arid plain unrelieved by any trees or buildings, over which scoured bands of mounted robbers, called Mewattis. Even so

late as 1794 a young Civilian, named Twining, writes that he was cautioned not to go beyond the parade ground proper in his morning rides for fear of being captured by bandits. In April 1787 Major Whinyates, the Quartermaster of the 4th Brigade, had a dangerous experience in this direction. He was driving Mrs. Whinyates and his infant son in a "one horse chair," and returning to Fatehgarh, when robbers attacked them with drawn swords near Barhpur. The wings of the buggy warded off the cuts made at Major Whinyates, and the party only escaped by hard driving over the plain. The Lai Darwaza Road did not then exist. The only roads to the City were from Ghatia Ghat and Rakha, Both roads crossed numerous nullahs haunted by packs of wolves, and being rough country tracks were particularly unsafe for wheeled traffic.

There are several plans of houses in the records, and one has been given in the chapter on Husainpui. The smaller kind of bungalow was J30 feet long by 20 feet broad, containing one room, partitioned into two by a mud wall. This style of house could hardly be simpler, and was designed for the sergeants. The officers' houses were larger. Those at Cawnpore were described by a tourist named Hodges, who visited that Cantonment in 1783. Sale deeds of the early nineteenth century indicate the existence of such bungalows at Fatehgarh going back to the same period. Hodges says that there was a large room in the centre for use as a combined dining and sitting room. At each corner there were rooms for sleeping in, the space between them being used as verandahs. The walls were made of mud, and the whole was covered with thatch, which came down over the walls to a low height. There were no ceiling cloths, no windows, or glass to cover the doors, but light and air were admitted through wooden lattices. Furniture was confined to straight-back chairs, tables, beds, and boxes. Book-cases and pictures are mentioned in the records. The cookhouse and "necessary" were in the compound near the outhouses. House-keeping was very primitive. Meat was hard to obtain, and English vegetables not at all. Wine was expensive, and only senior officers could afford to lay in stocks. For most officers the only drinks were tea, toddy, and water from the Ganges, which

was reckoned to be very pure. There were no regimental messes. Each officer catered for himself, and usually living with three or four others a small mess could be maintained. It was the custom, too, for officers to dine with each other in rotation, each bringing his own cutlery and plates. Dinner was at 2 p. m., and in the evening there was supper followed by card games like whist, five card loo, and tredille. Otherwise there were few amusements. It is noteworthy that billiards were much played in Fatehgarh. There is no indication given as to where the tables were kept. Most probably the Assembly Rooms or theatre, a building most certainly in existence by 1804, had been constructed at an early date, and contained a billiard room. The tables were very poorly constructed, the beds being made of wood, or marble, and the cushions stuffed with cotton. Cues were unknown, but balls were struck with maces tipped with ivory. The punkha had not been invented, and indoor amusements like billiards was a very disagreeable affair in the hot weather. Outdoor games were unknown. Riding and shooting were the only forms of exercise. Calling was only performed by gentlemen and in the evening. Even in the hot weather full regimentals were worn; but the red cloth coatee could be taken off after the first ceremonies, and replaced by a linen coat. After 1785 the Station developed rapidly, and numbers of ladies made their appearance. Bungalows about this date became more elaborate and much more expensive. Even in 1781 a Major Macpherson after great difficulty bought a house for 2,000 sicca rupees, or 210 pounds sterling, the equivalent in English money of that period. Major Whinyates, also, bought a bungalow in 1786, and lost Ils. 1,500 over it on selling it the next year. A good sized house with four bedrooms cost about Rs. 4,000 in 1700, a sum which would have to be nearly doubled to bring it up to modern values.

Colonel Wilding's first days in Fatehgarh were occupied with settling a curious affair arising out of gossip at the dinner table. Captain Erskine, who commanded the 22nd Battalion, demanded a court-martial to clear his character. Witnesses stated that at a party in " Lieutenant" Duff's quarters (Major P. Duff, Commandant of the brigade artillery) the conversation turned on Mr. Wilson having persuaded Lieutenant McKenzie

to make a will in his favour. Captain Erskine was alleged to have remarked that Lieutenant McKenzie was well-known to be insane, and that in any case Mr. Wilson had forged the will. Erskine was apprehensive that he would be branded as a libeller ! The result of the enquiry by the Officer Commanding is not given.

The hot weather of 1778 produced the usual court-martial, and in this case on the complaint of Colonel Wilding himself. On the 5th June, a particularly hot day, he put Lieutenant Archibald Hook of the 22nd Battalion under arrest for disrespectful behaviour towards himself. The court-martial was sanctioned by the Commander-in-Chief, and ordered for the 1st August. Hook then added insult to injury by writing to the Commander-in-Chief to the effect that he did not trust a single officer in Fatehgarh. He asked to be tried at Cawnpore ! The Commander-in-Chief replied that his request was indecent, and he must be tried by the officers of his own brigade. He was duly sentenced to suspension for two months, and ordered to make a public apology.

Much improvement had been effected by the following year, when General Stibbert came from Calcutta, and made a full inspection. He found the 23rd, 25th, 28th and 30th Battalions perfect in drill, firing, and manoeuvre. Discipline was good. The 24th and 27th Battalions were out on service in the Duab. He found, too, that each battalion had 40 tom toms and trumpeters, and four drummers. He recommended twelve drummers, twelve trumpeters, and less tom toms! The only defect was the condition of the transport cattle, which was very bad.

In August 1781 Major-General Sir John Cuming arrived at Fatehgarh to take up the command after an interregnum during which several officers had held the command temporarily. Major E. Rawstorne (1745-1801), then commanding the 21st Battalion, was perhaps the best known of them. He afterwards became a Major-General and Colonel Commandant of the newly founded cavalry brigade at Berhampore, where he died. Sir John Cuming was transferred to the Bengal Army, like Leslie, from the 84th Regiment in 1763. He remained at Fatehgarh over four years, a long time for a Commanding Officer, and died at St. Helena on his way home in 1786. Little of importance beyond courts-martial took place at

Fatehgarh during his period of command; but Sir John Cuming paid more than ordinary attention to such proceedings, and during his time the Deputy Judge Advocate was also his Secretary. Captain R. Broome and Lieutenant W. Henderson filled this office between 1782 and 1785. The unedifying trials of bad-tempered officers, which were held during these years, are therefore the chief interest, as they must have been for residents of the Station at the time.

Lieutenant James Fraser of the l/9th Regiment of Sepoys was put on his trial in September 1781 on a charge of disrespectful behaviour to his Commanding Officer, Major Cooke. He was acquitted. A much bigger affair than this was the court-martial of Major Wray, commanding the 11th Sepoys. A connected trial was that of Captain Sam. Farmer of the 2/21st Sepoys, an officer who is mentioned as executor in the inscription on the tomb of Head Surgeon Hamilton in the compound of the District Courts. Wray was a cadet in 1*764. In 1788 he rose to the rank of Lt.-Colonel commanding the 4th Brigade at Midnapore. He resigned in 1790, and died 1809.

The hot weather of 1783 was fairly in progress, when Sir John Cuming despatched two battalions to a place called Anupshahr on the Ganges to protect the Nawab Vizier's frontier against incursions by the Sikhs. These two battalions were the 11th and 2/21st Sepoys. Unfortunately the expedition was placed under the command of Lt.-Colonel Christian Knudson, a very unpopular officer, who had himself belonged to the 11th Sepoys. He was therefore well known to the officers of that corps. Knudson was a Dane by birth, and was one of the officers of the 84th Regiment who went into the Bengal Army in 1763 at the invitation of the East India Company. He afterwards commanded Fatehgarh in 1787, and died at Chunar in 1792. The burning heat of May naturally roughened every officer's temper, and Knudson precipitated an outburst by his very first act. He stupidly ordered the camp to be pitched on an open plain. By a singular display of mulishness he refused to listen to any advice, or heed the growing murmurs of the troops. The next incident throws a flood of light on eighteenth century military practices, when every officer was a trader in disguise, and Commanding Officers had more than

ordinary interest in securing contracts. Knudson had set up the usual camp bazar, and Major Wray found one day shortly after that a private servant of his had been arrested by Knudson for withdrawing his "boutique*' from the bazar and selling grain in a neighbouring tope. On the 18th May Major Wray wrote a furious letter to his Commander, and in no uncertain terms demanded the release of his servant at once. He added some libellous accusations to the effect that Knudson was purposely keeping the troops short of grain, although there was abundance in the locality. The motive, he stated, was very clear, for Knudson was trying to keep the price of grain at a high level for his own profit! On receipt of this effusion Knudson put the writer under arrest. Sir John Cuming failing to get the matter settled had to apply to the Commander-in-Chief for sanctioning a court-martial.

On the 8th July Major Wray was put on trial, and accused of having made false charges against his Commanding Officer with a dishonourable intention of injuring his reputation. Wray protested his letter was a private one, and not meant to be published. In spite of eighteen years' service in the Army he was ordered to be dismissed by the Court. He appealed to the Governor-General. The sentence was set aside ; for the trial had been full of irregularities. For one thing the accused had been presumed guilty, and ordered to prove his innocence.

Meanwhile, after the arrest of Major Wray, agitation against Colonel Kundson was fomented by Captain Farmer, Lieutenants Butler, Atkinson and other officers. Acting on instructions from Sir John Cuming, the Commander of the force had forbidden all officers to shoot in the villages belonging to the Delhi jurisdiction. The officers, filled with resentment, abandoned all pretence of discipline. From the evidence given afterwards before the Court, it seems evident that there was very strong ground for considering the charge against Captain Farmer to be true. He was charged with having ordered the Indian Adjutant of his regiment to incite the Indian officers of his own regiment and of the 11th Sepoys to complain publicly of the hardships, which they were undergoing, by being made to camp on an open plain, in the hot May sun without sufficient water. Somewhat inexplicably the Court acquitted Captain Farmer, a verdict

which incensed Sir John Cuming; for he hud deemed the charge to be one of incitement to mutiny. This was in July, and, much discontented, Sir John Cuming ordered the Court to re-assemble at 10 a. m. on the 3rd September at the Resident's Quarters, and revise its proceedings. It would be interesting to know where the Resident lived. The reason for choosing this house for meeting of the Court was that it was empty at the time, there having been no Resident for over two years. There are clues pointing to the fact that the Resident lived in Farrukhabad City near the Nawab's palace, together with his bodyguard, but nothing certain is known, and it seems unlikely that the Court would go to a house more than three miles away from Fatehgarh. The result of the proceedings was the same as before, the Court maintaining its decision of acquittal. Sir John Cuming complained bitterly to the Governor-General of this miscarriage of justice, but only obtained cold comfort. He was told he had no power to revise the proceedings, and must release Captain Farmer at once; for that officer had been under close arrest for five months, and had not been set at liberty after his acquittal. The Indian Adjutant of the &/21st, however, did not escape scot-free. He was suspended from his adjutancy for two months. Two sepoys were tried and acquitted, but a third sepoy committed contempt of court by refusing to plead at all. He was sentenced to be dismissed the service, and " to be drummed out with a halter about his neck as an example to others. "

Sir John Cuming was usually successful in getting rid of bad bargains. Lack of discipline and insubordination were the worst features of garrison life in Fatehgarh in the eighteenth century. On the 23rd February 1784, the court-martial of Lieutenant Joseph Earle of the 9th Sepoys was ordered. This officer was in command of a detachment of 200 men, which was ordered to cross the Ganges at the Fort, and march towards Amritpur in advance. The remainder of the regiment under Major Cooke was to follow. On arriving at the river bank Major Cooke found that though the advance detachment had crossed over by the ferry, Earle was not with it. Earle, in fact, arrived leisurely some time afterwards, dressed in uniform, but without his accoutrements. Major Cooke put him under arrest at once. The Court, presided over by Major

Landeg, passed orders dismissing him from the service Earle's appeal was rejected by the Commander-in-Chief, for he had not improved matters for himself by writing an abusive letter against Major Cooke in true eighteenth century fashion. Earle did not rest even after the rejection of his appeal. He drafted a memorial at tremendous length to the Governor-General, which he filled with passionate protestations of innocence, and demands for justice. The Officer Commanding himself was not backward in writing offensive letters. Most of 178f3 had been passed in a conflict with Mr. Bristow, the Resident at Lueknow, over supplies to the troops, and over accounts. Much heat was expended by both parties, but Sir John Cuming was victorious. Mr. Bristow had to complain to Government of his personal conduct.

Sir John Cuming's tenure of the command terminated at the end of 1785, when he resigned. Little had happened during the year of any moment, A singular way of settling an audit objection occurred in March. Lieutenant Grace protested to the Commander-in-Chief that the Committee of Accounts at Fatehgarh had disallowed half of his charges for repairing the cavalry stables. The Commander-in-Chief was loath to go through the accounts, and Sir John Cuming had refrained from making any comment on forwarding the protest. A curious order was therefore passed to the effect that, if Lieutenant Grace would swear that the repairs had cost what he had charged, the bill would be passed. Sir John Cuming then broke silence He wrote that he could not allow Grace to take the oath required, because, as lie confessed, he had himself given Grace a contract to carry out the repairs. Although the Commander-in-Chief sensed something dubious about the matter, he reluctantly allowed the charges. It was no doubt being realised at Headquarters that the cavalry stables at Fatehgarh fell down almost every year.

It appears that, when Sir John Cuming returned to Bengal from leave in 1781, he had been promised the command of a brigade in the Nawab Vizier's country, but Colonel Morgan (1742-1819) had been given that command, as in effect he was already on the spot, and Cuming was sent to Fatehgarh. He now claimed the command of a brigade which was about to go into Oudh. The Governor-General and his Board

refused the claim : Sir John Cuming demanded copies of all orders passed, and lectured the " Hon'ble Board " on what he considered was disobedience to the Company, since apparently the Director of the Company had made some kind of promise to him in London. The Board refused to allow itself to be bullied, and Sir John Cuming promptly resigned his command, handing over charge to Colonel Horton Briscoe on the 9th January 1786. He took three years' leave, but in a few months died on the way home.

Colonel Briscoe, (1741-180&) commanded for the next three years, and was a hospitable man, who was much liked. He afterwards became a Major-General, and died at Calcutta. At one time he had been A.-D.-C. to Warren Hastings. It was during his period of command that Fatehgarh developed into a well-settled cantonment. Roads were improved, and social amenities were greater. The bridge over the Bargadia Ghat nullah was built by public subscription. The civil population, mainly indigo planters and traders, made its appearance. A few good houses were built on the site of the present District Courts in the Civil Lines. The flimsy " boutiques *' of the brigade bazar were formed into streets on a regular plan, Fatehgarh Town thus rising into being. The Fort was thoroughly repaired, and the area to the south of it became covered with buildings. Although the fashion was still to rely on thatched mud barracks and houses for the accommodation of the troops, tiled roofs and walls of sun-baked brick were making their appearance everywhere. The Infantry Lines assumed a more orderly arrangement. Battalion store rooms, Picquet guard rooms, a Provost Sergeant's bungalow and prison guard room, numerous cook rooms, and " necessaries ", or latrines, were built on selected sites ; and the old haphazard arrangements of running up a shed with grass-mat walls for covering piles of ordnance and other military stores were given up. Courts-martial ceased for the time being. Fortunately several letters and an interesting diary have come to light, which tell of life at Fatehgarh during Colonel Briscoe's regime. The pay of the Officers was none too good, and that of the Cavalry was on one occasion three months in arrears. Major Whinyates, Quartermaster of the 4th Brigade at Fatehgarh, wrote in 1788, that his pay was about

Rs. 450 per mensem. Colonel Briscoe did much to ameliorate the lot of his Officers who were all in debt, and had to pay many charges from their allowances. He gave Whinyates a charger, and on the 22nd February 1786, he warmly commended a petition from the Officers of the Fatehgarh garrison to Lt.-General Sloper, the Commander-in-Chief. Officers had to buy their tents and transport cattle, when they went on service. They asked for compensation for all such heavy expenses, which they had hitherto met from their own pockets.

Major Thomas Whinyates, (1755-1806) arrived at Fatehgarh, with his wife, Catherine Whinyates, on the .31st October 1786, after a tedious journey of three and a half months from Calcutta. They came by river, and a small fleet consisting of a 20 oared barge, two luggage boats, and a cook boat, was necessary to transport them. Letters written by this couple from Fatehgarh in 1787, have been preserved in the Whinyates family Records, but on the subject of the topography of the station they are irritatingly vague. One daughter was born to them at Fatehgarh, and they already had au infant son with them. An adventure they had with robbers has already been mentioned. Their letters say little about Fatehgarh, although one local scandal is alluded to in a letter by Mrs. Whinyates. She mentions that one " Valentia de Bois" (l/2nd Bengal European Regiment. Died 1826), had been put in irons, and was to be tried at the next Sessions for shooting a man whose wife he was carrying off. This outrageous person was a brother of Colonel S. Dubois, who raised the Dooby ki paltan (l/21st and 41st N. I.) at Fatehgarh in 1803. He was also a relative of F. de Seran Dubois, an indigo planter and Saltpetre manufacturer in the Husainpur bazar (behind No. 1 Bungalow) about 1825. Peter Dubois, a French musician, having contracted a marriage with Lady Dorothy Annesley, founded this family, three Members of which were connected with Fatehgarh. The 4th Brigade marched to Calcutta on the 1st November 1787, and the Whinyates accompanied it. They both died in 1806, at Allahabad within a few weeks of each other.

The first full Army List, which exists, is that for the year 1786-87. It shows there were six brigades in the Bengal Army of which the 1st

garrisoned Fatehgarh, being composed of six battalions of infantry, one cavalry regiment and a company of artillery. Besides the Commander, Colonel Briscoe, there were four surgeons, a commissary of ordnance and two conductors, six artillery officers, and 65 cavalry and infantry officers, each battalion and the cavalry regiment having British sergeant-majors and sergeants in addition. An appointment, which will be found mentioned in this and all subsequent lists up to 1808, is that of the " Representative of the Governors of the Orphan Society ". The Society had its headquarters at Calcutta, and established a Free School two years later. This school was divided into the " Upper and the Lower School," which explains the laconic expression, often met with in the records, referring to a person as coming t* Fatehgarh from the "Upper School". The establishment of a special representative at Fatehgarh would argue the existence of a numerous population descended from soldiers, and probably of Eurasian descent. Lt.-Colonel Peter Murray, held the appointment, and the same year became Adjutant-General, Bengal. He was killed in 1803, on board the *Lord Nelson,* in action with the French frigate *Bellona,* off Ferrol. In addition, there was the Deputy Paymaster, an officer who seems to have been a Civilian. John Becher who held this appointment in 1786, had been a Factor of the East India Company five years before. The names of Civilian residents are not given in the list, but four years later they are stated to be Andrew Elliot (shopkeeper), William Gozna (tailor), George Maclean (trader), Laurence Paul (trader), W. P. Wattle (trader), and F. Wittpenning (shopman). From the records it is known that Paul at any rate had already been many years in Fatehgarh. There were others like Robert Carshore and Stewart, who are not mentioned at all.

Captain Jonathan Wood wrote a long letter on the 1st August 1789 to his friend Ozias Humphrey, R. A., from Fatehgarh. It has been published at length in " Bengal, Past and Present ", Vol. 35. In it he discloses that he belonged to the 2nd Brigade, which after having been stationed for only one year at Cawnpore, relieved a brigade at Fatehgarh. In December 1788, a month after his arrival, Wood was

with a detachment of three battalions and artillery, which marched to Anupshahr for the protection of the northern dominions of the Nawab Vizier. They remained there in camp for seven months, and returned to Fatehgarh, when the Ganges rose. Before going off, however, he had made a very agreeable trip to Agra, Muttra and Delhi, as one of a party of tourists. It may well be surmised that this was one of the usual diversions of the Fatehgarh garrison. The party was a large one including Colonel Briscoe, General Carnac (2nd in Command at Plassey. Died at Mangalore in 1800, aged 84), Major Smith and Sons (commanded the 14th Battalion. Died 1794), Melville (a Civilian and Paymaster), and a number of others the most notable of whom were the two Daniells, the artists. An escort of |wo companies of sepoys and a body of cavalry went with them. About the hot weather he writes, " I never experienced the heat so oppressive as this season. Luckily it did not last long. The thermometer when exposed to the sun on the 3rd June was 142, in the shade 112. The following morning at 3 o'clock we were much alarmed with a violent shock of an earthquake, but no mischief done ". He gives the amount of his pay as being nearly Rs. 400 per mensem, on field batta. The system in vogue of relieving troops annually made the officers, he said, very uncomfortable.

The artists, Thomas and his nephew William Daniells, visited Fatehgarh in 1789 during their tour around India. William wrote a diary, which has never been published, but extracts relating to Fatehgarh have been kindly communicated by Sir Evan Cotton. In volume 45 of " Bengal, Past and Present ", Sir Evan Cotton has given a full account of the Daniells. From the diary it is clear they were at Fatehgarh from the 1st to 10th January 1789, and a second time from the 1st to 17th June. There are no views of Fatehgarh among their sketches, but there are several of " Cannouge ", or Kan au j, from the Ganges. The part of the diary which relates to Fatehgarh begins with the entry for 1st January 1789. "Left Cawnpore abt. i of 12 a. m. in our palanquins for Futty Ghur where we arrived abt. 10 p. m. Were put down at Col. Brisco's. Found no body at home. However took the liberty of taking possession of the couches in the Bungalow for the night.

Jan. 2. Abt. 9 o.c. Colonel Brisco arrived from Delia (Dahlia, 4 miles from the Fort across the Ganges) where he had been spending a few days. He received us very politely. Colonel Macleod (20th Chief of Macleod, 73rd Highlanders. Commanding at Cawnpore. Died in Guernsey 1801) soon after arrived who received us also very politely. Were introduced to him by Colonel B. Mr. Melvil (Melville, Bengal Civil Service. Paymaster to troops) invited us to dinner who we accordingly waited on. Spent the evening with Captain Scott. (Captain 3rd Battalion Artillery. Died at Dinapore, 1802).

Jan. 3. Dined with Mr. Baillie (L. Baillie. Lieutenant, 1st Cavalry. Lost on the voyage to India on the "Skelton Castle" in 1806). It rained a little while we were at table. Un. (uncle *i.e.* Thomas Daniell) wrote to Mr. Cockerell, Davis, and Captain Palmer.

Jan. 4. Dined at Captain Friths (R. Frith. 3rd Bengal Europeans. Died at Bombay 1805). Un. and self went in one of Colonel Brisco's Buggys to see the review of Cavalry which lasted abt. 2 hours. Returned abt. 9 o.c. Ther. (thermometer) at 6 a. m., 50.

Jan. 5. A great party at Dinner at Colonel Brisco's. It being the last day of Colonel Macleod's stay at Futty Ghur, Colonel, Mrs. Macleod, and party went on Board their Boats after supper.

Jan. 6. Un. writing letters most part of the day. Myself employed making a view of Colonel Brisco's Bungalow which I nearly completed by Dinner. In the evening Colonel B., General C. (John Carnac who was visiting Fatehgarh), Mr. Brown (G. S. Brown. Lieutenant. A. D. C. to Colonel Briscoe. Afterwards Lieutenant-General and K. C. B. Died at Brussels 1828), Un. and self took a walk to Colonel B's. garden. Spent the evening with Mrs. Vanzandt (wife of James Vanzandt, a Calcutta auctioneer who owned house property at Cawnpore. Sheriff of Calcutta. Died near Taunton in 1823). Colonel Macleod and party left Futty Ghur very early this morning. Ther. at 6 a. m,. 45.

Jan. 7. Un. and self set out very early in our palanquins and arrived at Captain Montagu's tent on Delia plain about 3 o.c.

Jan. 8. Finishing the view of Colonel B's Bungalow. Colonel B. preparing a tour to Agra, Delhi etc. Ther. at 6 a. m., 45.

Jan. 9. Looking over Gilchrist most of the day, Un. over Hadley (both Hindustani grammars). Supped with Captain Fawcett (Brigade Major 5th Brigade. Died in England 1823) who is to accompany us to Furruckabad to-morrow.

Jan. 10. We set off very early this morning for Furruckabad. Un. went with Captain Fawcett in Captain F's Phaton and I drove one of Colonel B's Buggys. Breakfasted in a garden close to the largest tomb (of Nawab Mohammed Khan, by the Mau gate of the City) at Furruckabad. After breakfast went into the town and looked at two or three more Mosques of a curious kind. Returned about 11 o.c. near the Tomb where we had breakfasted and made two or three drawings of it. Dined by the Tomb and returned to Futty Ghur abt. Sunset.

Jan. 11. We went on Col. Briseo's elephant to Furruckabad with an intention of seeing the Fort. Sent on an Harcarrah to inform the Nawaub of our arrival. Waited in a Mosque near two hours when the Harcarrah brought back word that the Nawab was asleep and if we would wait till he awoke we might then have a permit to see the Fort. This answer made us mount the elephant and return to Futty Ghur, but soon after we left Farruckabad an Harcarrah came and informed us that the Nawab was awake and would grant us a permit to see the Fort. However his ungentleman like behaviour induced us to keep on but we sent our Salaams and would wait on him another morning. Dined with Captain Scott in the evening.

January 12. Busy packing up all day. Dined with Captain Scrimshere (John Scrymgeour. Brigade Major 4th Brigade. Died in Mysore 1791), and spent the evening at Captain Frith's.

January 13. Left Futty Ghur at Sunrise (with Colonel Briscoe's party), and came to the ground where the tents were pitched (at Mohamdabad) about ½ after 8. Distant from Futty Ghur by the Perambulator 14* miles, (a large wheel, trundled by a handle with a clock work attachment and a dial, which recorded the revolutions, and so measured the distances). We came on two of the Colonel's elephants. Un. in the Umaree myself in the Houda. The face of the country from Futty Ghur to Mohamedabad is flat, but beautiful groves of trees are every-

where scattered about. After breakfast we walked to the Fort of Mohamedabad built by Mohamed Khan, grandfather to the present Nawaub of Furruckabad (Mazaffar Jang) abt. 70 years ago. We made a few sketches of it. In the evening I made a general view of Camp.

January 14. Started abt. an hour before sunrise and came in our camp at Begur (Bewar) at 9 o.c, distant from Mohamedabad 11 miles."

Colonel John White was sent from Dinapore to take up the command at Fatehgarh in 1790. He was a very senior officer. It is not known when he obtained a cadetship. Major Hodson gives his list of services as follows—Lieutenant in 1759, and full Colonel in 178(j. The old 12th N. L, which he raised nt Monghyr in 1763 aş the 15th Battalion, was called after him " Hote-ki-paltan." The campaign against the Rajah of Benares in 1781 was the only active service which he saw. He died in 1794, and his grave is to be seen in the old cemetery below Chunar Fort. At the end of his holding the command he incurred the displeasure of the Commander-in-Chief. In the eighteenth century the Husainpur and Sudder Bazar were looked after by on official called the "Commissary of Bazars", and later a warrant officer on the Town Majors' list was entrusted with the same work. In 1792 Robert Grant, whose infant son is buried in the Fort cemetery, was Paymaster to the troops at Fatehgarh and Cawnpore, and Superintendent of Bazar Duties.

This was his official title, but more commonly he was known as the Bazar Commissary, and had a number of underlings who carried out his orders. He was in Fatehgarh in 1787, and still working in the same capacity eleven years afterwards. A Government Order of 1787 forbade Commanding Officers to give orders to the Bazar Chaudhries except through the Commissary. Colonel White directed the bazar servants to attend at his house on every occasion on which he summoned them by an orderly. The Kotwal, taking no notice, was promptly punished without any reference being made to the Commissary, Mr. Grant. A report by Mr. Grant went up to the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Cornwallis, who on the 1st October 1792 published a strong censure of Colonel White's conduct, and remarked that " however painful it may be

to the Commander-in-Chief to take notice of the misconduct of officers of the highest rank in the army, yet he feels it to be an indispensable duty to take care that no rank or station shall protect a man from the censure or punishment, merited by an attempt to counteract the regulations, which are calculated to suppress abuses, which had long disgraced the Bengal Army, and degraded the character of the principal officers." Lord Cornwallis went on to say that he had perused the report against Colonel White with sentiments of the highest disapprobation, and directed him to pay a fine of one thousand rupees, which sum was to be presented to the Kotwal of the bazar as compensation.

The Officers Commanding, who from 1792 onwards had charge of the garrison, until in 1805 Fatehgarh ceased to be the headquarters of a brigade, were all notable men, and reached high rank in the Army. During this period the garrison attained its greatest limits. The civil population increasing at a great rate, the number of residents made up a bigger total than ever before, or afterwards.. The three visitors, who left record of their stay at Fatehgarh between these years, were the young Civilian, Thomas Twining, whose "Travels in India 100 years ago " is most entertaining work, Viscount Valentia, and Lieutenant John Pester. Poster's diary has been published under the title of " War and Sport in India," It is intensely interesting for the latter part of the period."

Colonel Charles Morgan (1742-1819), like several of his predecessors, was transferred to the Bengal Army from a British regiment, which in this case was the 5th Foot. Major Hodson gives his services as Ensign in the 53rd Foot in 1759, then with the 5th Foot until 1765. After being dismissed and re-admitted to the Bengal Army, he was Q. M. G. and contractor for boats, and going through the 1st Mahratta War brought the Bengal detachment back from Bombay to Cawnpore in 1782-84, after taking over command from Goddard. He commanded the force assembled in 1797 to resist the advance of the Afghans into the Punjab, a force to which the Fatehgarh garrison sent a contingent. He retired in 1803, and died in Portland Place, London, in 1819.

The great event of 1794 was the battle of Bitaurah on the 26th October. Twining describes the eve of the Rohilla War. He arrived at Fatehgarh by river with Sir Robert Abercrombie, the Commander-in-Chief, who was supposed to be inspecting the Company's stations up country. Twining moved into a small bungalow, the verandah of which directly overlooked the Ganges, and was on the site of No. 9. Here one day he saw a European soldier, slowly swimming downstream in order to commit suicide. After being royally entertained for a week, the Commander-in-Chief without warning suddenly ordered mobilisation for the Rohilla campaign. In a few days, on the 18th October, the troops marched across the Ganges from the Fort ghat, Twining seeing them off and saying good-bye to Captain Ramsay, who commanded the cavalry force. The 10th, 12th, 14th, and 18th Battalions N. I., and Captain Hardwicke's Company from the 3rd artillery battalion, formed the column together with the two regiments of cavalry under Ramsay. Junction was made with the 2nd European Battalion and six others of the Native Infantry from Cawnpore. The whole force advanced into Rohilkhand until contact was made with the Rohilla Army at Bitaurah in the Bareilly District. The column erected by order of the Governor-General in Council, which marks the battle field and resting place of the killed, can be seen from the train, as it proceeds towards Ram pur from Bareilly. In the small cemetery at that spot lie the remains of the officers and men of the Fatehgarh Brigade, who lost their lives in one of the hardest fought actions of the century.

A letter dated "Camp Rampore, 26th October 1794," printed in the *Calcutta Gazette,* is worth reproducing for the vivid picture it gives of the battle and the praise bestowed on the 18th Battalion from Fatehgarh. Officers of the 7th Rajput Regiment will be no less interested in the writer, who afterwards was known as Lieutenant-General Sir John Macdonald, K. C. B. He raised the present 1st Battalion (then 15th N. I.) of the 7th Rajput Regiment in 1798. He commanded the 2nd European Regiment in the battle, having the 18th Battalion from Fatehgarh on his left and the 13th Battalion on his right. All three Battalions had great reputations, and were picked to form the Reserve.

He wrote as follows:—" The whole line was ordered to be under arms this morning, an hour before daylight; the General and his Staff moved to reconnoitre some miles in front; they saw the enemy forming in full force ; and after waiting some time to judge of the probable disposition they would take, rode back to camp to direct the arrangement for action. Our army moved forward in line, the art. in the intervals of corps, the cav. on the right flank; the charge of the enemy was most daring and gallant, and it is utterly impossible it could have been surpassed: both lines met and intermingled. The bayonet at length prevailed, and our army pursued the enemy across the Doojoora rivulet. The enemy was said to have consisted of 25,000 men, of which 4,000 were cav. who directed all their efforts against the reserve, and made dreadful execution. The number of the enemy killed was great. Our loss in European-officers was very afflicting. Maj. Bolton commanded the 18th batt. He was a remarkable large, powerful man. His batt. behaved with a degree of steadiness which would have done credit to the most disciplined corps in the world/'

" The charge on the part of the enemy was particularly singular; they formed in line, infinitely beyond the extent of ours, in deep wedges, supposed of 50 deep. When the signal for our advancing was given, we moved in good order, slowly forward, at that time about 1,200 yards from the enemy. They likewise moved towards us. When the lines were within 500 yards of each other, Gholam Mahomed's people scattered individually, approached in that extraordinary manner, and contested the point with our bayonets. They appeared to despise our musketry ; and upon every discharge of art. embraced the ground, instantly rising again and advancing to the charge: their arms were spears, matchlocks, and swords; which latter, they employed to destructive effect, and their attack, as if by universal consent, was called the Highland Charge."

The casualties were 14 British officers, and 600 rank and file. Lieutenant Wells of the 14th, Lieutenant Cummings, and Major Bolton of the 18th Battalion were killed. The 14th and 18th suffered heavy losses, while the cavalry was cut to pieces. Twining describes the distress in Fatehgarh, where the officers who were killed, had left

families. The disaster, too, which had caused these heavy losses, was due to a Fatehgarh officer. At the commencement of the action Captain Ramsay with his two cavalry regiments was ordered to take position on the right of the Reserve, and in a line with the infantry. Without having received any orders he wheeled his cavalry to the left by half ranks. By this faulty movement he led his men into the rear of the infantry. The cavalry fell into disorder, and was charged in flank by the Rohilla horsemen. Ramsay failed to rally his men, and indeed after the battle he was charged with not having even attempted to do so. The line of the 13th Battalion was broken. In a very short time its Officer Commanding and 4 other officers were killed. This Battalion had been at Fatehgarh eight years before, and its commander, Captain Macleod, was known there.

There was some sympathy felt for Ramsay in the camp. Letters to Headquarters dwell upon his good services in all the campaigns under General Goddard. The Commander-in-Chief received Ramsay's resignation in December, but the Board would not accept it. In the hopes of softening their hearts, Ramsay drafted a long essay on the subject of improving the breed of horses in Oudh, which on the 26th January the Board refused to consider at all, since it was hardly germane to the subject of Ramsay's misconduct! Meanwhile on the 9th January the Commander-in-Chief ordered Ramsay to be tried at Cawnpore. It is said that Ramsay then absconded rather than face the court-martial. That of course is true, but the records do not show that there was any hurry about it. Ramsay just departed quite openly, and it is very likely that the authorities connived at his leaving the country. Major Hodson gives the following interesting account of Ramsay's after life. " According to one account, he afterwards entered the French service, and served under Napoleon as a Commissariat Officer. Hickey, however, states that two years after his escape from close arrest he was seen and recognised in Scotland, where he was residing under an assumed name. Major Archer writes—the officer who thus acquired a deathless infamy is still (December 1828) alive, and recently resided on the Continent. Thomas Edwards (died 1815) stated he saw him at his residence near Brussels, but does

not give the date. He was living in or near Brussels with his family from 1805 till 1816 or later." Ramsay was a son-in-law of Samuel Skardon, the Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, who is buried in the Fort cemetery (see Chapter V). The tablet, now affixed to the cemetery wall, records that the tomb was erected by him. In spite of Ramsay's past history, hi3 son John Skardon Ramsay was allowed to enter the Bombay Army in 1819.

After Colonel Morgan, one of the most famous officers of the Bengal Army commanded at Fatehgarh in the person of Colonel William Popham (1740-1821). His services as given by Major Hodson are long and varied. His capture of Gwalior by escalade is an exploit which finds mention in every history book, and Fatehgarh could not ha^e obtained at any time a more distinguished commander than thus brilliant soldier. After starting as an Ensign in the 24th Foot in 1757, Popham was transferred to the 64th (79th), and accompanied it to the siege and capture of Manila in 1762. As Captain in the lf3th Foot he sold out in 1768. In the same year he entered the Indian service, obtaining the command in Cooch Behar after a few years. In the 1st Mahratta war he commanded the 2nd N. I. with the Bombay detachment under Goddard. At the end of 1779 he was sent with a force to assist the Rana of Gohad against the Mahrattas. Then followed the capture of Lahar Fort, the storming of Gwalior, the campaign against the Rajah of Benares,the capture of Bijaigarh in Central India, election as M.P. for Milborne Port, Somerset, when on furlough from 1787-1790, and in the last year a defeat at the election for Queensboro'. On return to India at the end of 1794 the appointment to Fatehgarh was made. The only report by Popham was one describing a very severe thunderstorm, which broke over the Station on the 15th May 1795, causing a great deal of damage to the Cavalry Lines at Rakha and blowing off the thatched roofs of the hospital and several bungalows. The artillery barracks outside the Fort were built in his time. There was some activity in repairing houses in Cantonments and Government buildings. Meanwhile a very serious situation had come into being in the garrison, of which Popham had made no report to the Commander-in-Chief at all. Throughout the year 1795 the officers of the Bengal Army

were in a state of ferment in all the stations of Upper Bengal, the discontent being most marked at Fatehgarh and Cawnpore. It was noted by the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, that the officers of the Fatehgarh garrison were the most violent in their sentiments. This episode of 1795-96, the outbreak of disputes in the Army which almost ended in a mutiny, has been little noticed in histories of India, or where noticed it has been exaggerated. The military records at the India office, so far as Fatehgarh is concerned, give little indication of it. Popham's reports in 1795 deal entirely with routine matters. Captain Bullock, in reviewing Furber's " Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship " in the *Statesman* of the 8th October 1933, has drawn attention to this little known chapter of army history; and the book is worth reading, not only for its general contents, but also because Fatehgarh is involved as being the chief focus of discontent at the time.

Furber points out that in 1794 the Company's officers had little hope of rising to the higher ranks. Only 52 out of about 1,000 infantry officers could look forward to fteld-officers' rtink. In addition, if the officer was fortunate to survive he could only expect a small retiring pension from Lord Clive's fund. He had to resign his commission, if he went to England. His pay, too, was slender. It will be remembered that Major Whinyates only drew Rs. 450 monthly for being a Brigade Staff Officer, and was greatly in debt. An officer in those days had to add to his pay by allowances called *bhatla,* by receipts of Bazar money, or payments by Cantonment shopkeepers, or by juggling with regimental allowances and contracts, of which the less said the better. An added source of ill-humour was created by friction with the officers of the King's troops, who out-ranked those of the Company of the same grade. Throughout the year 1795 the East India Company debated on the necessity for revising the regulations. The Bengal officers had their agents in England, and there was no lack of insistence on the need for reform in speeding up promotion and providing for furlough and better pay. Meanwhile the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, had patiently to wait for the result of the Company's procrastination, and try to allay the bitter feeling aroused by the Company's tactics among the officers in India, who were also afraid

of being transferred in a body to the King's Service without being consulted. This had, in fact, been a serious proposal of the preceding Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and when made public in the spring of 1795, it only increased the existing discontent. At the end of 1795 no definite orders having arrived from England, the situation became alarming.

In February 1796, Sir John Shore wrote to the President of the Government Board of Control in England, who was more or less the then Secretary of State for India, that the officers at Fatehgarh were more unanimous in adopting violent resolutions than those at Cawnpore. He wrote that "amongst other propositions which have been agitated are the following. A resolution to throw off all allegiance to Government in March, if the Regulations should not arrive by that time, and the seizure of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, and to compel by force of arms all to join them, with many others equally treasonable. 1 am told that the first resolution was adopted at Futtygurh at a meeting of fifty officers, with only two dissenting voices." He gave his opinion that he did not think the Fatehgarh officers were prepared to take over command of the Army. He wrote, however, to the Governor of Madras for reinforcements and to the Governor at the Cape. Sir Robert Abercromby, the Commander-in-Chief was sent up country on the 20th January 1796 to assert Government's authority, and his success at Cawnpore damped the spirits of the complainants at Fatehgarh and other cantonments. It appeared that all the officers at Fatehgarh and the Infantry officers at Cawnpore had drawn up a revolutionary constitution of Army Committees to enforce their resolutions. The artillery officers at Calcutta, however, refused to acquiesce, and there was a strong minority of dissentients at Cawnpore. This lack of unanimity strengthened the Commander-in-Chief's hands. The army regulations appeared in the course of 1796, and everything objectionable in them being altered by the Governor-General on his own authority, peace was eventually restored. In 1796 at all events the Officer Commanding at Fatehgarh, Major-General Robert Stuart, was in close touch with the Governor-General, and he must have done much to control the malcontents in the garrison; for Popham had

gone by 1796, and in his place a Colonel W. Jones took over the command temporarily, until the arrival of the permanent commander. It was probably during the change of command that the officers of the garrison got out of control. The units then serving at Fatehgarh were the 1st Regiment of Cavalry ; two companies of the 3rd Battalion of Artillery ; the 12th, 14th, 17th, and 21st Battalions of Native Infantry.

On the 3rd of October 1795 Colonel Popham and sixty-eight officers at Fatehgarh sent a "Congratulatory Address to Warren Hastings Esqr., on his acquittal of the charges preferred against him by the Commons of Great Britain" in the following terms :

Sir,

The officers and staff of that part of the Bengal Army at present stationed at Futty Ghur would deem themselves deficient in gratitude for the steady support afforded to their claims and the warm regard invariably manifested for the honour and prosperity of the Army in general, during your administration of British affairs in India, should they not embrace the earliest opportunity of presenting to you their sincere congratulations upon the honourable termination of the long and rigorous scrutiny which has been instituted into your measures and conduct during a government of thirteen years, and under the constant pressure of multiplied difficulties and dangers.

While they testify their inexpressible satisfaction at the result of an enquiry, which will transmit your name to posterity with deserved and unfadcd lustre, they cannot but feel a very particular self-gratulation on finding their own sentiments of your wisdom, zeal and important public services, confirmed by the almost unanimous verdict of the most respectable tribunal upon earth, and the general voice of the nation.

May you, Sir, long live in the enjoyment of your well-earned fame, and in the perfect possession and further public exertion of those eminent talents, which have acquired such extensive and permanent advantage to your country."

Warren Hastings wrote a special letter of acknowledgement to Colonel Popham; and it appears from a letter which he sent to Major-General

Morgan, the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, that he had received similar addresses from all other military stations.

Popham came to the fore again in 1799, when the command of a column, which went to Madras by sea in order to take part in the 4th Mysore War, was given to him. This detachment from Bengal assisted at the storming of Seringapatam, Popham being a Major-General commanding the Left Wing of the Army. Retirement came in 1803, and Popham died in York Street, London, in 1821.

Mention has already been made of the Captain Rawstorne of the 28th Battalion in the Temporary Brigade, who witnessed the progress of Fatehgarh from a camp of tents to a well arranged cantonment. Iu 1781 Rawstorne had been Commanding Officer for a short period, and he was now to take up that appointment for a second time. In 1797 Rawstorne was at Cawnpore with the 2nd Bengal European Regiment. On the 24th June he arrived by river at Fatehgarh, and held the command until the end of the year, when Major-General Robert Stuart relieved him. His days were chiefly spent in building, and renewing the Lines. The cavalry stables at Rakha had as usual to be patched up. The District was quiet, and indigo planters and traders, by penetrating to every part of it, were creating a good deal of employment, which helped to bring about more settled conditions. The military population of Cantonments was still numerous. An address to the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 19th February 1796, was signed by 49 officers and surgeons. Two years later Major-General R. Stuart wrote to the Commander-in-Chief that the Indian officers and men of the garrison desired to contribute towards the maintenance of the war, then being waged by Great Britain in Europe. A list of subscribers to the national funds for the prosecution of this war with the French was published in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1799, and in it will be found the names of all the military residents, many of whom gave remarkably large sums. The rupee in 1799 was worth half a crown in English currency, and its purchasing value also was far greatei than that of the present day rupee. The account of the proceedings is as follows:

" At a meeting of the Officers and Staff of the station of Futty Ghur, assembled at the request of Major-General Stuart, on the 1st July 1798,

the officers assembled elected Major-General Stuart to be president of the meeting, and Captain Alex. Orme to be secretary.

The meeting having taken into account the state of the mother country,.....they further resolved, to the utmost of their means, to give pecuniary aid to the national Government; for which purpose a subscription will be opened at the Brigade Major's office (No. % Bungalow), where gentlemen may subscribe in the manner most convenient and agreeable to themselves.'

Major-General Robert Stuart headed the list with a munificent donation of 8,000 sicca rupees. Major R. Frith, commanding the 1st Regiment of Cavalry at Rakha gave 1,000 sicca rupees. Lt.-Colonel R. Rane, commanding the l/6th N. I., gave Rs. 1,500, and Major G. Wood, commanding the other battalion of the 6th N.I., gave Rs. 1,000. Captain Orme, the Brigade Major, put himself down for Rs. 1,000. Forty-seven other officers and two merchants, Laurence Paul and J. P. Bellow (or Bellew), gave amounts varying from Rs. 25 monthly to Rs. 1,000. The total sum came to over Rs. 22,000.

The only troops, which left Fatehgarh in 1797, were those sent to Lucknow to help the Resident, and the same detachment marched the next year to Rampur in Rohilkhand to help the Governor of that area to quell some disturbances. In the last year of the century it looked as if the Fatehgarh Brigade would again go on active service. Zaman Shah of Kabul threatened to invade the Punjab. The nearest danger point for the Nawab Vizier was Anupshahr on the Ganges, a place well known to the Fatehgarh troops and well loathed by them. Concentration of all available troops in this direction was ordered to meet the threat. An army under Sir James Craig came up to Fatehgarh from Cawnpore, and after taking with it the Fatehgarh Brigade marched to Anupshahr *via* Kaimganj. The Army was accompanied by a Chaplain named Tennant, who wrote a description of the march. Unfortunately he has nothing to say about Fatehgarh, and its appearance in 1799. His observations on the social habits of officers at Cawnpore apply, however, to Fatehgarh, since there was the closest connection between the two places. Bungalows, he notes, had much improved in comfort since 1788. Beef, mutton, and

poultry were being eaten, and dinner took place in the evening instead of at 2 p. m., an hour which had necessarily entailed a long siesta after ft. Pester mentions that dinner at Fatehgarh in 1803 was in the evening. Drinking and gaming up to the small hours were the only evening amusements. The same writer says that men sometimes took so much claret after dinner that they were unable to join the ladies, and guests used to spend the night in the bungalow of their host, either on the floor, or on sofas.

Among the pictures at Government House, Allahabad, writes Sir Evan Cotton in an article called " The Kidnapped Colonel ", which was published in the *Statesman*, there is a portrait of a certain Colonel Stewart. This portrait formerly belonged to the famous Begum Somru of Sardhana, near Meerut. The Colonel, whose name is rightly Robert Stuart (1744-1820) , was the Officer Commanding Fatehgarh in 1796. In 1776 he raised the 21st Battalion for the Nawab Vizier, and just escaped being stationed at Fatehgarh with the Temporary Brigade, the battalions of which started with No. 22. It was in 1791, when serving on the frontier at Anupshahr, that he was captured by a Sikh chief during an early morning ride. His release was obtained through the Begum Somru, who paid a ransom of Rs. 15,000 for him. which was refunded to her by Government in 1792, and the Governer-General sent her a letter of thanks for her "laudable exertions". Stuart was also at Fatehgarh from 1797 to 1802. He retired the next year, and died at Annat Lodge, near Perth, in 1820.

The contribution of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh towards the maintenance of the Company's troops in his territory was twenty-three lakhs of rupees annually. Payment was long in arrears. In January 1801 Nawab Saadat Ali, unable to pay the vast sums which had accumulated through the mismanagement of his predecessors, ceded the Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand Divisions and the Duab to the East India Company, to provide permanently for the cost of the Company's troops in Oudh and on its frontier at Fatehgarh. The local Nawab at Farrukhabad, Nasir-i-Jang, also came to an arrangement with the Company, and by treaty gave up sovereign rights over the district in return for a settled income. These treaties entailed a change in the status of Fatehgarh, the Civil

Station of which was now bound to come into existence with the advent of the Company's officials. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, therefore, Fatehgarh was concerned less with military operations, and more with the establishment of an administration on the lines of the older Bengal districts. In 1801, it is true, a detachment of troops went to Bareilly to deal with mutinous Oudh troops, but otherwise for the next year or two until the Mahratta War, the troops were engaged in assisting the Civil Authorities to collect revenue from the unwilling occupants of numerous mud forts, in territory now included in the Etah and Etawah Districts, as well as the present District of Farrukbabad. The country transferred by Nawab Saadat Ali was called the Ceded Districts. Henry Wellesley, afterwards known as Lord Cowley, a brother of the then Governor-General, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor with his seat of administration at Bareilly. Fatehgarh assumed some importance in the Governor-General's estimation. Undoubtedly the treaty with the Bangash Nawab, Nasir-i-Jang, which had been concluded the year before, came under his consideration. A great deal of trouble was created for Lord Wellesley, at any rate, by allegations that he had oppressed the Nawab. Lord Wellesley had tried at Luck now to dislodge all European traders who were not the Company's servants, and drive them out of Oudh. They were mostly persons of doubtful antecedents, bent on making a fortune. Their leader was an adventurer named James Pan II with extensive business connections at Lucknow. Paull stood up to the Governor-General, and fought him unavailingly. He never forgave Wellesley, and returning to England bought a seat in Parliament in 1805. Paull's only work as a legislator was to attempt to impeach Lord Wellesley of what he considered were misdemeanours in his Indian administration. In one of the charges relating to alleged bad treatment of Nawab Nasir-i-Jang, Fatehgarh came in for considerable mention.

The first official to set up his office in Fatehgarh was the acting Agent to the Governor-General, who was invested with the powers of a revenue and political Agent by Government Order of the 2nd June 1802. Graeme Mercer, an Assistant Surgeon, was the first. He had perforce to

work in Cantonments, since there was no Civil Station then in existence. There are indications in the earliest records that civil officials first set up their residences at Kasim Bagh, and in the area now occupied by the B. B. and C. I. Railway Quarters and Engine Shed. This area was just outside Cantonments. It lay conveniently with reference to the City, and speedy communication with the Nawab. In 1806 Mercer was appointed Resident at Scindia's Court. He retired in 1814, dying twenty seven years later in Scotland.

The first year of Fatehgarh under the new regime was a disturbed one. A severe famine raged throughout the district. The Mahrattas were pouring over Etah and Mainpuri. A large body of them took up a position in the Patiali jungles, from which they threatened an invasion of Fatehgarh. Although the troops did not have to move out, Major-General Ware was alert. Mr. Grant, the first Magistrate, attempted to round up these stray Mahrattas at Patiali. Operations were not successful, but the Mahrattas were frightened, and the object of keeping them away from Farrukhabad territory was gained. In the midst of these pre-occupations, Mr. Grant had to receive at his house a distinguished tourist in the person of Viscount Valentia, who descended upon him from Lucknow. Lord Valentia's experiences were described in a work called " Travels in India," which appeared in 1806. It is a work which gives a good deal of information about places other than Fatehgarh. The City of Farrukhabad is praised for its fine trees and gardens, but no description of the Cantonment is given, and there is no clue to enable a guess being made at the situation of Mr. Grant's bungalow. All that Lord Valentia says is that " by seven I reached my friend Mr. Grant, who is Judge of the district. Mr. Webb (2/10th N. I.) by directions of Major-General Ware pitched our tents close to the garden fence." Grant appears to have been a most efficient officer, and a very popular man. Lord Valentia thought very highly of him, as did the second Agent to the Governor-General, Claud Russell. His death in 1804 was a great loss to the administration.

Lieutenant John Pester (1778-1856) l/2nd N. I., the author of the diary published in 1913 under the title " War and Sport in India " went

on leave to Fatehgarh in 1803, 1804 and 1805, for several visits to his friends there. Pester eventually became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 13th N. I . , and retired in 1826 after serving through the 2nd and 3rd Mahratta Wars. He died at Millbrook, near Southampton, in 1856. He came to the Station first on the 25th May 1803, staying with his friend Wemyss (James Wemyss, B. C. S. Register or Assistant to the Judge), who took him to the theatre at 10 p. m. to see a play performed by gentlemen, which proved to be " She Stoops to Conquer." On this visit he called on General Ware, but no hint is given as to where exactly in Cantonments the General lived. His next visit was on the 12th July 1804 on his way from Gwalior to Bareiily. This time he stayed with his friend Christie (Captain 2nd N. I. Brigade-Major at Fatehgarh), for Wemyss had been transferred to Cawnpore. Christie's bungalow was on the banks of the Ganges. This description unfortunately is too vague to allow of any identification. He writes, " Sent immediately for some cloth and purchased a sufficiency to make a dozen suits. Employed all the tailors that could be found. The weather very cool, and the old Ganges afforded a very gratifying sight." The third visit was on the 16th June 1805, this time on sick leave from Agra to Bareiily. He stayed till the 21st. On the 17th he writes, " Breakfasted and dined to-day at Paton's (Assistant Magistrate). Met there an old acquaintance of mine, Mrs. B. a nice little widow with a lac of rupees." The following day he called on Captain Christie's widow, " who I had not seen since the death of my poor friend Christie ; my having been in continual habits of friendship with Christie, recalled past events to her remembrance, and she appeared much distressed at first." He dined with the Commanding Officer, Colonel Richard Macan, and also with the officers of the 27th Light Dragoons, at Rakha Cantonment.

Seven battalions were raised at Fatehgarh in the years 1803 and 1804. Details of them are given in Appendix IL A letter, dated the 5th June 1804, sent by a Fatehgarh correspondent to the *Calcutta Gazette,* describes the kind of ceremony, which was observed when the newly raised corps were deemed to be perfectly formed, and worthy of receiving their colours : " Yesterday, the anniversary of His Majesty's

birthday,''* says the writer, "the 22nd Regiment Native Infantry received their colours from the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Kyan, Commanding the Regiment and Station ; the Regiment paraded a little before sunset, in full uniform, when Lieutenant-Colonel Kyan took post in front of the centre of the Corps, and presented the colours of each Battalion to Major Ralph and Captain Pry or, the Officers Commanding. The ceremony of receiving and saluting the colours being over, each Battalion fired three vollies iu honour of the birthday of our gracious Sovereign, which were performed remarkably well, and with the greatest steadiness. This new Corps, so lately levied, made a very respectable appearance, and were extremely steady under arms. In the evening an elegant entertainment was given by Lieutenant-Colonel Kyan, and many loyal and appropriate toasts were drunk." The 1st Battalion of this regiment, which received its first colours that day on the Fatehgarh parade ground, is still in existence. It is now known as the 1st Royal Battalion (Light Infantry) 9th J at Regiment.

Colonel Macan (died 1812) was the last Brigade Commander of Fatehgarh, for after 1805 Fatehgarh ceased to be headquarters of a brigade, and the garrison was usually one battolion of infantry only. Cornet in 1773, he became a Major General in 1808. He died at sea in 1812 of fever between Calcutta and St. Helena. In 1781 he was transferred from the British Army to the Company's service. He commanded the 3rd Cavalry Brigade in the 2nd Mahratta War, and took part in all the campaigns of Lords Cornwallis and Lake. Pester says of his dinner with Colonel Macan, " Dined with Colonel Macan this evening (18th June). Drank more wine than usual, but retired early leaving a very large party, who seemed all disposed to do justice to the Colonel's excellent claret "! It would seem that the traditions of the Officer Commanding the Fatehgarh Brigade were being worthily maintained by the last of them in good eighteenth century fashion. It is a matter for regret that no one can now say whereabouts in Fatehgarh these convivial meetings took place. The greater part of the troops departed with Colonel Macan in 1805. Rakha Cantonment was wholly deserted. The infantry barracks, which were not needed, were gradually

pulled down. Only the lines to the west of the Mall Road were left. The avenues of him trees on the edge of the parade ground mark their site exactly, and they remained in existence down to the Mutiny. On the eastern side of the Mall Road, bungalows quickly arose as soon as the old huts could be cleared away. It is known that No. 20 Bungalow was built first of all. It was occupied by the Judge Magistrate of the District for many years to come,

CHAPTER II.

THE SUDDER STATION.

THE cession of the District by the Nawab of Farrukhabad to the East India Company took place on the 4th June 1802, and the first British officials in the shape of a Judge Magistrate arrived the following March. By 1806 the civil establishment was complete, there being a Collector, a Register or Assistant to the Judge, a Chaplain and a Civil Surgeon in addition to the Judge, who took up also all political work in connection with the semi-independent Nawab in the City, and was called Agent to the Governor-General in this capacity. Fatehgarh was now termed a " Sudder Station ", since it possessed all necessary civil officials. It retained its military, importance during the 2nd Mahratta War; but after 1806 the Station was commanded by the Officer Commanding the battalion of Native Infantry, which happened to be stationed in Fatehgarh at the time. The usual garrison was one regiment of sepoys, one company of artillery, and a bodyguard for the Commissioners of the ceded Provinces. The two last named units disappeared by 1820, and occasionally there appeared special corps, generally irregular in formation, which will be noticed in their place. The civil population of Cantonments, however, continued to grow. Indigo planters, cotton merchants and traders took over the bungalows vacated by military officers. The major part of the Infantry Lines had been pulled down. The space was covered by new houses, which are represented now by Bungalows Nos. 15 to 20. The present Civil Lines came into being and the Cantonment was linked up with Rakha. Rakha was abandoned to cultivators. The old military bazar became Fatehgarh Town. The area immediately in front of the Fort gates was so densely populated, as to threaten the forming of another town. The Strand Road was still the chief thoroughfare; but the Trunk Road, which formerly in the eighteenth century had only been the main road of the Infantry Lines, now became a residential quarter. Notwithstanding these alterations,

the general appearance of Fatehgarh Cantonment was like that of any large village to-day. Before 1856 there were no metalled roads. The Station was traversed by lanes, just wide enough to allow two carriages to pass, seamed with ruts, ankle deep in dust, and after rain impassible from mud and water. Compounds were very small, each being surrounded by high mud walls, which contained thatched bungalows resembling haystacks, or beehives, according to a contemporary visitor. It seems from the records to have been difficult to walk along the roads. The residents transported themselves from house to house, either in palanquins, or in two-wheeled buggies. The roads, too, were infested by stray dogs, and the frequency of mad dogs was a menace, which gave rise to constant complaint. Up to 1815 the Magistrate gave notice twice a year that on a certain date parties would be sent out to shoot all stray dogs. In 1840 the Joint Magistrate had to obtain the Commissioner's sanction to destroy them. Five years later the Station Staff Officer complained of their numbers in Cantonments, and two annas a head had to be offered for their destruction. By 1840 the Station had much improved in appearance. Metalled roads and more permanent houses of brick and masonry, with flat roofs, called kothis, had come into existence, and Fatehgarh began to assume its modern aspect.

The large numbers of pensioners, clerks, and traders, who came between 1803 and 1818, together with the indigo planters of the District, who desired to have town residences, made the housing problem difficult. There was also a considerable Eurasian population, descended from officers of the Temporary Brigade and their Mohamedan wives, who occupied a great many bungalows on the site of the present Maude Lines, and in the Civil Station between the Post Office Road and Machlİ Tola. Some residents of an undesirable type were in the habit of living in tents, which they pitched in odd places. The most scandalous case was that of an ex-officer of the 34th N. I., who had to leave his regiment with a constitution broken by hard drinking. He obtained the post of overseer in an indigo factory on Rs. 300 a month, but was dismissed for drinking in a few weeks. He pitched his tent under a tree near Kasim Bagh. His old servant drew his small pension, and expended part on toddy,

which he used to serve out in rations to his master. On one occasion after a lapse of 43 hours, the latter failed to appear from his tent. His body was discovered in it, eaten by ants.

There is no exact evidence of the number of houses during the period of the Temporary Brigade. In 1829 a memorial was addressed to Government by the civilian residents of Cantonments, which gives some indication of the size of the place in that year. The cause of the memorial was a station order, dated the 15th October 1829, issued by Captain Buckley, 70th N. I., (1786-1853. Died at Bareilly when commanding the Kohilkhand District). It appears that there was a military court functioning at the time, called the Court of Request , in which the Officer Commanding took cognisance of claims against European residents. Captain Buckley laid down that all civilians, failing to appear before this court when required, would be ejected from Cantonments. This order produced an agitation, which resulted in the drawing up of the memorial. It was shown by the petitioners that in 1829 there were 70 houses in Cantonments, and 30 outside. The military population was only 8 to 10 officers of the regular regiment, 2 belonging to the Provincial Battalion, and 3 staff officers, 15 in all at the most. When the number of troops decreased in 1806, military officers sold their bungalows to indigo planters and cotton merchants. Houses occupied by owners were not affected ; but the tenants of numerous other houses were ejected without notice by officers, who took a fancy to their residences. The Officer Commanding and several other officers were actually living in the Civil Lines. One European clerk had been compelled successively within three weeks to vacate two houses, which he had taken on rent at opposite ends of Fatehgarh. In 1820 Mr. Charter's bungalow in Cantonments was occupied by a clerk, named Hoskins. Captain Hawthorne, 11th N. I., (1789-1853, Lieut.-Col. 32nd N. I.), demanded it for himself. Hoskins refused to leave, even at the order of Sir Edward Colebrooke, the Commissioner, in whose office he was working, and treated Captain Hawthorne to much personal abuse. The latter retaliated by going to the bungalow with his servants, and throwing Hoskin's furniture on to the road, while he was at office. Hoskins appealed to Government, but

obtained no redress, nor did the memorialists of 1829 fare any better. Nothing was done, and military and civilian residents lived where they liked. The Officer Commanding refused to move from the compound to the south of the present Collector's house.

The memorial also discloses that the executive officer in Cantonments at this date was the Station Staff Officer, who was usually the Adjutant of the Provincial Battalion. There was certainly a Cantonment clerk in 1846 ; for in that year he was dismissed, and in 1853 there is definite mention of a Cantonment Magistrate. Executive orders affecting the station were issued by the Officer Commanding. A warrant officer on the Town Major's list looked after the Cantonment bazars. There was a Barrack Master in charge of military works. He was styled locally " Kot Sahib Captan," and appears to have been distinct from the '' Kot Master," who lived between bungalows Nos. 7 and 9; for both appear in the same list. Kot Master was probably Quartermaster; while one suggestion for the derivation of Kot Sahib is that it refers to the officer-in-charge of " kothis," or Barrack Master. There seems to have been a Barrack Master from the earliest period. In 179.5 he was a Major Pringle. He was guided by a Committee of Survey, which met to inspect large works, and report on the condition of Government buildings annually. The members of the Committee were selected from the local garrison ; *e. y.* in 1816* Major Stark, Horse Artillery, was President, and Lieutenants Thompson and Gairdner, 10th N. I . , were members.

A list of the regiments stationed at Fatehgarh after 180b' will be found in Appendix I. Several of the Commanding Officers and special units are of interest. In 1806' the Farrukhabad Provincial Battalion was disbanded for the time being. This battalion grew out of an irregular force known as a " Sebundy Corps." There was one in Fatehgarh in 1803. The Sebundy Corps was a kind of militia, which garrisoned forts, and performed revenue and police duties at a time when the regular troops were away on active service. During the 2nd Mahratta War Fatehgarh was denuded of troops, and there being no trained police force, the Sebundy Corps was raised to aid the Civil Authorities. The name was changed in 1805 to that of the Farrukhabad Provincial Battalion ; mid

the corps was disbanded in the following year when troops on service returned to their cantonments. The first commander was Captain R. Bowie, who was Ensign in 1778, and later Captain of the 10th N. I. He served in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Mysore Wars, dying at Agra in 1814. He was succeeded by Lieutenant A. Oliver, 4th N. I.

During the Nepal War the Farrukbabad Provincial Battalion was re-raised in 1815. The list of its commanders is as follows :—

1. *Lieut.-Col. IV. Cuppaqe.*—He entered the service in 1781, Served in the 4th Mysore War. Invalided in 1815. Died unmarried at Fntehgarh in 1819, aged 58.
2. *Lieut.-Col. Donat V. Kerin* —Commanded the battalion from 1820 to 1822. Born 1758. Died at Patna in 1823.
3. *Lieut.-Col. C. II. Baines.*—Commanding 1822 to 1824. Born 1783. Died 1844. Arrived in India 1799, and served in the 2nd Mahratta and Nepal Wars.
4. *Lieut.-Col. G. Hickman, (1758-1828).*—Invalided from the 1/lstN. I. in 1818. Superintendent of Invalids at Chittagong. His two sons were Army officers. Died at Fatehgarh, and has the largest monument in the Fort cemetery.
5. *Lieut-Col. C. Poole, (1777-1843).—5lst* N. I. Invalided in 1828. Present at the capture of Java in 1811. Commanded the battalion until it was disbanded in 1831. He continued to reside at Fatehgarh for another three years, and became Commandant of Chunar in 1839. He died there.

Thirteen Provincial Battalions came into being, and the local one was the ninth. It was not strictly speaking part of the regular army ; but in Cantonments it was considered to be under the Officer Commanding the regular regiment. This situation arose, because at Fatehgarh the Station Staff Officer was the Adjutant of the Provincial Battalion. The state for December 1830 shows that there were on civil duties within the District 1 Subedar, 2 Jemadars, 16 Hnvildars, 21 Naiks, and 303 Sepoys. In addition, there were 214 ranks on civil duty in Mainpuri and Aligarh.

The rest were in the Lines, or absent on leave. The total was 7 Subedars. 11 Jemadars, 42 Havildars, 46 Naiks, 9 Drummers, and 681 Sepoys. The Adjutant was Lieutenant Duncan (1805-1872). This officer's father was General Alex. Duncan (1780-1859), whose marriage took place at Fatehgarh in 1802, when he was Adjutant of the 2/2nd N. L In 180(5 he was Brigade-Major at Fatehgarh, and his son was probably born in Cantonments. Guards were furnished for the Treasury and Cutcherry, Escorts were provided for undertrial prisoners going from the Jail to the Courts. The sepoys were also employed in helping to collect land revenue. One detachment was stationed in Farrukhabad City in 1827 to keep order. Another was sent to Kaimganj as a result of fights between the Pathans and Banyas. Just before the disbandiuent in 1831 the Magistrate reported that the men of this battalion had been assuming an unwarranted authority ; and created more squabbles than they prevented. There were usually not more than two British officers serving at any time with the battalion. It was replaced by barkandazes on Rs. 4 a month.

Lieut.-Colonel Samuel Palmer, (1762-1814), was commanding in 1808-9. He commanded the 11th N. I., and arrived in India in 1779. He served through the 2nd Mahratta War, capture of Gohad in 1806, capture of Kalinjar 1812, and after commanding at Aligarh in 1813-14 died at Calcutta. He is referred to in several old records. His successor, Lieut.-Colonel Jacob Vanrenan, (1762-1828), was equally respected, and left his mark on Cantonments for many years. A regimental bazar was laid out in his time, a fragment of which still exists as the B. I., or Orderly Bazar. From 1810 until the Mutiny of 1857 its name, however, was Vanrenan Ganj.

Vanrenan was the son of Daniel van Renan of the Cape. His mother also was of Dutch extraction. He had a long and varied service of 46 years iu India, and was absent for only nine months on sick leave to the Cape. On the 8th February 1828 he died on board a boat on the Ganges near Cawnpore. The place of burial is not known. He started as a cadet in 1780, and was a Lieutenant in the 20th Battalion of Sepoys in 1787, when that battalion was in the 4th Brigade at Fatehgarh. He was at the battle of Bitaurah in 1794, his battalion being then in the Cawnpore

brigade. He saw active service iu the 2nd Mahratta War, Bundelkhand 1803, Gwalior 1804, and again in Bundelkhand 1809. After leaving Fatehgarh in 1811-12 he was present at the siege of Hathras 1817, in which he commanded the 4th Infantry Brigade. From 1820 till his death he was commanding as Brigadier-General in Rohiikhand.

The tomb of Mrs. Eliza Gamon in the Fort cemetery recalls the name of her father, Lieut.-Colonel Francis Rutledge (1760-1817), who followed Vanrenan. He sailed for India in 1778, and rose to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel of the 1/tfrd N. I. in 1805. He served through the operations in Bundelkhand 1809. Hls death occurred at Barrackpore, and his tomb is to lie seen in the cemetery at that place. A sale deed of the year 1813 transliterates his name into Urdu as "Aylech"!

At this epoch the Custom Records point to active progress in trade. The influx of traders and indigo planters was commencing, which rose to its height about 1835. The City had become an emporium of trade for the Upper Provinces, the Ganges forming a natural highway for fleets of boats transporting merchandise. John Deaneofthe Board of Commissioners paid a visit to Fatehgarh in 1809 in the course of his tour of inspection, and Mrs. Deane has loft some account, which unfortunately is very incomplete on the subject of Fatehgarh. She remarks that Farrukhabad was one of the best places for buying Kashmir shawls, and a fine cloth for neckcloths, called chandelly, which came from the Mahratta country. The Deanes appear to have stayed in Cantonments, and on their departure had a lucky escape. Their hosts had come out of the bungalow to see the DeaiKis off in their palanquins, when a flash of lightning struck the dining room. The house being a thatched one, caught on fire, and was burnt to the ground in a few hours. This accident is not mentioned in the records, but houses are stated to have been struck by lightning in 1807, and in 1812. In the latter year it was No. 20 Bungalow, which suffered in this manner. The Deanes sailed from Fatehgarh with six boats comprising one called a budgerow to sleep in, a pinnace to eat in, a boat fitted up as a kitchen, one for poultry, sheep and stores, one for servants and luggage, and a sixth for washing in. The description of the sixth boat is vague. The journey to Cawnpore took four days in September. The

first stage was Singhirampur, or with luck near to the junction of the Ramganga. Dai pur was the second stage, and Bithur the third.

Lieut.-Colonei C. Crawford (1760-1836), had not long been Commanding Officer, when he was appointed Surveyor-General. He retired in 1818, and died in Herefordshire. Lieut.-Colonel W. Bedell (1764-1829), later commanded the Dacca Provincial Battalion, and died at Dacca. Lieut-Colonel Bedell's command ceased at Fatehgarh on the outbreak of the Nepal War, when there was some considerable military activity in the Station. The Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, stayed more than five months in a house on the site of the present Engine Shed in the Railway Lines, in order to be near the scene of operations, and the Fort was put in repair. Amongst many regiments passing through to reach the Advanced Base at Sitapur was the 2/10 th N. I. under Lieut.-Colonel Voyle. On the day the regiment arrived at Sitapur it was ordered back to Fatehgarh. No sooner had it settled iu than orders crime to hurry to Sitapur again, and proceed on active service. When within a march of that place, Colonel Voyle was informed that peace had been declared, and his regiment was to return to Fatehgarh and be disbanded.

The Gun Carriage Factory had started work in the Fort a year previously. In 1815 the Clothing Agency was in progress. The establishment of both these factories meant an increase of population to Cantonments; and they became an integral part of the history of Fatehgarh, lasting in the former case down to the end of the nineteenth century.

During the 3rd Mahratta War there were no regular troops at Fatehgarh. The Dromedary Corps probably never was in the station, although for official purposes it was recorded so. It was raised in 1815, and disbanded in 1821. The Fatehgarh Levy made its appearance, and still exists as the 9th Gurkha Rifles. The Nassiri Battalions were also Gurkha Rifles. They are twice mentioned in memorial inscriptions in the Fort cemetery. The 2nd Recruit Depot Battalion, part of the garrison for the year 1839, was another odd formation, which requires some explanation. At the beginning of the 1st Afghan War two such battalions were formed by G. O. 8th September 1838 at Karnal and Meerut, each of which was to feed six regiments of Native Infantry on active service.

These two depots were transferred to Aligarh in 1839, and in the same year a second depot came into being at Fatehgarh under Major Earle.

For the better supervision of the Nepal War, the Governor-General, who wasthen the Marquis of Hastings, fixed his headquarters at Fatehgarh during the hot weather of 1815, and the despatches relating to the war were written here. The Marquis kept a daily diary, which has since been published. In relating his many activities he has fortunately given more description of the Station than other contemporary visitors have troubled to do. He arrived on the 10th March with a numerous suite, the important members of which were the Military Secretary, the Persian Interpreter, eight aides-de-camp, three supernumerary ones, a doctor, and a chaplain. The last march was from Sakwaionthe Mainpuri Road, for the Governor-General came from Mainpuri, *via* Madanpur, and passing the area, where now stands the Central Jail, he crossed the old Rakha Cantonment and the Civil Lines in order to reach his camp, which was pitched on the parade ground by the present Victoria Memorial. The days were already too hot for living in tents, and the same evening a move was made to the Collector's house. Mr. Donnithorne, the Collector, had not long before built this residence on the space now occupied by the Engine Sheds of the B. H. & C. I. Railway. For more than five months, up to the 22nd August following, the Government of the country was directed from this spot.

Many levees were held. Breakfasts werj given to distinguished visitors, like the young Nawab of Farrukhabad, and the Vizier of Oudh's sou. The 4th June was then the King's birthday, and celebrations had to be cancelled owing to the hot winds. In the evening, however, the troops tired a *feu de joic* on the parade ground. The Prince Regent's birthday fell on the 12th August. An entertainment was given to the residents of the Station. The garden was illuminated by fifty thousand lamps, and after a display of fireworks supper closed the day. The Marquis wrote in his diary that luckily the evening was cool. At daybreak on the 22nd August the Marquis sailed for Cawnpore down the Ganges. "Finally", he wrote, "we embarked in our boats, leaving with regret a number of individuals, from whom we have received the most unremittingly

polite attentions." His regret was probably exceeded by the delight of the Collector in getting back into his own house after five months[1] dispossession !

After the Marquis of Hastings no high dignitary visited the Station for over twelve years. In December 1827 the Commander-in Chief, Lord Combermere, arrived with his camp on a tour of inspection. Although Rakha Cavalry Cantonment had been abandoned for many years, it was still the locality chosen for camps of various troops, which made no lengthy stay. The 3rd Irregular Horse, known as Baddeley's Horse, was encamped on the race course, which can still roughly be traced at Rakha. Edward Picard, or Pacard, of Bush, Packard & Co., an indigo manufacturing concern at Mehndi Ghat, near Kananj, was probably a local Lieutenant in this corps in 1819. Picard had a close connection with Fatehgarh from 1830 onwards, and was also established at Bareilly.

The 3rd Irregular Horse were reviewed on the parade ground. The regiment was dressed in Mussalman costume, and had a few British officers. The troopers gave an exhibition of tent-pegging. They fired their matchlocks in the air, the bullets whizzing over the heads of the spectators, and putting them to flight. A year later the corps was disbanded. After noting this review Lord Combermere's A.-D.-C. goes on to record some interesting details of the Station. He also says that Farrukhabad was famous for Kashmir shawls, and adds that puttoo cloth and precious stones were well-known commodities of the bazar. The neighbourhood was renowned for potatoes even at that early date. Land in the vicinity of the Cantonment bore excellent vegetables, and was let at Rs. 8 a bigha. Fatehgarh itself was very healthy, and the residents were loud in its praises.

Lord Combermere's A.-D.-C. was a Major E. C. Archer, whose remarks on Fatehgarh will be found in his two-volume book called " Tours in Upper India," which appeared in 1833. His daughter is better remembered. She was the author of one of the very best accounts of life in India that has ever been printed. Mrs. Fanny Parks, to call her by her married name, was the wife of C C. Parks of the Bengal Civil Service (India 1817 to 1846). In 1832 Parks was Collector of Customs

at Allahabad. From that place his wife can-ied out her voyages on the Ganges and Jumna in a small yacht, visiting all places of interest, and including Kanauj and Fatehgarh on two occasions in 1835 and 1838, descriptions of which fill the pages of her book " The Wanderings of a Pilgrim.*' Mrs. Parks was related to Mr. Swetenham, the Judge of Farrukhabad District from 1835 to 1841. Although she has little to say about the general appearance of Fatehgarh, there are in her book many interesting comments on local topics to which reference will be made in other chapters.

The Hon'ble Emily Eden pissed through in 1838 with the Governor-General's camp. She is even more disappointing on the subject of Fatehgarh's appearance ; for she gives no topographical details at all in her letters, which were subsequently published in I860 under the title of " Up the Country." She was most impressed by the eccentric Civil Surgeon, Dr. Goss. She had weird ideas as to the geographical position of Fatehgarh, which she thought was thirty miles from Gwalior. She was amused by the uniform of an escort of Irregular Cavalry, which under the command of two British officers joined the camp. Officers and men wore green velvet tunics, red satin trousers, tucked into white leather boots ; while the faces of all were garnished with long beards. As they had no collars to their tunics, their bare necks and long beards gave them a comic appearance.

Official records, however, show that by 1838 the Cantonment had Ixjen much improved. Roads like the Mall Road, and those leading to Be war and Gursahaiganj, were being metalled. Avenues of trees had been planted along the roads to the City and Ghatia Ghat. Hakim Mehdi Ali's house (the Indian Military Hospital), the Theatre, the Church, the present residence of the Collector, Martin's house on the river bank, and that containing the District Courts, where now the Railway Engine Shed stands, were all substantial buildings, giving an air of permanency to the Station. With one or two exceptions the houses of the residents, however, remained thatched bungalows with mud walls, small in size, and insignificant in extent. A few scattered allusions in the records seem to indicate that the occupiers kept up flower gardens around

their houses, and compound walls were carefully maintained. By 1835 it may be said that Fatehgarh had taken on its present appearance, and this year has been taken as a convenient one for compiling a sketch map of the Station, which will be found at the end of this memoir. Much information has been obtained from the lists compiled for the settlement of Land Revenue in 1833. The Registrar's office, too, is rich in deeds of sale and mortgage of houses at this period; whilst lastly an excellent history of the Farrukhabad District appeared in 1846, which although it gives far too few details about Fatehgarh itself, has appended at the end a rough sketch map of the Cantonment and Civil Lines. This account is called the "Fatehgarh-nama of Babu Kale Rai," and copies are still to be found in the possession of old families of the District. Another local history in Urdu was written by Mufti Wali Ullah in 1830; but unfortunately it contains no topographical description of Fatehgarh, and scarcely mentions the place at all. The memoir of the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad, compiled by C. W. Irvine, I. C. S., a Joint Magistrate and officiating Collector of the District, and published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1878, has nothing to tell about Fatehgarh. The most valuable contemporary document is undoubtedly the diary of Nawab Doolah, the husband of the celebrated Nawab Jaffri Begum of Shamsabad. Nawab Doolah wrote a copious daily account of his life in Persian, which incidentally recounts his visits to Fatehgarh, and the calls which he paid on the various officers of the Station between 1830 and 1852. Most unfortunately only one volume has survived. It is at present preserved by Nawab Ladle Sahib at Shamsabad.

The disturbances over the mutiny of the Baiza Bai's troops at Barhpur broke the quiet of 1835. An account of them has been given in a separate chapter. With this exception, however, nothing occurred at Fatehgarh to interfere with the daily routine down to the Mutiny of 1857. The Cantonment and Civil Station, inhabited now largely by Europeans and Eurasians, who were permanently domiciled in the place, were monotonously calm. Fatehgarh speedily became a backwater, yielding place in importance to surrounding districts. Babu Kale Rai narrates a few outstanding events, which struck him as peculiarly impor-

tant, and so were chronicled in the Fatehgarh-nania. In 1840, he says, the earth opened in Pargana Araritpur. A light issued, and a statue of Shiv appeared, which was worshipped by the cultivators. In 1841 the Nawab's fort in Farrukhabad was struck by lightning. The nett year a great fire broke out in the City, which caused damage to the amount of two lakhs of rupees. On the 21st March 1843 an unprecedented incident took place at Goshain, a hamlet of Pachaur in Pargana Tirwa. Lumps of meat, containing no bones, and each about two maunds in weight, rained down from the sky upon the fortunate inhabitants I On the 13th to 16th June 1846 a battery of artillery came down the new Grand Trunk Road from Lahore, an event which apparently was regarded as being no less supernatural. Despite the prohibition of the custom of performing suttee, the practice lingered on in Fatehgarh after 1829, the year when these rites were made illegal. In 1832 a widow was burnt to death in front of an immense crowd of 10,000 persons. The manager of the ceremony was sentenced to imprisonment for two years. Seven years later another big suttee was performed near Cantonments. This time two pei'sons were arrested, and received five years' imprisonment each.

The palmy days of Fatehgarh as a Sudder Station were undoubtedly about 1835, just before the great famine, which two years later swept over the country, and brought great misery in its train. Perhaps the event which more than any other changed the face of the Station, sharply dividing the old Fatehgarh from the new, was the metalling of the Trunk Road. This is the road to Rohilkhand, which passing through Fatehgarh Town bazar, sweeps round the parade ground, and stops at the Ganges by the Ghatia Ghat ferry. It joins the Grand Trunk Road at Gursahaiganj, and is often wrongly called by the same name. At all periods this road has been the main Cantonment thoroughfare. The fine nim trees, which stand upon the edge of the parade ground on the western side, indicate the exact site of one side of the old Infantry Lines. The infantry corps of the Temporary Brigade were packed into thatched barracks of mud, which ran in short parallel lines, each line end on to the road, and on both sides of it, throughout the length of the parade ground up to the Sudder Bazar, which in the eighteenth century was of

modest dimensions. It was undoubtedly to this road that Lord Valentia referred in the account of his visit to Fatehgarh in 1808. He had come from Cawnpore, and was met near Bhojpur by a "sociable," a clumsy kind of four-wheeled carriage with seats facing, which was to conduct him to his destination with some show of state. Preceded by a cavalry escort in front, and one behind, Lord Valentia drove in the sociable along the Lines, each guard turning out, and presenting arms. The house of Mr. Grant, the Magistrate, in whose compound the visitor's tents were to be pitched, has not been traced, but it was at the northern end of the station, somewhere in the Park.

A great transformation of the Station had taken place by 1855. Residents of the early part of the nineteenth century would have been less familiar with the place than those of to-day. This was due to the metalling of the roads, and to the disappearance of many compounds, which had long been empty for want of occupants. The making of roads, bridges, and drains; the demolition of compound walls; the planting of trees and cleaning up of the side walks were due to convict labour, supervised by the Magistrate and the Road Committee The most senior officers in the Station were elected to this committee. In 1842 R. H. S. Campbell, the Collector, presided over it. The members were R.B. Thornhill (officiating Judge), Major T. Lumsden, C.B. (Agent, Gun Carriage Factory), Major J.H. Simmonds (Agent, Clothing Factory) Doctor T. C. Hunter (Civil Surgeon), J. Mercer (Registrar), W. H. DeGruyther (Deputy Collector), Pandit Daya Ram, and Munshi Benarsi Das. The labours of these Road Committees are fully recorded in the papers belonging to the years 1835 to 1855, and all the roads of to-day were constructed in that period. The road from Fatehgarh to the Kali Nadi at Khudaganj was made in 1847. It crossed that stream by the suspension bridge, which Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan had constructed ten years previously, in order to join the metalled road from Gursahai-ganj. The latter portion of the road had been commenced seven years earlier. William Hine had come to grief over his accounts in connection with its construction in 1842. The road from Bholepur to Nekpur was metalled in 1853, and as a matter of fact only one road had been left in

its old state by the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny. This road, curiously enough, has never been touched. It is the old Jail Road, which runs from Bholepur to the Commissariat Godown. A good picture of the roads is given in a letter by Mr. Shore, the Magistrate in 1888. He writes to the Commissioner : " The plan hitherto adopted of repairing the roads, was merely to scrape and smooth them after they were cut up by rain; this had gone on so long that there was really nothing left to scrape; the roads being in some places five feet below the adjoining ground ; and at the beginning of the late rainy season (1832) many parts were naturally impassible. It was obvious that unless some general plan of raising and widening the roads were adopted they must remain as they were; but there was no place in the Station whence earth could be dug to raise them." With the help of Captain Fulton (Agent, Clothing Factory) Shore induced the residents to give earth from their compounds. He was able after great exertions to raise the roads to their present level. This desperate expedient failed on the Trunk Road. In 1836 Mr. Rose (Joint Magistrate) wrote a report on it, in which he described the road as a soft unmetalled one, filled with ruts and holes, and ankle deep in dust, or in the rains with mud and water. The road had fallen into such a state of disrepair as to be impassible. The residents, therefore, opened a subscription fund for procuring kankar. Captain Lumsden, the Gun Carriage Agent, undertook the management. The Commissioner, Mr. Boulderson, sent him a hundred convicts, and the road was for the first time properly metalled.

After this date the appearance of the road changed. Already many years before, the " Line Telingan " as the barracks were called by an old Madras expression, had dwindled down to ten rows of huts in two blocks of five rows each, opposite No. 19 Bungalow. For thirty years there had not been more than one regiment in garrison. The animated scenes of the eighteenth century, when the troops of the old brigade thronged the Lines down to the Sadder Bazar, had passed from memory. In 1857 the men of the 10th N. I., " Duffel ki paltan," would have been seen here in red coats with dark-green facings. In front of their lines, where now is the Cantonment Office, took place the tumultuous scenes of

the 4th of June parade, when Colonel Smith narrowly escaped with his life ; and here too the 10th met the 41st " Doobye ki paltan " from Sitapur, and exchanged shots to decide who should own the district treasure.

The Lines have disappeared. The Cantonment office, which seems later on to have been quarters for a medical officer, and the Memorial Church have made their appearance ; but with these exceptions the parade ground has remained unchanged. The Diggi Tank in the centre was made in 1827 by Mr. Middleton, the Judge, at a total cost of Rs. 3,100 of which Government gave Rs. 1,500. Mr. Middleton gave Rs. ()00outof his own pocket, and the rest was raised locally. After a few years the tank deteriorated, and it was continually being repaired by convict gangs. It is now used as a wrestling arena by the men of the 10/7th Rajput Regiment.

In pre-Mutiny days there was no Station Club. There was an Officers' Mess it is true; but there was no meeting place for ladies, who apparently did no calling on each other. The Theatre had declined long before 1840. The records of the thirties are so silent about its existence, as to lead to the inference that the Theatre was no longer the assembly place of the Station. Consequently, the only rendezvous was the Diggi Tank. Here on Tuesday and Friday evenings played the band, affording some distraction to the residents sitting in their carriages. Close by the tank are the foundations of a small building, the use of which is not exactly known. Bazar tradition says it was the regimental armoury of the pre-Mutiny garrison.

That portion of the parade ground immediately in front of the old Church was and still is the official camping ground. Several large camps have been laid out on this spot, and that of the Marquis of Hastings in 1815 was the first. In 1887, and a year later in December 18#8, the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, camped here with fifty double pole tents, and a following of five thousand persons, including one squadron, and the band of the 11th Light Dragoons. Captain Mundy, his A.-D.-C, says that each officer on the headquarter staff had a double pole tent, one rowtee, one servants' pal, two elephants, six camels, four horses, one pony, a buggy, and 24 servants besides mahouts, camel drivers etc. Ten years after, however, an infinitely bigger camp was pitched

for Lord Auckland, which had to overflow into the fields behind Colonelganj. His sister, the Hon. Emily Eden, writes that they stayed in Fatehgarh from January 10th to 15th, and then marched across the river to Amritpur. Lord Auckland was accompanied in his tour by eleven thousand persons, hundreds of elephant*, camels and equipages of all kinds. The monthly cost of this horde to Government was seventy thousand rupees; while three or four hundred rupees compensation had to be paid daily to the cultivators for damage done to their fields. Mrs. Fanny Parks vainly attempted to accompany this small army on its march, and her tribulations are described in her book. She deserted at Amritpur, when an officious aide-de-camp ordered her off for inadvertently pitching her tents on a spot sacred to the Governor-General.

On December 26, 1851, arrived Lord Dalhousie with a smaller retinue. One of his objects was to call *on* Maharaja Dhuleep Singh. Sir William Gomm, the Commander-iti Chief, followed in February 1854. During his stay the Adjutant-General, Colonel Mountain, died and was buried in the Fort.

The Column under Sir Colin Campbell, which appeared in 1858, after destroying the '' Doobye ki paltan " at the Kali Nadi battle, camped on the parade ground, in the numerous groves behind Kasim Bagh, and in the vicinity of Naugaon, and the Fort. The following year a camp was laid out here for the Durbar of Lord Canning. It is interesting to know that the future Field-Marshal Lord Roberts was the Staff Officer who made the arrangements.

For several years, at the end of the Trunk road just where the Bazar commences, there were huts in which a guard was placed in consequence of a famous riot in 1834. The 1st N. I, was then in Fatehgarh under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Tapp. It appears that several sepoys were beaten by the townsmen in a street fight. The sepoys returned with large reinforcements, and started a battle royal, in which seventeen persons were stretched on the ground. The Town was placed out of bounds. At a cost of Rs. 15, huts were erected to contain a guard. This was extremely irksome to the sepoys, who lived so close to the bazar, and every month riots were anticipated.

The only building devoted to civil uses en the parade ground side of the Trunk Road was the dak bungalow, which stood upon the site of the present Post Office. For several years prior to the Mutiny it had not been used for the reception of visitors. The records are silent as to where such accommodation was provided. For several nights before the outbreak of the Mutiny on the 18th June 1857, the Officers of the 10th N. I. slept together in the house, since it stood at the end of the Lines, and close touch with the sepoys could be maintained. Curiously enough, it was actually used as a post office; and the arrangements are of interest. The building was hired for Rs. 10 monthly. There was a staff of twenty-one postmen and eleven bahnngidars. The latter carried parcels slung from each end of a bamboo balanced on the shoulder. The dak is still carried to officers in camp in this fashion. The monthly expenditure was Rs. 326.

The first Postmasters were the Collectors of the District. For a staff they were allowed one clerk and a sorter. A number of runners on Rs. 3 monthly wages carried the letters in leather bags to Cawnpore, each man covering a stage of 8 or 10 miles, and bringing back the post from the other direction. In 1840, the Commissioner allowed Rs. 25 for a set of new leather bags.

Arrangements for conveyance of the mails in the eighteenth century were as complete as could be expected. A mail service was set on foot in October 1778, as soon as the Temporary Brigade was established in its camp. Mails were conveyed from Benares to Daranagar beyond Moradabad, where there was a detachment of troops. Cawnpore to Fatehgarh was the stage, which most concerned the Temporary Brigade. A staff of 24 runners, 8 torn torn drummers, and 8 torch bearers was allowed. The duty of the drummers was to frighten wild beasts, and keep them from attacking the runners. The runners were paid Rs. 7 per mensem, and the others Rs. 3. In 1799, Lieutenant A. Orme was Deputy Postmaster. He complained to the Postmaster-General that the number of runners was insufficient, the mail having become very heavy.

Up to 1820 or thereabouts, this postal service seems only to have been for official use. Private postal services nevertheless existed in

numbers until prohibited by the Act of 1837. The custom of using the official post for private correspondence led to the sending of valuables by this medium ; and in .1808, the mail between Fatehgarh and Cawnpore was robbed regularly every week. A Government Order, issued in 1809, forbade the sending of valuables. It discloses that residents had been accustomed to send jewellery, and even watches, through the post.

Up to 1846 from a time unknown, the Civil Surgeon was Postmaster at Fatehgarh. After that year, Mr. Dunbar was this official. The Mutiny lists show Mr. Kew as Postmaster, and Mr. Catania as Inspector of Post Offices. Whole-time supervision had long been necessary. Complaints were rife as to the morals of the postal staff. In 1834 the Civil Surgeon despairingly reported to the Commissioner that the whole of his establishment was embezzling money.

The postal runners gave way to horses, then came ekkas, and lastly postal waggons. The waggons were always being robbed, and in 1854 the Magistrate reported a big loss. At all times the post was uncertain. Waggons being more reliable were an advance on the runners, who hardly ever ran, and consumed time at the end of their stages. In 1813, it was reported that the post left Cawnpore at 10 p. m. at night, and reached Fatehgarh 26 hours later in the middle of the second night, when the runners were conscientious; otherwise no one could say when the post would come.

A curious notice was published in 1859 by the P. M. G. He notified Lieutenant Swetenham of the 10th N. I. that three boxes of six barrels for an organ, addressed to him, would be sold by auction if not claimed in three months. This unfortunate officer, however, had two years previously been murdered at Cawnpore by the Nana.

The Trunk Road continued on into the Sudder Bazar, which arose into being to meet the requirements of the Temporary Brigade, and prior to 1803 it was small. The introduction of the District Courts, the Board of Revenue, and the Mint transformed the old brigade bazar into a considerable town. Life also in Farrukhabad City was insecure. The first British officials forced their subordinates to build houses in Fatehgarh, which soon acquired a large population. In 1803 Lord Valentia writes

that murders had been so frequent in Farrukhabad the year before, that people did not dare to venture there after sunset. The workmen, who came out to Cantonments, always returned during daylight. The sudden irruption of Holkar in 1804 emptied Fatehgarh Town, the inhabitants flying to the City, and shutting the gates. The Judge, Mr. Potts, remarked that on that occasion not one even of his orderlies remained on duty. From that date until the Mutiny fifty-three years later, the Town increased at a normal pace. Beyond the Kotwali and a small hospital, opposite the present Municipal Office, it had no public buildings, and its history was uneventful.

Within a stone's throw of the present Civil Hospital, and adjoining the Town, was the Theatre. Amateur theatricals were one of the most popular amusements of old military stations. First mention of the Fatehgarh house will be found in Lieutenant Poster's diary of " War and Sport in India" under date the 25th May 1803. "About ten we left Wemyss's (James Wemyss, Assistant Magistrate with whom he was staying) to go to see a play performed by gentlemen, and arrived just in time for Act the second of " She Stoops to Conquer ". It seemed to afford the old ladies great amusement, and many of the ladies assembled on this occasion, although from England, I think very probably had never seen a play before. Went home at 1 a. m."

The Marquis of Hastings several times mentions the Theatre in his diary. On his arrival in March 1815 his camp was pitched close to it, and indeed the southern portion of the parade ground is still the camping ground. His remarks, too, indicate the size of the building, since in 1815 no church existing at Fatehgarh, divine service was held for all the residents of Cantonments in a large room in the theatre building. The residents at that date together with the Governor-General's suite could not have numbered less than a hundred. The actual position of the Theatre has only been discovered with difficulty, so thoroughly have its traces disappeared. The foundations are not visible, and no mark is to be seen on the ground. A clue was found in the records, and fortunately could be verified on the spot. A list of works of public utility, drawn up by Mr. Swetenham some time in the thirties, gives the name of one Sobha

Ram, a chaprassi of the Army Clothing Factory, as having planted a tamarind and a goolar tree close to the Theatre. Both these trees are still standing, and mark the site indicated by the 1846 map as an empty compound. It is that space, south of the Victoria Memorial, which extends from the City Road up to the walls of the Civil Hospital. On this spot, therefore, took place the chief gatherings of the society of old Fatehgarh in the pursuit of amusement. In days when there were no outdoor games or clubs, the Theatre, or Assembly Rooms, were the chief rendezvous in the Station. Here took place dances and suppers, as well as private theatricals. There were several musicians in Fatehgarh, whose services were sufficiently in request for dances as to enable them to earn a living. In 1802, and for many years onwards, Christian Lundt practised this profession. From 1829 to 1836 C. Braggs followed him.

CHAPTER III.

THE FORT.

THE first work of Nawab Mohamed Khan, the founder of Furrftv aa-bad, was the building of the walls of the City in 1714. By 1720 he had also erected the Fort on the Ganges[1] bank to cover the crossing of the river. He built it of mud with ten bastions and a moat. In this form it has remained substantially up to the present day. It has a circumference of 1,500 yards, and the moat appears always to have been dry.

Before the arrival of the Temporary Brigade, the Fort had sustained the first of its three sieges, and received its name. In 1751 Nawab Ahmad, being attacked by the combined forces of Oudh, the Mahrattas, and the Jats, threw up an entrenched camp around the three land sides, and beat off all assaults. In his elation he named the Fort "Fatehgarh", or Fort Victory. In doing so he displayed unconscious irony ; for he was very soon afterwards soundly beaten, driven out of the Fort, and compelled to fly across the Ganges. Thus, the name "Fatehgarh" belongs only to the Fort. There is no village of that name. The Cantonments and Civil Station, spreading through the three villages of Bholepur, Bhakramau, and Husainpur, and being themselves military in origin, naturally adopted the name.

In 1777 when the Temporary Brigade concentrated in the vicinity, the Fort was found to be the property of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, who was suzerain of the local Nawabs and of all territory around, from the Ganges to the Jumna. The Nawab had no use for the Fort, and it was empty. It was also in very ruinous condition. An officer having built a bungalow alongside, arranged to use the Fort as his servants' quartern! Complaint was made by the Oudh authorities. The Officer Commanding then took over the place, and converting the Fort to proper uses, made it the magazine of the Temporary Brigade. The interior at this date only contained mud buildings and sheds of no extent. In 1778 the

brigade artillery found ample room there for their lines, within which could be housed their guns and personnel. Three companies of artillery, the 6th, 7th, and 8th, together with the Nawab Vizier's " battering artillery " went into these new quarters under their first commandant, Major Patrick Duff. Up to the end of the century the Fort was called the " Magazine". At sunrise and sunset each day a signal gun was fired. Here too was the ferry over the river, which stopped working after the evening gun at 9 p. m.

In 1797 Deputy Commissary Catts and two conductors of ordnance were present. Catts was still in Fatehgarh seven years later. He had done very good work in preparing for the 2nd Mahratta War. He supplied Lord Lake's Grand Army with military stores from the Fort, which had been turned into an immense depot of munitions and guns for the campaign. He was highly commended by Lord Lake, and on the 1st September 1803 was promoted by Government to the rank of Commissary of ordnance as a special case ; for the Magazine at Fatehgarh was always in charge of a Deputy commissary.

Captain A. M. Mathews followed Catts. Although Fatehgarh after 1805 ceased to be the headquarters of a brigade, the Magazine was still important. Captain Mathews was also a commissary in rank, and three conductors of ordnance assisted him. Not only the Magazine in the Fort, but the District also supplied the army with weapons and stores ; and Captain Mathews did much to stimulate local factories. In 1806 tulwars, made at Shamsabad, had a great name throughout Bengal. The records show that a tulwar made at Shamsabad cost Rs. 7/4,. and similar weapons from Farrukhabad could be supplied through Captain Mathews for Rs. 5/8 each.

From 1790 onwards the Fort was devoted to the purposes of a magazine only, the artillery corps having formed permanent lines of its own outside. Annual survey reports indicate the existence of four powder rooms, dry store rooms, and a " bankshall ", or store house of some special description. A hut was built for the Magazine Sergeant in 1795, and the next year a guard room was erected.

The Fort was at no time armed for defence. When Jaswant Rao Holkar and his Mahratta force made their raid on Farrukhabad in

November 1804, there were no guns of any description in it. Not only was the Fort defenceless, but the Infantry Cantonment and that of the Cavalry at Rakha were equally at the mercy of the raiders ; for a year previously the Fatehgarh Brigade under Major-General Charles Ware had left the Station in order to join Lord Lake's army at Gursahaiganj for the Delhi campaign. It is possible to draw information about this invasion from two sources, both of which are easily available for residents of Fatehgarh. The story of Lord Lake's operations, and his surprise of the Mahrattas at Farrukhabad, is related by Captain Thorn in his "History of the Late War," a rare book which is in the Club library. The movements of the Mahrattas in the vicinity of Farrukhabad are depicted in a most picturesque manner by Mir Bahadur Ali, who had himself lived a life, crowded with sufficient incident to fill a volume ; for he had gained his livelihood by practising professions as varied as those of trooper in the King of Oudh's cavalry, tutor to the Raja of Tirwa's children, court official in the Collectorate, and poet in the City. In his old age (1840) he edited and added to the " Lauh-i-Tarikh," a history of the Bangash Nawabs ; and it is while describing the life and times of Nawab Nasir-i-Jang that incidentally he gives the story of Holk&r with a wealth of detail and an accuracy, which indicates him to have been a close spectator of the raid of 1804.

Holkar set out from Indore with sixty thousand horsemen with the intention of scouring the western districts of Bengal; and if there was nothing to bar the way to the east, he had every expectation of reaching Calcutta, and exterminating the Feringhis. This plan of campaign, however, was wrecked at a spot exactly three miles from Fatehgarh. By the second week of November 1804 the raiders arrived at Aliganj in the modern district of Etah. This town was at that time held for the Bangash Nawab by a tahsildar, who after satisfying the dictates of honour by shutting the gates of his fort, and hurling defiance at the invaders, fled stealthily in the middle of the night to his master at Farrukhabad. There was nothing in front of Holkar to spoil the pleasurable expectation of looting Farrukhabad City, and leaving in his rear General Pollock, who was vainly trying to collect the Company's troops at Kasganj, he marched

unopposed to Nawabganj, only sixteen miles from the City. Here he halted on the **14th** November, while his horsemen looted the surrounding country. This day Khairati Khan Bangash with eleven followers visited him with a conciliatory message from the Nawab of Farrukhabad, who, like the inhabitants of Cantonments, was in no condition to resist. It was therefore plainly necessary for him to temporise.

Meanwhile the alarming news of Holkar's arrival at Nawabganj had reached the authorities. The residents of the Station took refuge in the Fort. The inhabitants of Fatehgarh Town fled into the City, the gates of which were shut. With the exception of one company of the 10th Native Infantry in the Lines, there was not a soul between Fatehgarh Fort and the City, when early in the morning on the 15th Holkar set out from Nawabganj with the Bangash envoy in his suite. He was riding his favourite pony, called " Natwi," which pranced like a peacock, and was worth fifty thousand rupees ! On the way a second delegation from the Nawab was met. Sarmat Khan, one of the Nawab's personal companions, riding on an elephant, and attended by fifty horsemen, advanced to welcome the Mahratta. Khairati Khan, constituting himself master of the ceremonies, advised Holkar to embrace Sarmat Khan in the familiar Bangash style. The annalist does not record how this was carried out, but presumably both parties descended to earth with as much dignity as possible, for Holkar is recorded to have hugged the friend of the Nawab in his arms, and to have proceeded amicably on his way, discussing the curious customs of the Bangashes. In no little time the column reached the City, and halted before the Mau Gate. It is possible now to stand upon the very spot, whera Holkar sat down for a rest, until the City Gate should be opened to receive him. A bare hundred yards from the Mau Gate, by the western side of the Kaimganj Road, there is still to be seen a very old *baoli*, surmounted by two small turrets, which was part of the system of irrigation in the famous Hayat Bagh. This baoli, indeed, is all that remains to tell of the splendours of the garden, which surrounded the mausoleum of Nawab Mohamed Khan, upon which was annually spent the income of twelve villages. When Holkar sat down by the well, the tomb and garden were already in a state of ruin, although far from being

the melancholy spectacle of to-day. The baoli and well, however, are yet to be seen in a state of fine preservation.

Holkar ordered the City Gate to be opened. A little by-play then ensued, which Mir Bahadur Ali lovingly records in great detail. Mirza Hatta Beg, Jemadar, was on guard with the custodians of the gate. " I will open the gate," he sent word, " when Nawab Nasir-i-Jang gives me permission to do so." Holkar was unchivalrous enough to contemplate breaking the gate open, when Khaireti Khan adroitly suggested that it would be rash to enter the City in person : " for," he said, " the houses of this City are very lofty, and who knows but some Feringhi might fire a shot from an upper storey?" Holkar decided to skirt the City, after hearing this wise counsel, and followed by his horsemen proceeded to the Jasmai Gate, between which and Dhilawal village was a plain eminently suitable for his camp. On this spot, therefore, the tents, munition carts, and camp equipage were arranged. The East Indian Railway now passes over it before reaching Farrukhabad City Railway Station.

A horde of attendants, which swelled the numbers of the invader's army to over one hundred thousand persons, settled down upon the plain ; and swarms of Mahratta horsemen spread out in every direction around the City to loot and destroy. The Sudder Bazar (Fatehgarh Town) was ravaged. The Cavalry Lines and bungalows at Rakha, the ice house close-by, were set on fire. The guards at the Jail (then at Qadri Gate) left their posts, and the prisoners escaped. For their re-capture afterwards it was necessary to offer a reward of Rs. 25 per head. The Treasury which stood on the ground of the modern Engine Shed, was also left deserted. Sewak Ram, the Kotwal of the City, hastily abandoned the Kotwali in Katra Ahmadganj, and betook himself to the other side of the Ganges. Nine hundred chaprasis took off their badges, and hid them. When questioned by the Mahrattas they claimed to be soldiers of the Nawab's service. The Infantry Cantonment does not seem to have been badly treated. The company of the 10th Native Infantry were drawn up in line on the parade ground, facing the Mahrattas in sublime ignorance of their danger. Their sole officer was an ensign of four years' service', who was afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir John Hunter Littler,

G. C. B., a divisional commander in the Sikh Wars, and in 1858 a member of the Governor-General's Council. He was eventually induced to enter the Fort. After his withdrawal the place was promptly invested by marauding Pathans and Mahrattas.

There are no details available about this siege, if siege it can be called. There was no fighting, and the Mahrattas were only in possession of Fatehgarh for two days. This was a fortunate circumstance for the defenders, who had been forced to rush into the Fort with their families at the shortest notice. So destitute were they of all means of defence that Mr. W. P. Potts, the acting Judge and Magistrate (died at Fatehgarh October 1806), rode down to the Nawab's palace in the City to borrow a cannon at the moment when Holkar was settling into his quarters by Dhilawal village. Mr. Potts went alone through the City on his errand. It would be interesting to know if this was an act of rashness on his part, or simply because no one else in the Fort had the courage to accompany him. He asked the Nawab for a long-range gun. The Nawab refused, either to lend a gun, or give any assistance. He asserted that his two twelve-pounders and the eighteen-pounder had been broken up. Mr, Potts is described by Mir Bahadur Ali as riding quietly through the long bazar from the Nawab's Fort to Tirpolia, with a loaded pistol in each hand. After getting through the narrow gateway, which still spans the Tripolia bazar, he set spurs to his horse, and galloping to the Qadri Gate, passed rapidly down the road to Kasim Bagh and the Fort, The Mahrattas perceived him, and gave chase. They threw spears at him, and, indeed, he was forced to ride for his life up to the very gates of the Fort. So realistic is the narrative of the Lauh-i-Tarikh, that Mir Bahadur Ali may well have seen Mr. Potts' flight with his own eyes. He remarks that Mr. Potts was afterwards very bitter towards the Nawab, and did his best to inflame Lord Lake against him.

Nawab Nasir-i-Jang was now to undergo trials of his own. During the afternoon of the 15th, Holkar summoned him to the Mahratta camp. The Nawab had come out of the Khas Mahal (site of the present Municipal Town Hall), and with his elephants and attendants awaiting him, was about to start for the Jaśmai Gate, when troops, attendants and

all, surrounded him with loud demands for their arrears of pay. The Nawab put them off in vain. Dalpat Rai, his chief minister, had just that minute climbed into the howdah of his kneeling elephant. The irate soldiers struck at him with their tulwars, and only the sides of the howdah saved him from being cut to pieces. The Nawab sent his gold huqqatothe bazar to be pawned, and thus procuring money to pay them, kept the mutinous soldiery from venting their rage on the unpopular minister. The Nawab was literally without funds at all, for he received his stipend monthly from the Fatehgarh Treasury, and had not been paid a rupee for six months. This fact had not for one moment influenced the troops. They pertinently remarked that arrears of pay were only useful for the living, and that as many of them would probably lose their lives at Dhilawal that day, they preferred not to wait.

With due ceremony the Nawab was received by Holkar sitting on his *gaddl.* Mir Bahadur Ali attempts to reproduce the conversation which followed. The Nawab enquired for news of General Pollock. Holkar grinned, replying that he thought General Pollock was busy at Kasganj. He wasted no further time, and before the Nawab could continue his flow of compliments and the enquiries which etiquette demanded, brusquely asked for five lakhs of rupees as ransom for the City. The Nawab and his followers were full of consternation. The tension became so great that an outbreak by one or the other party seemed imminent. Pateh Mir Khan, an Afridi of Mau (Kaimganj), in order to protect the Nawab, moved behind Holkar, being prepared to cut him down at the first sign of treachery. Holkar noticed this, and Fateh Mir Khan must have been an imposing figure. The historian describes him as clothed in chain mail, wearing iron gauntlets, and armed to the teeth. He was noted for reckless daring, and had once slain a tiger with a sword cut. He was still living in 1840, and doubtless supplied Mir Bahadur Ali with many details. Holkar, whether daunted by this apparition or not, brought the proceedings to a close, remarking that for days past he had not had time even for a smoke. The Nawab, leaving Dalpat Rai to continue the necessary haggling over the ransom for the City, departed home, and no doubt remembering Holkar's pressing

need for a smoke, sent him a silvev *huqqa* and a *gurguri* (small portable *huqqa,* used when travelling in a palanquin). A flower vase, pan box, and scent bottle, all of silver, completed this peace offering.

The next day, the 16th November, Holkar again sent for the Nawab, who fearing a trap, excused himself by alleging the pressing necessities of religious devotion, and promised to come on the morrow. Holkar is said to have passed the day and the night that followed in much less edifying fashion. The Mahratta army, in fact, appears to have drunk too deeply to keep a good look-out. It was a complete surprise for them, when at daybreak the 8th Royal Irish Dragoons dashed into the camp, assisted by discharges of grape shot from the horse artillery battery of Major Clements Brown, an officer whose after career was connected with Fatehgarh, and the Fort in particular. The Mahratta ammunition train caught fire. An explosion heralded the destruction of each cart, as the fire ran from one to the other. This explains in large measure the heavy losses of the Mahrattas, and the total destruction of their camp. Holkar himself escaped to Mainpuri, and closely pursued, had to push on towards Lahore without being able to regain his own country. The total sum of his losses was not known, but SOO wounded Mahrattas were taken to hospital. Mir Bahadur Ali says that General Pollock created great havoc in the camp. The neighbouring villagers, hovering around, wiped out thousands of the fugitives for many days after. Sarmat Khan, the Nawab's representative, was caught escaping on his elephant, and was pistolled by the troopers. Khairati Khan managed to get clear of the rout. A price of Rs. 1,000, however, was placed on his head, his house in the City being confiscated and sold. After the signing of peace by Holkar, he was pardoned by the Government, and returned to Farrukhabad.

Mir Bahadur Ali, in conclusion of his story, has a long account of Lord Lake's proceedings with the Nawab, for which there are no grounds. He says that Lord Lake gave orders for the arrest of the Nawab and the punishment of the City. The artillery, facing the City, was drawn up on the parade ground, but not with the sinister intentions, which Mir Bahadur Ali attributed to it. As will be seen later, preparations were

merely being made to fire a salute! Lord Lake's losses were two dragoons killed, and 20 wounded; 75 horses had to be destroyed. The column is said to have covered 252 miles in ltf successive days ; and when it arrived at Farrukhabad, it had marched the last 54 miles, *via* Aliganj, in 30 hours. The infantry, who with the baggage arrived after the cavalry, marched J325 miles, doing an average of 18 miles a day. The infantry were all picked regiments. One of them, the 2/21st N. I., had not a man in it over the age of 22 years. The besiegers were driven away from the Fort, and in an incredibly short time the country-side was swept clear of them. Two days after, on the 19th November 1804 the Horse Artillery fired three royal salutes on the parade ground, one for the success at Fatehgarh, and the two others for victories over Holkar's troops in other parts of India. The despatches, telling of the progress of the flying column, were addressed to the Governor-General from Fatehgarh. The column then left, and marched to Bewar. Lake's exploit must have associated him peculiarly with Fatehgarh, since the artist, Robert Home, in executing the picture of Lord Lake and his staff in 1804, which now hangs in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, chose to represent them as being at Fatehgarh. Evidently the painter had not seen the locality ; for Lord Lake, seated on a grey charger, has just reached the top of a steep hill, which is surmounted by a palm tree ! By his side on a black horse is his son, acting as aide-de-camp ; while the heads of the rest of the staff can just be seen, as they climb the side of the hill.

After the second siege the Fort continued to be used as an arsenal, and a vast quantity of war munitions were stored in it. In March 1815 the Marquess of Hastings made an inspection. Being Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor-General he made special note of what he. saw. Repairs were then going on, not only of the walls, but also of the river bank, which the Ganges had cut away on that side of the Fort. He began his inspection at daybreak on the 14th March. He noted in his diary that the place was a country mud fort of much extent, and that its only utility was to receive the civilian residents of Fatehgarh, the public treasure, and baggage of the various corps in the field. In this same

year, however, new activities began in the Fort. There started a long and memorable connection with the Gun Carriage Agency.

The original Gun Carriage Factory was established in 1814 at Allahabad to supplement the Cossipore Central Factory in Lower Bengal, but was transferred to the Fatehgarh Fort the following year. In 1825 the Timber Yard at Cawnpore was also moved to the Fort. In 1829 the whole of the Cossipore establishment and plant followed, permanent buildings being erected for the factories. There is a map in the district records, which shows the interior arrangements at the time of the Mutiny, and as they had been for many years before. The Fort was preserved by the mutineers to be used as a cartridge Factory. Its appearance, therefore, has altered but little in the last hundred years. The ramparts had ten bastions, and a square enclosure for wood at the south-west corner. This wood-yard has now disappeared along with two of the bastions adjoining it on that front. The map shows that the house of the Gun Carriage Agent occupied the whole of the south-eastern area next to the river. The platform of the house, foundations of the room walls, the well, and a circular drive up to the front door are still clearly visible. Between the house and the southern rampart were the kitchen, servants' quarters, pigeon, and poultry houses. The coach house was to the north by the river-side wall. During the siege in the Mutiny the ladies, children, and other non-combatants were placed in this bungalow, which was then a thatched one with a high conical roof. It is also possible to mark exactly the spot, where Sir William Russell, the *Times* war correspondent, saw Sir Colin Campbell and his staff having tea in front of the house in April 1858. Opposite, on the other side of the courtyard, were two barracks, a guard room, and another bungalow, also with pigeon and poultry houses. The main portion of the Fort was occupied, as it is now, by long narrow factories, called the "half-wrought" workshops. There were in addition blacksmith's shops, and a steam engine from 1845 onwards. The cemetery was enclosed as at present. Trees were well scattered all over the interior, and the long strip of land by the river to the north-east, which is now covered by factories, used as barracks, was under cultivation. The northern face of the Fort looked on to a grove

of shisham trees, which surrounded the magazine, and a small pond. The pond has disappeared.

The actual numbers of the staff employed are not known. The Head Blacksmith, the Head Carpenter, and several warrant officers lived within the walls, as well as the Agent. The Mutiny lists contain the names of four overseers of the Factory. In 1875, besides the Officer in charge and his subaltern, there were six European overseers and 625 workmen, and this may be taken as some indication. At all periods warrant officers of the Ordnance were posted here, and must have been housed in the Fort.

The first Gun Carriage Agent was Major Clements Brown, who was posted to Allahabad in June 1814 as the first agent there. In 1815 he removed to Fatehgarh with the whole staff from Allahabad. With the exception of one period of temporary absence on leave in 1818 he remained at Fatehgarh until 1824. He received an unusual appointment in 1821, when the Board of Trade with the sanction of Government nominated him as agent for the sale of the "Honorable Company's wines at Futtyghur." This officer had seen Fatehgarh before. It was his troop of horse artillery, the experimental troop, which fired the first shots at Holkar's camp in 1804. His commission bore date 1784. He saw active service in the Mysore, Second Rohilla, Egyptian, Lord Lake's campaigns, and the first and second sieges of Bhurtpore. He enjoyed the greatest popularity in the Army. He was regarded as the father of the Bengal Artillery. He once made a famous wager of fifty gold mohurs, backing a gunner on a dragoon horse against a dragoon on an artillery horse to ride between the stables of their respective lines. The dragoon lost, since artillery horses then were only half broken, as the gunners very well knew.

In 18B2 Major-General Clements Brown, C. B., as he had then become, commanded headquarters at Dum Dum. Contemporaries described him as a most soldier-like person in appearance, a perfect horseman, a keen shikarri, a hearty associate at the Mess Table, and the staunch friend of every officer in his brigade. He died at Benares in 1838, aged 72, after completing fifty-four years of uninterrupted service in the Army. As his epitaph describes him: "He was a soldier from his youth and

delighted in his profession. He died while still in the active and zealous discharge of his duties." He was succeeded by the following Agents :—

1824-1832. Major R. B. Fulton. Bom in 1788. Became Army Clothing Agent of the 1st Division, Fatehgarh, and died at Fatehgarh in 1836. Buried in the Fort cemetery.

1832. Major C. H. Campbell. Born 1789. Arrived in India, 1805. Saw active service in the 2nd Mahratta, and Bundelkhand campaigns. Siege of Hathras. Assistant-Secretary to Government, Military Department, 1811). Agent, Gun Carriage Factory at Cossipore, 1821. Died at Fatehgarh after an illness of only a few hours. Buried in the Fort cemetery.

1832-1843. Major T. Lumsden, C. B. (1789-1874). Arrived in India 1808. Siege of Hathras, 1817. Third Mahratta War. Adjutant and Brigade-Quartermaster to Horse Artillery, Rocket Troop, and Dromedary Corps, with the Centre Division of the Grand Army. First Burma War, 1824-1826. Retired as Lieut.-Colonel 1844, and died in Aberdeenshire. Author of " A Journey from Meerut in India to London during the years 1819-1820." He went home on furlough through Persia, and the Caucasus.

1843-1847. Major A. Abbott, C. B. (1804-1867). Afterwards Major-General. Extra A.-D.-C. to the Governor-General. Commanded the 2nd Coy. Foot Artillery at the siege of Bhurtpore, 1826. In 1843 married Maria Frances Garstin at Fatehgarh.

1847-1853. Lieut.-Colonel J. Alexander, C B. (1803-1888). Afterwards Major-General Sir James Alexander, K. C. B., Commandant, Royal Bengal Artillery. Arrived in India, 1821. Siege of Bhurtpore, 1st Afghan, and Sikh Wars.

1853-1858. Lieut.-Colonel J. Fordyce. (1806-1877). Afterwards Lieut.-General Sir John Fordyce, K. C. B. Arrived in India, 1823. Sikh, 1st Burma, and Arakan Wars. N. W. Frontier, 1849-1850. The descendants of Isan Chandar Deb have interesting letters by this officer enquiring after the fate of furniture left by him and Colonel Alexander in the Fort just before the Mutiny. Colonel Fordyce was on leave, when the Mutiny broke out.

1857. Major A. Robertson. Officiating for Colonel Fordyce. Died on the !7th September, 1857, at Karhar on the bank of the Ganges, of a wound received in the attack by the mutineers on the boats at Manpur Katri. The tomb is maintained by Government.

The story of the third siege is full of interest, and has been told by one of the two survivors, Mr. Gavin Jones. A copy of his account is in the library of the Officers' Mess of the 10/7th Rajput Regiment. The other survivor was Mr. David Churcher, who died in 1908, and is buried in the new cemetery. Reference should be made to " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny " for a detailed history of this siege.

One of the last surviving records of the time just before the Mutiny deals with an old trouble of the Fatehgarh residents, which was ever recurring. In 1855 the river was very low in the hot weather, and the ground beneath the Fort, which was left by the receding water, was sown with melons. The manuring of these crops resulted in swarms of flies. The Agent protested against the nuisance. The melon-growers were then summarily ejected from the vicinity of the Fort, and paid Rs. 55 as compensation.

CHAPTER IV.

HUSAINPUR AND CIRCULAR ROAD.

NO area in Fatehgarh has changed so completely as that in the vicinity of the Fort; for it has been disengaged from the mass of bazars, which formerly surrounded it. There was always a ghat called Qilaghat; and Sher Dil Khan, the builder of the Fort in 1720, was granted the monopoly of charging transit duties on all merchandise which passed that way. There must always, therefore, have been a certain number of boatmen, who lived by the ford, and formed the nucleus of the village, called Husainpur. The bazar grew up in the eighteenth century, and was named after the artillery, as contrasted with Fatehgarh Town, which was the Sudder bazar of the infantry corps of the Temporary Brigade. It was also called the Khalassi bazar to show its connection with the khalassis of the artillery. Its very convenient situation on the river bank turned it into a large trading community, including numbers of boatmen. In 1830 the population exceeded ten thousand, who lived in densely crowded blocks, traversed by narrow lanes, opposite the Fort gates. The nearness of these houses to the Fort was a source of great anxiety to the besieged during the investment by the mutineers. After the Mutiny, consequently, the whole area was acquired by Government, and the houses knocked down by elephants.

At the water's edge is the bathing ghat, built according to the foundation stone, in 1848 by Babu Isan Chandar Deb, then head clerk of the Gun Carriage Agency. His house, next to the Military Works store-house, still stands on a space formerly packed with houses. It is interesting as a Mutiny relic; for here the mutineers posted one of their two guns, covered by picked marksmen. It was brought to bear on the nearest rampart, and was unsuccessful in breaching it ; but by sending its balls over into the interior of the Fort, the gun was able to damage the Agent's house, in which the non-combatants were sheltering. Babu Isan Chandar Deb afterwards set up a shop and canteen at this place.

Closely adjacent is the square enclosure of the Military Works Engineer with angle turrets and a small mosque inside. This building was a serai constructed in 1824 for travellers, by Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, the exiled Vizier of Oudh, who made Fatehgarh his home from 1822 to 1837. When Fatehgarh was retaken by the force under Sir Colin Campbell, the serai was occupied as an Officers' Mess ; and on the 26th April 1858 Sir William Russell notes in his diary that he had breakfast just by the mosque in the centre. The Bhatiyaras, or inn-keepers, were ejected afterwards, and Government made the building into a storehouse. Opposite the old serai is the road over the rifle range to Naugaon. This was lined with trees in 1826, and previous to that date the environs of the Fort were bare. In the midst of a wood stood the house of Martin, the indigo planter. It was later the Commissariat Yard, near to the spot where the road crosses the present range. At the south-western corner of the Fort, and about opposite to Isan Chandar's house, was a Hindoo shrine belonging to Phulmati and Hardeo.

The space, now partly covered by the Maude Lines, where up to forty years ago three companies from a British regiment at Agra used to be quartered, was the location of the artillery corps in the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth century. The artillery parade ground was the open ground, which is east of the present Church and the War Memorial of the 7th Rajput Regiment. It is now crossed by a road leading to the Maude Lines from Regent Road. The strength of the artillery dwindled after the 2nd Mahratta War. As their lines contracted, bungalows and other buildings were set up; and what little artillery remained was pushed by these encroachments towards its parade ground. Colonel Vanrenan took a large area in 1810 for his new bazar, now called the B. I. bazar. Eventually the parade ground itself contracted, the Mint house being constructed on a portion of it; and the place which in 1846 was known locally as the "Top Khana", consisted only of a row of huts (nearly in front of the regimental hockey ground by the Church). It correctly marks, however, that position first occupied by the artillery of the Temporary Brigade "in front of the right of the line", a position which was soon exchanged for more comfortable quarters in the Fort.

By 1795 the Artillery had been ousted from the Fort, which was then becoming an arsenal, and was called "The Magazine". It was necessary to provide new accommodation as quickly as possible, since the strict outlines of the camp of the Temporary Brigade had become modified by the lapse of eighteen years, and the place of the artillery in the original lay-out of the Brigade was being hemmed in by the Husainpur bazar. The Q. M. G. ordered the construction of two ranges of artillery barracks. 6,000 sonat rupees were advanced to Major Pringie, the Barrack Master, in January 1795. The works were finished by September at the large cost of 21,387 sonat rupees. Major Pringie also constructed a "cook room", store house, guard room, and bungalows for artillery sergeants. All these buildings were thatched. An extra bungalow was built for the Sergeant-Major, details of which are given, and indicate the size of residence considered sufficient in those days for non-commissioned officers. It must be remembered that the residences of the officers were not very much better, and it is therefore possible to understand how seventy houses could have been packed into the narrow limits of Cantonments. The bungalow in question was 30 feet long and 20 feet broad. The roof was of the usual thatch. The walls, 14| feet high by 2¡ feet thick, were of mud, and their interior surface was washed with fine chenam plaster. The floors were constructed of brick. A partition wall, 12 feet high, divided this abode into two rooms. The thatch rested on 22 pillars, which placed at a distance of 8| feet from the house walls, made a verandah of that width on all four sides. The cost of building this house was 685 sonat rupees for materials, and 310 for wages of the labourers. A similar bungalow was made the next year for a N. C. O., called the Deputy Q. M. G's. Sergeant. It has not been possible to fix the position of these buildings accurately ; but it is known that they lay on the northern side of the main road to the Fort, and on both sides of the road, which now runs across the Rifle Range to Ghatia Ghat. For a great many years after the disappearance of the artillery their site was called the "Khalassi Lines". The artillery workshops remained as before in the Fort.

The resolution of the Governor-General's Council dated 4th August 1777 ordered one company of artillery to be sent from each of three

brigades. Accordingly the Temporary Brigade received the 1st Company under Captain-Lieutenant Hill, the 2nd under Capt.-Lieutenant Sampson, and the 3rd under Capt.-Lieutenant Harris. These companies were then numbered 6, 7, and 8, the whole corps being commanded by Major Patrick Duff. There was a Lieutenant attached named David Woodburne, who was still at Fatehgarh ten years later in command of a company from the 2nd Battalion of Artillery. In 1787 the force had decreased to one company. From 1795 to 1803 it rose to two companies from the 3rd Battalion, and by 1809 one company was again considered sufficient. Very shortly after this date, the artillery disappeared along with the cavalry, the frontier having shifted from Fatehgarh to the Agra and Muttra line. Henceforth, right up to the Mutiny, there were only two guns with a detachment of Foot Artillery, stationed permanently in the Fort. These two guns falling into the hands of the mutineers, played a prominent part in the siege of that place in 1857.

In the eighteenth century the establishment of golandaz, or " hurlers of cannon balls," as they were called, consisted usually of 3 British and 4 Indian officers, 3 British and 16 Indian N. C. Os., and 80 gunners to each company. There were six companies of lascars, or khalassis, in addition. The organisation was continually changing. At the very first each company had one captain-lieutenant, and a lieutenant-fireworker only ; and most of the staff work and training was entrusted to ten British sergeants. Each battalion of infantry had its own guns, which were kept with the battalion in its lines. They were distinct from the brigade artillery. In 1784 a company of European artillery appeared at Fatehgarh, but not for long. Until the " Mud War " of 1802-03, when Lord Lake decided to reduce several strongholds with mud walls in and around the District, the artillery at Fatehgarh saw little active service, and it was chiefly employed against Zemindars' forts. A record of 1803 describes the Indargarh Fort of Hannu Prasad, then in the Etawah District, as a mud structure with 16 bastions, and surrounded by a ditch 60 feet deep, and 60 feet broad. The forts of Sasni, Kachaura, and Thatia, reduced in the Mud War, were of this description, but possibly bigger. Lieut.-Col. James Gordon, commanding the FatehgArh artillery

in 1802, lost his life in these operations. It had been foretold by a fortune teller that he would die in his first action, and it so happened that for a long period of his service he was employed in arsenals in Lower Bengal. Having survived the bombardment and capture of Bijaigarh Fort, he was engaged in inspecting stores of captured ammunition inside the Fort, when an explosion occurred in the magazine, and killed him.

The artillery practice ground was at Dahlia, a village which is four miles distant from the Fort on the other side of the Ganges. In 1820 the Magistrate cleared the range of trees, which had grown up, and gave offence by his summary methods. This is the sole mention of the place in the records, and the only description is that given by William Daniell under date the 7th January 1789. He writes, "Un., *(L e.y* uncle or Thomas Daniell), and self set out very early in our palanquins and arrived at Capt, Montagu's tent on Djlia plain abt. 8 o.c. Spent the day with Capt. M. (Edward Montagu. 2nd Bn. Artillery 1787. Died on 9th May 1799 of wounds received at the siege of Seringapatam). Capt. M., Un., and self rode round the plain on an elephant. Delia is the most beautiful plain we have seen in India. A number of delightful groups of trees cover it, which are situated in such a manner as to appear to have been planted like an English park, which it much resembles. Were entertained in seeing the soldiers exercise the artillery guns. Returned to Fatehgarh at 6 o.c. *Un.* and self played a few games of billiards in the eveiling."

On the site of the present canteen was the bungalow of " Sadder Line Sahib," an appellation which it is difficult to interpret. In the eighteenth century the official called the Commissary of Bazars was sometimes referred to as a " Line Sahib," but in this case a local tradition has come to light, which suggests that the name " Sutherland " is meant. Charles Sutherland, merchant and agent, appeared in 1845. He was killed at Manpur Katri, when escaping in the boats during the Mutiny. His wife and two of his children, however, were massacred along with other captives by the well in the compound of the Church. The story is that Miss Sutherland offered to purchase their lives by revealing a hidden

store of money in her father's bungalow, which was close-by. There is no actual truth in the story ; but it is suggestive of the fact that the Sutherland's bungalow stood near the scene of the massacre. The " Sudder Line Sahib's" bungalow certainly did stand within sight of it.

The topography of this area is very obscure. The Western side of the road, stretching from the present canteen towards the Quarter Guard, was lined by small bungalows and compounds, relating to which several sale deeds are in existence. It is certain that next to the Sudder Line Sahib was the property of Mrs. S. Clark, or Matesia Bibi, the Mohamedan wife of a Deputy Collector in 1824. Three years before, John Clark was a trader, and his wealth was attested by the ownership of two other properties. Mrs. Clark's chief title to fame, however, lay in the fact that she built a remarkable mosque, which was situated in the small enclosure in the south-eastern corner of her compound here. There is also a story to the effect that Mr. Clark built the edifice on the model of one at Mecca, in order to prevent his wife from leaving him to go on pilgrimage to that place. On the front of the building was a Persian inscription, the translation of which is as follows : " Blessed be this mosque, built by Mi's. John Clark. It matches the Kaaba exactly. When the maker of dates searched his mind for its chronogram, the answer was : Oh, what a grand and imposing mosque!" The chronogram concealed in the words of the last line gave the date 1249 A. H., or 1830 A. D.

Behind these two bungalows of the Sudder Line Sahib and Mrs Clark, were situated the Camel Lines, or Shuturkhana. Unless they were connected with the Commissariat it is difficult to guess the nature of their employment. At Shahjahanpur there is a similar Shuturkhana behind the District Courts, where camels were kept for taking the District Magistrate's correspondence over the district. It may well be that the camels kept in these lines were used for a similar purpose, since the District Courts were for many years on the site of the present Railway Engine Shed, and not so very far away.

Further to the south, a semi-circular lane surrounded five compounds and a garden, a space which is now covered by barracks. The eastern-most property towards the Kasim Bagh cemetery, with garden attached,

was a house belonging to Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart., Joint Commissioner for the Ceded Provinces, 1809-22. He was dismissed the service in 1880, and died 1888. His brother was the celebrated Oriental scholar. Colebrooke is always described in the Fatehgarh sale deeds by his full titles, " Roshan-ud-Daula, Zia-ul-Mulk, Mr. Colebrooke, Sahib Bahadur, Mansur-i-Jang." On his departure to act as Resident at Delhi, he left this property to his wife Nau Ratan, who sold it to Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan. In the fifties it was held on lease by Reginald Orlando Kew, the Postmaster, who was killed on the parade ground in the Mutiny. Kew established a saltpetre factory on the premises, and the orange tree orchard was ruined. Only the brick walls of the house were standing after the Mutiny. North of the Colebrooke property lived Mr. Meikle, of whom no further notice has been found but that he was a Portuguese, or Goanese, as he would now be styled. He was most probably a clerk. South of Mrs. Clark's was a larger compound looking on. to the Fort Road. This belonged to the Mohamedan wife of Lieut.-Colonel Samuel Palmer, Officer Commanding at Fatehgarh in 1809-10. She was named Khairan, and bought the house in 1816 for Rs. 2,001 from Westcomb Jacob, a shopkeeper from Agra, who at the beginning of the century also set up shop here. This same Jacob sold a garden, behind the present Military works godown, to Tom John, a son of Sir Edward Colebrooke, a person who was always known as John Sahib. South of Mrs. Palmer's was Mr. Jay, a merchant, and west of his place was a triangular compound also belonging to Mrs. Palmer, which must be assigned either to a clerk named Emmanuel Anthony, or to a merchant of the name of Storr. Across the road south of Mr. Jay's was a house in which one of these two lived. The exact location of these families is not known, but these two houses are the only ones which they could have inhabited.

The Anthony family was devoted to Government service, and they are mentioned constantly from 1880 to 1861. There were M. Anthony Senior and Junior, and E. Anthony. They signed the memorial of 1829, and the child of Adam Anthony was buried in the Kasim Bagh cemetery in 1861. The name does not appear in the Mutiny lists, and the family must have left the Station for a time. Curiously, the earliest signature

of M. Anthony is that which he scratched in 1828 on the wall of Nawab Ahmad Khan's tomb in the Bihisht Bagh in the City. There are two other names close by his, one recording for posterity the visit of Robert Morris in 1793, and the second that of John Macklin in 1818, the person who was Head Clerk of the Collector's office, and was killed at Cawnpore in the Mutiny. Of Storr little is known. He bought up four acres of the old Cavalry Lines at Rakha, and was an indigo broker and trader, mentioned in the Fatehgarhnama in company with the wealthiest firms of indigo traders in the District. At the beginning of 1858 all these houses, from that of the Sudder Line Sahib, down to Mr. Storr's house were levelled to make room for British Infantry barracks, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell. Up to that year they were outside the old Cantonment boundary.

A portion of Husainpur stretched along the Ganges Bank as far as Hospital Ghat, and included the tract of land behind No. £ Bungalow, where now are the ruined tombs of the Moghal princes. This plot was known as the Shahzadas' garden. Prince Muzaffar Bakht, the grandson of the Delhi Emperor, Shah Alam, had been interned at Benares; but he was implicated with Vizier Ali in the murder of Mr. Cherry, the Resident there, and was sent to Fatehgarh in 1803. He died in 1828, and left three sons, who owned this garden in equal shares. In 1858 the widow of the third son, Makhdoom Bakht, made protest to the Magistrate that the Barrack Master was demolishing the family tombs in the garden. The Barrack Master denied it. In any case, the lady had no proprietary rights in the garden; for she had sold her share to Maharaja Dhuleep Singh through Mr. Buller, the Judge, in 1852.

South of the Quarter Guard of the 10/7th Rajput Regiment, on both sides of the Circular Road, was the infantry rifle range, which in the days of the " Brown Bess " was not required to be of any extent.

The Memorial Church of All Souls commemorates the victims of the Mutiny, and in particular those who were murdered on this spot, and are interred in the well in the compound. The story of the Mutiny is too extensive to be related here, and a full account will be found in " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny ". The compound of the Church, briefly,

covers the site of J. R. Madden's " yellow bungalow '". He belonged to the Clothing Factory. By the house door were murdered ten Eurasian and Indian Christians. Outside the compound, and just beneath the Memorial well, was a row of huts, against the walls of which twenty-two women and children were killed. The bodies were buried in a disused well of Mr. Madden's, just behind the huts. The memorial in red sand-stone, set up by the Government of the North-West Provinces, stands directly over it.

Circular Road had a different alignment before the Mutiny. It ran in a much wider sweep to the west, up to the present Commissariat Godown, on the further side of Colonelganj, and the latter village was left isolated on the parade ground. The portion of this, road from the Commissariat godown to the City Road is still to be seen, and is bordered by fine trees planted by Mr. Shore, the Judge, in 1834. It gives a good idea of the appearance of the roads in the pre-Mutiny Cantonments.

The Commissariat buildings have been called the Rum Godown, the Roti Godown, and by other names since the Mutiny ; but before that event the place was named the Shahzada's house, and was under the charge of the Collector. Though altered in size, the premises still contain the oldest house in Fatehgarh, in nearly the same condition as in 1819, when it was constructed by Government for the residence of the Moghal prince, Muzaffar Bakht. The old plan shows a long oblong compound, enclosed by mud walls, and divided into two halves In the front half was a bungalow with well and servants quarters, a few trees, and flanked by flower beds arranged in geometrical designs. The bungalow reconstructed is now the Military Engineer's rest house. Well and trees still remain. The surrounding walls and outhouses, however, have gone. The second half was the private garden, and the house proper of the prince, which up to recently was used as a primary school. Its verandah is bricked up, and the ornamental arches within are covered with whitewash. Behind extended the garden laid out in formal fashion. It is now mostly under cultivation, and it is partly covered by a yard enclosed by concrete store houses.

Prince Muzaffar Bakht, who had been interned in Fatehgarh since 1803 never liked the house. He later obtained permission to live on the

bank of the Ganges. The premises could be put to no good use, and were generally empty. During the great famine of 1837-38 an aged poor house was established here, and a distributing centre of food and money set up. No one would buy the place. Mr. Robinson (Collector 1835-40) tried to turn it into a lunatic asylum ; but Government would not agree. For a time it received the overflow of prisoners from the Jail; and the records show that 29 separate cells had been built in the garden. It was also the Jail Hospital just before the Mutiny, and was in a bad state of repair. The bungalow, however, was inhabited by Joint Magistrates and other officials at odd times.

From the Shahzada's house the old Circular Road proceeded straight to the Racquet Court, which was standing in 1846, and onward to Rakha through the trading quarter of Fatehgarh, where lived merchants and shopkeepers from the eighteenth century up to 1857. In 1794 there were established in the Civil Lines and Circular Road—D. Grueber, J. Stewart, Jas. Foreman, L. Paul, Rob. Carshore, and J. Warren, indigo planters : Rob. Bathurst, Charles and John Bathurst, Thos. Bush, J. Newman, W. Robertson, and W. Wattell, traders: J. Barr, Commission Agent: A. Elliot, Jas. Cox, and T. Bellew, shopkeepers. Robert Carshore came in 1782, and traded in cloth as well as indigo; while the first shopkeeper was Andrew Elliot, 1785. There were not only over fifty British officers in Cantonments, but after 1802 a large number of European and Eurasian officials in the Mint, Ordnance, Paymaster's, Commissioner's and District offices, as well as indigo planters, to cater for.

In 1835 no less than eighteen indigo planters can be identified at Fatehgarh, of whom three or four lived at Mehndi Ghat by Kanauj. Two auctioneers, Brierly and Morgan, were doing business ; and Mr. C. Braggs earned his living as a musician. Ten years before, Christian Lundt was of the same profession, although other Lundts were manufacturing indigo. Reid and Ives were tent makers. Fatehgarh tents are often mentioned in contemporary memoirs, and were as well known as they are now. Messrs. Morton, Jennings and Jacob had general shops. Saltpetre refiners were numerous, and many indigo planters carried on this business in addition to their own. Several limited companies worked on a large scale. Bush,

Packard & Co. for example, employed three European Assistants. MacArthur, Moir & Co. went in for saltpetre refining; and one Civil Surgeon, Dr. Julius Jeffreys, found the line profitable enough for floating a company, called Jeffreys & Co. Similarly Mr. Mercer, who was registrar, subordinate judge, money lender, real estate agent, and boon companion at all dinners, founded a business under his own name. There were Bathurst, Bush & Co., Urquhart & Co., Gavonei's Indigo Works under Mr. P. O'Connor; Thos. Kerrod & Co. of Cawnpore ; Pyle's Mineral Water Factory; Macintosh & Co. of Calcutta. Even Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan started a business in the town, and financed a factory for weaving Kashmir shawls. In 1822 W. Morton announced he was a free trader. He did not last long.

Under the Company's administration there were stringent rules for non-officials about taking out permits to live up country. There is a permit of this nature in the district records written in beautiful copy plate, and issued from Calcutta. It allows Mr. Bassel Muirhead in 1830 to live at Fatehgarh under a permit according to Act 53 of George I I I . All Europeans had to obtain this permit, and deposit it in the Civil Court for record.

In the early nineteenth century Europeans were not allowed to lease, or own, land in their own name. Indigo planters usually did so through a servant, or made engagements with zemindars to cultivate indigo for them after giving advances. Many Fatehgarh planters had large establishments in the country, like Martin at Shamsabad, where his " godown " is still known, or the Maxwells and Packard & Co. at Mehndi Ghat. The remains of the factory at this place are worth visiting. They are in a splendid state of preservation. The first planter was Laurence Paul. He came in 1777. David Churcher was the last, and he is mentioned as still working in the seventies. Other prominent planters were Paul, Stewart, Warren, Lundt, Carshore, Macdonald, Bush, Bell, Hand, Packard, Maxwell, F. de Seran Dubois, Grueber, Gropen, Churcher, Bennett, Birch, Cave, Coles, Gardner, Garton, Moreau, Picken, Robeson, Wright, Simpson, Martin, Mercer, Bruce, and Gilmore.

J. Brierly's house was behind the church. It is still inhabited. Brierly was auctioneer, shopkeeper, and tent maker from 1834 onwards.

In 1848 he had to mortgage the property to Mr. Kew, the Postmaster. He, his brother, and both their families escaped in the boats to Cawnpore, and were killed by the mutineers. He was a well-known resident ; for he was in command of one of the boats, and is several times mentioned in the Mutiny account. In 1859 the ruins of the house and shop were bought by Mr. Durand, tent maker.

Opposite Brierly's place lived the Hine family. Wilfrid Hine (buried in Kasim Bagh cemetery) owned two houses. He lived actually on the site of the Inspection Bungalow of the Public Works Department. The house next door he sold to Edmond Jennings, shopkeeper, for Rs. 1,500 in 1840. This house has disappeared, and the space is empty. Jennings' father lived in Cantonments in 1829. They both were traders. A Mrs. Jennings in 1834 lived on the Company Garden site.

Next to Jennings was Joseph Morgan, the auctioneer and shopkeeper. The house still stands in fine condition. Morgan was bom in Fatehgarh in 1791, and left just before the Mutiny, selling out to S. Mercer. Exactly opposite on the other side of the road was the bungalow of J. C. Pyle, the manager of the flourishing mineral water factory. South of Morgan's property was a building used as a hospital. The Military Police occupied it as their headquarters in 1858, since it had not been damaged in the Mutiny, This Police unit was named the "Fatehgarh District Police Battalion." Its first commandant was Lieutenant G. R. Hennessey. The place is called at present " Shora ki Kothi," and for many years was used as a salt refinery. It is falling into ruin.

The last compound on this side, stretching up to the railway line, was that of Mr. Ives, the tent maker. There were really two compounds, the first of which had three factory buildings in it. A few wells are to be seen, which belong to them. He and his family escaped in the boats from the Fort, and were massacred at Cawnpore. In the Urdu records his name is written " AIB Sahib," an example of the difficulty of identifying old residents.

Opposite Ives[1] factory was a garden, and south of the garden stood the bungalow of John Clark, (merchant), first mentioned in 1821. In 1836 the house certainly belonged to Mrs. Francis Ives; for she mortgaged

it for Rs. 900 to Kanhaya Lai, and states in the deed that she bought it from Dr. Neil, a regimental surgeon It continued to be known as Clark's house notwithstanding. After the Mutiny it became the local Masonic Lodge, called in the Vernacular the " Jadughar," or house of magic. There are no traces of this place left. The road continued to Rakha, and had no other houses in it.

CHAPTER V.

TOMBS AND MONUMENTS.

DURING the earliest period burials were often made in the compound of the house. Accordingly there were two such burials at Fatehgarh. Near the site of the old Club is a small enclosure beneath a tamarind tree of some age, containing a tomb in Mohamedan fashion, which is obviously that of a Christian, since apart from the epitaph its direction is east and wes. Its good preservation is due to the bearer of the old Club, who always had it placed in order at the time of annual repairs. The inscription is : " Sacred to the memory of Catherine P. who departed this life on the 525th August in the year of our Lord 1798, aged 36 years."

The name should be Catherine Paul, and she belonged to the family of a trader, named Laurence Paul, who came here about 1777 during the settling of the Temporary Brigade into its new quarters. There is little notice of this family in the records, and Paul seems to have died about 1810. He came out to India in a French ship in 1776, and may be related to the Paul family of Calcutta. A Doctor Thomas Paul died at Calcutta in 1746, and three ladies of the family married Bengal Civilians, one of whom was the G. F. Cherry murdered at Benares in 1799. In 1790 Paul was appointed attorney for one Da Souza of Calcutta, who had procured the arrest of an absconding agent, named Hynne. Hynne had been entrusted with a boat load of merchandise and wines to sell at Patna, but finding the opportunity good, fled to Fatehgarh, and set up shop in the Cantonment bazar. On Hynne's arrest by the Officer Commanding, Paul took over the shop, and settled Da Souza's affairs. The Pauls, apart from this, can only be traced in the Registrar's Office at Fatehgarh. They owned two bungalows in the locality, residing in that which subsequently housed the library of the old Club up to 1925. South of this bungalow the foundations of the other can still be traced in the compound of No. 4 Bungalow, and opposite No. 20. The tomb of Catherine Paul was thus

midway between the two. Laurenee Paul's daughter-in law sold both properties in 1849 to the Revd. Gopinath Nande of the American Presbyterian Mission. She is styled Musammat Jaube Paul in the sale deeds, and after this date all trace of her is lost.

The oldest tomb in Fatehgarh is in the compound of the District Courts. It is a tall square monument by the roadside, and bears this inscription : " Sacred to the memory of Thomas Hamilton Esq., Head Surgeon, who died 12th August A. D. 1788, aged about 50 years. This monument is erected by Major S. Farmer, Executor." Both Hamilton and Farmer joined the Company's service in 1768. Hamilton was the first Head Surgeon of the General Hospital, set up by order of Government in 1786, and he arrived at Fatehgarh early in 1787. The bank of the Ganges was at that time lined by private residences, where now are the District Courts; and Hamilton's tomb was probably made in the compound of the house, which he inhabited. Farmer's court-martial in 1783 has been noticed. In 1787 he commanded the 23rd Battalion of Sepoys. He died at Cawnpore in 1794. His wife had the quaint names of " Susanna Robiniana Brown."

The old Fort cemetery is the chief landmark of local history. Like all cemeteries of the period, it is overcrowded. A profusion of clumsy obelisks and pyramids presents itself to the eye, and serried ranks of monuments are overlooked by Colonel Hickman's memorial, which with its dome and columns is not without a certain dignity of its own. Less damage than might have been expected was committed in the Mutiny. It will be noticed that, while the tombs themselves are still in their original condition, some tablets, bearing epitaphs of the dead, have been removed from the niches which contained them. These tablets, which were of more enduring stone, and were inserted into a side of the tomb after its construction, were deliberately picked out by the mutineers to be used as stones for grinding curry powder. According to the inscriptions by the sculptors, which are always to be found in the bottom righthand corner of the tablet, the stone employed for tombs and tablets came from Calcutta, Chunar, and Agra. The earliest decipherable inscription is on a tablet of 1806, and indicates the sculptor to have

been "George Delmedick." Unfortunately the place of origin is not given. From 1819 up to 1835 a firm named Llewelyn & Co., or Simpson and Llewelyn, or J. Llewelyn & Co., of Calcutta, furnished the stone for the epitaphs, usually of a blue colour. One or two tablets, notably the fine one pertaining to the tomb of Colonel Hickman (1828), are by T. Plaw. After 1840 stone was procured from T. D'Gruyther of Chunar, certainly a relation of the Deputy Collector of that name, who resided in Fatehgarh at the time, and from Blanchett and Suntook of Agra. Other variations of this latter firm were Blanchett & Co., and Suntoke and Son.

Many tablets, chiefly relating to eighteenth century burials, have been affixed to the cemetery walls; but there are still a great many tombs, which cannot be assigned to any particular burial, although the names of all those persons who have been interred in this spot since 1777, are known, In most cases details of their lives and services have been obtained from Mr. Blunt's " Christian Tombs in the U. P.", and from Major Hodson's " List of Officers of the Bengal Army ". A list of the memorial inscriptions, which are to be seen in the cemetery, will first be given.

The following inscriptions Nos. 1 to 18, were picked up and affixed to the cemetery wall after the Mutiny.

1. "To the memory of.....R.Cherry.....1829. Aged .....also.....also....."

Robert Cherry was married to Elizabeth Ball on the 21st April 1829. Nothing further is known about him.

2. " Sacred to the memory of Captain B. Rose, who departed this life on the 8th September 1801, aged 36 years."

Captain in the 7th N. I. This regiment under Lieut.-Colonei J. Morris had been employed all the preceding year in reducing local forts, erected by rebellious landholders.

3. " Here lieth the remains of James Mercer Esq. Born December 1788. Died 17th June 1853 in his 64th year. A resident of 37 years of this place."

Mercer was merchant, registrar, sudder amin or bailiff, subordinate judge in 1833, and for a time acted as the Judge of

Mainpuri. He was an integral part of the life of the station in the thirties and forties. The registers show that, while he registered the transactions of others, he himself was no less busy in buying and selling. He lived, 1823 to 1828, at Kasim Bagh ; behind No. 4 Bungalow ; and lastly on the Ganges Bank, near Ghatia Ghat.

4. " In memory of Major William Russell wo.....departed ....."

Not identified.

5. " Sacred to the memory of Arthur Evelyn, 4th son of Frederick and Ann Bu Her.[1]'

F. P. Buller, B. C. S., was District Judge 1852-56. He lived in the present Judge's house, and then in Maharaja Dhuleep Singh's house in the Park.

6. " Sacred to the memory of George Claude, son of Captain Boileau, Artillery, and Sarah his wife, who died 16th December 1843, aged 11 months."

Captain Boileau, 1806-88, afterwards Major-General.

7. " Sacred to the memory of Mary Morgan, wife of Joseph Morgan who departed this life on the 6th April 18.....aged 24 years. This monument is erected by her afflicted husband in commemoration of an affectionate wife."

Joseph Morgan, auctioneer and shopkeeper, married Mary Mathews in 1813 at Fatehgarh. His house stands today in the Circular Road. He was the son of Joseph Morgan, a carpenter and native of Philadelphia, U.S.A., who first appeared at Fatehgarh in 1790, and in 1807 was buried in the Fort cemetery. He was doubtless the first American inhabitant of the Station. Joseph Morgan, junior, was bom in 1791. At the age of four years he was baptised by the Revd. Tho. Clarke along with three of his sisters, Mary (aged three), Elizabeth (aged two), and Hannah (aged one), on the 5th April 1795. Mary was married to P. Marks of the 4th Coy. 2nd Bn. Artillery in 1806 ; Hannah at the early age of thirteen became the wife of John Swinkman,

a comrade of Marks; and lastly Elizabeth in 1810 was married to Friedrick Han of the 3rd Coy., 1st Bn. Artillery. Joseph lived on at Fatehgarh for many years. He is last mentioned in the records of 1846. A son of his, named Charles Morgan, married Martha Cray in 1844.

8. " To the memory of Mr. Samuel Skardon, who died October 30th, 1788 A.D., aged 57 years. This tomb was erected by his friend, Captain Richard Ramsay."

Skardon was a Deputy Commissary in the Ordnance Department, who received a brevet commission as lieutenant-fireworker in the artillery. One of his daughters married Lieut.-Col. War ton-, whose tomb is near Kanauj, (see end of chapter), and the other, Mary, married Captain Ramsay, who acquired some notoriety for deserting the Army after the battle of Bitaurah in 1794.

9. " To the memory of Master Thos. Chas. Pearse, son of Mr. Garratt Pearse who died February 25th, A. D. 1789, in the 3rd year of his age."

Pearse was a conductor in the Ordnance Department, appointed in 1783.

10. " To the memory of Captain Goodwin Warner, 2nd Batt. 22nd Regt. N. I., who departed this life on the 2nd of January Anno Dom. 1812, aged 32 years."

Cadet in 1794.

11. "Herein was deposited the remains of William Henry Roy le, late Captain in the H. C's. Service which he served 23 years with fidelity, bravery and honor ; he died October 29th, 1806, in his 40th year. This is erected to his memory by his afflicted wife, who, after nine years of uninterrupted felicity, now, with four children, is left to mourn his loss and tender goodness of heart and many amiable qualities. As it endeared so is he regretted by his family and friends with due submission to the will of Him who gave and has taken away."

William Henry Royle, 1763-1806. Appointed cadet 1782. Served in various regiments until he became Captain in the l/10th N, I. Second Mahratta War, 1805-6. In 1804 he raised the

l/25th at Fatehgarh, a regiment called " Rayle ki paltan " after his name.

12. " To the memory of Lieutenant Colonel Leod. Simpson, 2nd Batt. 2nd Regt., who died on the 7th June 1806 in the 49th year of his age. As a commanding officer he was esteemed and respected, and in his death all the officers of his corps lament the loss of a most sincere friend. '

Cadet 177(5. Commanded the 4th Brigade in 1804-5 during Lord Lake's campaign.

IB. " Sacred to the memory of Captain Wm. Reynolds late of the sixth Regt. B. N. L, who died in the thirty-first year of his age, lamented for his talents and his virtues."

William Reynolds, (1784-1815). Civil Architect for the Western Provinces of Bengal from 1812.

14. " Sacred to the memory of H. C. O'Dowda, of the 48th B. N. I., Acting Adjutant of the 4th Punjab Rifles, who having been preserved by God's mercy through the whole of the memorable siege of Lucknow in the year 1857, died at Fatehgarh on the 20th January 1858, at the early age of 18 years, 8 months and 17 days.

See No. 44 for a slightly different inscription on the tomb of this officer. Ensign 1855. Born at Calcutta. Educated at Brighton. The son of a Barrister-at-law.

15. " Sacred to the memory of Major Francis Hodson, who leparted this life on April 27th, 1797."

The name should be Hodgson. Cadet 1770. Captain, 3rd Bengal European Bn. 1787. Left two sons, both of whom became officers in the Army.

16. " Erected to the memory of the Revd. H. P. Stacy, D. D., F. L. S., Chaplain in the Bengal Establishment, who departed this ife at Fattughur on the 7th day of November in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, aged 47 years. By his ifflicted widow.'

17. A fragment of the tablet of Colonel Mountain's tomb, see below).

18. "Sacred to the memory of Colonel Armine Simcoe Henry Mountain, C. B. and A. C. D. to the Queen, Adjutant-General H. M's. Forces in India, who died at Futtygurh on the 8th February 1854."

The following inscriptions are affixed to undamaged tombs.

19. "Armine Simcoe Henry Mountain. Col. and Adjt.-General. February 1854. In memory of a loved husband to replace the memorial erected A. D. 1854 by the Commander-in-Chief and the Head-Quarter Staff and destroyed A. 1). 1857 during the rebellion of the Bengal Army."

Of Huguenot origin Col. Mountain was born at Quebec in 1797. He received a commission as ensign in the 96th Regiment in 1815. After serving with the 52nd and the 76th, he arrived in India in 1829 with the 26th Cameronians, a regiment which he eventually commanded. His aptitude and proficiency as a soldier marked him out for early promotion. He was Adjutant-General to the China Expeditionary Force in 1840, and was wounded during the operations. After some stay in England he returned to India in 1847 to take up the appointment of Military Secretary to Lord Dalhousie. The following year saw the outbreak of the second Sikh War. Col. Mountain's ability was recognised by the conferment upon him of the command of the 4th Brigade, which he led through the actions of Chillianwalla and Gujrat. He was afterwards selected for the post of Adjutant-General in India.

The circumstances of his untimely death will be found in the memoir of Col. Mountain, which was published later by his widow. It was she who replaced the stone over the grave in the Fort cemetery. Fragments of the old stone, which was smashed in the Mutiny, will be found affixed to the cemetery wall, and close by the grave. It appears that in January 1854, while on tour with Sir William Gomm, the Commander-in-Chief, Col. Mountain fell ill on the road between Cawnpore and Fatehgarh. On reaching Fatehgarh he was taken to the house (now the

Officer's Mess) of Doctor Login, the guardian of Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, where he died on the 8th February.

The funeral was publicly celebrated. Army Headquarters" clerks carried the coffin from the house door to the Park gates, and again from the gate of the Fort to the grave. A gun carriage served as bier over the intervening road. The Union Jack, which had hung at half-mast before the Commander-in-Chief's tent on the camping ground, was the pall. The bands of the 2nd Grenadiers and the 28th Regiment played Handel's funeral march alternatively during the progress. The Headquarters staff, all military forces in Fatehgarh and the favourite charger, ridden through the Sikh War, followed in the procession. The route was lined by thousands of the population. The Rev. J. Kellner, chaplain of Mainpuri, read the service ; and while three volleys were fired, Sir William Gomm and Maharaja Dhuleep Singh stood by the grave side. Besides this monument, a brass tablet was set up in the Church at Simla, and a window was dedicated to Colonel Mountain's memory in a church at Quebec.

20. " In memory of Lieut. Stuart Douglas, H. M. 82nd Regt., who died at Fiittygurh, 10th January 1858."

The 82nd Regt. (2nd Bu. The Prince of Wales's Volunteers, South Lancashire) took over guard of the Fort from 10th January to 25th April 1858, relieving the 8th Foot. The regiment under Colonel Hale was part of the force under Sir Colin Campbell, which after the battle of the Kali Nadi, re-occupied Fatehgarh on the 13rd January. Lieutenant Stuart thus died on the day his regiment marched into the Fort.

21. "To the memory of William Allan, son of..... Deer. 1st 1832,..... 8th 1883."

Not identified.

22. "Sacred to the memory of Captn. Samuel Woodcock of the 5th Regt. N. L, who departed this life the 17th of May 1823, aged 40 years,"

The 5th Regt. N . I . was not at Fatehgarh in 1828.

23. '" To the memory *of* Lieutt.-Col. Wm. Cuppage, a worthy man and good officer, who served the East India Company faithfully and honourably for 38 years. Died 1st July 1819. Aged 58 years."

William Cuppage entered the service in 1781.- He served in the 4th Mysore War, and was invalided in 1815 as Lt.-Colonel of the 22nd N. I. He commanded the Farrukhabad Provincial Battalion from 1815 until his death. He was godfather of J.R. Madden of the Clothing Agency, who was killed in the Mutiny.

24. " Sacred to the memory of Myra Elenora, the beloved and esteemed wife of the Rev. P. Hastings. With Christian resignation and firm though humble confidence in the mercy of God, this excellent young woman closed her mortal life Jany. 13th Anno Domini 1820. Aged 19 years."

Mr. Hastings was sent from Cawnpore in October 1819 to act as chaplain, while the Church was being built. After the death of his wife he was transferred to Calcutta.

25. "To the memory of Lieutt.-Col. Gregory Hickman, E. I. C. S., who after a service of 45 years died the 11th May 1828. Aged 70. This monument is erected by the Society of Futty Chin- as a mark of their unqualified respect, admiration and esteem for the many amiable qualities of their deceased friend.

Lt.-Colonel Hickman, 1758-1828, was an Ensign in 1785. He was invalided in 1818 as Lt.-Colonel of the 1/lst N. I. After serving as Superintendent of invalids at Chittagong, he was appointed to the command of the Farrukhabad Provincial Battalion in 1825. He left two sons, both officers in the Army.

26. "To the memory of the late Lieut. M. Blood, 17th Regt. N. I., who died on 4th June 1831. Aged 36. Erected by the officers of the 17th Regt."

One of these officers was the Major Hawthorne, who ejected Hoskins from a house in Cantonments in 1820, when serving with the 11th N. I., (see chap. II).

27. " Sacred to the memory of Louisa, the beloved wife of Bannatyne W. Macleod, M. D., Superintending Surgeon. Born 31st Deer. 1801. Died 26th April, 1848."

There was a tablet to her memory in the old Church. Doctor Macleod was Civil Surgeon. He received the C. B. in 1850.

28. " In memory of W. R. P. Roberts Esq., Engineer to the G. C. Agency. Died 27th June 1851. Aged 34 years. By I. C. Deb."

Mr. Roberts was in charge of the steam-engine in the Fort. The memorial was put up by Isan Chandra Deb, who, for a great many years before and after the Mutiny, worked as Head Clerk in the office of the Gun Carriage Agency. One of his descendants is now in the employ of the B. B. and C. I. Railway, and has a collection of letters from Agents of the old Factory.

29. " Sacred to the memory of David Home Esquire, of the Civil Service, who departed this life on the 28th of September 1835. Aetat 29 years."

He was officiating as Magistrate and Collector at the time. India 1827-35.

30. "To the memory of Ensign John William Tomkins, 1st Regiment N. I., who departed this life on the 31st May 1834. Erected by his brother officers and friends at the station in testimony of their esteem and regard for his many amiable qualities."

Joined the service in 1829.

31. " Sacred to the memory of M. Anne Printzling who died on the.....year of her age. This tribute....."

Died 23rd April 1838, aged 62 years. Not identified. C. H. G. Printzling, a Dane, was Magistrate at Serampore in 1817. Serampore was originally under the Danish East India Company.

32. " Sacred to the memory of Anna Robertson Stewart, daughter of Robert and Mary Stewart, who departed this life on the 2nd day of July in the year of Our Lord 1821, aged 3 months and 29 days."

The Stewart family started indigo planting in the District in 1787, and appealed in the annual lists of the residents up to 1886.

88. " Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Sarah Jeffreys, late wife of the Reverend Richard Jeffreys, Chaplain of this station, who possessed of all the exterior qualities which adorn her sex was still more distinguished by the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit which in the sight of God is of great price. For excellent talents and endowments she chose as the sphere of action an unremitted and exemplary attention to the health and improvement of her children, fourteen of whom survived her. From this no outward solicitations could withdraw her, but opportunities of more extended good which that she was diligent to seek out and employ many instances of well-directed benevolence as well in this as in her native land can testify. Having these fruits of a lively faith yet trusting solely iu the merits of a Redeemer, an example of true humility, she rested in peace on the 5th day of June 1808. Aged 41 years. Secure in the assent which in present memory attends on this narrative of the truth her afflicted survivor records for thy sake, stranger, who shalt come after, that thou mayest consider how blessed are they who die in the Lord and that following the example of them thou mayest partake of that crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous, shall give them at his appearance."

Revd. R. Jeffreys, chaplain 1808-09. He read the burial service himself on the 6th June.

84. " In memory of Amy, daughter of George and Frances Ives. Born December 20th, 1888. Died October 1st, 1840."

George Ives commenced indigo planting in 1880. Failing to succeed at this, he set up a tent factory in the Circular Road, on the western side of which the walls of his compound ai'e still to be seen. He became agent of the North-West Dak Company, and responsible for the despatch of parcels and mails. The whole family was killed at Cawnpore in the Mutiny. There were two other daughters besides Amy. One was married to J. E. L. Willows in 1846, and the other was killed at Cawnpore.

35. " In memory of Mrs. Catherine Bush who departed this life on the 2nd of July 1821. Aged 52 years."

The wife of Thomas Bush, who came in 1791, and joined Robert Bathurst & Co. A brother, named John Bush, was partner of Packard & Co. in the thirties in an indigo factory at Mehndi Ghat, near Kanauj. Thomas Bush lived in a small house at the southern end of the Civil Station, overlooking the temple by the golf links.

36. " Sacred to the memory of Charles Colinson Blackburn Esqre., who died on the 29th Septr. 1828. Aged 30 years."

Indigo manufacturer. Blackburns were planting indigo in Bengal in the eighteenth century.

37. " In memory of John George Blackburn. Died 9th July 1829. Aged 13 months."

38. " In this grave are deposited the sacred remains of William Rennell Esquire, late of the Civil Service, who departed this life on the 26th day of July 1819 in the 39th year of his age."

Collector of Customs, 1816-19. In the records there is a letter from the Governor-in-Council at Calcutta, deploring his death.

39. " Here lie the remains of Robert Carshore Esquire, a merchant long known and respected at this station, who departed this life on the 13th day of April 1821. Aged 54 years 7 months and 11 days."

One of the oldest civilian residents at Fatehgarh. He came in 1782, and began business as a cloth merchant. A hamlet of Naukhanda village, named Kissoreganj, 1½ miles from the District Jail, perpetuates his name, for here later on he set up his indigo vats and factory. He lived in No. 7 Bungalow, and was a partner of Thomas Churcher, whose house was next door, on the site of the present Officers' Mess. After his death the family's fortunes declined, and in 1837 his son Joseph had to earn his living as a clerk.

40. " To the memory of Colonel John Powell, who died on the 14th Jan. 1804 in the forty-sixth year of his age. This monument is erected by his ever affectionate brother Peregrine Powell."

1758-1804. Arrived in India 1770. He rose to command the 8th, and then in 1803 the 19th N. I. He served throughout the operations in the Jumna Doab, 1803, and the second Mahratta War. He commanded the 4th Infantry Brigade of Lord Lake's Grand Army at the end of 1803, when he fell ill. He died at Fatehgarh " of fatigue after Lord Lake's campaigns."

41. "Sacred to the memory of Lieutt. Alexander Burrowes of the 10th Bn. of Sepoys who fell 29th June 1792 in the execution of his duty."

A letter from Cawnpore dated 4th July 1792 gives details as follows : " A very melancholy circumstance lately happened about 13 cos from Farrukhabad. Lieut. Burrowes was sent from Futtyghur with his Coy. of Sepoys, accompanied by Lieut. Loveday with his Coy. to apprehend a zemindar who had stopped some boats belonging to Col. Stuart's detachment. Lieut. Burrowes in his zeal to perform the service, exposed himself imprudently and was shot in the zamindar's compound, where he had pushed his way."

42. " Here rests the body of..... St. Leger Hay ward Gillman Major of Brigade, departed this life on the 18th October 1795."

1758-1795. Ensign in 1778. Belonged to the 2nd Bn. Sepoys in 1787. He was Brigade-Major at Fatehgarh, and a Brevet-Captain when he died.

43. " Sacred to the memory of H. L. Davies Esq., Surgeon of the H. Comp. Med. Est. who died 21st July 1818, aged 43 years. This monument is erected by his afflicted wife on her leaving the station as a last tribute due to the memory of an affectionate and indulgent husband."

It is doubtful if he was Civil Surgeon. He is not mentioned in the records.

44. " Sacred to the memory of Lieut. H. C. CVDowda, 43rd B. N. L, Actg. Adjt. Punjab Rifles, who having been preserved by God's mercy throughout the Siege of Lucknow in the year 1857, died at Futtygurh on the 20th January 1858, at the early age of 18 years 8 months and 18 days, esteemed and regretted by all who knew him."

43rd B. N. I. should be 48th B. N. I. (see No. 14).

45. " The grave of Mary Jane, the devoted and beloved wife of Colonel Frank Turner, C. B., Royal Bengal Artillery. Born 16th September 1825. Died 25th January 1862."

This burial was the last to take place in the Fort cemetery.

46. " Sacred to the memory of Susannah Lundt who departed this life on the fourth day of October 1819, aged 70 years."

John Lundt, her husband, came as an indigo planter in 1787. In 1802 Christian Lundt was a musician, and resided at Fatehgarh with a brother, who was a shopkeeper. The family had left by 1821. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Fatehgarh theatre was in full swing, and there would be ample employment for a professional musician. The tomb was erected by Susannah Lundt's executors, Sergeants John Cawood and Luke Kellan. The Cawood family settled permanently in Fatehgarh, and John Cawood's son perished in the Mutiny.

47. " Sacred to the memory of Lieutt. John Brown Robinson, 61st Regt. B. N. Infy. who died at Futty Ghur, on the 2nd June 1830, in the 25th year of his age."

Born in 1805. He was the Adjutant of the Farrukhabad Provincial Battalion from 1829.

48. " Sacred to the memory of George Thomas, the infant son of Capt. Reynolds, 63rd Regt., who departed this life on the 1st November 1826, aged 4 months and a day."

Captain Thomas Reynolds, (1788-1873).

49. " Sacred to the memory of...,..iam Morris....."

Not identified.

50. " To the memory of Captain Edward Clayton, 5th N. Regt., who departed this life on the 16th of November 1799, aged 46 years."

Arrived in India 1778. Lieutenant in the 5th Bn. of Sepoys in 1787.

51. " To the memory of Eliza Morton, who died 11th Sept. 1828, aged 14 months."[1]

52. "Sacred to the memory of William Morton Esqr. Died April.....1829. Aged 42 years."

William Morton came in 1822, and set up business in the Circular Road as a " free trader ". He acquired some property in Kaimganj Tahsil.

53. "Sacred to the memory of..... Robert Dowlin. Died Sept. 27th 1791."

Assistant to the Paymaster. He was at Calcutta in 1790.

54. " Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Eliza Birch, who departed this life on the 16th of August 1840."

Mrs. Eliza Birch was Miss Elizabeth Blake, daughter of Robert Blake, Assay Master of the Mint, She was married on the 26th March 1809. Her sister, Sarah, married Lieutenant Thomas Marshall, Artillery, in February 1813. She was a Eurasian. Stephen Birch was an interesting military adventurer, who settled permanently in Fatehgarh between 1805 and 1809. He served under George Thomas, and under Perron in Scindia's army. In 1803, he went over to the East India Company's service, and was in receipt of a pension of Rs. 300, per mensem. He served under Lord Lake at the siege of Delhi in 1804, with a Battalion of najibs from Panipat. He died at Fatehgarh in 1844. Further details of this family will be found in the notice of No. 12 Bungalow (chap. VII) in which Stephen Birch resided, and in " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny ".

55. " Mata, Constable. Born 13th May 1792. Died 4th Septr. 1793."

The daughter of Lieut.-Colonel George Constable, 1756-1836. His service began in 1781, and he took part in opera-

tions in the Carnatic. He first arrived in Fatehgarh with a company of artillery in 1792, and was on and off in the station for many years. In 1800 he commanded the Artillery corps, and with the Fatehgarh detachment joined the Grand Army of Lord Lake in 1803 at Kanauj, taking part in the Jumna Doab [4i] Mud War " during the winter of that year. It is said that he was wounded in the stomach by a cannon ball! He was well known at Woolwich, and improved the casting of guns there. He died in London.

56. " Robert William Grant, son of Robert and Elizabh. Grant. Horn May 20th, 1790, Calcutta. Died Septr. 17th, 1790, Futtehghurr."

Robert Grant came in 1787, as Paymaster and Commissary of Hazars. He was still serving at Fatehgarh in 1798, A daughter was born at Fatehgarh in 1795, and another in 1796.

57. " Robt. Henry Douglas Aet. 6 men. Obiit. 17th Septbr. 1789."

Not identified.

58. " Sacred to the memory of Ensign Chas. Rawnsley of the 1st Batt. 18th Regt. N. I. who deptd. this life the 4th of July 1811."

Ensign is a mistake. He was a lieutenant, having been probably promoted just before his death. Born 1786.

59. " To the memory of his beloved wife, Caroline, who died on the..... December 1851 in the 39th year of her age, this has been erected by Major John Halkett Craigie, 20th Regt. N. I., Commanding Regt. Kelat-i-Ghilzie."

1805-1870. Afterwards Major-General and C. B. Arrived in India 1822. Served in the first Burma, Arakan, and first Afghan Wars. He was present at the battle of Maharajpore, and took part in operations on the N. W. Frontier.

60. " Sacred to the memory of Eleanor, the beloved wife of Lieutt. and Adjtt. S. B. Cookson, Khilat-i-Ghilzie Regt.

who departed this life on the 20th September 1849, aged 32 years.'[1]

Lieutenant Cookson, 73rd N. I., was second in command in 1852.

61. "To the memory of Major Robert Wroughton, 69th N. I., who departed this life at Futtighurgh on the 14th February 1850, aged 52 years, this monument is erected."

(1797-1850). Major on the Invalid Establishment.

62. "Sacred to the memory of Harriet Alicia, only daughter of Charles Elliot Esq., who departed this life the 23rd September 1811. Aged 1 year 8 months and 16 days.[11]

Charles Elliott was Judge and Magistrate from 1810 to 1813. He was living in No. 20 Bungalow, when it was struck by lightning and destroyed on the 5th July 1812.

63. " Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Eliza Gam on, who departed this life October 18th 1812, aged 21 years. Erected by her fond father L.-Col. Rutledgc."

Colonel F rancis Rutledge, 1760-1817 was Et.-Colonel commanding the l/3rd N. I., in 1812, and also Officer Commanding, Fatehgarh. He was a cadet in 1778, and saw active service in the Bnndelkhand campaign of 1809. He was transferred as Colonel to the 26th N. I., and died at Barrackpore. His son, Francis, 1787-1871, was a Major of the 38th N. 1. Tho. Gamon (1789-1818) was Lieutenant 23rd N. L Died at Betul, C. P., in 1818.

64. " To the memory of Bernard Reilly Esquire, Surgeon to the Civil Establishment at Futtygurh, who departed this life on the 24th day of November, 1816.[1']

Doctor Reilly was Civil Surgeon, 1808-1816.

65. " Sacred to the memory of Mr. Rich. Wivell, son to Mr. Condr. Jas. Wivell, who departed this life on the 6th of November 1818, aged 17 years.[11]

James Wivell was a conductor in the Ordnance Department, and attached to the Gun Carriage Agency. He left before 1820.

66. " Sacred to the memory of Frederick Hogan Halliday, the beloved infant son of Elizabeth and Cornelius Hickie. Born 16th July 1854. Died 17th November 1855."

Not identified. Mrs. Hickie was a Miss Halliday.

67. " Sacred to the memory of Esther, the infant daughter of Josh, and Charlte. Brierly, residing at Futteh Ghur, who died on 5th July 18. . . . . Aged 1 year 1 month and. . . . . ."

The two brothers, Joseph and Richard Brierley, came to Fatehgarh in 1830. Joseph succeeded in business, and became the recognised leader of the trading community in the Circular Road. He was tent manufacturer, auctioneer, boat agent, coach builder, and shopkeeper. He lived behind the old Church, and his house, which has been rebuilt, is still inhabited. Richard, the younger brother, was a clerk in the Collector's Office. The fortunes of this family in 1857 will be found described in " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny ".

68. " Sacred to the memory of Sarah, the infant daughter of Joseph and Charlotte Brierley, who departed this life on the 22nd of May 1831. Aged 1 year 10 months and 11 days."

69. " Sacred to the memory of Jane Grace, the beloved wife of Staff Sergeant E. F. Finlay, Clothing Department, who departed this life on the 26th May 1846, aged 18 years and 2 months. May she rest in peace. Amen."

E. F. Finlay and his sister were killed in the Mutiny.

70. " Sacred to the memory of Caroline, the beloved daughter of Capt, and Mrs. McCausland, who departed this life on the 31st October 1841, aged 2 years and 11 months."

Captain J. K. McCausland was temporarily in command of the Nassiri Battalion, (now 1st Gurkha Rifles). Afterwards Lt.-General and a C. B.

71. * " Sacred to the memory of Andrew Fraser, who departed this life the 31st of October 1815- Aged 2 years 11 months and 23 days. He was the only son of the late Major Andrew Fraser of the 25th Regt. N. I. This monument is erected by

his afflicted mother as a proof of her fondness for a much beloved child."

Major Fraser died at Midnapore in 1812.

72. " Sacred to the memory of Anne Elizabeth, the beloved wife of James Maxwell of Mehndy Ghaut, who departed this life on the 27th February 1846, aged 22 years, 9 months and 15 days."

Mehndi Ghat on the Ganges near Kanauj was the seat of many indigo factories. Mrs. Parks in her " Wanderings of a Pilgrim" mentions that on her reaching Mehndi Ghat in 18*35 one of the Maxwells showed her the ruins of Kanauj. The Maxwell house and factory were plundered in the Mutiny ; but the house and indigo vats still remain in good preservation.

73. "Sacred to the memory of..... *i. e.*, Sarah Maxwell, the beloved daughter of James and Anne Maxwell, who departed this life on the..... August 1844 aged..... years."

74. " Sacred to the memory of Ensign Thomas Jones of the 22nd Regiment of Native Infantry, who died at Futtehghur on the 20th of May 1847 in the twenty-first year of his age, deeply lamented by his brother officers."

75. " Sacred to the memory of John Healy, late Quarter-master Sergeant, 2nd Nasseeree Battalion, who departed this life on the..... 18..... aged 30 years and..... months. This tomb was erected by his wife who with three helpless children is left to deplore his loss."

The 2nd Nassiri Battalion was raised 1815, anfl disbanded in 1829.

76. " Sacred to the memory of Mrs, Mary Baxter, much lamented by her Family and Friends, who departed this life on the 20th day of December, Anno Domini, 1812, Hged 36 years."

Her husband was a hairdresser at Fatehgarh.

77. " Here lies the body of Lieutenant Thomas Macfie, who departed this life on the 6th July 1794 in the 35th year of his age. Deeply lamented by all to whom his amiable manner and many virtues were known."

Appointed cadet in 1778.

78. " Sacred to memory of Lieutenant-Colonel T. Tudor Tucker of the late 8th Bengal Light Cavalry ; John Moore Jones Esq. of the uncovenanted service; and Sub-Conductor John Ahern, Army Clothing Department, all of whom fell on the 28th and 29th of June, 1857, whilst nobly defending the Fort of Fatehgarh against an overwhelming number of mutinous sepoys."

This slab was erected by Government. All were killed on the Fort walls within a short distance of their grave, (see " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny " for details). Brevet Lt.-Colonel Thomas Tudor Tucker was Agent of the Army Clothing Factory from April 1858. The Factory was actually on the site of the present tennis courts in the Company Garden. Colonel Tucker's bungalow was alongside of the Factory, and opposite the gate of the police Superintendent's house. Many of the trees to be seen now on this spot were in his garden.

John Moore Jones was not in Government service, and the inscription is wrong. He started in India as a merchant in Calcutta, and settled in Fatehgarh as an indigo planter, having his plantation near the City, and a residence near the Raja of Tirwa's house by the *new* Police Lines. He was born on the 9th December 1818, and was thus in his 89th year when killed in the Mutiny. His nephew, Mr. T. Gavin Jones of Cawnpore, has an interesting photograph of him.

Sub-Conductor Ahern was one of the few expert gunners of the little garrison. He was killed while serving his gun at the south-west angle of the Fort, overlooking the wood yard. After his death his wife took his place in a bastion, and shewed herself a good rifleshot. She was killed in the massacre at Cawnpore, a fortnight later. The marrige register of the old Church has this entry for the 1st January 1850 :" John Ahern and Lucy. Lambert."

79. " Sacred to the memory of William Trigg Garret, Lieutenant in the H. C. Bengal Artillery who departed this life on the 85th July 1888, aged 89 years, deeply and sincerely regretted."

2nd Lieutenant in 1819. Served through the Siege of Bhurtpore.

80. " Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant James Fisher, Interpreter and Quartermaster 1st Regiment N. I., wiio departed this life at Fatehgarh on the 3rd January 1835. Erected by his brother officers and friends in testimony of their esteem and regard."

Born 1803. Ensign 1824.

81. " To Lieutenant C. J. M. Macdowell, 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, killed in action against the rebels at Shamsabad 27th January 1858, whilst second in command of Hodson's Horse. Erected by his brother officers as a slight token of their sincere esteem."

Accompanied Hodson in his famous ride through the District on the 30th December 1857 (see page 145 of "Fatehgarh and the Mutiny ").

82. " To the memory of Major Charles Hay Campbell."

The rest of the inscription is illegible. Major Campbell, (1789-1832), was Agent of the Gun Carriage Factory. He died in 1832 after an illness of only a few hours. Arrived in India 1805. Served with the artillery in the 2nd Mahratta War, Bundeikhand campaign of 1808, and the siege of Hathras in 1817. Assistant Secretary to Government, Military Department, in 1819. Agent, Gun Carriage Factory at Cossipore in 1821. Wrote largely on sieges, and other professional subjects. Married the daughter of the Earl of Dunmore, and left 3 sons and 3 daughters. One daughter was born at Fatehgarh the year before his death.

83. " Sacred to the memory of Major Robert Bell Fulton of the Regiment of Bengal Artillery, who departed this life on the 11th May 1836, aged 48 years. He was an upright, honourable man, and a sincere Christian, possessing high professional abilities and distinguished for those private virtues which endear men to society. This monument is erected by his brother officers and friends in testimony of their regard and esteem."

Born 1788. Agent of the Gun Carriage Factory in 1824. In 1832 Agent of the Clothing Factory. Lived in the Company Garden.

A large number of graves are nameless, and cannot separately be identified ; but the Army lists, burial registers, and annual East India registers supply the names of those who were buried here, and in the graveyard behind the Maude Lines. On the 5th August 1777, the first year of the Temporary Brigade at Fatehgarh, died Captain George Dacosta (Ensign 1767), and his interment was probably the first to be made in the Fort. He heads a long list of the following years :

1777. Major William Hessman. He was posted to the command of the Cavalry Corps. On the 4th November, on his way to Fatehgarh, he was killed in a " rencounter,[1]' or duel, with Colonel Ironside at Kanauj. Major Auchmuty brought his body to Fatehgarh the same day.

1781. Lieutenant A. Addie. Died in November, Cadet in 1778.

1783. Captain J. Dee. Ensign in 1769.
Lieutenant H. Fou lis.

1784. Lieutenant A. Gavin.

1785. Lieutenant W. Commine.

1786. Lieutenant-Fireworker J. Neish (artillery).
Lieutenants M. Bradley and S. Braithwaite, who both died on the lõth October,

1787. Margaret Lynn ; Ann Rockett; F. Charles (child); Mary Lowe, infant daughter of Assistant Surgeon R. Lowe, 1/lst N. I.

The following forty-two N. C. Os. and privates of the 4th European Battalion: Hawkins, Willoughby, Donalone, Metcalfe, Simmons, Jones, Ryley, Campbell, Grenier, Atkinson, Creswell, Smith, Richards, Simpson, Moreing, Brittony, Holborn, Carty, Hopegood, Thoroughgood, Rufter, Burns, Luds, Cox, Dupont, Hervie, Barton, Allèn (M), Ryan, Catton, Clifton, Allen (G), Barrat, Le Victorie, Bradford, Briggs, Barber, Cranston, Connon, Curtes, Foreman, and Naville.

Six French names will be noticed. One-third of these casualties were in the 1st and 2nd Grenadier Companies.

Arnot Murst; Thomas Ingram. Matrosses of the 2nd Coy., 1st Bn. Artillery.

A matross ranked next below a gunner. His duty was to help the gunners in loading and sponging the guns. He carried a firelock, and marched with the store wagons. The word is said to be derived from the French word, matelot, a sailor.

All these burials of 1787 were performed by Lieutenant J. Gordon, 2nd Regt of Cavalry, who was probably the Station Staff Officer.

1788. Ensign T. Long.

1789. P. Rourke. A matross of the 2nd Company, 1st Bn. Artillery.

1790. Lieutenant T. Connoley ; Ensign T. Marley.

1793. Lieutenant J. Cullen.

1794. Major L. Smith ; Captain N. Stewart.
Lieutenant J. Gould. Brigade-Major, 6th Brigade.

1796. Lieutenant-Fireworker J. Hope; Conductor Magee.

1799. Captain C. Smyth.

1800. Captain D. Birrell. 1757-1800. A cavalry officer. Captain J.Jarrett. 3rd N. I. Ensign in 1778. Lieutenant T. Shbolbred. 1775-1800. 3rd N. I.

1802. Ensign T. Marston.

1804. Colonel J. Edwards. 1759-1804. 2/4th N. I. 2nd Mahratta War and capture of Aligarh.

Captain A. Burgh. 8th N. I. 4th Mysore War. Siege of Seringapatam. Mud War 1803. 2nd Mahratta War. Killed in action during the retreat of Colonel Monson's force.

Captain C. Berry. 8th N. 1.

Lieutenant J. Livesay. 1780-1804. 2nd N. 1. Mentioned by Lieutenant John Pester in " War and Sport in India/[1]

James Thomas Grant. First Judge Magistrate. Improved Farrukhabad City and local roads. Established the Police force and set up the first Jail. A very popular officer. Viscount Valentia stayed with him during his visit to Fatehgarh in 1803, and thought very highly of him.

L805. Captain T. Staunton. 2nd N. I. Cadet and Assistant Surgeon 1781. Surgeon with 1st and 3rd Brigades till 1783, when he resigned medical service. A.-D.-C. to Colonel Morgan

1791-94. Mud War 1803. 2nd Mahratta War. See chapter XII.

1806. Major A. Fraser. At the time of his death he was commanding the 4th Coy., 1st Bn. Artillery. He commanded a detachment of artillery sent from Bengal in 1793 for service against French cruisers. The merchants of Calcutta presented him with a gold hilted sword. Expedition to Macao 1801-02. Lieutenant J. Cunninghame, 30th N. I.

W. P. Potts. Assistant Judge. He was officiating as Judge when Holkar raided Farrukhabad in 1804.

1807. Joseph Morgan. Buried 22nd April. A carpenter and native of Philadelphia, U. S. A. See No. 8 above.

G. Clarke. A matross of the 2nd Coy. 1st Bn. Artillery.

1808. Hannah, the wife of John Slater.

1810. Ensign R. Forrester. l/22nd N. I.

1811. Ensign J. Anderson. 18th N. I.

1813. William Stacey. Foreman of the Mint. See chapter VII.

An infant daughter of W. P. Wattle. Came to Fatehgarh 1790. A wealthy money lender and trader. Owned many houses in the Cavalry Cantonment. See chapter XII

Mrs. D. Cray. Lived in mohalla Hathikhana, behind the Kotwali, in Fatehgarh Town. Her grand-daughter, Martha, married Charles Morgan in 1844. See No. 8 above.

1814. John Lewis. A Doctor Lewis lived at this date opposite No. 10 Bungalow, on the southern side of Dorset Road. The compound is now waste land.

James Urquhart. A partner of Bush, Urquart & Co., traders and indigo manufacturers.

1817. Robert Blake. 1st Assay Master. Lived in the Mint. See chapter VII.

1818. Conductor Charles Wade.

1826. Lieut.-Colonei J. Leys. 1785-1826. 29th N. I. Arrived in India 1801. Mud War 1803. 2nd Mahratta War 1803-04. Capture of Java 1811. Operations against the Sultan of

Mataram 1812. Brigade-Major in Kumaon 1816-19, and in Malwa 1819-22. Died at Fatehgarh on the 14th December.

1828. Jauies de Larieey. Bengal Civil Service. Appointed Writer 1822. In 1827 Register, or Assistant to the Judge, at Fatehgarh.

1831. W. Collins. Deputy Collector. See chapter X.

1832. Charles Bathurst. Indigo broker. Lived opposite the Company Garden.

Patrick Reid. Tentmaker. Married a Miss Dyce in 1828. She died at Banda in 1840.

1833. John MacArfchur. Merchant. Lived behind the present Police Lines.

1834. Mrs. Isabella Gaumisse. Possibly the name was "Gomez." Members of this family were Government clerks. Two were murdered on the parade ground in the Mutiny.

1835. Lieutenant J. D. B. Ellis. 1812-1835. Arrived in India 1830. 3rd Coy. 3rd Bn. Foot Artillery. See chapter VI, Barhpur.

1836. Colonel C. W. Brooke. Born 1784. Brevet-Colonel 14th N. I. Ensign 1801. Operations against Dhundhia Khan and capture of Komona, where he was wounded (1807). Commanded 47th N. 1. (now 3rd Bn., 7th Rajput Regt.) 1828 to 1835. Appointed to command " the troops in Oudh " from 8th February 1835. Died at Fatehgarh on the 22nd April 1836.

Miss Eliza Skinner. Daughter of Major Robert Skinner, and niece of Colonel Skinner, C.B., commanding 1st Local Horse. Died on her way to Hansi, when passing through Fatehgarh.

1839. Mrs. C. Potter. Wife of a military pensioner. Lived next to No. 14 Bungalow.

1840. Mr. de Ponte, aged 40 years.

1841. A daughter, aged one year, of Edmond Jennings. Jennings was a merchant, living in the Circular Road. In 1836 he married Sophia Jane, one of the sisters of the well known Deputy Collector, William DeGruyther. He himself died away from Fatehgarh. His widow and remaining children lived in a house in the Company Garden. They were all killed in the Mutiny.

R. Anderson senior, aged 71 years. He was employed along with his son in the Army Clothing Factory.

Robert Kembali. Assistant Commissary of Ordnance Department, who retired in 1826. He lived in a house to the north of the present Officers' Mess. Brother-in-law of John Cray. See 1813 above. His only daughter, Dolly, was one of the survivors of the Mutiny.

The Kasim Bagh cemetery, surrounded by walls, will be found behind the Maude Lines. The mutineers wrought such havoc here that it is not possible to say when burials commenced ; but from an inscription of 1825 it is clear that both cemeteries were used simultaneously. Seven inscriptions only are left, two of which are after the Mutiny.

1. " In memory of John Coulson Pyle. Born 17th December 1807. Died 14th March 1846."

2. " Sacred to the memory of Frederick Pyle, son of John Coulson and Margaret Pyle. Born 16th November 1840. Died 25th June 1842."

3. '' In memory of Margaret, wife of J. C. Pyle, who departed this life at Furukabad on the 8th October 1843, aged 29 years 11 months and 8 days.[11]

J. C. Pyle is mentioned in the records from 1830 onwards. He was at first a manufacturer of crude saltpetre, being agent for the then Civil Surgeon, Doctor Jeffreys, who was carrying on this business as a profitable side line. He lived in the Circular Road, the factory itself being in Naukhanda village, near the District Jail. In 1840 he became manager of the mineral waters factory of Kanhaya Lai in the Circular Road.

The Fatehgarh soda water factory merits special notice, tip to 1830, soda water was imported from Europe, and was expensive ; and since beer was mostly drunk during the decade from 1820, there was no great demand for it. Brandy then supplanted beer, and after 1830 soda water was in greater request, In 1835, a large concern was started in Fatehgarh Town, and Pyle became its manager. Fatehgarh then supplied the whole country around.

Memoirs written in the thirties make mention of the Fatehgarh sodas. In 1932 in the course of brick-making operations on the site of Pyle's old premises, large quantities of old fashioned soda water bottles were unearthed. Beyond being recorded as the inventor of a complicated water pump for the, use of the Jail, Pyle disappears from view after 1840.

4. " Sacred to the memory of Coir. Sergeant J, Clements, H. ATS. 80th Regt., who departed this life on the 28th April A. D. 1858, aged 56 years 8 months, leaving a wife and 6 children to deplore his irreparable loss. Deeply regretted by all who knew him. This tomb was erected by Paymaster W. Brown, 80th Regt.[11]

The 80th Regt, is now the 2nd Bu., The South Staffordshire Regiment. A wing of this regiment only arrived in Fatehgarh on the 25th April, three days before Clements died, having escorted the Commander-in-Chiefs camp from Cawnpore. It took over guard of the Fort from the 82nd Foot.

5. " Sacred to the memory of Alfred and Charles Alfred, infant sons of Henry and Maria Babonau, who departed this life on the 22nd December 1825 and on the 27th September 1827, aged one year six months ten days, and one year one month and sixteen days.[1,]

Henry Babonau, 1765-1834, was an assistant commissary of Ordnance, 1818. Deputy Commissary in 1823, when he came to Fatehgarh. He was a warrant officer, and had been given a commission as local cornet in the 2nd (Borlasės) Rampura Local Cavalry in 1818, but reverted to his warrant officer's rank. In 1829 he signed a memorial to Government, prepared by the civilian inhabitants of Cantonments. He died iu Calcutta in 1834. Buried in the Bhawanipore cemetery at Calcutta.

6. " Sacred to the memory of Wilfrid Hine, born 25th April 1789 in the county of Cumberland, England, died at Futtyghur 4th Feby. 1855, aged 65 years 9 months 10 days, leaving six sorrowing sons and a large circle of relations and friends."

Hine was an invalid warrant officer, who made his home at Fatehgarh. He was originally a conductor in the Ordnance, and

figures in the annual registers from 1832 both as a pensioner and a merchant. In 1842 he was superintendent of the road-making operations at Gursahaiganj ; but his accounts being found in disorder by the Road Committee he was dismissed. The family lived in the Circular Road, and later on the site of the Gracey Club in the Company Garden. Two of the sons escaped in the Mutiny. They were then working as Head Clerk and Judicial Clerk respectively in the Collector's office, and made their way to friendly villages. One of them, W. Hine, was living in 1880. See " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny" for the account of their escape.

7. " In memory of Thomas Emmanuel, son of Adam and Emma Anthony. Born at Allahabad 9th Novr. 1859 and after a few days full of trouble mercifully gathered by the Good Shepherd into the fold above on the 26th July 1861."

There are a few tombs of interest in the District outside Fatehgarh.

1. A brick tomb at Chhibramau by a deserted indigo factory. Nothing has been discovered as to the identity of the person buried in it.

2. At Mehndi Ghat on the Ganges, near Kanauj, in the Idgah enclosure, and close to the old indigo factory are three tombs. The following is the only legible inscription left. " Sacred to the memory of Matilda, beloved wife of Edward John Chandler, aged 20 years, 11 months and 17 days, died 80th August 1855."

This lady was connected with the family of a military pensioner, named Sergeant-Major Chandler, who lived in No. 14 Bungalow at Fatehgarh. Her husband must have been an assistant in the Maxwell, or Packard factory, close by.

!i. On a hill overlooking the spot where the Kali Nadi used to How into the Ganges, and two miles east of Serai Miran, is a tall pyramid with the remains of armorial bearings on its sides. A few feet to the east of this pyramid is a massive tomb with rounded top, and some distance to the rear of it is a small tomb, which is almost flat with the ground. These are the tombs of an officer, his

horse and dog, drowned when crossing the Kali Nadi in flood. In September 1885 Mrs. Fanny Parks visited this tomb on her way by boat to Fatehgarh, and in her book " The Wanderings of a Pilgrim " she describes the officer as a colonel, although she does not give his name. The pyramid was always whitewashed in those days to serve as a navigation mark for boats sailing on the Ganges.

The tomb appears to be that of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Wharton, who commanded the 5th N. C. He raised this regiment at Ghazipur in 1800. He was drowned in the Kali Nadi on the 21st January 1802. At the battle of Bitaurah in 1794 he was second in command to his brother-in-law, Richard Ramsay, both having married (laughters of Samuel Skardon. (See notice of Samuel Skardon's epitaph in the Fort cemetery).

4. " Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel John Guthrie of Kilmarnock in Scotland, n Peer of the Mogul Empire. He was born the 6th of March 1749, and departed this life on the 18th October, in consequence of a wound received at the assault on the Fort of Tateeah, 30th September 1803."

The tomb is a square block of brickwork, situated in a grove in sight of the high mound, on which the old fort of Thatia formerly stood. The Raja of Thatia in Pargana Tirwa refused to recognise the cession of the District in 1802, and took up arms. Guthrie commanded the column which reduced the Fort. He was a cadet in 1771 at the age of 22 years, and, if this date is correct, he was a rather elderly cadet for those days. He served through the operations in the Doab in 1776, and the battle of Koraṅ. He was a captain in the 33rd Bn. of Sepoys in 1787. He raised the 1/16th N. I., a regiment which took his name, and afterwards became the 3rd Brahmans. This battalion, " Guthrie-ki-paltan ", was present in the action at Thatia. Guthrie was hit by a spent ball, and apparently died from lack of proper medical attention. His tomb is whitewashed annually at the expense of Government.

CHAPTER VI.

KASIM BAGH, THE OLD JAIL, AND BARHPUR.

ALF a mile south-west of the Fort is Kasim Bagh and its old cemetery, now hidden behind the Regimental Lines. The remains of the ruined tomb of Kasim Bangash still remain, and it is from this tomb that the name of the area is derived. Kasim was the father-in-law of Nawab Mohammad Khan, the Bangash founder of the City. Kasim was killed on this spot by Hindoo robbers of the Bam tela tribe; and it was his murder, which served as a pretext for Nawab Mohammad Khan to seize the Bamtela lands, and build the City upon them.

Kasim Bagh is an area to the west of the cemetery, at present containing a small dilapidated bungalow, which forty years ago served as an Indian Infantry hospital, the remnants of some old Indian Infantry lines, and the railway workshops. Prior to the Mutiny, Kasim Bagh was outside the Cantonment, and consisted of a grove surrounded by a wall, and a compound with house, warehouses, and other appurtenances. This compact property was styled Kasim Bagh, and the first owner was Mr. James Donnithorne, Collector of the District, 1808 to 1817, who grew strawberries and peaches on it. It then passed into the hands of another Civilian, Mr. Henry Swetenham, who in 1823, sold the whole property for Rs. 1,500, to James Mercer. Kasim Bagh deteriorated in value ; and it does not appear to have been desirable for business purposes. After a year or two Mr. Mercer, himself a trader amongst other occupations, transferred the whole area to Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., merchants of Calcutta, who in their turn let it go for Rs. 500 in 1828 to Mr. James Carshore. Mr. Carshore was not long owner; for in less than 3 months he passed on his title to one Babil Gur Mohan for the same sum. Kasim BagVs last appearance in the records was in 1847, when it figured as security for a loan, and the transaction was registered by its erstwhile owner, Mr. James Mercer. The grove and its wall has gone. The tomb has nearly gone, and save for an insignificant thatched bungalow and a hamlet near the railway, there are no signs of this property to be seen.

The old Indian Infantry Lines belong to post-Mutiny times, and were the home usually of two companies from Agra. A short metalled road, which led to the Quarter Guard, can still be seen on the north side of the Qadri Gate Road, before reaching the railway boundary. The Qadri Gate Road was planted with 1,000 trees by Mr. Middleton (Magistrate 1826-29), and in 1834, Mr. Shore, the Magistrate, planted 494 more up to the Qadri Gate.

Kasim Bagh also covers the area of the Railway Engine Shed and workshops, which date from after 1880. For many years the district administration was carried on here. It cannot be said where the first courts were set up; but in October 1807, Government bought two bungalows for Rs. 9,000, both of which were already very old; and as subsequent transactions show, they were grossly overvalued. In January 1810 one of them became unfit for use, and was bought at the sale for Rs. 700 by the then Collector, Mr. Donnithorne. This gentleman was exceedingly astute ; for it was his intention to acquire a property, on which he could reside in this locality. He built himself a house, which has been described as a very fine one by the Marquis of Hastings, who stayed in it. The remaining bungalow, which continued to be used as the district offices, was 30 yards away. Mr. Donnithorne had it condemned in 1814, and its sale was sanctioned. Mr. Donnithorne was naturally the purchaser at the moderate price of Rs. 600. Government was suspicious ; but the Collector graphically describing the horrors of the old building, convinced the authorities that it was the ground he wanted and not the worthless building. His reports indicate the extreme discomfort in which officials worked in those early days. This old court house, he says, had only brick walls up to the top of the doors. Above that level the walls were mud, the whole surmounted by thatch. The largest room was 22 feet square, and 300 persons daily tried to get into it. The treasury work was carried on in a verandah room 22 by 10 feet. The district records and English letter books were kept in two recesses in the wall. It was only *in* 1814, after the building had besn sold, that Government allowed the Collector to buy two cupboards at Rs. 50 each. The district courts were then moved to the Mint building (see chap. VII), and functioned there up to 1829.

The result of Mr. Donnithorne's exertions was a square property with a residence, extending from the main road in a northerly direction. The centre of it is now occupied by railway workshops. He resided here for most of his long term of thirteen years' office as Collector, and formed a habitation, which was the object of much admiration to the rest of the Station. The compound was entered through a large gate house. At the end of the drive was the mansion itself, described as very extensive and convenient. The garden around the house was laid out with shrubs and lawns. In front of it was a square tank, filled with " red and green " fish, and with a fountain in the middle. A well, with Persian wheel attached, was another of the curiosities of the garden. The Marquis of Hastings was well content with this country house, which became the scene of many princely entertainments. Mr. Donnithorne, too, peacefully living out his old age at St. Agnes in Cornwall, must often have recalled this spot to his memory, a home of which not a vestige of its former magnificence now remains above ground. He left in 1822, and four years later the property was sold to Mr. Middleton, the Judge. On his transfer in 1829, the house passed to Sah Behari Lai, by whose name it was known up to the coming of the Railway. When Mr. Middleton left Fatehgarh in 1829, and sold the house to Sah Behari Lai, the Collector (Mr. Nisbet) took the house on a monthly rent of Rs. 150 to contain the District offices, which thus returned from the Mint to the site of their old abode. On Mr. Nisbet's departure from the District, the Collector's office migrated a second time to the Mint for about three years. In 1883 it became a cholera hospital during the severe epidemic in September of that year. From 1834 to 1838 it became for the last time the seat of the District Courts, and then a private residence. In 1849 the officiating Collector, Mr. Thompson, was living in it. It was described as a large, square, and well built house. It lasted down to 1880.

By proceeding in the direction of the City through the railway quarter, the site of the old Jail at Lakhula Bagh will be reached. Lakhula Bagh itself is not without a history of vivid interest. The word " Lakhula " is derived from " lakh," one hundred thousand, arid " wara," a plantation. The place was known alternatively as " Lakhpera ", the grove

of a hundred thousand trees. Kaim Khan, the second Bangash Nawab, planted it, as it was near to his fort at New Amethi, where he lived before succeeding his father, Nawab Mohamed Khan, in 1743. The plantation then covered 158 acres, and formed a park of regal proportions, within the boundaries of which the camps of distinguished visitors were always laid out. In 1771 the Emperor Shah Alam set up the imperial head-quarters here, and he was the first of many high dignitaries to honour the grove with his residence. It was the headquarters also of the infamous "Dooby-ki-paltan" in 1857, which pitched its tents in the only remaining portion of the old park, then called the " Bhirra Bagh ".

A letter, dated the 19th June 1815, gives an interesting account of the visit of the son of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, who came in that month to compliment the Governor-General, then staying in Mr. Donnithorne's house, upon the success of the Nepal War. The visitor was accompanied by a suite of 15,000 persons, and this small army stayed nearly a fortnight! Accomodation for the visitors was made in the Lakhula Park in accordance with custom. On the 15th June the young Prince went to break-fast with the Marquis of Hastings, or Lord Moira, as he was then more generally called. Mr. Deane (a Commissioner for the Ceded Provinces) and Mr. Donnithorne sent a quantity of peaches from their gardens, which were presented to the visitor. On the 17th the Governor-General returned the visit, and two days later the Prince and his chief attendants went to dinner with him. The Marquis wrote in his journal that " such a ceremony is an oppressive service at this season ; but as there was much cordiality, it went off well ". A letter from Fatehgarh contains the following description of these festivities:

> " We have had very splendid doings here lately. The present Nawab Vizier's son, Nuziroodeen Hyder, a boy of about ten years of age and nominally Prime Minister, has come over with a retinue of 15,000 men and all the magnificent accompaniments of an Eastern court to visit Lord Moira. He entered Futtyghur on the 14th and pitched his camp near Lac Para, a garden belonging to the Nawab of Furruckabad, about 1½ miles from cantonments. He breakfasted with his Lordship, all the station being invited. Mr. Swinton, the

Persian Secretary, and Capt. Huthwaite, the Persian Interpreter, [Ksrformed the ceremony of meeting him one Stage from this, and accompanied him to his camp. The same gentlemen proceeded to the camp on the 15th, and attended the honorary procession to the Government Bungalow. The Nawabcame in great state, accompanied by Mr. Baillie, brother of Major Baillie, and Assistant to the Residency, and Aga Meer, the present Dew an, and was received by his Lordship with marked attention. After partaking of breakfast, which was laid for sixty, the Nawab returned home, and Aga Meer remained to transact business with Lord Moira.

On the Kith the whole station having been invited to accompany the Governor-General, his Lordship proceeded in State to return the Nuwab's visit. The retinue was exceedingly magnificent. First, the camel corps, 200 strong, preceded by two jinjals (swivel guns) ; second, a party of the bodyguard ; third, a party of irregulars ; fourth, a body of spearsmen with flags ; fifth, the Governor-General's carriage with four horses ; sixth, the Governor-General's led horses, sumptuously caparisoned ; seventh, peons; eighth, Lord Moiva, his personal staff, secretaries and gentlemen of the station, on elephants which were finely decorated with jhools. Mr. Baillie and the Dewan were also on elephants. They had come to attend his Lordship early in the morning. They were followed by another party of the bodyguard, in all *WO* and about 150 of the Nuwab's irregular horse.

The morning was delightfully cool, a north-wester having fortunately come on during the night, and the cavalcade as it moved through the town along the circuitous road leading to the Nawab's encampment had a most beautiful and picturesque effect (the Nuwab's camp was in the eastern portion of the Lakhula Bagh and on the Amethi Road. Hence the Governor-General had to proceed down the Qadri Gate Road to the City and then turn round into the Amethi Road). When about hallway we first discovered the camp which is situated in a thick grove of trees; and being composed of various coloured materials, it sparkled with great brilliancy. For a considerable distance before we reached the encampment the road was lined by irregular horse,

and followers of the Nuwab on horseback ; the Nmvah's troops drawn out in Hue; his camel corps dressed iu yellow and red ; his bodyguard, and last of all his escort commanded by au European officer. The bands of each corps struck up as we passed them. A Unit S£00 yards from the encampment the Nuwab, attended by several persons of distinction on elephants, met Lord Moira, and exchanged salutations with his Lordship. On his Lordship's arrival a salute of cannon was fired. The Nuwab taking Lord Moira's hand led him, followed by all his suite, into a spacious tent, spread with white cloth, and all the gentlemen were introduced to him by Lord Moira. The party were then shown into the breakfast apartment, which was under a large canopy, where they sat down to a long table covered with every kind of delicacy and refreshment, the Nuwab's band playing a variety of English airs with considerable taste and skill. During breakfast a troop of nautch girls were introduced, who danced and sang; then tumblers, and finally a theatrical representation.

When breakfast was finished the Nuwab led his Lordship and suite into an apartment formed of canauts (canvas screens) and a semiana (canopy), spread with white carpets, where a variety of trays were displayed, containing shawls, and gold and silver tissue. At one end of the apartment was a transparency, representing the portrait of Lord Moira, an excellent likeness copied from Mr. Home's admirable picture at Lucknow. The frame was covered with rich cut glass double branch shades by which it was lighted at night. On each side of the picture was a coach, splendidly adorned. The presentation of nugirs (ceremonial presents) followed, after which his Lordship and suite departed with the same ceremony and honours as were observed on his arrival.

Lord Moira has presented the Nuwab with his beautiful grey English horse, decorated with costly accoutrements in the Hindostanee fashion. This valuable horse is well known in Calcutta, and has with another horse of equal beauty, a chestnut, been much admired for strength and fine carriage. They belonged to the Prince Regent, who gave them to Lord Moira on his leaving England. The Nuwab

expressed great delight in receiving so valuable a present. His Highness and suite dine with Lord Moira this evening, and the whole station have been invited to meet him. To-morrow the Nuwab returns the honour. It is supposed that he will leave Futtyghur on the first of next month.

We have the liveliest pleasure in stating that Lady Loudoun (Flora, Countess of Loudoun in her own right, married Lord Moira 1804. Died 1826.) is recovering rapidly from her late indisposition, chiefly in consequence of the favourable change of the weather. Her Ladyship was as well on the 20th as to be able to accompany His Excellency the Governor-General and the Nuwab to visit the Furrukbabad Mint. Lord Moira continues in excellent health.[1]'

It was opposite to the enclosure of the Lakhula Park, on the southern side of the (*)adri Gate Road, that Mr. Ahmuty, the second District Magistrate, selected a site for the District Jail, and Mr. Cockburn, the first Collector, acquired the land for him. The acquisition papers are still preserved, and constitute one of the oldest existing files of the Collector's office. In the " Fatehgarh-nama " there is also a very complete plan of the Jail, showing the interior arrangements ; and for the fifty-one years of its existence on this spot records are available in such quantities that it would be possible to compile an account in minute detail. More, in fact, is known about the old Jail than about any other Government institution of pre-Mutiny times. In addition, the " Fntehgarh-nama " devotes many pages to the biographies of celebrated criminals, who were interned in it. This Jail was not the first one. A Jail was set up by Mr. Grant, the first District Magistrate, in 180fJ somewhere in the City. The institution of a Jail was the very first measure of the new administration ; for the Bnngash Nawabs handed over their territory in a state of turmoil. Viscount Valentia, who stayed with Mr. Grant in 180ft, noted that he had seventy murderers in Jail awaiting trial. Mr. Grant died in 1804 before the Jail was properly completed, and in that very year, when Holkar made his raid on the City, the prisoners were able to break jail with ease. A reward of Rs. 25 was offered for the capture of each. One prisoner, who was under trial for murder, was taken twelve years later, and the reward for him

was paid in 1817. Hardly had the Jail started than Government decided on a new one at Lakhula Bagh, which was nearer to the Courts at Kasim Bagh. In 1806 it was built at a cost of Rs. 20,000, and Rs. 13,000 more had to be sanctioned in 1816 for its extension. From that date up to the Mutiny the buildings remained unchanged with one notable exception of a mill house, over which much official correspondence was created.

The internal arrangements were very much as they are in a modern Jail, and were never varied. In 1856 the hospital was located temporarily in the Commissariat Godown behind Colonelganj, but the distance was too far, and tbe hospital on the premises was enlarged. For over thirty years the prisoners were fed by contract, the diet allowance being nine pies per diem for each up to 1830, in which year the allowance was raised to one anna, grain having become dear. In 1838 the system of rations was introduced in place of the daily allowance of money.

The exact site of the Jail can be traced. It was situated on the southern side of the road to the City and a few yards beyond the first furlong, after the first mile stone. The eastern end of the Jail was on a level with a small mosque, which still is to be seen by the road side, nearly opposite the third furlong. The famous mill house was where the brick kilns now stand ; and it is interesting to note that this very plot, number 200 in Masaini village, is called by the villagers today the " Chakki khana," or mill house. This is an example of the exactness of tradition in Indian villages, and a memorial of the Hon. F. J. Shore, who when serving as Magistrate in 1832 was responsible for initiating this form of jail labour. He decided to instal a treadmill. The idea was to make the convicts grind com instead of loafing outside the Jail, picking at the roads, or cleaning ditches, which were their normal occupations. He built a mill house outside the western wall of the Jail. A long shaft passed from the mill house through the Jail wall into the interior, where the convicts made it revolve. This project cost Government Rs. 1,087. The treadmill not only failed to work ; but it became the chief object of interest in the Station and the official bugbear of successive District Officers. For nearly five years the Government, the District Magistrate, and Mr. Shore at Dehra Dun carried on a voluminous correspondence over its eccentricities. Captain

Boileau tinkered at it occasionally, when the work of making roads at Gursahaiganj permitted; while Lieutenant Showers of the 14th N. I. amused himself in 1839 with its plans and estimates. The truth is that Mr. Shore had miscalculated, as he admitted from his retreat in Dehra Dun, and he suggested to the harassed Government the insertion of an additional intermediate wheel, the cost of which he offered to pay out of his own pocket.

The Jail was divided into eight wards, each holding sixty convicts. It was nearly always overcrowded, when the convicts had no work outside. In 1834 the Jail population was 1,132, and in the year before the monthly average was 1,100. The casualties in 1833 were exceptionally heavy, nineteen deaths being reported for the first six months alone. In 1835 the numbers fell to 495. A jail return in this year shows that 107 convicts only were actually in the wards, the remainder being employed on the Cawnpore Road ; 21 of the inmates were in hospital; 18 in the female ward ; *66* undergoing simple imprisonment; and 2 suffering imprisonment for life in solitary confinement cells. Desperate characters, like dacoits and thugs, were sent by river to the Alipore Jail at Calcutta, and fifty per cent, of them escaped on the way. A return of 1846 contains the names of one jailor and two assistant jailors as superior staff. Subordinate to them was a tumandar, or commander (over 8 duffedars and 90 burkandazes), 2 drawers of water, 3 sweepers, 1 blacksmith for rivetting fetters, 1 executioner, and 2 doctors. There were extra burkandazes, or guards, for gangs on labour outside the Jail.

The convicts were employed on public works. They pulled the punkha in the district courts and hospitals in the hot weather. They worked under Lieutenant Weller in making the Grand Trunk Road ; under Captain Boileau at Khudaganj ; under Captain Lumsden in transporting kankar stone; and on the roads in the City and Cantonments. Each gang of *five* was watched by one burkandaz ; and in 1829 the muster rolls show that 596 convicts were at work, under the guard of 119 burkandazes. It was easy to requisition a gang for use in Cantonments, and constant squabbles took place between officials, who wanted their services. In 1834 Captain Boileau, the road maker, bitterly complained of the Gun Carriage Agent, Major Fulton, who had purloined his gangs,

and made them work inside the Fort. The records indicate that the work of the convicts was bad. They pretended to mend roads, and clean drains. They had much liberty in the day, and were only locked up at night. Their friends were able to see them, pass them sweets and tobacco, and converse with them by the connivance of the guards. Convict labour soon fell into disfavour, and it was complained they often did more harm than good. In 1831 Mrs. Potter wrote to the District Magistrate, and said the convicts had ruined the drains around her house (south of No. 14). The Magistrate sent back a detachment to put them right again.

The old Jail disappeared in the Mutiny, not before witnessing a dramatic scene. On the 7th June 1857 the prisoners shook off discipline, having appointed several of their number as generals and colonels. Captain Vibart arrived to quell the riot, and was driven off by a volley of stones. A company of the 10th N. I., which eleven days later itself broke into mutiny, was ordered down to the Jail, and made short work of the rioters by killing seven, including the chief general, and wounding eight more. On the 18th following, the sepoys opening the jail doors, released the inmates, and destroyed the buildings.

A cross road from near the site of the old Jail leads to the Lid Gate Road and to Barhpur. The Mission station at Barhpur was founded by the American Presbyterian Mission, probably about a year after the Rakha settlement. The date and circumstances of the founding of the Mission here are obscure, and the question is discussed in chapter XII in the account of Rakha. About 1841 Mr. Rankin seems to have placed the establishment on a sound footing. The district records indicate the existence of a chapel and two bungalows to the west of the road. The educational side of the Mission's activities were best known. The Boys' High School (mentioned in 1839), was developed in 1845, when it took the place of the Government institution in Farrukhabad, and occupied the same premises, which in turn were handed over to the present Mission Girls' School. Barhpur, like Rakha, was destroyed in the Mutiny, and many of the Indian workers driven away. The Headmaster of the School, Dhaukal Pershad, was with his family murdered in the parade ground massacre. The two missionaries in charge, Messrs. A. O. Johnson and

D. E. Campbell, took refuge with their families at Rakha. They escaped in the boats to Cawnpore, and were killed in the massacre of the Fatehgarh residents on the 12th June. Miss Mary Johnson and Miss Rachel Mitchell, relations of the Revd. A. O. Johnson, still maintain the family connection with local branches of the Mission. On the eastern side of the road is the Memorial Hospital of the Mission under the direction of Doctor Adelaide Woodard and Miss S. L. McRobbie. The name of the Hospital perpetuates the memory of the sacrifices of the Fatehgarh Mission during the Mutiny, a full account of which will be found in a book by the Revd. J. J. Walsh, called " A Memorial of Fatehgarh," and in " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny."

Satanpur village, opposite the cemetery of the Mission, formed occasion for some of the reminiscences of Mrs. Fanny Parks. In her " Wanderings of a Pilgrim" Mrs. Parks recounts that she came to Fatehgarh on the (jth April 1835 to stay a month with Mr. Henry Swetenham, the Judge, who was a relation of hers. She came to Satanpur to visit a Mahratta princess, styled H. H. the Baiza Bai, who had been exiled from Gwalior, and allowed by the Government to take up her residence in an old indigo factory. The account of the Baiza Bai's surroundings is good reading. It is only sufficient to say here that the house was surrounded by a wall of some extent, and that two tame rhinoceroses were to be seen galloping about the grounds. The Baiza Bai being a high personage was supervised by a political officer named Captain Ross, who lived in a camp close by. She had arrived with a small army in February of the year before ; and the residents of Fatehgarh were not unnaturally apprehensive. The Government commanded the Magistrate to adopt " such precautions as the residence of a large body of men in the neighbourhood may render necessary." This was easier said than done, for the 1st N. I. in Cantonments was greatly under strength.

Mrs. Parks had barely left, when 500 of the Baiza Bai's troops broke into open mutiny, and with 4 guns went to Captain Ross's camp. The non-payment of arrears and the appointment of an unpopular commandant by the Baiza Bai were the chief causes. The confidential reports of the Commissioner show that a contributory cause was disaffection, stirred

up by secret agents from Gwalior. A large body of troops, however, remained staunch at the indigo factory, and were ordered to attack the mutineers. There was a good fusillade, mainly of blank cartridges. One man was killed and two wounded. Some arrears of pay were doled out by the Baiza Bai, and with the unpopular commander flying for his life to Gwalior, the incident closed for the time being.

The Commissioner, Mr. Boulderson, was fully alive to the danger. The Magistrate, Mr. F. R. Robinson, submitted an almost daily bulletin, founded on reports by spies. At the beginning of September the undisciplined soldiery of the Baiza Bai began to show renewed discontent. They claimed seven months' arrears of pay, while the Baiza Bai would only admit 3£ months ; but the truth is that the Mahrattas were heartily sick of their surroundings. At this juncture Mrs. Parks makes her second arrival in Fatehgarh, and is advised by Mr. Swetenham not to go to Barhpur. The Baiza Bai had 2,360 armed retainers, of whom 900 were horsemen, 4 guns, and over 5,000 camp followers. This little army was quartered in lines by the road, and one of the camp wells is still pointed out in Satanpur. In Fatehgarh the 1st N. I. had a full strength of only 460. Deducting guards, sick, and those wanted for necessary duties, the regiment could only muster 200 men. The Officer Commanding, Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch (1790-1862), therefore, requisitioned two guns from the Fort under Lieutenant Ellis, R. A. (died at Fatehgarh 14th December 1835).

At 5 p. m. on the 8th September the Baiza Bibi sent word to Mr. Swetenham that her men were out of control, and had arrested five of her agents. Colonel Tulloch with his troops, Lieutenant Ellis and the two guns from the Fort, accompanied by Mr. Robinson (died 1856) and Mr. Rose, his joint Magistrate, reached the Satanpur Lines after dark. The Baiza Bai's four guns were secured, and most of the night parleys went on with the mutineers. At daybreak they still refused to give up their prisoners, or lay down their arms. Colonel Tulloch ordered a bayonet charge, which was successful. The mutineers threw down their arms after a slight resistance, being hastened by a discharge of grape from Lieutenant Ellis' guns. Six mutineers were killed and twelve wounded ; but

two of the Baiza Bai's agents had been murdered. Seven sepoys were wounded, and Mr. Robinson in addition. The latter had indeed a marvellous escape. On two mutineers threatening him with daggers, Jte closed, and grasped them both by the throat. While pushing them backwards, Mr. Robinson fell into a well, and the others fell on top of him. A desperate fight ensued at the bottom, and Mr. Robinson was stabbed, before the sepoys came and bayonetted his assailants. These riots decidded Government. The 71st N. I. and a squadron of the 5th Cavalry were sent from Cawnpore under Colonel Dick, and troops from Maippuri in addition. The Baiza Bai's establishment was broken up, and she was deported to Benares *via* Cawnpore and Allahabad, at both of wfyich places Mrs. Parks visited her again.

It is possible to trace the foundations of the house, in which Mrs. Parks visited the Baiza Bai, and tried her Arab's paces in the compound. There are still plots in Mauza Satanpur known as the " *Bai ki koththwalla khet* " ; and an ancient well of large dimensions is on the site. Proceeding towards the City, and after the Mission bungalows, the visitor will turn off the main road by the house of Babu Gendan Lai, and proceed along a foot path, until the railway line is crossed. To the east and parallel to the railway line are thirteen plots. Number 12 contains the well. To the west of the well is the site of the house, which with its garden lay between the well and the point were the footpath crosses the railway. The footpath leads one and a half miles across the main road to the Tonka Ghat on the Ganges. It was at this place that Mrs. Parks moored her pinnace for the inspection of the Baiza Bai. She recorded the impression made on her by the temples and high cliffs over the ghat, crowded with gaily dressed Mahratta horsemen and attendants.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CANTONMENTS.

THE oldest maps available indicate that up to the Mutiny the Cantonment was a small area, which only included the officers[1] houses and the Lines of the infantry. In the eighteenth century there had been no necessity to demarcate any cantonment, since the whole of Fatehgarh, town included, was under military control, and the Civil Lines did not exist at ail. When the garrison declined in 1805, the area known as Cantonments came into being to distinguish the exclusively military area from that which was devoted to the civil administration. For some reason the boundaries did not include the Fort. The present Maude Lines, the Park where now is the Officers' Mess and No. 4 Bungalow, and half of Colonelganj were outside. The other half of Colonelganj, the present Quarter Guard, and War Memorial were only just inside. The boundaries were illogical and awkward. Accordingly, Sir Colin Campbell had them changed in 1858, and they were made to run as they do today.

The houses have decreased in number from the seventy of 1829 to eighteen. They were numbered one to twenty in 1880, and they still preserve their numbers, although Nos. 1 and 3 have disappeared within the last ten years. With the exception of the Indian Military Hospital, which is not numbered as a residence, there are no houses at present which escaped destruction in the Mutiny. The mutineers extracted beams and doorposts for firewood, and during the five months of the mutineers' rule, the mud walls and thatch of each house crumbled to ruin. In 1859 the Collector served notices on the old house owners to repair them. In cases of default a committee, formed by the Judge and two others, valued the ruins, and had them sold by auction. The old house lists of the Cantonment office have disappeared ; and reliance has had to be made on the laconic entries in the settlement registers of 1833, or on a few sale deeds in the Registrar's office, in order to gain a little information about them.

The Mint.

The house north-west of the Indian Military Hospital is generally known as the "Tarwalla Bungla", having been the headquarters of the Superintendent of Telegraphs and Post Offices after 1860. Since it occupies the site of the famous Farrukhabad Mint, the house is called "Dar-ul-Zarb" in the records, and "Taksal", another word for mint, even at the present day.

Kanauj, once the capital of northern India, had a mint for copper coinage in the sixteenth century. It has been suggested that the Bangash Nawabs abolished it, when they decided to set up their mint for silver coins. At any rate, shortly after 1714 Nawab Mohamed Khan, the founder of the City, established a mint in the small village of Husainpur in front of the Fort at Fatehgarh. The first coins issued were in the name of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, after whom this district is named. This mint reached its highest development during the reign of the third Bangash Nawab, Ahmad Khan, who died in 1771 and was buried in the Bihisht Bagh, or Garden of Paradise, by the Mau Gate of the City. From him comes the name Ahmadnagar, which appears on the coins along with the name Farrukhabad, and these coins are commonly to be obtained in the local bazars even today. The name Ahmadnagar is usually understood to be the name of a place, and its conjunction with that of Farrukhabad has led to confusion. Coins bearing this name, however, are the issues of Nawab Ahmad Khan, and were struck from the reign of the Emperor Alamgir II onwards. Ahmad Khan had such fondness for new coins, that it is related he used to have every issue spread out on the ground in the open air before him. His servants astutely took advantage of this mania of his, and covering the soles of their feet with wax, were wont to walk over the rupees again, and again, and in this manner steal not a few of them. When the Nawab saw fewer bags of rupees left than had come to him from the Mint, he remarked that they must have shrunk from exposure to the sun !

The Bangash mint continued to function in Husainpur after the setting up of Fatehgarh Cantonment. Between 1777 and 1805, when

Fatehgarh became one of the mint towns of the East India Company under the name of Farrukhabad, the coins conformed to the prevailing type of the Emperor Shah Alam coinage, but with this difference that the regnal year of the Emperor was occasionally changed. Between 1788 and 1796 the coins indicated the year fil of the Emperor's reign on the reverse side, irrespective of khe Mohamedan date. After 1796 the coins show the year 39 of ths Emperor's reign, and from 1803 onwards the familiar year 45 appears, which is most generally to be seen on all coins procurable today.

In 1802 the management of the Mint passed to the East India Company, which continued up to 1824 to coin rupees with the name of the Emperor, Shah Alam, at Fatehgarh, and up to 1835 at Calcutta. Regulation XLV of 1803 contained the following order:

> '• A silver coin to be denominated the Lucknow sicca rupee of the 45th sun (year), struck in the mint of Farrukhabad, corresponding in weight and standard with the sicca rupee at present struck at Lucknow in the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, and thence denominated the Lucknow rupee, is hereby declared to be the established and legal silver coin in the provinces ceded by the Nawab Vizier to the East India Company."

The same Regulation XLV directed the establishment of a mint at or in the vicinity of the town of Farrukhabad. Half and quarter rupees were also to be coined. The Lucknow 45th sun sicca rupee, as established by this regulation, was to be exactly like the 19th sun sicca rupee, in the Mint at Calcutta. The term "sicca rupee", which occurs constantly in the records along with that of " sonat rupees " requires some explanation In the eighteenth century there was an amazing variety of coinages in India, called after the various mints, which produced them. On the 19th April 1794 the Governor-General in Council issued regulations for the conduct of the mints. Only the 19th sun rupee was to be received at the Public Treasuries, or Issued from them. The rupee was thus standardized at the four mints of Patna, Murshedabad, Dacca, and Calcutta. This rupee had its value determined by assays made in Calcutta, and after 1794 was the only rupee declared to be legal tender, being called the " sicca " rupee.

In compliance with an order of 1805 acquisition of the Mint house was made in May 1806 for Rs. 12,000. Work started the same year as soon as Mi. Robert Blake arrived from the Patna mint, and installed himself as the first Assay Master. The staff of the old Bangash mint was taken over, and since the work was entirely by manual labour at first, there was no difficulty in commencing to strike coins. Old customs, such as that of annually distributing charity to a number of Brahmans, were continued. The new establishment, however, had hardly begun its operations, when the building was struck by lightning on the #5th April 1807 and burnt to the ground. The new premises were laid out on a more extensive scale, there being separate buildings for the Assay office and the Mint. Several tiled sheds accommodated a dozen or more rough carts, which conveyed the treasure to other stations, and were called " tumbrils." There were also the usual godowns and store rooms. The Mint was visited on the 21st June 1815 by the Marquis of Hastings. The process of coining was displayed to the King of Oudh's minister, who had been brought by the Governor-General to view it. Mr. Blake was still in charge, and showed the two visitors a number of chemical experiments. By this date the Mint had become most active and was turning out sixty thousand rupees daily. In the early nineteenth century the Raja of Bharatpur was fined two million Farrukhabad rupees for taking part in the Mahratta War. It is evident that the rupees were circulating widely and in great numbers.

There are many references to the working of the Mint iu the district records up to 1884. The Collector was generally the " Mint Master," and he received an extra allowance of Rs. *S50* for this duty. The most important official was obviously the Assay Master, who was necessarily an expert, and under him was the Foreman. The two Robert Blakes, father and son, followed by Alexander Melville, are the most frequently mentioned Assay Masters. W. Stacy, a foreman, died in 1817, and from an application for pension by his widow some details about his training are available. He was an orphan at an early age. When he was fourteen years old he was taken from the Upper School of the Orphanage at Calcutta, and was placed in the Calcutta Mint as an apprentice to

Government. By 1817 he had served twenty-four years. At Calcutta he was paid Rs. 200 monthly and Rs. 250 at Fatehgarh.

The Farrukhabad rupee weighed 169*2 grains troy of which 158*2 grains were silver. It was in great favour even as late as 1882, when the Commissioner tried to have the Mint reopened at Fatehgarh. He remarked in his letter: " With landlord and tenant, it is a general practice, when their circumstances are prosperous, to melt down Farmkhabad rupees for ornaments for wives and children." The rupees come to light as buried treasure, sometimes in hundreds, and in 1934 the market price of a single rupee is ten annas. The coins are found to have three kinds of milling. In the period 1803-19 the old standard rupee was given an oblique milling. Upright milling characterizes coins struck at Fatehgarh from 1819 to 1824 and those struck at Calcutta from 1824 to 1833; while the Farrukhabad rupee made at Calcutta from 1833 to 1835 has a plain edge and a plain rim on the face. In 1835 the Company ordered coins to be struck with the portrait of King William IV. All Farrukhabad rupees, made by the East India Company, bear the date " 45th year of the reign of Shah Alam." The inscription on the obverse was as follows : *' The Emperor Shah Alam, Defender of the Mohamedan Faith, Reflector of the Divine Excellence, struck this coin to be current in the seven climes." On the reverse was written : " Struck at Farrukhabad in the 45th year of his prosperous reign."

The bulk of the staff were lowly-paid subordinates. Office correspondence was conducted by the Collector *of* the District, and his supervision was in proportion to the amount of interest he had in the work. Some Collectors, like H. Newnham, were experts in minting coins, and were continually improving apparatus. Under the Collector was the Assay Master, who seems to have lived on the premises. Mr. Robert Blake, senior, was responsible for the actual manufacture of coins from 1806 until his death in 1817. His work was his hobby, and added to his accomplishments in chemistry was a passion for collecting books on mints and the processes of coining, which produced a library worthy of being acquired by Government after his death. Neither his grave, nor that of Stacy, his foreman, who died in the same year at Fatehgarh, are traceable.

Mr. Alexander Melville was the next Assay Master. Robert Blake, junior, came from Bengal to take the place of Stacy. He was a worthy son of his father, and officiated as Assay Master on several occasions. The chief of the subordinate staff was the Superintendent of Meltings, who looked after a whole corps of " durabs," who were paid 4^ annas per cent for cutting up ingots and stamping them ; blacksmiths, who worked at forges ; carpenters ; purveyors of charcoal and wood ; and refiners, who melted down bullion and old coins. The refiners were heavily worked, for masses of coin were received daily from the public for re-coinage. In 1817 Dilsukh Rai, a mahajan of the City, brought 7,660 Benares rupees to the Mint for this purpose. The charges of refining were Rs. 57/7/2. There was at this period a mint at Benares, which coined a different rupee.

Mr. Newnham, the Mint Master in 1820, was responsible for supplanting manual labour by machinery. He had found two laminating and cutting machines lying in the storeroom, and by setting them up with improvements was able to produce fifty thousand coins by each machine as against the sixty thousand, which was the entire daily output of the Mint up to that time. A building was erected for the machines. Not only was the output increased, but the average cost of minting rupees was less. It cost Rs. 200 to make a lakh of rupees by using laminating machines and Rs. 512/8 by the malleating system. In 1820 the Mint was working letter than ever before under the new system, and other mints were supplied with machines. Twelve small cutting machines, for example, one laminating mill, and two stamping presses were sent to Benares. At the beginning of 1824 the Mint came to an end, and Mr. Newnham had to get the machinery sent to Calcutta by boat. A large pair of scales, and a box capable of holding six lakhs of rupees were the last relics of the old Mint, and were to be seen in the Treasury at the Collectorate down to the Mutiny. In August the Collector took possession of the buildings, and installed his office in them. The records are silent as to which building the Collector had vacated in order to come to the Mint. The old court house had been demolished in 1814 by Mr. Donnithorne, when he built a residence for himself on the site of the Engine Shed at Kasim Bagh.

The Mint was occupied up to 1829. In consequence of its bad state of disrepair in that year, it was abandoned by the Collector, Mr. Nisbet, who rented Donnithorne's old house for a year, until the Mint buildings had been patched up again. The main block was not suitable for the Collector's office. In 1832 Mr. Pidcock made a determined attempt to oust the Judge from his court house, and exchange the Mint for the more commodious building, which still is to be seen by the modern Collectorate office. From Mr. Pidcock's letters the rooms in the Mint appear to have l>een small. From his description the shape and arrangement of the building resembled that of the long narrow house, standing to-day upon the same place. It is obvious that the old foundations were utilised after the Mutiny for the modern house. The room, used by the Collector himself in 1832, was 23 feet by 17 feet in size, and as he complained : " respiration in the hot weather was a matter of great difficulty !" One of the Mint buildings in the compound was used as a guard room. The .** room in which records were stored, had a small gallery running round the walls to give access to "shelves near the ceiling. An interesting comment by the Judge, Mr. Shore, was that the Collector was nearer by a mile to the City and the Jail than he was. To modern residents this statement might seem impossible to understand ; but it must be remembered that the only road to the City then was the Qadri Gate Road, which runs by the parade ground to the Railway Lines, and the old Jail was on this road. The Judge also remarked that the Mint was half a mile nearer to the small Jail, by which he alluded to the Commissariat Godown behind Colonelganj. This place received the overflow of prisoners from " the great Jail " for many years.

In 1834 the Collector, having taken over the District Magistrate's office, returned to Sah Behari Lai's house. The Mint house remained empty. In 1844 Government sold the property for Rs. 1,475 to James Mercer, the Registrar. He sold it almost at once for Rs. 2,500 to Mrs. Charlotte Brierly, the wife of Joseph Brierly, the merchant. Both Charlotte Brierly and her husband perished in the Mutiny. Between this period and 1857 the house is invariably recorded as the residence of the " Kot Sahib Captan," who might possibly have been the Barrack

Master in charge of the Military Works Department. " Kothi Sahib Captan," or officer in charge of buildings, has been suggested as the full title. In 1857 the occupants were Lieutenant Monckton and his family, who were all killed at Cawnpore on Juue 12th, after escaping in the first boat flotilla. In 1858 Brigadier-General Seaton had his Brigade office here, when the Station was re-occupied. He was followed by the Superintendent of Telegraphs. Nearer to the present day the house was formed into quarters for the Ordnance Staff connected with the Gun Carriage Agency.

TIIK INDIAN MILITARY HOSPITAL.

This building from 18*31 to 18*37 was the palace of Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, Muntazim-ud-Dowlah, who was several times Vizier of Oudh. He was born about 1750, and raising himself from the condition of soldier of fortune to the highest posts in the State, he accumulated in the process a vast store of wealth, which led to his downfall. In 1819 he fell into disgrace and went into his first exile, arriving at Fatehgarh from Shahjahanpore about 1822. Two years later it is certain that he built the Military Engineer's Godown in front of the Fort as a hostel for travellers. In the course of the next ten years he executed many public works and acquired property in Fatehgarh. He constructed the suspension bridge at Khudaganj, the ruins of which remain to this day, the bridge having fallen into disuse after 1880. A well and a mosque in the Heysham Serai behind the Company Garden, the present Collector's residence, and this large house for his own use, were ready and in use within a few years of his arrival. Minor works, such as the bridge by the golf links, which were due to his initiative, are too numerous for mention. He built a school in the Town and set up a Kashmir Shawl Factory. In addition, he owned Nos. 4, 6\ and 20 Bungalows, the present Judge's house, Colonel Brown's house at Rakha, houses in Fatehgarh Town and Husainpur, and several walled gardens. In 1830 he was invited back to Luck now, but in March 1883 he was a second time exiled to Fatehgarh. When finally permission to return was given, the

old Nawab died after a few months ou the 25th December 1887. Ke was succeeded by his nephew, Munawwar-ud-Dowiah, or " the General," as he was called at Fatehgarh, who erected his mausoleum in Golaganj at Lucknow.

In the eighteenth century this compound was part of the Infantry Lines, and it was called " the right of the line." There is no record of the condition of the site, when the Nawab bought it. Fortunately, some description of the buildings as they were in 18529 and succeeding years, has been made by visitors, but there is no mention anywhere as to how the land was acquired. The compound was roughly square, for the triangular plot to the south-west was up to 1880 part of the parade ground. The entrance to the grounds was imposing, since one passed through a lofty gateway, surmounted by the musicians[1] gallery, and flanked by guard rooms. All traces of this gate disappeared after the Mutinyr It stood a few yards to the north of the present entrance, and about opposite to the entrance of Bungalow No. 3 and the tomb of Catherine P. In the south-western part of the enclosure was a walled garden, containing three fountains, and pooU filled with gold fish. Inside, long narrow rooms with verandahs, supported by columns, looked on to the garden. This collection of walls and buildings constituted the zenana, which was duly visited by Mrs. Fanny Parks.

The main building has been slightly changed by the addition of side verandahs and the walling up of its. fine portico, which was a facsimile of that still to be seen at the Collector's house, and of the kind known as " Elephant porticos," since they were high enough to allow of an elephant passing through. The rooms and the roof have been restored ; but the cement is still that of the original builder. The house was not damaged in the Mutiny, and at the reoccupation of Fatehgarh was turned into a military hospital. The centre room with its massive columns was used by Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan as his tazia khana ; and here were kept the tazias, or models of the tomb of King Hussain, only displayed at religious festivals. From the ceiling of the room hung a multitude *of* glass chandeliers of every colour and make. The other rooms of the house were crammed with curios. Down the centre of each ran long tables,

covered with valuable articles and also rubbish ; while around the walls were glass cases full of clocks, watches, swords, guns, and pistols. Several of the rooms were magnificently furnished in European style, the walls being covered with a profusion of pier glasses, mirrors, and badly coloured prints in beautiful frames. In every room French organs, clocks, and mechanical toys, struck an incongruous note. The house was more like a museum than the living quarters of its owner. The private Imambara, which he made for his own devotions, stands to the north of the house; and further on across the modern road were the coach house and stables for horses and elephants, which were then part of the compound and not cut off by any road as at present. The Nawab had here a stud of English and Arab horses, of which he was justly proud, and it was his habit to parade his horses for the inspection of visitors, who had been invited to breakfast. The road on the west, which now divides the Hospital compound from that of the Mint, was in use from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Instead, however, of veering to the east, it proceeded in a north-westerly direction towards the Fort, and cut through the Husainpur bazar. It can be traced now, and the remains of an old bridge, over which it passed, are to be seen half way. The eastern extension along the edge of No. 2 Compound was made after the Mutiny by Brigadier Seaton. When the house was turned into a British General Hospital in 1858, alterations were made in the compound, and the stables and other buildings were demolished. The old gate house and zenana were both levelled to the ground.

There are several accounts by contemporaries of this famous man's appearance, the best of which are by Mrs. Fanny Parks and Captain Mundy. He was of Persian descent and hailed from Kashmir. He was already over seventy years old, when he first came to Fatehgarh. In person he was tall, thin and rather bowed. His head was bald, and his features small, usually wearing a very bland expression. Mrs. Parks has described his costume on the occasion of his paying a call on her at the present Collector's house. He was attired in brown corduroy breeches, black leather boots, and gloves. He wore a dress of white flowered Dacca muslin and a coat of pale pink satin, embroidered in gold. On his head

was a turban of red and gold Benares tissue. He held a sword in his hand, while behind him a servant carried the huqqa. Mrs. Parks had met him in Lucknow in 1831 before the visit to Fatehgarh. Then he seemed an old man, sinking beneath the weight of years, with a totally bald head. At the reception of the King of Oudh he was almost unable to stand up by reason of the dresses of honour and shawls which he was wearing. The first dress of honour at this durbar was presented to him, but the dress being too small, the aged Nawab could only get one arm into it. He stood there shaking*, probably because he thought it was a bad omen, according to Mrs. Parks. It was an unlucky omen as it turned out. The old man was an inveterate intriguer, and his immense wealth made him a source of danger to the King of Oudh. It was only two years after this durbar that he was exiled again from Lucknow, Captain Mundy describes *a* dinner given to Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, on the 20th December 1828 in this house. Forty guests, including the ladies of the Station, sat down to this banquet. Lord Combermere had breakfast here on both his visits to Fatehgarh in 1827 and 1828. The table was always well served ; and on the removal of the cloth, it was the Nawab's custom to display French cuckoo clocks and musical boxes, of which he was extremely fond. After one breakfast he conducted his guests to a side room, opening on to a grass plot, and showed his stud of Arab horses. He was popular in the Station, and had the manners of a great noble. It Is related that he gave a grand entertainment here on the occasion of the marriage of a relation. In the middle, a string of valuable pearls round his neck broke, the pearls rolling over the floor. Refusing to disturb the party, he took no notice, and allowed no one to move. This may well have been the very necklace noted by Mrs. Parks, who sat opposite to him at a Lucknow dinner in 1831. " All dinner," she writes, " he was telling his beads on a rosary of enormous pearls "

In 1859 Munawwar-ud-Dowlah bestowed on Government all property, which, he had inherited from Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, but Government insisted on compensating him. He stipulated that the I mam bara and a cemetery should be excluded. The Brigadier Com-

manding had taken the former building along with the house, but promised to maintain it. The cemetery was separated from the compound, and no trace of it can now be found. The property was valued at Rs. 10,000,

THE OLD HOSPITAL.

North-east of No. 2 Bungalow, overlooking Hospital Ghat, was the enclosure of the Cantonment Hospital for fifty years up to the Mutiny. Examination of the ground will disclose the old foundations. Before 1795 the hospitals of the Temporary Brigade were built of such flimsy materials as to be capable of transference at a moment's notice from one spot to another within the Lines, and they were always being blown over, or destroyed, by gales and heavy rains. In December 1777 Colonel Leslie reported that he had built two hospital sheds temporarily in the Infantry Lines. In May 1778 Lt.-Colonel Wilding described the Hospital as being between the Infantry and the Cavalry Lines. From his letter it is learnt that the hospital was a thatched shed, supported on posts of mango wood, and possessing mat sides. In April 1795 the European Hospital, so-called, was in the Cavalry Lines at Rakha. The artillery had their own arrangements in the Fort. The European Hospital is difficult to place. It appears to have been either in the Company Garden, or in the compound of the Collectorate. In 1795, however, it was moved, and to a place where for the first time it can definitely be located. Three bungalows, which up to that year had housed the offices and personnel of Brigade Headquarters, were purchased from an officer, and were put in repair for the use of the European artillery. The artillery refused to move from their quarters, as they contemplated occupying the Fort, in which they could build their own offices and houses. These bungalows, being in good condition, were then taken over for the Hospital. The northernmost one overlooked Hospital Ghat, and was allotted to the Head Surgeon for a residence. The Cantonment Hospital afterwards stood upon its foundations. A large bungalow to the north was turned into the General Hospital for Europeans and Indians. This was twenty years later called " Martin's

House", having been purchased by the indigo planter of that name. Its full history is related below. The third and smallest bungalow was that which is marked on the 1885 map as belonging to Abdul Rahman, the Deputy Collector. It stood a few yards to the north of No. 2 Bungalow, and not a trace *of* it is left today. Ali three bungalows were thatched and mud plastered as was usual in the eighteenth century.

At the time of the formation of the Temporary Brigade many officers held military and medical rank simultaneously. Ultimately they had to decide their choice. An actual case occurred at Fatehgarh. On the Ilth May 1787 Lieutenant Thomas Staunton addressed a letter to T. Hamilton Esquire, Senior Surgeon at the Hospital, asking to be appointed Regimental Surgeon's Mate to the 8th Battalion, in which corps he was serving as a combatant officer, Hamilton, whose tomb in the District Courts' compound is the oldest in Fatehgarh and in excellent preservation, forwarded the letter to the Medical Board at Calcutta. The petition was rejected. Staunton continued to serve as a combatant officer He died at Fatehgarh in 1805. An account of his court-martial has been given iu chapter X I I.

The inscription on Hamilton's tomb shows his rank to be that of a Head Surgeon. He was the first at Fatehgarh. In 1786 there were only three General Hospitals outside Calcutta. Two more were sanctioned, and one of them was to be at Fatehgarh. Hamilton had served as a military Assistant Surgeon since 1768, and as Head Surgeon he was still in military employ. In 1773 he signed a memorial which claimed the right for military Assistant Surgeons to retain civil appointments, but the memorial did not succeed. This General Hospital was a military one, the civil population at the time consisting of only a few planters and traders. Up to 1795 it was probably in the vicinity of Hamilton's house, which must have been near his tomb. Hamilton had three Assistant Surgeons under him.

In 1795 the General Hospital was moved, as has been seen, under the Superintendence of W. I. Gardner, the then Head Surgeon. Only one other Head Surgeon comes into notice, and he was the last. Doctor Peter Cochrane was Assistant in 1780, full Surgeon in 1790, and Head

Surgeon was in 1805. He in charge at Fatehgarh from 1803 to 1807. He became President of the Medical Board in 1815, retired in 1821, and died ten years later at Beauvais in France. At the end of the eighteenth century Government used to give regimental surgeons contracts for the supply of medicines and diet for the patients. Cochrane is said to have made a large fortune by supplying Lord Lake's camp with such necessaries from Fatehgarh during the second Mahratta War. During his time a Superintendent of Vaccination was added to the staff.

After 1807 the medical charge of Fatehgarh was given to an Assistant Surgeon. The General Hospital disappeared, and the house was bought by Martin. The Cantonment Hospital came into being. It WHS housed in the bungalow overlooking the ghat, where the Head Surgeon had resided. Here it remained until the outbreak of the Mutiny. The civil population was now increasing at the expense of the military ; and the Assistant Surgeon became Civil Surgeon in addition. The following Civil Surgeons are recorded after Cochrane : —

1. Bernard Reilly, 1808-16. Buried in the Fort Cemetery. In 1812 he was refused an allowance by the Governor-General for attending on persons attached to the Ceded Provinces' Board. He was presented to the Marquis of Hastings at one of the Fatehgarh levees in 1815.

2. J. Johnston. 1816-24. He resided in No. J) Bungalow. In 1817 a scheme was set on foot for a hospital in Fatehgarh Town, which may be regarded as the precursor of the Civil Hospital. Funds were raised by subscription from the residents of the Station ; and the Governor-General on behalf the East India Company donated a monthly grant of 150 sicca rupees. The Hospital was located in the Sudder Bazar, and its site was opposite the present Municipal Office. Here it remained until 1870, when new buildings were erected in the compound of the old Church at a cost of Rs. 5,680. The west end and tower of the Chuich were converted into wards, and added to the Hospital. A large subscription was given by one Panna Lai, and the new establishment was often called after his name.

3. Julius Jeffreys. 1825-31. He is said to have been the first to suggest Simla as a hill station. In 1836 he invented the respirator. He went in for trade, and was a local manufacturer of saltpetre.

4. J. Goss. 1832-40. Mentioned by Miss Eden in her "Up the Country Letters'\ He was an eccentric character, who had eventually to leave on medical certificate. He made experiments iu magnetism, and had curious notions on the situation of the North Pole.

5. T. C. Hunter. 1841-44. Traces of him are to be found in the Registrar's Office ; for he lent money on mortgages of landed property. He resided in a house, the site of which is now covered by the compound of the District Traffic Superintendent. He died at Cawnpore in 1858 as a result of hardships experienced during the Mutiny.

6. G. Grant. 1845-46. Lived in No. 19 Bungalow.

7. W. B. Macleod. 1847-48. Lived in No. 19 Bungalow. His wife is buried in the Fort cemetery. He received the decoration of the C. B. in 1850.

8. Dr. Gerrard. 1848-49.

9. A. J. Payne. 1849-51. Still living in 1913.

10. S. Maltby. 1852-57. Killed at Cawnpore, 1857.

With one or two exceptions all Civil Surgeons lived in No. 19 Bungalow.

Hospital affairs were managed by a body, calling itself the Dispensary Committee. Most of the records extant deal with its operations in the City, where two dispensaries were working by 1840. There was also a hospital in the Jail. In addition to his medical duties, the Civil Surgeon was postmaster for the District. Not seldom he served as secretary on many and various local committees, such as those looking after the roads, or the Farrukhabad School.

THE PARK.

In 1850 a property of 150 acres in extent was formed by the directions of the Government of India for Maharaja Dhuleep Singh of the

Punjab, on his being sent from Lahore to live at Fatehgarh. A Doctor Login (afterwards Sir John Login) accompanied him as guardian, for the Maharaja was young boy, and his education had to be supervised. Doctor Login acquired all the land within the space which stretched from Rani Ghat up to and including the present Officers' Mess and No. 4 Bungalow. This area was then called " The Park ". The 1835 map will show that a number of residences were dotted about in it, the biggest of which was Martin's House. Doctor Login purchased them all for the Maharaja, and breaking down the compound walls, threw them into one. Very little has been discovered about their previous history. Out of nine houses only two remain in use to-day, and even they are not the original structures. Five disappeared in the Mutiny, and were never rebuilt. Two were demolished in 1925. The sole remaining houses in the Park are numl>ered 4 and 5, the latter being more generally known as the Officers' Mess, and since they were always part of the Park property, they will be more conveniently described along with the others purchased by Maharaja Dhuleep Singh.

It has already been shown that this corner of Fatehgarh ('amp had been in occupation since the coming of the Temporary Brigade ; and Captain Primrose Thompson marked out sites for officers' quarters along the bank of the Ganges from Hospital Ghat to Bargadia Ghat. From the records of the eighteenth century it appeirs that the bungalows, merely thatched roofs supported by mud walls, were erected by the first comers themselves, and passed on from officer to officer by sale, each occupant contributing some improvement to the property. In this manner the large house, known as " Martin's House", had passed into the possession of Government by purchase from Major Pringle, the Barrack Master, for 4,785 sicca rupees in April 1795. For the next twelve years the General Hospital for Europeans and Indians was set up here; and the establishment was moved to more modest quarters in the old Head Surgeon's house by Hospital Ghat, when Fatehgarh ceased to be the headquarters of a brigade. Mr. Martin acquired the house in 1807 at a time when all the old houses in Cantonments were passing into the hands of wealthy indigo planters and cotton merchants. Of Martin there are very scanty

details. He was connected with the indigo planting at Shamsabad, and the Fatehgarh-nama mentions him as a wealthy planter, who had lost his money by 1887. His decline, however, began long before that date. In 1825 he was forced to assign the house to a banker, named Seth Lachmi Chand, in redemption of a loan. He himself lived probably in a house, surrounded by groves of trees, close to the present rifle range by the Fort. It is known that at any rate he was the owner of it.

Martin's House is interesting in more than one way. It is the only pre-Mutiny house of which a contemporary plan has been found. Although they passed away more than seventy-five years ago, the boundaries of its garden are known, and it is easier to conjure up a picture of this house than of any of the others which disappeared in the Mutiny, and are only known by name and a few slight traces on the ground. The gateway of the compound can be made out at a spot nearly opposite the entrance to the compound of No. 2 Bungalow, where in fact a path leads across the old garden to Rani Ghat. Proceeding in a perfectly straight line from the gate of No. 2 Bungalow towards the Ganges, the site of the house will be seen on the high ground overlooking the river. A cantonment incinerator marks the spot. To the north is the deep gully leading to Rani Ghat, which was converted into a private road by Maharaja Dhuleep Singh. It is said to have been a covered way, so that the Maharaja's sister-in-law could go to bathe in the Ganges without being seen. The Maharaja kept his boats moored by the pipal tree at the ghat. Another story is that a Rani, sailing down the Ganges in the times of the Mahratta raids, landed here to secrete her jewels. This tradition has given rise to treasure seeking operations in No. 2 Compound, which have left their mark. The compound was bounded on the south by the wide nullah, which here bisects the Park. The nullah was crossed by a bridge, the remains of which can be seen buried in the undergrowth, and the house had a south entrance beyond it. The stables and servants houses lined the nullah by this gate. The house itself was flat roofed and solidly built. The drawing room was within fifty yards of the stream, which was approached by a sloping bank. The interior of the house was of the type which is usually to be seen in pre-Mutiny brick houses. The chief

rooms were three lofty ones in the centre. They were divided from each other by arches, or columns. This arrangement can be seen perfectly in the present Collector's house. The front verandah, which faced No. 2 Bungalow, was approached by a flight of steps. The bedroom was on the north side, the coolest side of the house, and disproportionately small. The odd feature was that on the south side there were no rooms at all, but a walled garden was attached to it. Although the house was a large one, it had only an antechamber and three chief living rooms.

The first occupant, who is known, was Mr. Nisbet (Collector 1829-32. Died 1882). The next Collector did not take the house, and at this date the chief officials lived anywhere they liked in the Station. This house, however, was a favourite both of Collectors and Judges, and, indeed, it had one of the best situations in Fatchgarh. Its most famous tenant was probably the Hon. F. J. Shore (Judge"1831-35. Died 1837), the son of Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who as Governor-General in 1796 had been so concerned over the mutinous conduct of the Fatehgarh garrison. Mr. Shore was the last Judge Magistrate and the first Sessions Judge of the District. There are numerous letters of his in the records, which reveal him to have been an official of sound common sense, and in ideas startingly modern. In spite of personal eccentricities, which he probably exaggerated, he was far in advance of his times. His " Notes on Indian Affairs " created some sensation when they were published. His account of a district officer's work under the East India Company's Government is all the more interesting because it tells of conditions in Farrukhabad District, and was written just after he had left on transfer to Dehra Dun. He invented the well-known treadmill in the Jail, and took to wearing Mussalman costume. This foible was the cause of a Government order, which forbade the Company's officers to adopt such dress. A contemporary description of him in 1827 by Captain Mundy. is as follows: " A till handsome man with a long beard, and dressed in Mussalman costume. A great shikarri, the verandahs and rooms of his house filled with stuffed animals. He had two tame bears which sat either side of him at meals, and ate their food out of wooden howls." In one of his letters Shore refers to his having been stationed in Fatehgarh in 1820.

He came out to India only two years before, and must have been an Assistant Collector. He spent a good deal of money on the house, and much beautified the grounds. In a very interesting letter of 183J2 ho describes an incident at the house, in which he narrowly escaped a murderous assault. It was his custom to have arrested persons brought to the house by the Police, so that he could personally interrogate them. A person who had been arrested for murder, was sitting under the porch by the front steps, guarded by policemen, while Shore himself was working in the antechamber with several court officials around him. Suddenly the prisoner stood upright, seized a sword from one of the policemen, and cut both his guards down. Leaping up the steps, he rushed into the room, and darted at Shore who was seated at a table. The Nazir, who was standing by the table, seized the man and after receiving several wounds in the process, forced him into a corner of the room, where he was secured. Shore says the whole incident was over in a few seconds, and but for the promptitude of the Nazir, he could not have escaped injury. He had hardly time to scramble to his feet and get his own sword, an interesting sidelight on the customs of 183#, when the Magistrate apparently kept a sword by him for protection, or as part of his magisterial equipment!

There is no information as to who succeeded Mr. Shore in the house. Mr. Robinson, Collector at the time, lived in the last house in the Civil Lines (see chapter X). In 1837 Mr. Campbell (Collector 1837-43) took up his abode here, and for the next twelve years Martin's House changed its name to that of " The Collector's House ", and all the permanent Collectors of that period adopted it as their residence. Mr. Trench (1843-44) and Mr. Gubbins (1844-45) followed in turn as tenants. The latter afterwards became Financial Commissioner of Oudh, and wrote au account of the Mutinies in that province. Gubbins* House in the Residency Compound in Lucknow was one of the famous posts held during the siege. Mr. Gubbins left at the end of the year, and the house was temporarily vacant, the new Collector, Mr. Astell (1845-47) not yet having arrived. Nawab Doolah of Shamsabad seized the opportunity of using the premises for a big dinner to be given to his European and Indian friends. In his Persian diary he wrote a most diverting account of this entertainment,

which happily has been written in the only volume of this diary in existence. The dinner was fixed foi: the 15th December 1845. Mr. James Mercer (1788-1853. Buried in the Fort cemetery), the Sub-ordinate Judge, made all the arrangements, and his cook prepared both the English and Hindustani dinners.

At 7 p. m. on the 15th December the guests began to arrive. From the gate (near the entrance of No. 2, Bungalow) up to the house door were rows of lighted lamps, between which the guests drove up in their buggies and phaetons to be received by the Nawab and Mr. Mercer on the house steps. They then passed into the drawing room, and were made to sit in a large circle around the fire, until Mr. Tyler (retired 1854. Died 1891), the Judge and Agent to the Governor-General, made his ceremonious arrival. Meanwhile the band of the 43rd N. 1. took up their station in a corner of the room, and commenced to play es soon as the company had departed to a round room on the north side for dinner. Twenty-two persons sat down, the Hindustani guests having already started dinner in another room adjoining. The chief guests, besides Mr. Tyler, were a Colonel Watts and Captain Cutler, both of the British Army ; Mr. Turner of the Board of Revenue (Judge at Fatehgarh in 1826. Died 1866) ; Mr. Maclean (a planter from Shahjahanpur, who afterwards resided in No. # Bungalow, and was killed in the Mutiny) ; Mr. Moir, a trader and planter, (living in the present Haja of Tirwa's house) ; R. J. Tucker (Joint Magistrate); Doctor Hunter (Civil Surgeon); Major A. Tucker (1803-91. Agent Clothing Factory) ; and Major Abbott (1804-67. Agent Gun Carriage Factory).

Nawab Doolah wrote down the subjects of conversation at dinner in great detail. The merits of Simla, Subathu, and Mussoorie as hill stations were canvassed, after which followed a long discussion on China and Thibet. The guests drank a good deal of wine out of glasses of different colours. When dessert was put on the table, Mr. MacWhirter (a Deputy Collector) smoked his huqqa. The Nawab probably noted this, because the practice was in 1845 an old-fashioned one, the huqqa having been supplanted by cheroots. Mr. Tyler gave the toast of the Queen, where-upon all stood up and drank to her health. Next, the guests lifted up

their glasses and drank to the health of their host. " I salaamed/[1] writes the gratified Nawab, " and the guests shouted hip hip hurrah at the top of their voices.[1]' The whole company, conducted by the Nawab then trooped out of the house, and sat shivering with cold on the chabutra in order to watch a display of fireworks on the Ganges, which lasted two hours. At a late hour return was made to the drawing room to watch a nautch dance. Cardamons were distributed, aud each guest was decorated with a garland. Supper was then served. The Nawab left at this stage, and the rest of his observations are the result of his enquiries next morning. Mr. MacWhirtcr made the nautch dancers also have supper ; and much wine was consumed, Mr. MacWhirtcr himself becoming so inebriated as to fall down and take no further part in the proceedings. Mr. Mercer and many other guests, extremely tipsy, were carried to their homes in palanquins.

After Mr. Astell two other Collectors had their residence in the old house before it was altered for Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, namely, Mr. Timins (1847-49) and Mr. Cunninghamc (1849-56). The latter, however, vacated the house in November 1S50. All the houses in the Park had been acquired in April, and this house had been left to the last out of deference to the Collector. Doctor Login purchased it from Seth Lachmi Chand for Rs. 15,000. The house was rebuilt and enlarged. Doctor Login had noted its fine centre rooms, and with additional rooms on both sides of them, he prepared a residence for the Maharaja himself, which was impressive enough to be styled a palace by the *Times* War Correspondent in 1858. The rooms were furnished throughout in European style with the best English furniture. Lord Dalhousic, the Governor-General, visited Fatehgarh in 1851, expressly to see if the Maharaja was comfortable. He visited the house on the 25th December, inspecting the rooms and the grounds. The Maharaja expressed his intention of becoming a Christian, and there was some talk with the Governor-General about it. On the 8th March 1853 he was actually baptised by Mr. Jay, the Chaplain, in this very house.

The Maharaja took up his residence here from 1851 to February 1854 when he left for England. He never returned to Fatehgarh

Mr. Buller (Judge 1852-56) was permitted to move in some time during 1854, as there seemed no prospect of the Maharaja's return. After Mr. Buller came Mr. R.B. Thornhill (1856-57), who was killed at Cawnpore with the other fugitives from Fatehgarh during the Mutiny. It has not been possible to discover any reason why the District Judges deserted their old residence (the present Collector's house). Nawab Doolah makes a curt entry in his diary to the effect that Mr. Buller in 1852 could not obtain any house, and was living in tents behind the Judge's court house. Eventually he found lodging in the present Judge's house, but moved later to the Maharaja's place. All the houses in the Park were found to be in the possession of various offiters, when the Mutiny broke out. They had been put into good order by Doctor Login, and the Maharaja apparently preferred not to let them stand empty. There is a very slight clue to the residence of Mr. Thornhill being in the Park, and as the occupants of nearly all the other bungalows are known, he must have followed Mr. Buller in the Maharaja's own house. Mrs. Thornhill was a grand-daughter of the famous actress, Mrs. Siddons. Very likely it was in this house that during the dark days preceding the outbreak of the Mutiny on the 17th June 1857, Mrs. Thornhill worked hard at preparing Indian costumes as disguises for her family with the help of the wife of Mohamed Saieed Khan, a clerk in the Judge's Office. This interesting tradition has been communicated by this Indian official's son, Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid Khan, who often heard the story from his mother's lips. When the residents of the Station took refuge iu the Fort on the 18th .lune, Likha Singh of Allahganj crossed the river and pillaged the Maharaja's house, removing the furniture in boat loads. The house itself was left a mass of ruins. The Valuation Committee was unable to assess it at any good sum. The Maharaja was unlikely ever to return, and no one else was willing to rebuild it. The house was therefore demolished in 1859, and the site has remained bare ever since. So desolate is the spot that it is difficult to imagine the splendour of this estate, laid out with lawns and flower beds, and covered with a profusion of flowering trees and shrubs. It is said that there were shady walks in every direction, and the Fatehgarh residents were accustomed to visit this

end of the Station iu order to catch a glimpse of the Maharaja hunting with his hawks in the grounds, or emerging from the gates for his morning ride. The Maharaja observed due ceremony in his morning outing, and the spectacle was a favourite one in Fatehgarh. In the cavalcade were his nephew, British officers, and Sikh attendants, all well mounted. He was always escorted by a detachment of two Indian officers and twenty-five men of the Governor-General's bodyguard in scarlet uniforms, as well as by a troop of Skinner's Horse in yellow. In the evening when not busy with his hawks, he usually rode in a carriage with four grey Arabs, driven by an English coachman.

A series of households was set up in the other houses within the Park. Besides the Maharaja's place, there were eight other residences, seven of which were thatched bungalows of varying sizes. In one lived the Hani Duknu, the Maharaja's sister-in-law; in a second the Diwan and Sikh attendants; iu a third the English tutor, Guise; in a fourth Elliott, the steward; iu :i fifth Thornton, the coachman. Two or three houses formed a depository for valuable equipment. They were called the "toshak khana". The site of the remaining house is occupied by the new Officers' Mess of the 10/7th Rajput Regiment, the old house which was the abode of Doctor Login, having been pulled down in 1925. The mud walled bungalow of the eighteenth century gave way to a brick house. The last officer owner sold it to William Jennings, merchant, about 180(). Jennings, like Martin and many other adventurers, had no capital behind him ; and in 1832 his family fortunes had so declined that he had to part with the house to Thomas Churcher, an indigo planter, for Rs. 8,000. The Churcher family had to sell out to Doctor Login in April 1850. Lady Login writing the memoir of her husband in after years, unfortunately made no description of her home at this place ; but it was a pleasant one, and from other sources one gathers the Logins did much entertaining. Lady Login mentions the bringing of Colonel Mountain to this house in 1854. He was accompanying the Commander-in-Chief on tour, and was taken ill near Fatehgarh. Despite all that Mrs. Mountain and Lady Login could do, the sick man never rallied, and he died on the 8th February. Shortly after, the Logins left for England,

and since there was no chance of their returning, the Maharaja having bought an estate in England, the Commanding Officer of the 10th N. I. (Lt.-Colonel G. A. Smith) took possession in 1856. When the mutiny of the regiment was immiuent, the house was selected as a rallying point for the residents of the Station. The decision, however, was altered in favour of the Fort. After the Mutiny the Officers Commanding Fatehgarh continued to live in the house up to the year 1880 at least. It was finally demolished in 1925 to make way for the new Mess.

North of the Officers' Mess is a hillock, overlooking the Ganges, which was the site of a small bungalow. It was bought by Doctor Login along with the big house of Thomas Churcher, and in the sale deed of the latter house it is described as the bungalow in the compound with a buggy house and servants' quarters. A pensioner, named Assistant Commissary Robert Kembali, was the occupier from 1826 to 1842. His daughter, Dolly Kembali, was one of the few residents who escaped from Fatehgarh in the Mutiny.

In pre-Mutiny times a road divided the Churcher and Kembali houses from No. 4 Bungalow. It started where the gates of the Mess now stand, and ran by the present racquet court in a straight line to the nullah, which it crossed by a bridge, giving access to the south entrance of Martin's compound. The metalled road, which bears to the north-west, and crosses the nullah by the existing bridge, is a construction of the sixties, when the Park was turned into a soldiers' garden. The gates of the Churcher* and Kembali houses stood on the east of this old road; while on the west was a bungalow behind No. 4, the lines of which are visible on the ground. The metalled road, crosses a corner of the old house, which in 1844 belonged to Mr. Mercer, and in that year was his residence, for Nawab Doolah used to call upon him there. Houses changed owners rapidly in those days. Subordinate officers, clerks, and Eurasian residents invested their savings nearly always in the purchase of these small bungalows, hoping to make profit by selling them again. Mercer sold this house in 1845 to Mrs. Mary Bibi Hennessy, an Indian lady in No. 2 Bungalow. In 1846 she sold it to Mrs. Anne Macklin, wife of the Collectorate Head Clerk, for s. 500. In 1850 Doctor Login was forced

to acquire the compound in order to form the Park propertyR, and Mrs. Macklin reaped a handsome profit by getting Rs. 1,700 for this insignificant building, which could never have been more than a cottage. Macklin, his wife, and eight children were murdered at Cawnpore in 1857 after getting away from Fatehgarh in the first boat journey. No. 4 Bungalow had belonged to Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan. His heir, Munawwar-ud-l)owlah, presented it to the Maharaja as a gift. The name of not a single one of its occupiers is known. It was a thatched house up to recent years, and has been rebuilt with a flat cement roof after an outbreak of five.

West of No. 4 Bungalow is a bare plot, which since 1857 has not been built upon. There was, however, always a house here from the earliest times up to the Mutiny. It l>elonged to the Paul family, whose history has been given in chapter V. In 1848 Musamtnat Joubc Paul, widow of " Mr. Paul, shopkeeper," mortgaged the property, which was specified as a thatched bungalow with outhouses and six trees including a tamarind. This tamarind tree still is to be seen on the northern boundary, close by the tomb of Catherine Paul, and is a fine specimen of its kind. The main entrance to the compound and the front verandah faced west, that is, towards the present Indian Military Hospital. The deed of mortgage also discloses that Mrs. Paul was known locally as Bibi Khubi and Bibi Chhoti, and lived herself in the adjoining bungalow to the north. She was undoubtedly the Indian wife of Laurence Paul's son. The bungalow she lived in was a very small one, which judging by its successor, built on the same foundations, had one main room and two small apartments like bathrooms. The thatched house on this site was used as the Club library up to 1925 and was only a few yards from No. 3 Bungalow, which was the Club building. Both these Paul properties were sold in 1849 to the Hevd. Gopinath Nande of the American Presbyterian Mission at Rakha. He, in turn, had to sell them to Doctor Login within eight months for Rs. 2,300. This was a low price for two compounds with bungalows and all accessories.

No. 3 Bungalow can be traced by the only existing relic of Maharaja Dhuleep Singh's stay at Fatehgarh. His swimming bath, which was in

use by Club members up to 1925, remains, open to the sky, to mark the site. This house, known in 1880 as No. tt Bungalow, was a long narrow building, running east and west, the swimming bath being at its eastern end. It was the toshak khana of the Maharaja, where his tents, howdahs, and equipment were kept. Sergeant Elliott, formerly of the Bengal Sappers, was his steward in charge of this depository, and resided in one of the Paul bungalows close by. He married a daughter of Maclean, the indigo planter, who was in No. % Bungalow when the Mutiny broke out. Elliott remained on in charge of the Maharaja's estate, and wrote by every mail to the Logins. His letters, describing the events leading up to the Mutiny, were interesting enough to be sent on to Queen Victoria for perusal as soon as they arrived in England. Most unfortunately no trace of them is now to be found, and a valuable contribution to the history of the Mutiny at Fatehgarh has been lost. Long before his last letters reached the Logins, the writer, his wife, and five children had lost their lives at Cawnpoie. Likka Singh of Allahganj emptied the store houses, when he looted the estate, and it was estimated at his trial that he had caused the Maharaja a loss of over a lakh of rupees in stealing furniture, plate, tents, and equipment. In addition, he had taken the building to pieces, brick by brick, in the search for hidden treasure to such good purpose that a year later the Valuation Committee could find nothing fco value at all. The Maharaja received no compensation from Government for his losses, though he applied for it.

The Fatehgarh Club must have come into existence very soon after the Mutiny, for in 1865 the Club Committee sold the buildings, which they had erected, to a loc:il banker. The earliest arrangements were primitive in the extreme. The Committee had apparently exhausted its funds by rebuilding No. *Il* Bungalow and the small Paul bungalow to contain a library. Furniture it had none. Isan Chandar Deb, the old Head Clerk of the Gun Carriage Agency, was given a contract to supply tables, chairs, and refreshments. The hard Court, just visible under the eucalyptus trees, appears in several old photographs taken fifty or sixty years ago. Tennis players did not trouble to change in those days, and one gentleman is wearing a bowler hat! The game chiefly played appears

*to have been badminton ; and several residents of the Town remember ladies playing badminton in the old racquet court in the seventies. There are no old records of the Club.

The road between the Indian Military Hospital and the Park is named Park Lane. There was another bungalow on this road to the north of the old Club, which belonged to the Park, and was of course bought by Doctor Login. Its foundations are on the northern edge of the deep nullah, which cuts the Park into two. In 183*3 the occupier was stated to be the wife of Colonel Healy. This officer has not been identified. There was a quartermaster-sergeant of the Sind Nassiri Battalion of this name, who was buried in the Fort cemetery in the twenties. He left a wife and three children. In 1857 Mr. Guise, the Maharaja's tutor, was living in this tiny house, which from its situation might be called the lodge by the Maharaja's gate. Guise was an estimable man, specially selected by Doctor Login. When the Maharaja left Fatehgarh, Guise went into partnership with Maclean, who lived opposite in No. 2. Both Guise and his wife lost their lives in the Mutiny. They accompanied the Maclean family in the first flight from Fatehgarh. They were also friends of the American missionaries at Hak ha ; and it is recorded that on the 2nd June 1857 the missionaries spent their last night in Fatehgarh, some with Guise in this house, and others in No. J£ Bungalow, as Maclean had offered them accommodation in his boat along with the Guises and his own family. There was one other property in the Park called " an enclosure " belonging to Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan. Its use is not known, and its exact location is doubtful. Some records place it north of the Macklin house ; some in the middle of the nullah, where there are traces of a building ; others show it to coincide with No. \\ Bungalow.

A few details have been brought to light about the remaining bungalows of Cantonments. They will be described by the numbers allotted to them in 1880. Before that date they bore no number at all. For the sake of easy identification the 1880 numbers have been given on the 1835 map at the end of this volume ; but it has to be understood that every house was known then by the name of its owner. Just before the

Mutiny a great many houses passed into the hands of a local money lender, named Babu Kanhaya Lai, by sale, or mortgage with possession. All his papers have unluckily been destroyed by tire, and except for a few stray documents, salvaged from the ruins of the Registrar's office after the Mutiny, no source of information now exists. Including three houses in the Park, the numbers in 1880 ran from 1 to 20 as follows :

No. 1 Bungalow.—The only sale deed extant is one of 1826*. Charles Dubois sold the house to Sunder Lai. It is described as being bounded on the south by the wall of the Mint. Notice of the Dubois family will be found in chapter I. F. de Serait Dubois was an indigo planter at Fatehgarh in 1825. Both he and Charles Dubois must be related to Lieut.-Colonel Simpson Dubois (1758-1808), who helped to raise the Doobye-ki-paltan on 180tf at Fatehgarh. In 1857 the building was in use as a military hospital. It was pulled down in 1925.

No. 2 Bungalow.—The compound was half of its present extent before the Mutiny, as there was another compound in its northern portion, belonging to Abdul Rahman, a Deputy Collector. Some time prior to 1829 Henry Michael Hennessy purchased this house, which was then a Cantonment house. He signed the memorial of 1829 protesting against the claim of the Officer Commanding to eject civilian residents from Cantonments at will. He himself, however, was never disturbed, and lie continued to live here up to 1846, when he probably retired from his appointment as accountant in the Army Clothing Factory, and selling out to Maclean, the indigo planter, left Fatehgarh for good. The earliest mention of the family at Fatehgarh is in the marriage register. On the 10th September 1827, Mary Hennessy *{sic)* was married to George Tuttle. It is thus certain that the family was established in the Station for more than twenty years. The only other reference to Hennessy is iu a Customs Department record. In 18152 he was caught trying to smuggle a boat load of hides from the river front.

H. M. Hennessy had a remarkable son, who was born on the 1st August 1829, and most likely in this house. He was baptised at Fatehgarh on the 21st March 18JJ0 ; and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, therefore, is wrong in giving his place of birth as Fatehpur, for the

family was certainly at Fatehgarh during the whole of 1829 and 1830 The Christian names of Hennessy's son, John Babonau Nickterlein, link him with the two Fatehgarh familes of those names. One godfather was thus Henry Babonau (1765-1834), the Assistant Commissary of Ordnance at the Fort, whose children are buried in the Kasim Bagh cemetery. An account of the other, John Nickterlein (indigo planter), will be found in chapter X. The names are spelt in various ways, not only by the records, but also by the bearers of the names themselves. The eminence to which J. B. N. Hennessy attained in after life, is evident from the words of his obituary notice in the *Times ol* the 25th May 1910 : "Hennessy.....On the 23rd inst., at his residence, Merrium, Alleyn Park, Dulwich, John Baboneau Nickterlien Hennessey, CLE., M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S., late Deputy Superintendent, Survey of India, aged 80 years of age." The diversity of the spelling of Hennessy's names is striking. Captain Bullock, who discovered that this Hennessy of the Survey of India was connected with Fatehgarh, found after research that the original spelling was Babonau Nickterlein, which was varied in after life by Hennessy himself to Baboneau Nichterlein. This explanation is necessary, for the *Dictionary of National Biography* gives the extraordinary version of Bobonau Nickerlieu. The surname was always written without the third " e " by Hennessy, senior.

Hennessy was admitted to the junior branch of the great trigonometrical survey. The notice of his life states that: " For some years he worked in the marshy jungles of Bengal and the North-West Provinces bordering the Nepal Terai. Of the party of 140 officers and assistants, which he joined j 40 were carried off by fever in a few days, and he was often incapacitated by illness. But his zeal and thoroughness attracted notice, and, transferred to the Punjab in 1850, he fixed the longitudinal position of Lahore, Amritsar efcc." He was at length promoted to the senior branch. The years 1863 to 1865 he spent at Jesus College, Cambridge, studying mathematics, and one of the results of his visit to England was the introduction of photo-zincography, rendering possible the rapid reproduction of maps, at survey headquarters. The following years were passed in survey and astronomical pursuits, and a good deal of

literary work was accomplished. In 1883 he was deputy surveyor-general and retired the next year, taking up his residence at Mussoorie for several years. His son, an officer in the Indian Army, was killed in action in Waziristan in 1900.

No. 3 Bungalow, The old Club. See " The Park ".

No. 4 Bungalow, See " The Park ".

No. 5 Bungalow, Officers' Mess. See u The Park ".

No. 6 Bungalow, Before the Mutiny this wis the residence of Munawwar-ud-Dowlah, or General Ahmad Ali Khan, nephew and heir of Nawah Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan. Mrs. Fanny Parks met him at Fatehgarh in 1835. He returned to Lucknow with his uncle in 1837, and never resided at Fatehgarh again. He was always " General " at Fatehgaih, and was a fine shot with both riHa and gun. East of No. 6 was a house owned by Babu Kanhaya Lai. Its foundations can be made out. To the south, and behind the servants' quarters of No. 6 was the East India Company's school for European children, where the young Hennessy received his education at the hands of James Sheppard or Shepherd. Sheppard married Elizabeth DeGruyther in 1829, and one of his daughters married Madden, whose house occupied the site of All Souls Church. Sheppard was succeeded by Mr. and Mrs. Shiels, or Sheels. Both were killed at Cawnpore in company with the Maddens in 1857. There had been a Conductor Moses Sheels living at Fatehgirh from 1838. It cmnot be said exactly whether he became schoolmaster himself, or was a relation of the schoolmaster. Under the management of the Shiels, the School achieved some renown, and many children came to it from other districts. The Mutiny novel, " Mariam ", a copy of which is in the Club library, mentions that Mariam herself was a scholar at this school, and was sent home to Shahjahanpur just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. Mariam was a Miss LeMaistre, her father being the Head Clerk of the Collector's office at Shahjahanpur. The book is founded on fact. The School was approached by a lane, running from the Strand Road to the Mall.

No. *7 Bungalow,* Robert Carshore (1767-1821. Buried in the Fort cemetery) bought the house in 1806 from a military officer. He was a wealthy cotton merchant, and did not live to see the eclipse of his family.

1837 his widow, Mary Carshore, and Joseph, his son, had to mortgage the house to Bibu Kanhaya Lai for Rs. 1,500. Joseph was working for his living as a clerk in the Collector's office. In 1880 the Opium Officer lived in the house. It has been completely rebuilt recently. The old house was a thatched bungalow of the usual type.

A[r]o. 8 Bungalow. No residents of this house are known by name.

No. 9 Bungalow. Between Nos. 7 and 9, rather near the road, was a house known as the Kot Master's house. The derivation of " Kot Master " is not certain. It has a different meaning to that of " Kot Sahib Captan ", or Barrack Master, for both terms occur in the same lists. Mt. Ashuran, described as the wife of Sir Edward Colebrooke, mortgaged the house to Babil Kanhaya Lai in 1830 for Rs. 2,000. The property, according to the deed of mortgage, comprised a thatched bungalow, a bottle khana, stables, and nine outhouses. In 1880 the occupier is recorded as the " Stamp Press Sahib ", whatever that may mean. No. 9 itself is an old site. Twining seems to have lived in it in 1794, having borrowed the house from an officer on leave. Mt. Amina Khanum, the wife of Doctor Johnston (Civil Surgeon 181()-24), sold it to Babu Kanhaya Lai in 1844. Two years later it was in ruins. There was a small grove of twelve trees in the north-west corner by the road, remnants of which still exist, and the trees are shown in the 184(5 map. The house was rebuilt in i860 after having been destroyed in the Mutiny. The District Opium Officer occupied it for many years.

No. 10 Bungalow. This was called the " Padre Sahib's " house from having been usually in the occupation of the chaplains of Fatchgarh. A chaplain was living in it in 1880. No old records of this house exist. Fronting No. 10, on the southern side of Dorset Road, was the residence of Doctor Lewis in 1814 Doctor Johnston followed him from 1816 to 1824. Mt. Amina Khanum sold it to Babu Kanhaya Lai in 1842. Between this house and No. 12 was a thatched bungalow, also the property of Babu Kanhaya Lai. It occupied a situation, which almost corresponded with that of a house of J. G. Bruce, merchant, in 1814. Boundaries were very loosely described in deeds of that period, and Bruce's house was probably here. Bruce was in Fatehgarh in 1824.

No. 11 Bungalow. Known as the "Sahzada's House". Prince Muzaffar Bakht, grandson of the Emperor Shah Alam, adopted this place as his residence after a brief stay at the Commissariat Godown in 1819. He died in 1828, leaving three sons, who constructed three bungalows in the compound. They were small houses, and fell into the hands of Doctor Hunter (Civil Surgeon 1841-44), who lived in the adjoining house on the north. The three sons were extravagant and always in need of money. Muzaffar Bakht was allowed Rs. 25 daily by Government from 1810. Each of the sons received Rs. 200 per mensem. Yavar Bakht, the eldest son died before 1846. Mohtesham Bakht went to Lucknow, and Makhdum Bakht, after losing his bungalow, went to the City. The descendants of Yavar Bakht and Makhdum Bakht live in the City to this day in great poverty. All these compounds, including that of Doctor Hunter, are now covered by the District Traffic Superintendent's residence. Between Nos. 9 and 11 is the house of the Executive Engineer of the B. B. & C. I. Railway. It stands upon the site of a house, which belonged to Nawab Iqbalmand Khan of the Bangash Nawab's family, who was hanged for his part in the Mutiny at Fatehgarh. Naturally it came through the Mutiny unscathed. It was confiscated and put up to sale by Government. Bhajan Lal bought the property, and the house being in good condition, it was used as the Officers' Mess from I860 onwards. It had a large centre hall, four bed rooms, but only one bathroom !

No. I2 Bungalow. The home of the Birch family. Stephen Birch served under George Thomas, and under Perron in Scindia's army. In 1803 he accepted a British pension of Rs. .300 monthly. He served under Lord Lake at the siege of Delhi in 1804 with a battalion of najibs from Panipat. He seems to have come to Fatehgarh between that date and 1809, in which year he married Elizabeth Blake, the daughter of Robert Blake, the Assay Master at the Mint. She died in 1840 and was buried in the Fort cemetery. He died in 1844, but there is no record of his death beyond the year, and there is nothing to show where he was buried. There were three daughters, Mary Ann (married to Lieutenant John Baldock in 1845), Rose Maria (married to Lieutenant H. A. Reid in

1840), and Harriet, who was the object of some scandal in 1832. She eloped with Nawab Sarbaland Khan of the Bangash family, and became the second wife in his harem. She is described as a Eurasian, and her mother was certainly one. Mr. Shore tried the case, which her father instituted, but being of age she refused to return to her home, and the charge of abduction against the Nawab fell to the ground. She died in the City on the 4th January 1892, aged 81 years. From 1857 to that date she lived on a Government pension of Rs. 20 monthly and a little money which her father left her in his will. There are a number of letters by her iu the Mutiny records. The surviving members of the Bangash family, too, still preserve many letters, which show that after the Mutiny she made a pathetic attempt to keep up relations with the residents of Fatehgarh by sending presents of sweets and mangoes to the chief officials. She had also some relations, connected with indigo planting, in Mainpuri District, with whom she was careful to keep on good terms. She had one daughter, Ashraf-un-Nissa, who in her own right enjoyed a pension of Rs. 10 monthly, and died, like her mother, at an advanced age in 191(5. Stephen Birch also had a son, .lames, who lived on in No. 12 Bungalow, and was a noted pigeon fancier. He does not occur in the Mutiny lists, and disappeared before 1857. He married Maria Bell in 1845.

A[r]o. 13 *Bungalow.* Belonged to Mrs. Sarah Dyce in 1833 (see chapter X). The house fell into the hands of Babu Kanhaya Lai. The mortgage deed mentions the old bridge of 1788 as being close by.

A[r]o. *H Hung alow.* The property of a pensioner, named Potter. Nothing is known about his family. A Rachel Potter was married in 1827 to C. McCarthy. Mrs. Caroline Potter was buried in the Fort cemetery in 1839, The family became Eurasian, for of the two daughters, Harriet and Susanna, the latter always signed her name as Jamiat Bibi. Harriet had a miraculous escape in the Mutiny, and was one of the survivors. In 1841 the house was bought by Sergt.-Major E. Chandler, pensioner. In 1850 his widow (née Charlotte Seapage. Married 1829), sold it to the Revd. Gopinath Nande of the Rakha Mission. The wife of an Edward John Chandler was buried in the old entrenchment of Almas

Ali Khan at Mehndi Ghat, and the inscription gives the date 1855. This is the last mention of the Chandlers. South of No. 14 was the actual residence of the Potter family. The Cantonment shops cover the site. It WHS a small cottage, and Babu Kanhaya Lal only gave Rs. 250 for it in 1850.

No. 15 Bungalow. In the eighteenth century this compound marked the left of the Infantry Lines of the Temporary Brigade, and the Sepoy Guard Room was near the bridge over the nullah. George Westropp, trader, bought the land and erected the first house. He sold it in 1826 to Musharraf Ali Khan, private Secretary and agent to Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan. His widow, Mt. Dulhan, transferred the whole property for Rs. 500 to Charles Cawood (son of a pensioned Sergeant. Head Clerk of the Clothing Agency). Cawood, his wife, and two children were killed at Cawnpore in 1857. He gave the house in 1847 to Mrs. Smith, widow ot J. Smith (merchant). Smith had bought the present Judge's house, and lived in it from 1855 up to his death. Mrs. Smith had no means, and sold the house in order to provide for herself.

Between Nos. 15 and 16, north of Post Office Road, there is a field, which in 1846 contained a house belonging to Mrs. Hannah Collins. It was burnt down just before the Mutiny. In January 1827 Mrs. Collins sold the site for Rs. 650. Attached to the deed of sale is her family seal, bearing the date 1826. For the Collins family see chapter X.

No. 16 Bungalow. The first Officers' Mess was set up in it. The date is unknown, but the Mess is mentioned as being here from 1845 to 1857. 'The house was rented from Mrs. Hannah Collins. Major Munro, Lieutenants Simpson and Swetenham, and Ensign Henderson, all of the 10th N. I., were living in the Mess at the outbreak of the Mutiny in June 1857. In 1880 the Barrack Master occupied it.

No. 17 Bungalow. No. 17 together with No. 18 Bungalow formed one compound. The house was the residence of the Commissioner of the 3rd Farrukhabad Division from 1829 to 1838. It was known as " Newnham Sahib's House ".. Newnham was perhaps the most famous of nil the Bengal Civilians who worked at Fatehgarh up to the Mutiny. He was intimately connected with the growth of the district administration,

and an account of his activities will be found in chapter XI. He was not only Collector of the District (1824-27), but was the first Commissioner ; and he acquired this house during his time as Collector. From 1925 to 1931 the house was the home of the Station Club.

No. 18 Bungalow. This was not an old house. It was built after 1860.

No. 19 Bungalow. Between Nos. 18 and 19 is a bare field with a shapeless mound in the centre, which is all that remains of the house of the Nawabs of Farrukhabad. It was confiscated after the Mutiny, and falling down, was never rebuilt. A few tombs of the Nawabs' retainers border the lane on the north, which used to run to the Strand Koad, and gave access to the Company's School. No. 19 was always known as the " Surgeon Sahib's House ". It was the home of regimental and civil surgeons from the earliest times. In 1857 Doctor T. G. Heathcote, Surgeon to the 10th N. I., had the house. He and his family were killed in the Mutiny. The house belonged to Babu Kanhaya Lai.

No. 20 Bungalow. The name " Wright Sahib's House " was always given to it. W. Wright was a Bengal Civilian, who was at Fatehgarh for sixteen years (1810-26), as Assistant to the Judge, and as Judge. In this house he probably wrote his famous report on the thugs, or stranglers, which was interesting enough to be circulated in 1810 to all districts in Bengal by the Government. The compound had ten trees up to the Mutiny. It belonged to Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, and for some reason was singled out by the mutineers for destruction. The Nawab's property was generally spared, and the only reason for excepting this house must have been that some unpopular officer lived in it. In 1859 the Valuation Committee found the ten trees, and two walls of the house, standing. The property was valued at Rs. 310.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CUSTOMS HOUSE.

NEAR the junction of the Trunk and City Roads, and close to Ghatia Ghat, stands the classic gate house of what was the Customs House. Beyond a few warehouses and this gate with its guard rooms, little now remains. The Court House, offices, and other buildings have disappeared. The enclosure has only a few trees of great age and the vestiges of a well to show. This Customs House was first established in 1803, and its location was then in the City on the site of the present Kotwali. It was a two-storeyed house with a tiled roof, and the Deputy Collector of Customs also lived in it. The establishment, therefore, was on a humble scale. It had been several years abandoned when handed over to the Police in 1822. The Police moved in from the Kotwali in Katra Ahmadganj, and rebuilt the premises in 1829. The new Customs House was set up in this compound by Ghatia Ghat. The actual Customs buildings and offices were in the centre. Lieut. Walker, the Civil Architect, was responsible for their erection, which was completed at a cost of Rs. 20,000 in July 1816. Additions were constantly being made, and in three years the office had become so ruinous as to necessitate the expenditure of over Rs. 6,000 upon repairing it. In 1819 a mercantile depot had to be constructed near the Customs House at great expense. This was the name given to the long ranges of sheds and godowns, which still remain today. Up to 1933 they were in use by the Opium Department. The range parallel with the western wall was known as the Cotton Sheds. Goods, arriving by river, had to be deposited in these warehouses for fifteen days; and if duty was not paid in that time, the articles were confiscated. Other buildings were the existing gateway and side rooms. The Provincial Battalion guarded the premises up to 1831, and afterwards burkandazes lived in the guard rooms on each side of the entrance. The enclosure was open to the river, the bank having been levelled to form a quay in 1827.

It does not require much imagination to picture the busy scenes which made this spot the most important gathering-place of all the local traders and importers during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. At a time when railways were not thought of, the Ganges was the natural highway for commerce. Farrukhabad City became a great emporium of trade, the value of which even by a rough estimate is staggering to the present day merchant of the place. Local merchants then dealt chiefly in gold and silver lace; copper, brass, and iron, both raw and manufactured ; cloth ; spices ; and borax from Hohilkhand. The sales of gold and silver lace were estimated at Rs. 25,000 yearly. Metal utensils, still one of the chief manufactures of the City, produced a trade worth twenty-five lakhs. The total sales of cloth are said to have fetched a million pounds sterling every year. Trade in wax at a period when candles were the best illumiuant at night, was worth Rs. 20,000 alone, not to speak of more valuable trade in spices and borax. The average estimate of the yearly value of trade at that epoch is one hundred and sixty lakhs of rupees yearly. Farrukhabad's position on the then frontier of British India, and on the Ganges, brought it to this pre-eminence. By 1840 the position changed, and Cawnpore soon eclipsed Farrukhabad.

An account in detail of the Customs administration will be found in Mr. Dewar's '' Notes on the English Pre-Mutiny Records in the United Provinces." The Customs records relating to this District are the best preserved in the Provinces, and date from 1810 to 1835, in which latter year the local Customs was abolished in consequence of the establishment of a Customs line *on* the frontiers of Gwalioi, and a second line along the Jumna. They are full of details of smuggling, evasion of duty, and complaints by the public. The East India Company levied an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent on imports, and two and a half per cent on exports of all articles of trade. The duty was paid at the Customs House, and the trader had to obtain a rawanna, or permit. The Custom House thus became known in the vernacular as " Permit Ghar." On all the roads around the City barriers were set within a radius of four miles. No goods could pass beyond them until the permit was shown. There were also town duties levied on goods sold in the bazars. The farm of these duties

was put up to auction, and was a lucrative speculation. Transit dues were exacted at toll barriers in the District. The well preserved toll house at Khudaganj was not one of them. This house, which played a part in the battle at Khudaganj in 1857, was not built until the year 1854, and was set up by the District Road Committee for levying a toll to be spent on the upkeep of the newly metalled road from Gursahaiganj to Fatchgarh. The Government retained the right to manufacture salt, and a duty of Rs. 2 per maund was levied on imports of it. The Collector of Customs took five per cent commission on town dues, and one-fifth of the value of all confiscated articles.

The Collector of Customs appears to have had little power to act on his own authority. He had to get sanction, for example, to confiscate three small cloths, which were found concealed under the saddle of a horse at the Qadri Gate in 1820. Searches appear to have been thorough. One person entering the City was found to have nineteen strings of coral in his loin-cloth ! Some bags of sweets were found to contain a few small pieces of lace. Four shawls were discovered among a mass of goods imported by Mr. T. Rutherford iu 1821. The year before Captain Pogson of the 24th N. I. (at Bareilly) protested at being charged Rs. 36 on twenty-four pieces of chintz sent him by a friend. The complaint went up to Government, and the Collector of Customs had his explanation taken for overcharging. The unfortunate Captain Pogson in the end could not withstand the weight of officialdom ; for the Collector of Customs, no doubt irritated by his effrontery, found he could impose an additional duty of twenty percent! Captain W. R. Pogson (1787-1843) died at Benares. He was buried " by a roadside, according to a direction in his will."[1] He compiled a history, called " The History of the Bundelas." His regiment is now the 3rd Bn, 7th Rajput Regiment (late 7th D. C. 0. Rajputs).

Names of local traders mentioned in the records are those of T. Rutherford, J. Jeffreys (Civil Surgeon 1825-31), J. Stewart, S. Carston, Mac Arthur and Moir (saltpetre refiners), Bathurst, Bush & Co. (indigo planters at Shamsabad), J. Mercer (indigo planter at Bishengarh and registrar), J. C. Pyle (saltpetre refiner at Naukhanda near the Police

Lines, and John Nickterlein (importer of borax for transmission to Calcutta).

The Collectors of Customs were as follows :

1802 to 1810. A Deputy Collector

1811. Mordaunt Ricketts. India 1802-50. Resident at Lucknow 1822-29.

1815. H. G. Christian.

1814. H I. Newnham. Collector 1824-27. 1st Commissioner, Farrukhabad Division 1829.

1815. A. Campbell.

1816. R. Barlow.

1817. W. Rennell. Buried in the Fort cemetery.

1818. H. Newnham.

1820. H. S. Oldfield.

(1820-55). J. Kinloch.

Mr. Kinloch lived in a bungalow on the northern side of the Ghatia Ghat Road, and next to the Customs camping ground at the cross roads. Ghatia Ghat itself was often called the Customs Ghat.

The public ghat of Fntehgarh up to 1858 was Husainpur Ghat by the Fort. Ghatia Ghat, however, had been a recognised ferry in the eighteenth century ; and Sher Dil Khan, the actual builder of the Fort, was granted by Nawab Mohammed Khan the right to levy dues on all merchandise arriving at that place. The actual site of the ferry varied from year to year, as it does at the present day, and in 1850 the ferry worked generally by Naugaon village, to the south of the small bazar, which now bears the name of Ghatia Ghat. On the 15th January 1858 Lord Auckland, the Governor-General passed on his way to Delhi by this crossing with his immense retinue; and the District Magistrate, Mr. Campbell, had to build a boat bridge over the Ganges and also the Ramganga at a cost of Rs. 1,752 to enable the Governor-General to do so. There is probably a mistake in the amount, which is recorded to have been spent, or else the bridge was made of boats borrowed temporarily for the purpose. Despite all the District Magistrate's exertions, the camp equipage of the travellers stuck fast in the sand on

the eastern bank, as the necessity for making a road had apparently been overlooked. The boat bridge, however, had come to stay, and bolstered up by continual repairs remained on up to 1844, in which year Mr. Gubbins constructed an entirely new one of thirty-one pontoons at a cost of Rs. 17,500. Each boat, or pontoon, was sixteen yards long and six yards broad. There was an interval of fifteen feet between each boat, crossed by planks. In all the bridge was S26 yards in length. It was made to open in the middle in order to admit of the passage of boats and timber for the Gun Carriage Agency. It was a public ferry, and in 1846 the farm of the toll dues brought in Rs. 13,500.

The boat bridge was a source of pride locally, and there is great correspondence in the records about it. Much ink was expended in 1849 over an ingenious proposal of Mr. Roberts, the engineer in charge of the steam engine in the Fort. He proposed to construct a ferry steamer to work to and from across the river from the Ghat. The cost was to be Rs. 8,000. The steamer would consume forty maunds of wood daily at four maunds to the rupee. Monthly expenditure, everything included, was to be Rs. 350. Government turned the scheme down as being useless, for only for four months in the year would the river be full enough to float the steamer. It got as far as London, however, where the Company's Board of Directors thought favourably ol it. Mr. Roberts died in 1851. His tomb is to be seen in the Fort cemetery. Another attractive proposal was that of Messrs. Greenway & Company, who in 1852 gave Rs. 10,000 for the annual ferry contract. They undertook to maintain the bridge in order, and run trams on woodeu rails over it for a distance of one mile from bank to bank. The proposal was not accepted as being too startling for Fatehgarh. If it had come into being, Fatehgarh would probably have achieved the distinction of having the first trams in India. The arrival of a steamer at Ghatia Ghat on the 23rd July 1845 much stimulated the residents into forming these inventive ideas.

The area containing the Customs House and Ghatia Ghat has always been known as Sota Bahadurpur for purposes of the Land Revenue Department. It was from the beginning an outlying suburb of Fatehgarh,

and had several bungalows and factories in it, of which not a trace now remains. The site of these habitations is exactly described in the lists of the 1838 Settlement of Land Revenue, and what scanty information is available about them is derived from these old records. Starting from the east of Naugaon village, a line of compounds stretched along the bank of the Ganges to a point, which is marked by n deep nullah a few hundred yards to the west of the present Ghatia Ghat bazar. The compound, surrounded by groves, belonged to Martin, who along with Bathurst, Bush & Co., planted indigo at Shamsabad. It has not been discovered whether he lived here, or in the house in the Park, which Government bought for Maharaja Dhuleep Singh. The compound at the northern end of Naugaon was that of C. J, Coles, also an indigo planter, whose name occurs in the lists of residents from 1880 to 1845. One notice of this family is to be found in the register of marriages for 1842. On the 13th October Thomas Leopold Dyce married Emma Coles. The Dyces were an old established family, and an account of them will be found in chapter X. At the southern end of Naugaon was *a* saltpetre factory. The owner of it has not been recorded. To the north-west of the village was a large grove, which separated the Coles from the compound of a factory owner, whose name has not been identified. The records call him Mr. Temmel, and he is also described as a doctor. His bungalow overlooked the river, while more to the centre of his property stood the factory, which is called the " Machine House." Bahadurpur village, and the road to it, lay between this compound and the fields rented by the Customs Department up to 1856 ; for long after the abolition of the Customs in 1835, the Collector of the District had an establishment here, which supervised the distribution of salt, refining of saltpetre, and the prevention of salt smuggling from the kingdom of Oudh. The large enclosure of the Customs, with sheds and office, came next. At the present day the western wall of the enclosure bounds the Trunk Road to the ferry at the river, a road which is lined by shops, and usually leading to the boat bridge. A revenue map of 1844, however, does not show any road or ferry at this spot, and the question arises as to where the ferry and the boat bridge could then have been. The only ferry shown is that at the

end of a broad road along the western boundary of the compound of Mr. Coles. This road was a much frequented one, as is evident from its width on the plan. It started from the main road in Naugaon village, and it is usual for shops and buildings to line the road as near as possible to these ferries in order to benefit from the traffic over them. Naugaon village, which was originally a compact area to the south, stretched itself along the Trunk Road with this design. It can reasonably be presumed that the public ferry and boat bridge from 1838 for many years was at the eastern end of this side road.

Two compounds immediately adjoined the Customs House. On the bank of the river was a house owned by Mr. Clark. He had also a property in the Circular Road, and another on the site of the Maude Lines, where it is certain lie actually resided himself. Earlier records than that of 1844 indicate that Mr. Kinloch, the Collector of Customs, lived next door to the Customs House, and he must have resided in this compound, which has now disappeared, giving place to the Ghatia Ghat Bazar. Some difficulty arises over the compound to the west along the edge of the City Road. It is called the Customs House Gate, and two tall pillars of brick still stand in battered condition to mark the place. There were so many extensions to the Customs House property and buildings erected that it is impossible to identify the use of this compound ; but at this spot is also to be found the camping ground of the Customs, of which there are several mentions. The area to the west was covered by the property of Mr. James Mercer (1788-185J5) and the fields, which he rented from Dan Kuer. A tine well by the side of the City Road, which he built, is still called [4t] Mercer Sahib's well '\ .He was buried in the Fort cemetery. A few outhouses and foundations near the river bank are all that remain of his house. His son left Fatehgarh just before the Mutiny, and died intestate. The property was sold iu 1859 at Calcutta by the Administrator-General of Bengal. Jt now belongs to Babu Gendan Lal, Vakil.

Mr. Deano (Commissioner for the Ceded Provinces) had a garden nearly opposite to the Customs House, being attached to the small hamlet of Bhagua Nagla. The original Bhagua was a Chumar syce, to whom the land was granted in the eighteenth century by the Bangash Nawab. By

1812 the property had fallen into the hands of Mr. Deane, who started a fruit garden adjoining the village. On Mr. Deane's death in 1818, Government granted the village to his colleague on the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces, Sir Edward Colebrooke, and to the Board's Secretary, Mr. Newnham. The area was fifty acres, and Mr. Newnham, buying out his partner for Rs. 2,000, sold it in 1829 to the Bangash Nawab Sarbuland Khan for Rs. 5,000, who, it will be remembered, eloped with Miss Harriet Birch. The village is now just outside the Cantonment boundary, and is no longer noted for its fruit. At the beginning of the nineteenth century strawberries and peaches were produced all over the Station.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD CHURCH.

A PICTURESQUE landmark Is the spire of the old Church, which overlooks the parade ground. This end of the Station was outside Cantonments, and here was located the business centre of Fatehgarh. Thickly crowded with small thatched bungalows, the area around the Church must have presented a thriving appearance with its shops and tent godowns in the Circular Road, and the theatre by the side of the parade ground ; while from 1840 onwards the racquet court was in daily use.

In spite of the largeness of the Fatehgarh community, there was no church up to 1821, a curious feature considering the ample provision for worship, which was made in other old Cantonments. The Temporary Brigade had its own chaplain ; for in January, 1779, the Revd. T. Ford was sent to act in that capacity. At no time previous to the year 1818, however, is there any mention of a church, and it cannot be said where divine worship was celebrated. It is most probable that a private bungalow was utilised for the purpose, since this was certainly the case in several other stations. Even in the large Cantonment of Cawnpore a single-roomed bungalow was considered to be ample for church services for the first forty years of its existence. It was the visit of the Marquis of Hastings in 1815 which gave impetus to a project for building a church at Fatehgarh. The Marquis had remarked on the difficulty of holding Services, and during his stay they were conducted in one of the rooms of the theatre, Mr. Henderson, the Cawnpore Chaplain, having been summoned for the purpose.

The erection of a church was sanctioned by Government on the 4th March 1818. The Agent to the Governor-General wrote on the 5th January 1819, reporting the election of a select Vestry, and the purchase of a plot of ground for Rs. 1,500. Building operations, however, were very slow. In 1819 the Revd. J. P. Hastings came from

Cawnpore as chaplain, the first after an interval of nine years, and work was speeded up in spite of protests by the Superintendent of Public Buildings that the ground was defective. Thirteen glazed windows were sanctioned in October of that year, and on the 15th November 1821, the building was at length completed. The completion reports and accounts were prepared on the 18th January 1822, the total expenditure being Rs. 20,700. Government at Calcutta passed the accounts, sanctioning the following staff of two bearers on four sonat rupees per mensem for dusting the pulpit, reading desk and seats, one chokidar, and one sweeper at the same rate of pay. Captain Casement, the District Barrack Master, furnished the interior for 702-13-5 sonat rupees. Four officers were responsible for the building from start to finish. Captain T. Burn, Superintendent of Public Buildings, was the first, and after preparing plans he handed over charge to Captain W. H. Kemm, (1783-1859), who ended his career subsequently as a Lieutenant-General. The third architect was a certain Captain Roberts, who appears to have been responsible for the actual building from 1819 to 1821. This Captain Roberts, then an Assistant Superintendent of Civil Buildings, had a distinguished career. He was the General Sir Abraham Roberts (1784?-187B), who made a name in the 1st Afghan War, and was the father of Field-Marshal Lord Roberts. He died at Clifton at an advanced age Of Captains Burn and Casement nothing is known. The Church was built in the style then popularly known as the "Grecian", and seems to have been a square box-like building with side aisles. There was a pyramidal tower and a spire very much like those of the Rakha church, and the whole building at Rakha may well have been a copy. The west end with one bay of the nave is all that remains to-day, and is used as the Civil Surgeon's Office in connection with the Civil Hospital. Traces of the old wall decorations can be seen in places beneath the modern whitewash. The ruin of the Church is due to the mutineers of the 41st N. I., who in 1857 exploded two mines beneath it, and destroyed all but the west end and tower. After the Mutiny the Church was for several years a heap of ruins, and the large compound desolate. The new Church of All Souls was to be built by the old rifle range; and for six

years the site was left as it was. In 1863 the compound was cleared of rubbish. The west end was put in order, and turned into a school. In 1870 the new Civil Hospital was established a few yards away through the efforts of Doctor Reid, the Civil Surgeon, and the school was moved to make way for hospital needs. For many years the remnants of the Church served the purpose of hospital wards, until proper accommodation being provided in new buildings in the compound, they were turned to their present use as offices for the Civil Surgeon.

The old Church is nowhere styled " church " in the records. From the beginning the residents were much perplexed as to whether the edifice was a church, or a chapel, and also whether it was a church erected by Government, or a chapel made by the residents. In April 1820, while building operations were still going on, Mr. Ross, the Agent to the Governor-General at Fatehgarh, forwarded a petition to the Governor-General at Calcutta, desiring a ruling on the point, and enquiring if the Bishop could be asked for a license to celebrate public worship in the building, until it was consecrated. The Governor-General in reply stated that the building was to be called a chapel erected by Ciovernnient, and aided by the contributions of the community of Fatehgarh. As early as 1817 Sir Edward Colebrookc started collecting money, and that year he reported that he had received 4,000 sicca rupees in subscriptions for the " new chapel ". The license was issüed by the Bishop of Calcutta on the Lith June 1820 "for the performance of Divine Service iu the newly built Church or Chapel at Fattygarh before consecration"' The Bishop seems to have shared the doubts of the congregation as to the right title of the building. The Church was consecrated under the name of Christ Church on the 7th January 1837. A record of this consecration was discovered by Bishop Saunders, the present Bishop of Luc know, in a book called " The Life of Bishop Daniel Wilson " (Bishop of Calcutta 1838-58), and he has kindly sent the following extract from it. " Another rapid run of forty-eight hours through Furreedpore and Futtehgunge (both in Bareilly District) to Jellalabad (in Shahjahanpur District) on January 5th, followed by another of equal distance, varied by a passage across the mighty

Ganges on January 6th, brought the Bishop safely to Futtyghur, where he found au excellent chaplain (Rev. R. Ewing), a good Church, and all things in order. Much pleasant intercourse took place here with friends, who were gradually passing down the country from Sitnlali, the germs of missionary work were watched and encouraged. The Church and burial grounds were consecrated. Divine services were performed. The Holy Sacrament and Confirmation administered; and then the Bishop rejoined the camp for a few days quiet march. The sportsmen went out, and provided the table with wild geese, as on the other side of India it had been provided with wild peacocks. On January 14th the Bishop entered the large station of Cawnpore, and rested in the Chaplain's house ". Bishop Heber in his celebrated tour of Upper Bengal came very near to visiting Fatehgarh. He was actually invited to do so by Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan. He enquired about the Church, however, and wrote to the Governor-General in 1825 that " Fatehgarh has an elegant and spacious church, and a numerous Christian population, but no chaplain. Should one be allowed, which is on every account very desireable, he might with great advantage attend one Sunday in the month, alternately at Coel (Aligarh) and Mynpooree ", Government recognised the expediency of selecting Fatehgarh as a station for a chaplain permanently. There had been no chaplain since the Rcvd. J. P. Hastings left in 1820 after the death of his young wife, who was buried in the Fort cemetery, and henceforth chaplains were sent to Fatehgarh regularly.

There had been chaplains on and off from the very first years of the Temjwrary Brigade, but in the absence of regular mention in the records, it cannot be said if they succeeded one another without a break. The Station Staff Officer certainly officiated, when the chaplain was away, and curiously this officer had also to work as postmaster, when required. The following list contains the names of all chaplains mentioned in the records :

1779. Revd. T. Ford. He came in January and seems to have been the first.

1793. Revd. Tho. Clarke.

1794. Revd. Paul Lemerick. Revd. W. Lewis.

1795-96 Revd. Tho. Clarke.

1805. Revd. T. Hartweil.

180(>. Revd. H. Shepherd.

1807. Revd. H. P. Stacy, L. L. 1). Died on the 7th November, and was buried in the Fort cemetery.

1808-09. Revd. R. Jeffreys. Mrs. Jeffreys died in 1809. The epitaph on her tomb in the Fort cemetery is long and quaint.

1810-12. The Station Staff Officer (Lieutenant P. H. Ashurst) .

1813. Revd. S. S. Coleman.

1815. The Marquis of Hastings brought the Cawnpore Chaplain to Fatehgarh for five months.

1819. On the building of the Church being started, the Revd. J. P. Hastings was transferred from Cawnpore to be the first permanent chaplain, but on the death of his wife in 1820 he obtained an appointment at Calcutta.

1825. Revd. J. Irving. He went on furlough in 1831.

1833. Revd. R. Ewing.

1838. Revd. W. Sturrock.

1839. Revd. J. H. A. Rudd.

1845. Revd. H. P. Brooks.

— Revd. R. B. Malltry.

1849. Revd. J. Carshore.

1850. Revd. W. J. Jay. Baptised Maharaja Dhuleep Singh in 1852.

1857. Revd. N. Fisher. Killed at Cawnpore in the Mutiny. His tragic story has been told in " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny ".

The Station Staff Officer celebrated marriages as well as taking the burial services. The earliest entries of marriages at Fatehgarh in the registers of St. John's Church at Calcutta, then the Parish Church of Bengal, are as follows :

1786. June 3rd. James Wilkinson, Mary Somkyns. Married by D. Mackinnon, Lt. of Artillery.

1787 March 21st. George Hardeman, Gustruy De Miller. By D. Mackinnon, Lt. of Artillery.

1787 April 8th. Edward Suffolks, Ann Botterell. By John Gordon, Lt.

„ Sept. 10th. George Thorp, (fifer) , Hannah De Rozi. Hy John Gordon, Lt.

„ Sept. 13th. Joseph Gascoyne, Miss Sarah Evance. By John Gordon, Lt.

„ Oct. 7th, Joseph Silvia, Elizabeth De Razera. By John Gordon, Lt.

1793. April 7th. William Doyle, Mary Domingo. By Revd. Tho. Clarke.

„ Sept. 15th. John Richardson, Lt., Jane Lou ism Debonacrind. By Revd. Tho. Clarke.

The rites of baptism, however, were not performed by the Station StaffF Officer, when the chaplain was away. Children were baptised at any age, whenever a chaplain happened to come to the Station. The register of 1795 indicates this clearly, as the following extract will show :

1795. March 13th. George Stewart, aged IS months. S/o. George Dick, Lt., by Rev. Thomas Clarke.

„ March 13th. Frances Ann, aged 2 years 4 mos. D/o. George Dick, Lt., by Rev. Thomas Clarke.

„ March 13th. Ann Elizabeth, aged 12 months. D/o. William Cress well, Lt., deceased, by Rev. Thomas Clarke.

„ March 15th. Charles, aged 12 months. S/o. Charles Campbell Fifer, 18 Bn., by Rev. Thomas Clarke.

„ March 15th. William, aged 4 months 2 days. S/o. William Lawrence, Matross, by Rev. Thomas Clarke.

„ March 22nd. William, aged 13 months. S/o. John Jarrot, Provost Sergt, by Rev. Thomas Clarke.

Most of the entries relate to families of which nothing is known but their name. The following entry, however, is of interest:

1793. 7th March. Charlotte Morgan, aged 9 weeks. D/o. Richard Ramsay, Capt, of Cavalry, and Mary, his wife, by Rev. Tho. Clarke.

Captain Ramsay, of course, was the officer, who deserted after the battle of Bitaurah in 1794. His wife was Samuel Skardon's daughter.

The then Officer Commanding, Colonel Charles Morgan, may have stood as sponsor, hence the name Morgan.

After 1816 registration of baptisms, marriages, find burials were made more frequently, and the registers containing them still exist in the custody of the Diocesan Registrar at Calcutta. Notice of burials will be found in chapter V. Another kind of record was involved in the destruction of the old Church. There were many tablets on its walls, only one of which is known. The inscription was as follows :

> Died at Futteeghur on the 26th April 1848 Louisa, the beloved wife of Wm. Bannatyne Macleod, who served for 14 years as surgeon of the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry. Her gentle and amiable disposition so endeared her to the officers of the Regiment that they have erected this tablet to her memory as a token of their affection."

Mrs. Macleod was buried in the Fort cemetery. The list of baptisms after 1816* contains nothing of special interest, but it is otherwise in the case of marriages, ninety-three of which were celebrated in this Church between 1826 and 1857. The first to take place were those of two sisters. On the 26th .lune 1826 Martha Ann Faithful was nmmed to Tho. R. Tell, and on the 20th July following Maria Faithful to John Bean. The last marriage was that of James Durand, the tent manufacturer in the Circular Road, and Hannah Halliday on the 23rd August 1856. Four members of the Brierley family, residing within a stone's throw of the Church itself, and three of the Birch family in No. 12 Bungalow find place in the list. Mary Ann and Rose Maria, the two sisters of Harriet Birch, who eloped with a Bangash Nawab, married army officers. Familiar names, belonging to families long resident in the Station, are Churcher, Maxwell, Bickers, Cawood, Dyce, Collins, Kembali, Hennessey, DetJruyther, and Jennings. Janet Jennings, married to John Collins in 1844, met a cruel death in the Mutiny. The Mutiny, too, is recalled by the entry of John Ahern's marriage with Lucy Lambert in 1850. A hern fell in the defence of the Fort, and was buried in the cemetery there. It was Mrs. A hern, who proved herself an excellent rifle shot on the walls. John Kew, the Postmaster, who fell in the parade ground massacre, is in the register; and his sister Arabella married the

Inspector of Post Offices, William Catania, only ten months before they both perished at Cawnpore. Other Mutiny victims, such as Madden, in whose compound the new Church now stands, the Shepherds, Ives, Gaumisse, Gibson, Macklin, and George Davy Raikes (killed at Bareilly. Judge of Farrukhabad 1850) have their names recorded in it. Two well known families of the United Provinces find mention in an entry for the 18th May 18539, showing the marriage of J. R. LeMaistre and Mary Fanthome. The bridegroom was a descendant of J. LeMaistre, a Puisne Judge of Calcutta in Warren Hastings' time ; while the bride was a daughter of Captain Bernard Fanthome (died at Bareilly 1845), a French adventurer, who served in Scindia's army, and then joined Lord Lake. An account of this family will be found in Blunt's " Christian Tombs and Monuments.[1]' Another entry relates to Major Charles Bruere, who was shot on the roof of the Brigade Mess during the defence of the Residency at Lucknow. A society marriage took place in February 18*31, which must have been celebrated with much ceremony. Eliza, the daughter of Brigadier C. S. Fagan, commanding Rohilkhand, was in that month married to Major-General J. W. Sleigh, C. B. Fatehgarh was chosen for this marriage, since Brigadier Fagan had been connected with the place as Army Clothing Agent for many years. On the 21st January 1842 Captain Hatcheli of the 69th N. I. was married to Frances Anne Graham. Captain Hatchell died two years after, but his widow survived him until 1894, and was probably the last to have been intimately connected with the old Church.

The permanent residents of the Station became closely connected to each other by marriage. To take one example, there was a group of seven families, who intermarried between 1830 and 1850. W. H. DeGruyther, the Deputy Collector, married Mary Ann Bickers, whose sister, Sarah, was afterwards united to Charles Cawood, Head Clerk of the Clothing Agency. DeGruyther's two sisters both married local residents. Sophia Jane married E. Jennings, whose sister, Janet, became the wife of J. R. Collins, the son of another Deputy Collector. The other sister, Elizabeth, married James Shepherd, the schoolmaster ; and Mrs. Madden, the wife of J. R. Madden of the Clothing Agency, was Elizabeth

Shepherd. Four of these families were murdered in the Mutiny. Besides this group it would be possible to form several others of the kind, notably of indigo planter families like that of the Churchers, or of families devoted to office work in humble grades like those of the Gaumisses, Anthonys, and Da Silvas.

CHAPTER X.

THE CIVIL LINES.

THE name "Civil Lines"[1] was applied to the row of houses on the Ganges bank, reaching from Bargadia Ghat to the present Golf Links. Overlooking the temple by the seventh brown on the Links was the house of Mr. Robinson. Traces of the well can be seen, but the house itself has gone. It was called after John Bush. The first Bush was Thomas, who came in 1780, and set up as a merchant first by himself, and then in 1791 as partner with Robert Bathurst. The association disappears in 1813, when the Bushes joined Urquhart and Co. ; and John Bush, the son, later became an indigo planter at Mehndi Ghat near Kanauj with Packard & Co. He is last recorded in 1846. The house continued to be called "John Boos's" house. Mr. Robinson, who elected to live in Bush's house, was the Francis Horsley Robinson of Barhpur fame (see chapter VI). He was Collector from 1835 to 1837, acting as Commissioner of the Agra Division five years later. He died in 1856 after serving as Member of the Board of Revenue. Nawab Dooleh records in his diary that he used to call on Mr. Robinson at this house. Between this bungalow and the present Collector's house was a bungalow called the "Colonel Sahib's house" up to 1850. Many Commanding Officers lived here, although it could never have been a very large residence. The memorial of the civilians living in Cantonments included as one of their grievances the complaint that in 1829 the Officer Commanding and several other military officers would not reside anywhere but in the Civil Lines. Both these compounds were amalgamated into one by David Churcher after the Mutiuy. David Churcher's father, Thomas Churcher. had lived in the house, the place of which is now taken by the Officers[1] Mess. In 1850 the family moved to a house in Kutra, behind the present Police Lines. Thomas Churcher went to Etah District, being interested in an indigo plantation there, but his two sons remained at Fatehgarh, and supervised an indigo factory at Chilauli, near Kaimganj.

The house at Kutra fell into ruins during the Mutiny. T. H. Churcher was killed. His brother David, however, was one of the seven survivors of the Mutiny at Fatehgarh. The two old bungalows of John Bush and the "Colonel Sahib[91] were bought and demolished by him. The present house was erected on a fresh site, and in it David Churcher died in 1908. He was given the honours of a military funeral in the new cemetery, where his tomb is to be seen. By the well on the Ganges bank are the foundations of a small building in which were some indigo vats. After the failure of indigo Chunni Lai, Mr. Churcher's Jemadar, lived in it. Chunni Lai had helped Mr. Churcher to escape in the Mutiny from the Kutra house to the neighbouring village of Mahrupur.

The house of the Collector and Magistrate was called the "Residenti." The tradition is that on, or near this site, was the habitation of the early Residents ; and after them came wealthy indigo planteis. The massive chenam columns and Corinthian capitals in the hall resemble the architecture affected by Nawab Hakim Mchdi Ali Khan, into whose possession the property came in 1824. The house, as it stands, was built by him about 1825, and was thereafter called by his name. He left it to one of his nephews in 18137, named Munawwar-ud-Dowleh.

From 1835 to 1852 the Judge and Magistrate resided here ; for he also took over the rather ornamental duties of Agent to the Governor-General, and it was the custom for the Agent to live in the " Residenti." Henry Swetenham was the first. Having entered the service in 1810, he first appears in Fatehgarh as an Acting Collector in 1820, and the following year he took over charge for a further two years. During this period he lived at Kasim Bagh, just a few yards behind the Maude Lines, where the first Collectors appear to have lived. In 1832 he officiated as Commissioner, and in 1835 commenced his six years tenure of the Judge's office.

Mrs. Fanny Parks stayed in this house four times between 1835 and 1839 with Henry Swetenham, who was a relation of hers. In the "Wanderings of a Pilgrim" she informs us that the family belonged to Somerford Booths in Cheshire, the seat of Captain Clement Swetenham, 16th Light Dragoons, a veteran of the Peninsula and Waterloo. Another

Captain Swetenham was in the Sappers at Meerut, and Mrs. Parks superintended for him the building of Cloud End at Mussoorie. The garden at Fatehgarh is described as being well planted with a profusion of rare trees and shrubs. The house was cool in April with *tatties* and thermantidotes in full blast.

Nawab Dooleh, the local Pepys, records his calls on Mr. Swetenham in-great detail. " Salteen Sahib ", as he was called, received his visitors at 11 a. m., and after conversation cardamoms were presented on a silver tray. The visitor then gave his gift of ceremony and took leave. Nawab Dooleh in May 1839 brought a dali of rose water, Akbarabad oranges, as the Agra variety was then called, and pomegranates. On this occasion he narrowly missed Mrs. Parks, who had just left. Mr. Swetenham retained the customs of a past generation. He was the last officer to smoke his huqqa in court, and go about accompanied by a huqqa bardar, carrying the necessary apparatus. The huqqa was then fast going out of fashion. He died in 1860.

Messrs. Cartwright and Tyler and other Judges up to 1852 lived here. Mr. Tyler, 1841-45, was the last Agent. In 1852, Nawab Dooleh saw Mr. Buller, the new Judge, living in tents behind the Judge's Court, lief ore moving into the present Judge's house. The reason for this migration is not known.

In 1861, Mr. Walker, a Deputy Collector, bought the premises at an auction for Rs. 2,000, Munawwar-ud-Dowleh having relinquished all his uncle's property to Government. The house had to be renovated after the damage incurred in the Mutiny, and the bazar tradition is that the roof fell leaving the chenam pillars standing. The records show that not a door post or beam or woodwork of any kind had been left in it. Mr. Walker was transferred to Jaunpur, and gave the property to his wife, Ajabi Begum. Nawab Jaffri Begum of Shamsabad, the wife of Nawab Dooleh, held a mortgage over it, and in 1869 she acquired the full title from Ajabi Begum, along with a shop outside the gate, the foundations of which can be traced by the roadside.

In 1872, the Settlement Officer took possession, and erected his office in the compound near the Toll House. After the end of Settlement

in 1876', the garden was abandoned, and for 12 years appeal's to have formed an impenetrable jungle. Its rescue was due to Mr. Growse, who in 1888 bought the property, together with Baqirganj on the other side of the main road, for Rs. 11,000, and repairing the house itself, embellished it with frescoes by Jaipur artists and iron grilles, which he took away with him on retirement. Much of his decoration, however, still remains, and it is to be regretted that painted punkha boards and poles, long objects of admiration, have perished.

On the western side of the road overlooking Baqirganj is a large bungalow, which was the town house of Nawab Jaffri Begum: and from this place her husband Nawab Dooleh made his periodical calls on the notables of Fatehgarh. It was generally occupied by European Deputy Collectors, of whom the best known was William DeGruyther, He makes his first appearance in 1836 as an Assistant in the Army Clothing Factory hard by; but before this he had been living in Cantonments and signed the memorial of 1829. On the 22nd February 1838 he was appointed Deputy Collector under Regulation IX of 1833, and he was pi'esent in 1855. The Mutiny lists however do not mention him ; and beyond the fact that he was interested in potato cultivation, and in 183(5 his sister married Mr. Kdmond Jennings, a merchant, nothing further is known.

North of this house is now the Government High School; but up to 1844 the property was the residence of A. Jacob, a Eurasian clerk in the Collector's office. The property consisted of bungalow, outhouses and a zenana, and only fetched Rs. 900 in 1844, when Mr. Richard Rowe bought it. J. W. Jacob, a brother, was better known, and had shops both at Agra and Fatehgarh. Occasionally, he took the farm of the Town duties from the Customs Department, and in 1816' lived where the Maude Lines are situated.

A road divided this compound, as it does now, from the area occupied by the Army Clothing Factory, which nearly covered the extent of the Company Garden. Roughly speaking, the Club tennis courts cover the site of the Army Clothing Factory, or Kurti godown, as it was styled locally. Between the tennis courts and the walls of the

serai, was Mrs. Hannah Collins* bungalow, with Mrs. Jennings' house to the south of it. The Army Clothing Agent lived next door to the Factory, his gate being nearly opposite the Police Superintendent's present entrance. His compound extended up to the houses of the Sadder Bazar and the house of Alfred Hinc. North-west was the Rum Godown, or Commissariat, and here was a bakery. The site is now covered by the Gracey Club.

This portion of the Civil Lines was inhabited before 1816. The Agent's bungalow, and the one behind Mrs. Collin's, were iu that year bought by Sheikh Madari from a Mr. Heysham, the old serai being known also as Hey sham's Serai. The Agents at first rented their house from Sheikh Madari. Iu 184*1, however, the Agent, Major Simmonds, bought it outright for Rs. 2,400.

The Collins family had long been in Fatehgarh, and W. Collins, Deputy Collector, died here in 1831. His son J. R. Collins was also a Deputy Collector and died in 1855. Mrs. Hannah Collins (wife of J. R. Collins) wns left well off. Between No. 15 and 16 Bungalows in Cantonments, now a bare field, was a house of hers. She owned No. Ki, the old Officers' Mess, and the fine house on the Ganges bank, formerly inhabited by the Opium Agent. She herself lived in a small house between the Club tennis courts and the serai, and here she met her death in the Mutiny. The ruins were sold in 1861 by Mr. J. A. Collins of Delhi for Rs. 410 to Pt. Ganga Rain. In 18(j3 the site was absorbed in the Company Garden.

A Government Order of the Vice-President in Council, dated the 5th December 1809 directed that the clothing of the Army was to be arranged for by an Agent and a Deputy Agent to be stationed at Fatehgarh. This was enforced by au Order of the Governor-General, dated the 3rd December 1811. Accordingly after 1812 the following Agents had charge of the Clothing Agency at Fatehgarh :—

1. 1813-24. Major C. S. Fagan, (1781-1843). Afterwards Major-General and C. B. In 1815 and 1825 he raised new battalions, the former of which, the 1/29th (57th N. I.), received its colours on the parade ground in 1815 at the hands of Lord Moira, then

visiting Fatehgarh as Governor-General. It therefore adopted the same uniform as that of Lord Moira's old British regiment, the 27th Foot, and was known as " Moira ki paltan." The regiment mutinied at Ferozepore in 1857. Major Fagan is also stated to have raised a third battalion at Fatehgarh in 1818, which still exists ns the 9th Gurkha Rifles. Major T. P. Smith, however, commanded it from the lieginning, and is also credited with the work of raising it. In 1825 Major Fagan was Officer Commanding at Fatehgarh. The next year he commanded the 6th Infantry Brigade at the siege of Bhurtpore. He was Brigadier Commanding Rohilkhand in 1831, and that same year he came to Fatehgarh to witness the marriage of his daughter to General Sleigh in the old Church.

2. 1824-25. Major F. Sackville, (1785-1827), 55th N. I. Afterwards Lt.-Colonel 41st N. I. Arrived in India 1801. 2nd Mahratta War and operations in Bundelkhand. Employed a great deal on survey work, and in 1817-18 was A, Q. M. G. at the head of the topographical staff in Bengal. In 1819-20 he was 1). Q. M. G. Bengal, Died at Richmond, Surrey.

3. 1825-32. Major J. Wilkie, (1786-1845), 8th N. I. Arrived in India 1805. Retired 1832 from Fatehgarh. Operations against Dundia Khan 1807, Served with Pioneers 1812-25. Nepal War 1814-15. 1st Burma War, Arakan 1825. Transferred to 8th N. I. 1824.

4. 1832-36. Major R. B. Fulton. Bengal Artillery. Died at Fatehgarh aged 48 years, and was buried in the Fort cemetery.

5. 1830-41. Major R. Gardner, (1791-1874), 13th N. I. Ensign 1807. 3rd Mahratta War. Afterwards Lt.-Colonel 13th N. I.

6. 1841-45. Major J. H. Simmonds, (1790-1869), 55th N. I. Arrived in India 1808. 3rd Mahratta War 1818. Assistant Revenue Surveyor. Secretary to the Clothing Board. Retired 1846. Died near Bath as an Hon. Lt.-Colonel.

7. 1845-53. Major Auchmuty Tucker, (1803-1891), 9th Lt. Cavalry. Afterwards General and C. B. Arrived in India 1827. Conquest of Sind 1843. Severely wounded in five places at the

battle of Meanee. Commanded the Rawalpindi Brigade 1862-65 Died at Leamington.

8. 1853-57. Brevet Lt.-Coloncl Tho. Tudor Tucker, 8th Lt. Cavalry. Killed in the defence of the Fort against the mutineers, and was buried in the Fort cemetery.

In this small area great activity in making army uniforms is manifested by the records, which refer to quarrels with the Customs over detaining bales of cloth. The compound was much hemmed in by the bazar, and the buildings being thatched, there was obvious danger for the stores of cloth. In 1852, Colonel Tucker wrote to Mr. Cunninghame, the Magistrate, that a fire balloon had fallen on the thatch of his house, and the noise of fireworks in the bazar kept him awake all night. "I trust", he says, "without infringing on the legitimate amusements of individuals you will be able to check those which are so fraught with danger to the public." The necessary prohibition was issued.

The Mutiny lists show that the personnel under Colonel Tucker included Messrs. Ahern, Anderson, Cawood, Finlay and Madden. Colonel Tucker and Ahern were killed in the Fort; Anderson in the boat at Manpur Katri; and the others at Cawnpore. Anderson and Charles Cawood came here in 1836- In 1840, Cawood married Sarah, the daughter of Sergt. Major Bickers, and they lived in No. 15 Bungalow. Madden's house was on the site of All Souh Church on the parade ground.

The Post Office Road bisects an area, seamed by nullahs, between Strand Road on the east and Machli Tola on the west. Before the Mutiny the road did not exist; but where are now bare fields, the quarters of the Post Office Superintendent, and the outlying houses of Machli Tola, twelve small compounds, each with its bungalow, were to be seen. One small thatched house at the cross roads, formerly the home of the European Reserve Inspectors of Police, indicates the general appearance of these residences. At the northern end of Machli Tola was the house of John Nickterlein, which has been divided into two separate halves. A portion has been rebuilt; but the half which contains Hashim's furniture shop, is in its original condition.

John Nickterlein, merchant, appears in the records of the year 1819 as an importer of borax from Nepal, upon a consignment of which he was overcharged duty by the Customs. In 1820 he lost a rawanna, or permit, and the Customs office addressed him as Mr. Necterlein. His name was properly Nichteriein, though he himself never seems to have spelt it in that way. In 1833 he applied unsuccessfully for appointment as principal Sudder Amin, or bailiff, and was passed over for James Mercer. He appears also to have resided in Cantonments, for in 1829 he signed the memorial protesting against the right of military officers to eject civilians. He was a friend of Hennessy, the Clothing Factory accountant, and was godfather of Hennessy's famous son. The last mention of him at Fatehgarh is in 1846. The murder of his son (S. A. Nichteriein) at Sawamai in Aligarh District during the Mutiny indicates that he had moved from Fatehgarh before 1857, and started an indigo factory at Mandrak.

The Cantonment boundary, then as now, ran conterminous with the main nullah of Bargadia Ghat, and within the bend to the north-west of the Post Office Superintendent's house was the residence of Mrs. Sarah Dyce in 1835. The site is now under cultivation, but the well is left. This lady also owned No. 13 Bungalow on the Strand Road. The family had long been resident in Fatehgarh. Thomas Leopold Dyce, her husband, was probably related to the Colonel G. A. Dyce of the Begum Samru's service. In 1816 he was granted the farm of the Town duties of Farrukhabad, In 1817 he was appointed Registrar in the office of the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces, and he signed the 1829 memorial against the Cantonment Authority. He was a co-sharer of the village of Bahorikpur in pargana Bhojpur. Mrs. Sarah Dyce's family was no less interesting. She was the daughter of Mostyn Jones merchant, of Cawnpore, and was born in 1786. Her sister, Anne, married at Cawnpore in 1798 Colonel J. F. Meiselbach, a military adventurer in the service of Himmat Bahadur in Bundelkhand, and afterwards commanding the local najib battalion, the adjutant of which was W. R. Jones, a brother of Mrs. Dyce. Mrs. Dyce was at the end of her life described as "of Agra", and the family must have gone there before

1857. She died at Agra in 1870, and together with her husband, who pre-deceased her by one year, was buried in St. Paul's Church cemetery. A confusing record of this family is the registration of the marriage of a Thomas Leopold Dyce to Emma Coles in 1842. There is either a mistake in the Christian name, or he is the son of Thomas Leopold Dyce, senior. The latter interpretation is not unlikely ; for there was a parallel case at Fatehgarh in the Anthony family.

To the south of Dyce's compound lived Eliza, the daughter of Colonel Hickman (commanding the Provincial Battalion 1824-28. Buried in the Fort cemetery) and Mt. Jamiat of Fatehgarh. She was alive in 1849. Other residents in this block were Wright and Nicholas, Eurasian clerks ; Mt, Khairan, or Bibi Palmer, who owned two bungalows on the Maude Lines' site; Mrs. Polly Meickle, Portuguese ; Home and Macklin, clerks in the Collectorate Office. They appear one and all to have fallen on hard times, and eventually by sale, or mortgage, their properties passed to Kanhaya Lai, the local money lender.

In the road to the east of the Civil Hospital compound were two bungalows and a kothi on the eastern side of the road. The first bungalow at the corner was the soda water store and shop of Kanhaya Lal, whose descendants are still there. He advanced money to the poorer residents on mortgages all over the station. The kothi was inhabited by Mirza Kalbe Hu sa in, Deputy Collector, whose service ended in 1856*. He was given an extension of one year, and disappeared in the Mutiny, after sticking to his court to the last moment with the help of Captain Vibart. In this direction to the south was a house belonging to Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, which he gave to the Rani of Tirwa. This house was called Brown Sahib's compound. Nothing is known of Brown. A Mr. Brown of the Civil Service was granted leave on medical certificate in 1817. His name does not appear in the *East India Calendar* as an official at Fatehgarh in that or any other year, but the revenue records mention him.

North of the District Courts is a thatched bungalow, in which the Civil Surgeon lived after the Mutiny up to a recent date. Nothing of its history in pre-Mutiny times has come to light. Mrs. Sturt (see " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny ") appeal's to have been living in it when the Mutiny broke out in

the Station. Next door is the Superintendent of Police's bungalow at the present date. This house, similarly, has no pre-Mutiny records, although it was in existence. Part of its compound, abutting on the main road, and part of the compound to the north were joined together to form the residence of the Bush family after 1807. From 1859 to 1895 the District Judge had this bungalow as his residence. In this house M. B. Thornhili wrote his " Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official " in 1865, a copy of which is in the Club library. The terraced garden, of which he speaks, can be traced on the river bank. The first Police Superintendent was Lieut. A .B. Thomas (Dec. I860), and since he was mostly on tour in the district gathering evidence against mutineers, it cannot be said if he had a house at Fatehgarh, or not.

The earliest record of the Judge's house is 1835. It then belonged to an indigo planter named Smith, and was known as Smith Sahib's bungalow ever afterwards. It passed into the hands of Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan; and it seems that Mr. Buller, the Judge, who came in 18552, found himself dispossessed of the old Judge's residence, and had to move in here ; but on the departure of Maharaja Dhuleep Singh in 1854 he moved to the Maharaja's house opposite No, ^{2}X Bungalow. In 1854 Mr. Lushington, officiating Collector, was the occupier. The house was completely wrecked by the mutineers. It was the residence of Mr. Probyn, the Collector, when the Mutiny broke out. In 1859 Mr. Lindsay, the Collector, also decided to live in this compound ; and on inspection the Valuation Committee found a well, a few trees, and a heap of bricks. Not an atom of wood had been left. They valued the property at Rs. 200. Sukhbasi Lai Sadh, and two others, then bought it at this price, and constructed the present house. The last Collector to live here was Mr. Cornwall from 1882. In his time the river wall had to be constructed to keep the house from falling into the river. Mr. Growse, preferring the present Collector's residence, allowed the Railway Engineer to occupy it. The Judge afterwards moved in, when the Railway Engineer went to his present house.

The stately house, which comes next on the river bank, belonged to Mrs. Hannah Collins. The original structure was damaged by the mutineers; but enough remained in 1861 to fetch the good price of

Rs, 2,710, when Mr. J. A. Collins of Delhi sold the property with three masonry wells to Mr. Briant, merchant. The latter with his family had left by river for Allahabad, a week before the outbreak of the Mutiny. The District Opium Officer occupied it up to 1933.

The three adjoining compounds to the north have changed appearance. In 1835 they contained five small bungalows, the northernmost one having three families living separately in it. The bungalows all belonged to Babu Kanhaya Lai. Even before the Mutiny they had disappeared without leaving a trace in the records. In their place one large compound came into being, the house of which was burnt accidentally. Close by, Bargadia Ghat and the old bridge of 1788 mark the boundary of the Civil Lines.

CHAPTER XL

THE DISTRICT COURTS AND ADMINISTRATION.

JTTJHE large compound opposite the High School, in which the tomb of J[Head Surgeon Hamilton is conspicuous, has been the home of judicial courts since 1807. Before that date nothing certain of its history is known. The eighteenth century records point to the first General-Hospital's location in this direction, and it is also stated that the Head Surgeon lived by his hospital. The General Hospital may therefore have been to the north of Hamilton's tomb in this compound, or in the Company Garden, since according to another record it was on the edge of the Sudder Bazar. As far as local tradition can be trusted, the bank of the Ganges in the Civil Lines was bordered by the houses of wealthy indigo and cotton merchants. One of them, Charles Bathurst, sold his residence to Government in 1807 for Rs. 12,000. This house was purchased for the Judge Magistrate's court, and it is even now the District Judge's court, having thus an unbroken history of 126 years. Charles and James Bathurst were the sons of Robert Bathurst, Superintendent of the Salt Department in 180J3, and senior partner of Bathurst, Bush & Co., which started trading at Fatehgarh in 1791. Robert Bathurst dropped out of the firm in 1830, his two sons carrying on a general trading business for another ten years. On leaving this house the family went to a smaller bungalow in a corner of the present Superintendent of Police's compound.

Little information about the Residents, who represented the East India Company at the Nawab's Durbar in the City, is to be found in the records up to 1802. There were only two of them, and it is known that they lived in special quarters, assigned for their residence. In 1780 there was Mr. Shea, and then came an interregnum of four years, after which Mr. Willes, the son of Mr. Justice Willes at Calcutta, was appointed by Warren Hastings. The Resident's post was not an easy one, and Willes and the Nawab were constantly bickering. In 1785 Warren Hastings had

to censure them both, and eventually Willes was removed. The appointment of a Resident, after engaging to withdraw him, was the fifth charge of the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Up to the cession of the District, supervision of the Nawab was undertaken by the Resident at Luck now, and the arrangement worked successfully, since by careful organisation correspondence was made to reach Lucknow in about forty-eight hours. Well known Residents like Colonel Gabriel Harper and G. F. Cherry (murdered at Benares in 1799) were sufficiently prominent in Farrukhabad affairs as to find mention in private letters at the time.

The date of cession to the East India Company by the Nawab of Farrukhabad was the 4th June 18052 ; and in the Collector's record room there has recently been found a bound copy of the original treaty between the Company and Nawab Nasir-i-Jang. This must have been the private copy of the second Agent to the Governor-General, for it has the signature of Mr. ('laud Russell on the fly leaf. In 1802, therefore, the fiscal history of the District commences along with that of other districts transferred to the Company by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. A great many experiments were made, and the successive changes of administration arc hard to understand. Only a sketch can be given here. For greater detail reference to Dewar's " Handbook to the English Pre-Mutiny Records of the United Provinces " is essential. A Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces had been set up in 1801 under the Honourable Henry Wellesley, a brother of the Governor-General, the Marquis of Wellesley and also of the future Duke of Wellington. To be absolutely clear, it has to be remembered that there were two cessions of the District. One cession was by Nawab Saadat Ali, the Vizier of Oudh, for payment of debts owed to the East India Company. He was overlord of the Nawab of Farrukhabad, who by hereditary right held vast estates in this and adjoining districts. The local Nawab hastened to Bareilly in 1802 to make cession of his rights of sovereignty over these estates in return for a settled allowance to be paid from the treasury at Fatehgarh, but he retained of course a large family domain, which he managed as private property.

Henry Wellesley, afterwards a diplomat and better known by the title of Lord Cowley, administered the large territory, covering Rohil-

khand, the Duab, and the Gorakhpur Division, from Bareilly. Fatehgarh, nevertheless, was said to be the headquarters of the new Board, and Graeme Mercer certainly worked at Fatehgarh, either as a member of the Board, or as its local agent. The Board, however, was dissolved on the 21st February 1805. The Ceded Provinces were formed into seven districts of enormous extent, and Farrukhabad was one of them with boundaries enclosing four or five modern districts. Each district, except Farrukhabad, had a Judge Magistrate and a Collector to administer them. Farrukhabad had an official called the Agent to the Governor-General, who managed the revenues until the appointment of the first Collector in 180(>. In March 1803 the first Judge Magistrate, Mr. Grant, appeared, coming from Benares to take over judicial and executive charge by virtue of Regulation II of that year. Mr. Grant was busy in restoring law and order to a district which sadly needed it. Mr. Graeme Mercer, who was a surgeon by profession, carried out the first settlement of revenue, which was to last for three years. The revenue amounted to nearly eleven lakhs for an area equal to the present District. The right to collect rent and pay revenue was put up to auction, a reserve price having been fixed on the basis of the average of the four preceding years. A second settlement for the years 1805 to 1808 produced just over eleven lakhs ; and the third settlement for four years from 1808 to 1812 increased the revenue demand to over 11.J lakhs yearly. The first Collector, Mr. Cockburn, relieved the Agent of all revenue duties, the Agent himself being abolished. Political work in connection with the Nawab of Farrukhabad was thenceforth carried on by the District Judge, until in]84r3 the appointment of Agent to the Governor-General was deemed obsolete.

The collection of the revenue was difficult during these early years owing to the prevailing spirit of lawlessness, encouraged by Mahratta raids and the violence of a Mohamedan tribe called Mewatti. The Mewattis were greatly feared. Zemindars erected mud forts as a protection against them. Prosperous villages surrounded themselves with walls, moats, and impenetrable jungles of bamboo to hinder all access to the invader. On the 17th March 1809 Kam bar, a Mewatti, entered the

District with a hundred followers, and looted Nawabganj. Two companies of infantry and two guns had to be sent from Fatehgarh to disperse his band. In the Nawabgauj pargana lived Pirthi Singh, a celebrated free-booter, who in Nawabi times had suffered punishment at the hands of Almas Ali Khan by having had his hands and feet cut off and both eyes blinded. Despite this handicap he persisted in highway robbery and murder, until by a Government order dated 15th December 1809 his whole property was confiscated. In this same year the Collector, Mr. Donnithorne, crossed the Ganges with a company of infantry in order to collect the revenue, and had to blow up a mud fort, which barred his wny. In 1815 this Collector had again to requisition a company of infantry for the same work. The Judge, being Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, was overworked and harassed by the Collector, who was always demanding assistance. He had little time for office work, and was always out in the District with his mounted policemen, chasing dacoits, Mewattis, and Mahrattas. The violence of the times was reflected in the crudeness of the criminal law, which as then administered was according to Mohamedan tenets. Trial by ordeal, that is, by holding a red hot cannon-ball in the hands, was in force when the Company took over the District. The taking of oath by this ordeal was set aside for the oath on Ganges water, or on the Koran, and iu 1840 the present form of affirmation was substituted.

From 1804 onwards the existence of secret societies in the District was discovered. In the southern parganas and the northern parts of the modern district of Etawah sixty-seven bodies were found in wells, an examination of which pointed to murder by strangling. Investigation disclosed that the members of the Mewatti tribe, and the Lodhas around Kanauj Town were practising this form of murder on a most extensive scale. A report by Mr. Wright, the Assistant Magistrate, on the activities of these stranglers, or Thugs as they were called, was so illuminating that Government circulated it in 1810 to all districts for information. In 1811 a list of sixty-eight Thugs, who worked the roads of Farrukhabad and Etawah was compiled from informers, and four years later the Fatehgarh Jail had numbers of them in confinement. For some reason

Government was slow to recognise this new menace to society, and it was not until the thirties that General Sleeman and officials of the Thuggi Department were able to control this species of crime. Farrukhabad District had an unenviable reputation for it, and in 1833 Farrukhabad Thugs were being caught iu the Punjab. The Thugs formed gangs of robbers, who were disciplined by officers and worked under the glamour of religious rites. Their raids were carried out on the advice of priests, who consulted the omens regularly. A book, published in 1837, entitled " Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thugs " shows that the Thugs moved along the roads looking for wealthy travellers, whose confidence they gained by friendly conversation. At an auspicious moment, usually at sunset, or daybreak, they strangled and robbed their victim, considering the murder as a sacrifice to Devi, who was revered by Hindoos and Mohamedans alike. The body was generally thrown into a deep well, and the Thugs' well at Kanauj is still pointed out by tradition. The crime of strangling much declined with the advent of railways, but the terror inspired by the operations of the stranglers lasted long. The modern Code of Criminal Procedure, still mentions iu Section 181 "the offence of being a Thug."

Regulation X of 180T established a Board of two members to supervise the Collectors in.the -Ceded Provinces. This Board was called the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces. It lasted down to 1822, and its office was at Fatehgarh. The locality in which this office was situated has not been discovered, but since the Board was followed by the appointment of a Commissioner, whose office was in the building now known as the Collector's cutcherry, it might reasonably be presumed that the Board also worked in the Collectorate compound. In 1822, however, the Board sold its old office to Gopal Das, banker, for Hs. 15,000. No record of any sale by Gopal Das exists, and the property in question is unknown to his descendants. This is a matter for regret, because this Board was the ancestor of the present Board of Revenue, and its correspondence exists in abundance, written as it was from Fatehgarh and other places; for the Board often went on tour with a prodigious following of fifteen hundred persons ! Members of this Board, who resided at Fatehgarh,

when not on tour, were W. R. Cox ; H. St. G. Tucker ; Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart; J. Deane; A. Ross; W. H. Trant; E. S. Waring; and H. Newnhara. The last named member was Secretary to the Board for many years and a very old resident of Fatehgarh.

The proximity of the Board was a great nuisance to the Collector, whose proceedings naturally came under the eyes of the Members more frequently than was the case of other Collectors. On the 26th August 1817, for example, a petition was presented at the Board's office complaining of abuses by the Sudder officers. The Junior Member, Mr. Trant, was at once deputed to go to the Collector's Court in Kasim Bagh and watch him, while he made enquiry into this complaint against his officers and himself. The Collector resented this close supervision, and correspondence between the Board and various Collectors of the District is interesting from this point of view. Mr. H. Swetenham (Collector 1880-24) appears to have been of a fiery nature. On the 5th April 18J20 he was censured by the Board for not having distributed rewards to his tahsildars in a fitting manner. Mr. Swetenham replied as follows: " It is with sensation of real pain I have this day perused the Board's letter of the 90th ult. The Board in the exercise of their control can adopt the language of severity at discretion. I submit to their commands with full respect to their authority, but by the construction of the 2nd para, above I am intercepted in the career of business. 1 cannot venture to pass orders whilst labouring under the stigma implied in the para, above alluded to, reprehended and rebuked, nay even branded and villified by a superior power." The Board ordered him to withdraw these remarks, or complaint would be made to Government at Calcutta. Further on in the year the Collector became resigned to the Board's unceasing vigilance, for in another letter, after pointing out what he would have done in the circumstances, he hastens to add : " Time has effaced the more delicate and more easily irritated feelings of Youth, and experience has taught me to become callous!"

The Collector at this period administered nearly all the modern district of Etah, and a good portion of Eta wah, in addition to Farrukhabad. Eventually the Etah territory became the sub-collectorate of Sirhpura,

which lasted up to 1845. The Etawah sub-coliectorate was called Bela, and it was separated from Farrukhabad in 1838. The Collector at Fatehgarh controlled both these sub-collectorates. In addition to his ordinary revenue duties he was also Mint Master, receiving an extra allowance of Rs. 350 for this post.

In 1883 the Board of Commissioners disappeared, giving way to a Board of Revenue for the Western Province. This Board had its head-quarters at Delhi. In 1825 it was ordered to go to Bareilly and until the necessary buildings were erected, it was to work at Fatehgarh, The records were placed in Colonel Brown's house at Rakha, and business was conducted in a bungalow taken on lease. In 1829 this Board went in its turn. A Sudder Board of Revenue at Calcutta appeared, and new administrative officers, called Commissioners of Circuit and Reveune, acting under the Sudder Board, took charge of the Ceded Provinces. These Commissioners did the work of a modern Sessions Judge, and also supervised the administration of Judge Magistrates and Collectors. The 3rd, or Farrukhabad Division, comprised the districts of Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Etawah, and the sub-collectorate of Sirhpura. The Commissioner's office, called the Circuit House, was that building now occupied by the officers and courts of the Collectorate. From 1829 to 1838, therefore, the appearance of the Collectorate compound was gradually assuming its modern shape. The Judge Magistrate occupied the present Sessions Court, and there was a Court for the Subordinate Judge behind. Besides the Circuit House in the middle, there existed the tomb of Head Surgeon Hamilton, the well, and a havalat, or lock-up for under trial prisoners, on the site of the old police barracks, and behind the present Police Club. This lock-up was built in 1814 by Mr. Elliott for Rs. 2,500. It was in the Commissioners' times described as a " bomb proof building ", and was guarded by a duffadar and eight sepoys. A havalat for civil prisoners was made *on* the site of the Judge's garden behind his court. All these buildings were smaller than they are to-day. The Circuit House, which was the largest of them, had only half of its present extent.

The first Commissioner was Henry Newnham, who for long had held the post of Secretary to the Ceded Provinces' Board. His connection

with Fatehgarh started in 1812. He entered the Company's service in 1802, serving in many appointments long since obsolete, such as that of Collector of Customs, Superintendent of Resources in 1815, Mint Master 1824, and member of the Board of Revenue for the Western Province up to 1829. He had also been Collector of the District. He lived in the Mall Road, his compound covering those of No. 17 and No. 18 Bungalows. This residence was known by his name do^n to the Mutiny. The records contain a good deal of his correspondence, which shows him to have been an official of great experience in the Revenue Department. There is a curious report by him to the Board concerning an affray in the south of the District, in which his orderlies were concerned. It appears that they were escorting his family to the bazar of a small town in order to purchase stores, when dacoits attacked them. The family turned out to be an Indian lady living under Newnham's protection. It was this lady who erected the Kerbela behind the present Police Lines. Newnham built the Lai Serai in the City, restored the Bangash tomb at Mau Rashidabad, and was much respected by the inhabitants of the District.

In 1832, the Commissioner had a large staff of four assistants namely Messrs. Gilmore, Morgan, Totenham, and Travel's. These gentlemen helped to make up a civilian staff of nine officers, which was a total never reached again ; for as a civil station Fatehgarh was at its zenith in the thirties, and then aferwards declined, as the Cantonment had done. A Viscount Exmouth was assistant in 1834. Mr. Boulderson was the last Commissioner and a friend of Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan. The latter was fond of displaying his knowledge of English; and on hearing that the Commissionership had been abolished, he wrote a letter of condolence to Mr. Boulderson, in which he concluded with the following curse: " And as for the man who formed the idea of doing away with your appointment, my dear friend, may God blast him under the earth."

Other Commissioners were R. H. Tulloh ; E. J. Hnrington; W. Monckton {India 1814-42. Judge of the High Court. Died 1875); H. Swetenham ; H. Fraser (India 1814-41. Judge of Delhi. Died 1843); and H. S.

Boulderson (India 1817*52. Member, Board of Revenue. Died 1877). In 1858 the 3rd Division was amalgamated with that of Agra, Mr. Boulderson being the first Commissioner of the new Division at Agra. When he vacated the Circuit House, the Collector at once moved in from the Mint House.

The Collectorate compound then assumed its present appearance. The Circuit House was lengthened to the south. The Record Room block to the north-east was built, and the land by Hamilton's tomb, which was covered with lines for the Police after the Mutiny, was occupied by the stables and lines of the mounted orderlies. On the river bank was a a chir khana ", or morgue, for post mortems on corpses. The arcaded building, south of Hamilton's tomb, is said by ba/ar tradition to have Ixien a serai. This is not the case, for the building was cons tructed for the Treasury. All the buildings were damaged in the Mutiny by the 41st N. 1., and the majority of the records were burnt. Records, picked up from the ground ou the re-occupation of the Station, were bound together, and are to be viewed in the Record Room. The volumes of the 1833 Settlement were also salvaged, and show no trace of damage. They must have been concealed in a safe place by Mr. Probyn, the Collector, when the Mutiny broke out. A few old sale deeds were recovered, which are now to be seen in the Registrar's office. The bulk of the records, so far as they relate to correspondence with the Commissioner, was fortunately at Agra, and has come down intact to the present day. These records give all requisite information for a study of the pre-Mutiny administration in detail. Dewar's handbook to the records of the Province indicates their scope and contents.

It has been seen that the third settlement of the revenue ended in *\HV2.* Mr. Donnithome, the Collector, prepared the fifth, which was to last up to 1817, providing for a revenue of roughly thirteen and a quarter lakhs. This settlement was prolonged by five yearly extensions up to 1836. Mr. Donnithorne's assessment was extremely unpopular. The only detailed survey, which he carried out, was necessitated by the uncompromising attitude of Raja Jaswant Singh of Tirwa. In November **1813 Mr.** Donnithorne proceeded himself to inspect the Raja's villages in

Chhibramau and Bewar. As he approached each village the Raja's agents abducted the village accountant, and concealed the estate papers. The result was a detailed survey of the estate, a measure forced on Mr. Donnithorne, which as a matter of fact proved a valuable guide for assessment purposes, and showed that the original estimates, rough though they were, had not been unfair. These haphazard methods of assessment were dropped iu 1836-37, when the fifth settlement was undertaken under Regulation IX of 1835. Those settlement operations were distinguished by a scientific survey of the District, completed between 1833 and 1839. One of the officers who worked at it was Lieutenant Henry Lawrence, afterwards Sir Henry Lawrence, K. C. B. (1806-57), the defender of the Residency at Lucknow, He was then a member of the Revenue Survey of the N. W. Provinces. The assessment had to lie reduced twice in confequence of the famine of 1837 and a plague of locusts in 1843. In 1845 the revenue assessed was eleven and a half lakhe ; and with the exception of a slight increase after the Mutiny, it was kept at about these figures for twenty years. The 1833 Settlement, as this assessment was called, was never popular It was affected by extraordinary calamities, which laid waste all that part of the District to the south of the Kali Nadi. The huge profits made by indigo planters, who had formed themselves into companies managing large estates, had been taken into account. Unfortunately just after 1833 the planters began to suffer losses, probably as the result of over production. The records tell of the ruin of many factories, and the withdrawal of wealthy planters and brokers like Mercer, Brand, Martin, Storr, Bruce, and others. Much land became waste, and landed property was so cheap that purchasers could not be found for it. By 1840 the golden age of indigo planting was over in Fatehgarh.

The Judge was District Magistrate up to 1833, and also head of the Police. He was assisted by an official called the " Register." This name has often been confused with that of '* Registrar/' who was nearly always a subordinate, and carried out entirely different duties. The Register was the prototype of the modern joint magistrate, and he seems to have administered the Police for the Judge. On occasions he officiated

for the Judge Magistrate. His office at Fatehgarh was closed on the 14th January 1833. The Collector, ou the other hand, was only concerned with the assessment and collection of revenue, hence the title of " Collector." The collection of revenue in those days was a work of some difficulty, as was only to be expected in the case of an official, who had no strong executive powers, and no force with which to exact compliance from the landholders, secure in their mud forts. A good example is to be found in the records of 1830 in connection with the Collector's attempt to eject certain defaulters from Dobeh Fort (now in Etawah District). The Collector (Mr. Nisbet) called upon the then acting Judge (Mr. Taylor) for help. Mr. Taylor sent the nearest police from Talgram Police station ; but they had to retreat. Military aid was demanded; and two companies of the 17th N. F. under Captain Wilson were sent by the Officer Commanding, Major Hawthorne, in June. The Government at Calcutta was much incensed. Mr. Taylor was ordered to submit his explanation, which he did with much verbosity. He concluded his excuses by saying: " I am fully and deeply impressed with the feeling, that Government is averse to the resort of such measures, unless when positively and urgently called for, and that at all times they demand the observance of the most mature deliberation/ * Government was unable to think of anything to answer. The record gives a description of this fort at Dobeh, which enables one to picture village strongholds of that day. It was 75 feet square. The walls were faced with mud, and were 15 feet high and 9 feet thick, loopholed at the top for matchlocks. A dry ditch, 3 feet deep and 18 feet broad, surrounded the whole, an ample protection in the rains.

The first District and Sessions Judge was the Honourable F. J. Shore, who for the first two years of his stay at Fatehgarh was Judge Magistrate under the old arrangements. His notes give an illuminating description of what went on at Fatehgarh, when the Judge, occupied with executive work, had little time for the conduct of cases. His arrears of work from 1831 were 243 original suits; 3,640 executions of decrees, and 750 miscellaneous cases. In October 1829 two cases of murder had been tried by the Commissioner of Farrukbabad, and referred to the Chief

Criminal Court for orders of hanging. Up to the end *of* 1832 no orders had been received. Shore also drew attention to the procedure of the Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta, which by sending bailiffs all over India, could arrest any one merely on information of a debt being sworn at Calcutta, and drag them down to that city under arrest. This iniquitous system was responsible for two cises at Fatehgarh. Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan was treated in this way. He vainly offered to pay the sum demande 1 rather than waste months in going to Calcutta. He was only saved by the interference of the whole population of Cantonments. In 1830 the temple at Singhirampore was suddenly attached on a writ from the Supreme Court. All claimants were told to go to Calcutta and prove their cases there.

The Judge before 1853(3 was magistrate, police superintendent, and public prosecutor rolled in one, and he was far busier over the suppression of crime than the deciding of civil suits. His court was a pandemonium. The court clerk took evidence in a corner, questioning the witnesses in Urdu, and writing the result in bad Persian. The Judge often tried two or three cases simultaneously in this manner. The clerks read out the evidence at great speed ; the Mohamedan law officer gave a legal opinion from the standpoint of Mohamedan criminal law ; and the Judge rapidly wrote out his judgment, often on a scrap of paper. This in fact was easy work for him, for he had himself already investigated the case at his bungalow before it came up for trial! After 183:3 his establishment comprised a subordinate judge and six munsifs. Ten vakils practised in the courts at Sudder, and forty-nine in the Munsifs' courts.

The Collector took over the Magistrate's office from the Judge. It was not amalgamated with the revenue department but the staff of each was kept separate. To take the revenue office first, two departments existed side by side, called the English and Persian offices, although practically speaking the office attached to the District Magistrate's court was also part of the Persian one. The writing of documents in a Persian jargon was stopped in 18:36, and the name of this office disappeared. Persian, however, continued to be written in barbarous fashion in the civil courts for three years longer. The English office had a head clerk

on Rs. 150, who was usually a Eurasian, and three clerks on Rs. 80, Rs. 50 and Rs. 30. This number was increased by two more English writers after 1840. The Persian office had twelve clerks on various duties, such as the sarrishtedar and his assistant; the tauzib navis and the jama kharch navis (accountants) ; the diary writer; the uazir and his assistant; and others besides twenty-five peons on Rs. 4 each There were eight menials, including some with curious duties like the farrash, or carpet spreader, and the gangajallu, or purveyor of Ganges water to Hindu litigants. The Treasury had a treasurer on Rs. 50 and seven clerks. The Magistrate's court had attached to it a sarrishtedar, 1 uazir, 14 clerks, 18 peons, 1 jemadar, and 48 mounted orderlies. Even taking into consideration the low rate of pay of the members of this establishment at headquarters, the numbers as compared with those of the present day appear to be excessive.

The superior district staff, besides the Collector, was ordinarily a deputy collector and joint magistrate on Rs. 1,000, two assistant magistrates on Rs. 400 each, and a doctor on Rs. 350. The Tahsils, or revenue offices in the District, were always changing, but were usually eight, or nine, in number. The one at headquarters was called the " Huzur Tahsil." It had no tahsildar, but was presided over by a peshkar, or naib tahsildar, assisted by 10 clerks, *2* jemadars and 70 peons. The term "peshkar" is still used by country people to designate a naib talisildar. Tahsildars existed at Talgram (in the Fort), Azaninagar (now a pargana of Etah District), Shamsabad, Amritpur, Kanauj, Khakatmau, Thatia-Tirwa, and Sakatpur. After 18525 the headquarters of the Shamsabad Tahsil was shifted to Kaimganj in consequence of a burglary of the Treasury. Sakatpur varied with Saurikh as headquarters of a revenue sub-division. The office at Kanauj was iu the Fort up to 1840. It was then sold for Rs. 600, and in 1846 there was not a trace of it left. Only Kanauj out of all these tahsils remains to-day as a revenue sub-division. The modern sub-division of Chhibramau was abolished in 1818, and was not revived until 1840, since which date it has continued to the present time. The sub-collectorate of Sirhpura, which covered three-quarters of the area of the modern district of Etah, had its separate staff. It passed out of the

control of the Collector in 1845. Similarly, the sub-eollectorate of Bela (a large portion of Etawah District) had its own officials, and was free of Farrukhabad in 1838. An important department of the Col lee tor a te was that of the mail runners, who to the number of seventy-two (each on Rs. 3 monthly) had to convey the Collector's orders to all tahsils and police thanas. The immense extent of the district, from Etah to Etawah, rendered necessary the employment of a large number of men. The mounted orderlies were also used for this work ; and the carriage of office records and correspondence was most expeditious.

Police arrangements in Cantonments were few. There was a Kotwali in Fatehgarh Saddar bazar, containing a jemadar on Rs. 25 and a mounted man on Rs. 18. Two other sowars on Rs. 18 each patrolled the Cantonment roads, and were called " rounds," or Kofe-gashtee, (patrolling of lanes). There was, nevertheless, a considerable establishment in the district under the orders of the Magistrate and Commissioner. The Joint Magistrate practically carried out the duties of a modern Superintendent of Police for the Magistrate. There were police stations at Talgram, Amritpur, Khakatmau, Kamalganj, Mohamdabad, Chhibramau and Shaimabad ; while a large number of outposts at other places were almost as big as the police stations. Talgram in 1835 had a thanadaron Rs. 30, n jemadar on Rs. 8, mohiirrir on Rs. 8, duffadar on Rs. 5, 39 hurkandazes on Rs. 4 each. Other expenses allowed were repairs and stationery, Rs. 5. The total monthly cost of one police station was thus Rs. £12. Some Collectorate workers were not paid. In 1835 sixteen convicts from the jail pulled the punkhas in office. It is said that Mr. Robinson (the Collector), Mr. Rose (the Joint Magistrate), Mr. Kinloch (the Collector of Customs), and the office clerks divided the 16 amongst themselves. The Commissioner had eleven convicts pulling in his office ; the Judge six, and only 25 convicts were living in the jail, after deducting the punkha pullers and gangs working on the roads.

The correspondence between the Commissioner and the Collector reveal many proceedings, which have long since become obsolete. By Government order of the 14th October 1820 dwtrict officials had to take three oaths, when entering on their appointments. These were the oaths

of office, supremacy, and allegiance. On the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne in 1887, apparently every one in the Province had to renew these oaths, and an official came from Bengal to administer them. The subjects on which officials discoursed before the Mutiny had a very wide range, and were always described in a stilted and pedantic style. They seem often to be of incongruous character, as when the Commissioner recommends a mixture for combating the white ant menace ; the Joint Magistrate writes an essay on the confinement of prisoners in stocks ; the Collector casually mentions postage stamps in 1854 for the first time; the Judge lannounces the victories of Mud ki and Ferozeshahr over the Sikhs. Mention can be found of every possible topic, extending from important problems of revenue to demands for the most petty requirements, in the purchase of which the Collector was allowed no discretion at all. In 1812 Mr. Donnithorne complained that his office tent was more than four years old. He asked leave to buy a new one for the modest sum of Rs. 150. Government not only refused, but added insult to injury by ordering him to have the tent condemned first by the Officer Commanding, and submit a certificate to that effect. In 18]7. the Collector had actually to write to the Governor-General at Calcutta for sanction to employ a daftri, or book binder, on Rs. (i monthly. In 1841 the Commissioner refused to allow the Collector to buy a table cloth for Rs. 7. The District Magistrate officially demanded Rs. 2 for repairing a ladder; Rs. 5 for a little floor matting; Rs. 4 for an office box ; Re. 1 for a pair of handcuffs ; Re. 1/12, for repairing the office door ; the appointment of a sweeper on Rs. 3 monthly. This last request was not sanctioned on the ground that it was extravagant. In 1832 after some correspondence Rs. 9/12, was obtained from Government for watering the drooping trees in Cantonments during May and June. The money was granted so reluctantly that the District Magistrate did not apparently ever apply for it again. He was sufficiently busy in having to submit a vast number of returns. Some of them appear to be really comic like that which called for a statement of the number of Presbyterians in Fatehgarh, who belonged neither to the Free Church, nor to the Established Church of Scotland. The Collector's answer has been lost, and rightly so !

CHAPTER XII.

RAKHA AND THE CAVALRY LINES.

THE road from Cantonments to Rakha was made at the first occupation of Fatehgarh, and was one of the chief avenues of approach to the City, which it entered by the Madar Gate. The other main road to the City was the Qadri Gate Road through the present Railway Lines. Both roads were metalled in the forties, but the Madar Gate Road from the site of the Central Jail up to the City was only completed in 1850. In proceeding towards Rakha the Golf Links are first seen on the left. The bridge over the nullah was built by Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan in 1830. The modem Golf Links and the land opposite it on the other side of the road, were part of the Cavalry Cantonment.

Before reaching the High School Boarding House and the new Police Lines, a bare tract will be seen to the east of the road, which was the location of the old ice pits. The Reserve Inspector's house covers a portion of the area. Before the discovery of modem methods, ice had to be made in winter by inducing pans of water to freeze in trenches prepared for the purpose. The old manner is minutely described by Mrs Fanny Parks ; and here it is sufficient to say that an abdar dwelt on the ice field, whose business it was to summon coolies to collect the ice from the pan*, and pack it into straw lined pits to await the next hot weather. These operations continued up to a fairly recent date; for there is still a water carrier living in Fatehgarh Town, who worked in these ice fields as a boy. The managers of the Ice House Committee at Fatehgarh were the General, or Colonel Commanding, the Major, and .Judge Magistrate. In October the Committee met and settled the rates, then informing all residents of the Station and leading raises in the Town. All who wished to subscribe paid a deposit in October. The cost at Fatehgarh was usually Rs. 10 per seer for the entire season. A subscriber, who joined after February, had to pay Rs. 2 more per seer, and later on the price rose every fortnight for new subscribers. The supply lasted from 6 to 8 months Any subscriber

leaving the Station sold his share to another after giving notice, otherwise his deposit was forfeited. Ice was supplied daily at 4 a. m.; and the rules were strict in requiring punctual attendance of all subscribers' servants. Once the pits were closed, they could not be reopened, and late arrivals received no issue.

The ice pits are just within the area of Kutra village, and the bungalows of the cavalry officers were actually within the boundaries of the same area. The cavalry stables and parade ground were in Rakha village, ami both village areas together made up the Cavalry Cantonment. The name Rakha was generally applied to both of them. To the east of the ice pits is to-day the extensive compound belonging to the Raja of Tirwa. It was the property of G. G. Moiv up to 1846, and further east on the very bank of the Ganges was a small bungalow, which was used by the Haja of Tirwa at that date. Moir was a member of the firm, Reid, Moir and Mac Arthur, which carried on a saltpetre refinery during the thirties. Moir remained on years after the dissolution of the firm. In I84(> he was still residing on this spot.

The ground covered by the new Police Lines, and the space behind them up to the Ganges, contained mast of the bungalows of the cavalry officers. The land is now under cultivation for the most part, or waste land along the Ganges, covered with fragments of brick and pottery, little other evidence of these old houses will be found on the spot. With the aid of the records of the Settlement of Land Revenue in 1833, it has been possible to mark their position exactly on the map. The village belonged originally to Kurmis, and in 1777 when the Cavalry Lines were set up, the land became re venue free. In 1805 the cavalry left, and the major part of the sites of the bungalows fell into the hands of a few wealthy traders of Fatehgarh. W. P. Wattle (came out to India in the "Oxford," 1786) is described as a wealthy money lender, commission agent, and trader. He and his wife Malka Nur Bibi, and Messrs. Tetley and Abbot, owned nearly all the Cantonment in Kutra. Abbot has left no traces. Of Tetley there is mention only in the correspondence over Captain Hawthorne's affair in 1819-20 (see chapter II). Captain Hawthorne says in one of his letters that Tetley had two houses in

Cantonments, which were situated in one compound. Tetley lived in one, and Hawthorne took the other temporarily on lease from him. After the abandonment of the Cantonment the land should have reverted to its old Kurmi owners. The Board of Revenue, however, leased the sites of the officers[1] houses to the old chokidars of those houses at a nominal rent. Wattle, Tetley, and Abbot were merely recorded as revenue free holders of their land. They did not even pay nominal rent. None of these revenue free holders, or lessees, were entitled to the proprietary rights. It was thought at the investigation during the settlement of 1813 that the Board of Revenue had given away the land in this manner by way of compensation for losses incurred in 1804 at the time of the Mahratta raid. Holkar's men burnt all the bungalows in Kutra, and the ice house and pits in addition. As will be seen later the cavalry officers, who were occupants of the houses at the time, obtained no compensation for the destruction of their furniture.

Besides the three European traders already mentioned, three or four others owned bungalows. Storr, a wealthy indigo broker, and Mac Arthur, both invested in purchases of bungalows, vacated in 1805. A name, which is not properly written in the records, Frick or Frank, is entered for one. Another house was owned by one Scott, or the word might represent "Mess Kot" in the Urdu transliteration. Scott is the better reading, since officers' messes could not have been in existence in 1805. In one Urdu list occurs "Bailey." There is, however, no record of a "Bailey" at any period up to the Mutiny. There were in all nine bungalows, including that of Mr. Moir, and two flat roofed houses, or kothis, in this part of the Cantonment. In 1804 it is known that the fourteen officers of the 4th Regiment of Native Cavalry lived here in ten bungalows. On the bank of the Ganges are still to be seen the ruins of an old building. This was the "Karbela" built by the Bibi of Mr. Newnham. There are several graves in the vicinity, and she is probably buried in one of them. Stretching over the land, which runs from the boundary of the new Police Lines to the Cawnpore Road, was a large enclosure, the use of which is unknown. It was connected with the Cavalry Lines in some fashion.

North of the Rakha Road the land is broken and seamed by nullahs. The Marquis of Hastings approached Fatehgarh by this road in 1815. He made the following entry in his journal about this very feature, " As we approached this place (Fatehgarh) I was much struck with it. The whole plain, wherever the eye can reach, is covered with luxuriant crops. Numerous and large groves of mango trees break the uniformity of the scene, and those at a distance form a rich background to it. The part immediately close to the Cantonment is an exception to this statement. It is broken in an extraordinary manner by small ravines, not running in any general direction, but forming the most confused map of intersections imaginable. This tract is of course uncultivated, and nothing can present a more arid sterility than its face. It affords protection to the Cantonment, for cavalry cannot approach but by the roads on all of which are narrow passes."

The Cavalry Lines commenced at the point of intersection of the Cawnpore and Rakha Roads, running parallel to the latter road, and covering the areas of the District Jail and the Rakha Mission. They lasted from 1777 to 1811, when the Cantonment officially came to an end. Two years later Colonel Rutledge gained possession of the Lines, which had been deserted since 1805, and leased them out to cultivators for Rs. *WO* yearly.

The parade ground has an even older history. In the eighteenth century the Hangash Nawabs had here a hunting preserve ; and the word " Rakha " from rakhna, to preserve, indicates the use to which this area was put. In nineteenth century records this parade ground is indifferently styled the cavalry or the artillery ground. It was, however, nearly always used by the former corps.

The proceedings of the Governor-General, dated the 4th August 1777, ordered the establishment of three cavalry regiments of 480 troopers each, and consequently the Temporary Brigade had attached to it the 1st Cavalry under Captain Wray, the 2nd undar Captain Webber, and the 3rd under Ciptain Fairfax. Each regiment, in addition to the Captain commanding it, hid two Lieutenants, and there was an adjutant and a quartermaster for the corps of cavalry. All these officers were

borrowed from the infantry battalions, there being no separate cadre of officers for the cavalry at this date. The Quartermaster was Ensign Lawrence Gall, whose son, George Herbert Gall, was bom at Fatehgarh *on* the 7th February 1779. This is the first birth of which record has been found. Lawrence Gall died at Calcutta in 1806 and his son at Karnal in 1826, being then Lieut.-Colonel of the 8th Lt. Cavalry. One of these regiments, the 1st Cavalry, had been raised some months before by Captain Marsack near Farrukhabad City, and contained numbers of Kaimganj Pathans. It was, therefore, already on the spot. The other two marched in from distant stations, the 2nd coming from Benares.

It has been seen in Chapter I that Captain Primrose Thompson laid out the Fatehgarh Cantonment. His correspondence makes no mention of cavalry lines; but from a report of the 19th May 1778, the Lines are stated to be in rear of those of the infantry corps, and still later reports point to them at Rakha with the transport of the Temporary Brigade further to the south at Gaukhana. The description is a very rough one, but it must be remembered that at that date the whole area between the Fort and Rakha was an open plain wit i none of the abundant vegetation which exists a present. Fatehgarh Town, which lies between the Lines of the infantry and the cavalry, was then a small bazar of huts to which the men of both corps resorted for buying necessaries. The Lines at Rakha would have been visible to the infantry to the north of them, and the description of the cavahy as being cantoned in the rear would have been a natuial one for a resident in the Fatehgarh Cantonment. In 1778 these lines consisted of 27 hutments for three regiments. The hutments were at first of a temporary character. They were merely rows of posts, made of mango tree wood, driven into the ground, and supporting roofs of thatch. Some portions of the stables were rebuilt, and the horse stalls were covered by tiled roofs, supported on masonry pillars ; but thatched stalls persisted in use for many years, and gave rise to constant complaint. The first temporary stables were erected in December 1777. On the 19th May 1778 they were blown down by high winds. They were damaged by fire on the 11th March 1795, and hardly had they been repaired, when a furious storm on the 15th May blew the thatch off three huts and nearly

demolished the remainder of the horse stalls. Even so late as 1797, after 20 years of occupation, nearly all the stables were thatched, and large sums of money were being spent on annual repairs. At the end of 1804 Holker and a Mahratta force raided Fatehgarh and burnt the Lines with no difficulty at all.

Other buildings mentioned as being in the Lines are the store rooms, a bungalow on the right of the Lines for two sergeants attached to the cavalry, and the European Hospital, the site of which is not discoverable. In 1795 the bungalows of two sergeant-majors were in existence, and in the following year a bungalow was built for the Hiding Master and two sergeants at a cost of 1,000 sicca rupees.

A bungalow was situated to the south of the Jail facing the parade ground. It belonged to Mr. Frick, and was called the Head Sahib's house. At the north-western corner of the Jail, a large flat roofed house overlooked the race course up to the Mutiny. It was called after Major-General Thomas Brown, who commanded the 2nd Cavalry at Fatehgarh in 1802. Four years before he seems to have been serving with the 1st Cavalry. The house was known for forty years as Colonel Brown's house. In 1827 the compound was put under cultivation. It was bought eventually by Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan. The compound measured 316 by 265 yards and contained forty trees. The house fell into ruins during the Mutiny. Apart from the race course there is only one relic of the old Cantonment to be seen to-day. A few hundred yards from the western wall of the Mission Girls' School stands a very fine masonry well in the middle of a field. This well still does good service, and is worth inspection.

Four years after the setting up of the Cantonment at Hak ha, the cavalry establishment had been reduced to one regiment, namely the 2nd Cavalry under Captaiu Law. In 1785 this regiment was under the command of Captain Richard Frith, who on and off was stationed at Rakha for the next twenty years. Captain Frith (1756-1819) was a Cornet in 1779, and appears in the 1st Regiment of Cavalry in 1787. He saw active service during the Mud War of 1803. That year he raised an Irregular Cavalry Regiment, called the " Hindoostany Independent Regiment"; but in the 2nd Mahratta War he was with the 4th Native

•Cavalry, as will be seen later. From 1815 to his death in 1819 he commanded the Agra and Muttra frontier, and was Colonel of the 8th Native Cavalry. He died at Muttra, and was buried in the Cantonment cemetery at that place. Being an officer with great local knowledge of Fatehgarh, he presided over many committees, and his reports exist in the records. One of the most interesting records is a memorial, dated the 30th November 1804, which was addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Lake, by Major Frith and the officers of the 4th Regiment of Native Cavalry from their camp near Muttra. It will be remembered that on the 16th November, a fortnight before the drafting of this memorial, Holkar and the Mahrattas escaped from Lord Lake's forces, and raided Fatehgarh. The Rakha Cantonment, lying as it does near to Dhilawal village, where the Mahrattas had their camp, was completely ruined as well as the ice house and pits. The object of the memorial was to obtain compensation from Government for the destruction of bungalows and furniture on that occasion. It is signed by Major Frith, two captains, *five* lieutenants, and six cornets of the 4th Cavalry. A list of the bungalows is given, which shews the extent of the Cantonment in 1804. The total loss was estimated at Rs. 29,900. Major Frith and his nephew, Captain Elliott, lived together in a large house worth Rs. 4,000. Books, furniture and liquors were valued at Rs. 2,000. Two brothers, named Lieutenants Charles and Edward Ridge, lived in separate houses, apparently in one compound, the two being valued together at Rs. 3,000. Their furniture and liquors were worth Rs. 1,000. Captain Armstrong had the largest bungalow, worth Rs. 5,000, but had very little furniture in it; whilst Lieutenant Shubrick was content with a small residence and a large stock of liquor. His furniture was valueless, and he made no claim for it. The fourteen officers lived in ten bungalows, a number which with the three for the Riding Master and Sergeants accords with that given in the records of the first regular Settlement of Land Revenue. There is no mention of a regimental mess, and no such institution is anywhere recorded for Fatehgarh until 1846.

On the 25th July 1805 the Secretary to Government in the Military Department, who had received the memorial from the Com wander-in-

Chief, asked the Advocate-General to report. On the 1st August the latter replied that the officers had no legal claim. This decision was not communicated to the memorialists, and after vainly waiting for two years, Lt.-Colonel Frith again wrote to Government at Calcutta. Government this time replied that reference would be made to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in England for orders, and there the matter ended.

The 1st Regiment of Cavalry spent thirteen years at Rakha, and the 2nd Regiment about seventeen years altogether. The history of both regiments was uneventful. In 1799 one troop of the 1st Regiment under Lieutenant G. H Gall was detached on special duty to Jaipore to assist at the arrest of the rebel Vizier Ali and bring him to Fatehgarh. Vizier Ali was wonted for the murder of the Resident at Benares. Lieutenant John Pester in his diary mentions visiting Rakha in June 1805. He dined there with the officers of the 27th Light Dragoons. This regiment had a year before been away on service with Lord Lake's flying column, and returning in pursuit of Holkar, took part in the fight under the City walls near the present Farrukhabad Railway Station. The Cantonment's existence after Holkar's raid was with one exception peaceful. On the 24th May 1805 a tremendous storm ravaged the neighbourhood. Many houses in the City fell, and over forty persons were killed there. After their abolition officially in 1811 the stable lines and bungalow compounds were leased out to cultivators, but the parade ground remained intact. In later years cavalry regiments are frequently reported as camping on the parade ground. In December 1827 the 3rd Irregular Horse (Baddeley's) was in camp on the race course, and in the following year the 2nd Local (Gardner's) Horse, commanded by Lt.-Colonel R. F. Dougan, and known at that time as Dougan's Corps of Irregular Horse. The parade ground finally disappeared after 1840, being leased to the Mission, which only a few years ago severed all connection with it. It still retains its original shape, and is bounded by the remains of the race course.

The cavalry rifle range was in Naukhandn village, one mile south of the present District Jail. The cantonment area, in fact, extended some way down the Cawnpore Road and on both sides of it. Four miles

away were the transport lines, and the village of Lain Gaukhana (Bullock Lines) preserves their memory in its name.

An " Overseer of Bullocks " was in charge of Gaukhana. The first was John Fenny, a gunner of Captain Gordon's company of artillery, who worked from 1777 for twenty years. The Bullock Lines were under the control of the Artillery Commandant, and an artilleryman was naturally put in charge of them, residing in Rahmatganj close by. Supplies of bhusa and grain were provided by a contractor, who in 1793 was the cause of some considerable trouble. The contractor went to Serauli village, which is described as five kos from Gaukhana, and filled a number of carts with bhusa. An altercation arose with the villagers, who prevented the carts from leaving, and the contractor summoned help from Fenner, whose immediate superior officer happened to be Lieutenant Tho. Staunton (died at Fatehgarh 1805) of the 2nd N. I. Lieutenant Staunton sent Fenner off to the spot with an escort of sepoys to bring back the carts by force. Fenner was set on by a large crowd of the inhabitants of Serauli, and had to open fire, killing one and wounding two others of them. On the 26th December 1793 Staunton and Fenner were court martialled for disobedience of orders and extortion of bhusa, Fenner also behig charged with unnecessarily firing on the villagers. They were acquitted, but the Commander-in-Chief ordered reconsideration of this verdict. The Court again assembled and adhered to its former opinion. The Commander-in-Chief was still dissatisfied, and Staunton remained under suspension, the papers of his case being sent to the Directors of the Company in England. Meanwhile an incident arising out of the case, made some stir at Headquarters in Calcutta. An anonymous correspondent signing himself " A Lost Mutton " wrote an offensive letter to the *World* newspaper commenting on the injustice of the proceedings. The Commander-in-Chief was much incensed, and fruitless efforts were made to discover the author.

Hak ha comes into notice on the occasion of the great famine of 1837-38, which was so severe as to necessitate special arrangements by Government. It has been said that this was the first occasion on which the modern system of relief operations was undertaken. Lord Auck-

land came to visit the famine area in January 1838; and Miss Eden in her " Up Country " letters, as well as Mrs, Fanny Parks, describe the scenes of misery through which they passed. Castaway infants and children were found in such numbers as to move the compassion of one of the officers of the 34th N. I., then quartered at Fatehgarh. Captain Wheeler voluntarily set about collecting them; and thus was formed the nucleus of the Fatehgarh Orphanage, Captain Wheeler, being transferred, handed over his charges to the Rev. H. Wilson, an American missionary, who came on the scene in 1838 with 48 orphans from Fatehpore, where an orphanage had been broken up. He received 45 from Captain Wheeler; and it was decided that a self-supporting institution should be set up at Fatehgarh.

Rakha holds a preeminent place in the history of the missions in North India. Unfortunately the story of its foundation has not been told in detail, and it is difficult to disentangle its organisation from that of the other settlement at Barhpur. An account is to be found in a book called " The History of the American Presbyterian Missions in India", published in 1886, which is so condensed as to make it impossible to follow the development of the two mission stations at Fatehgarh step by step. It appears that the first missionaries to reach Fatehgarh were Messrs Newton and Wilson at the end of October 1835, when on their way to Ludhiana. They visited the City, and were much pleased with their reception there. It was realised that Fatehgarh would be a good centre for missionary work. In 1837 Mr. H. R. Wilson was appointed to go from Allahabad, and commence work at Farrukhabad. Actually he arrived at Rakha in November of the next year with the Fatehpur orphans, and in August 1839 Mr. J. L. Scott joined him The orphans then numbered 109, and an instructor being imported from Mirzapore District, carpet-weaving was started as an industry for them. The Barhpur Mission on the Lai Gate Road must have come into existence this year; for although the history of the Mission in India, quoted above, is not clear on the point, the local district records mention the Mission High School at Barhpur as being actively at work in 1839.

The Rakha Mission took a step forward in 1840, when it became independent of Allahabad. Two mission houses and the orphanage building were erected during the next year, and there were further additions to the staff. Messrs. Rankin and McAuley and Miss Vandervecr arrived, though there is nothing to show whether they worked at Rakha, or at Barhpur. The importance of the local mission stations was recognised abroad. The General Assembly of the United States constituted the Farrukhabad Presbytery along with those of Ludhiana and Allahabad, the three being ordered to meet together as the Synod of North India. This new constitution was promulgated in May 1841 ; and the first Synod ever held in India met at Rakha in the small chapel at the Mission four years after, Barhpur at this time was insignificant in comparison, but it probably had a larger staff of missionaries, who were then engaged in expanding the High School and numerous primary schools in the vicinity of the City. In 1845 Government gave up its High School in Farrukhabad, the furniture and building being transferred to the Mission.

The Rakha settlement was most thriving in 1845. Soon after their arrival Mr. Wilson and Mr. Scott applied to Government for a lease of the old Cavalry Lines and part of the parade ground to the west of the race course, which was then lying waste. Negotiations were completed in 1840. The Mission acquired 124 acres on a yearly rental of Rs. 60. Two bungalows, a school, an orphanage building, an industrial building, a small village, and a chapel were set up. The industrial establishment made great strides. The manufacture of carpets had been begun by the orphans with great skill, and soon after 18J39 it was reported that their industry could not cope with the demand. To car pet-weaving was added the business of tent-making in 1844 " chiefly to secure employment and business for the rising colony of married orphans." From 1844 to 1846 tents to the value of Rs. 60,672 had been made by the Orphan Asylum and sold to the public. The subsequent history of the tent factory indicates the great repute, which it had acquired. Before 1857 the Mission supplied the management, but after the Mutiny the converts formed themselves into a limited company and became independent. By

1875 the company was paying 524 per cent dividends, and hati added art indigo factory to its. concern.

Mr. J.J. Walsh took in hand the project of building a church, and in 1856 the present structure was completed. Maharaja Dhuleep Singh subscribed Rs. 500 towards the building, and it is noteworthy that the various primary schools at and around the City were carried on by the Mission largely by the help of his donations. Just before the Mutiny the Rakha Mission was able to point with pride to the accomplishment of a well planned mission station, carrying on work of the highest value through its civilising agency. Some notable personalities of the American Presbyterian Mission had worked there, including Gopinath Nande, the first Indian to be ordained for work in the Mission. The Christian village, founded on the parade ground behind the Mission, was one of the first of its kind. The cemetery to the west of the Mission, which can be seen behind high walls by the side of the main road, is pre-Mutiny. The first missionary buried there was Mrs. Seeley in J853- Mr. Walsh on his departure to America in 1856 was able to leave the Rakha Mission in a most flourishing condition, and largely as the result of his own labours. Within a year of his leaving the place was in ruins. The mutineers in J857 made havoc of the Mission. The bungalows, factory, and the village were laid in ruins. Only the walls and spire of the Church were left standing. Messrs. J. E. Freeman and R. McMullin, who were the missionaries then in charge, perished with their families at Cawnpore after escaping from Fatehgarh iu the boats. The Mission premises were restored by Mr. Fullerton, who was sent by the Mission from Agra for the purpose.

There is nothing further of note along this road. On the site of the Central Jail was the bungalow of a Sergeant Superintendent of the road, probably a person on the Invalid Establishment. The road was from the earliest times important; for it was the high road to Mainpuri, and provided with staging bungalows at Sakwai, Madanpur and other places. In 1794, Twining found it extremely bad and covered with deep sand. It was metalled in the forties. There was a bridge of boats over the Kali Nadi at Madanpur from 1854.

APPENDIX I.

REGIMENTS STATIONED AT FATEHGARH.

1776-77.—1st Regt. Cavalry, (Capt. Wray.) 2nd do., (Capt. Webber). 3rd do., (Capt. Fairfax).

6th Coy. Artillery, (Capt.-Lieut. Hill). 7th do., (Capt.-Lieut. Sampson). 8th do., (Capt.-Lieut. Harris). 22nd Bn. Sepoys, (Capt. Erskinej. 23rd do., (Capt. Hoggan). 24th do., (Capt. Ware). 25th do., (Capt. Stewart). 26th do., (Capt. Penning). 27th do., (Capt. Baillie). 28th do., (Capt. Rawstorne). 29th do., (Capt. Landeg). 30th do., (Capt. Naylor), which up to 1931 was the 4'1st Punjab Regt.

Lt.-Col. T. Goddard, comdg. up to Oct. 1777. Col. M. Leslie, comdg. up to April, 1778. Then Lt.-Col. G. Muir.

1779.~Lt.-Col. B. Wilding, comdg.

1781-83.—2nd Regt. Cav., (Capt. Law). 8th Bn. Sepoys, (Major Macpherson). 11th do., (Major Wray). 21st do., (Major Rawstorne). 22nd do., (Major Landeg). 23rd do., (Major Naylor). 1st Coy. 1st Bn. Artillery.

Col. Sir John Cuming, comdg.

1785-86.—1st Brigade of Sepoys, Col. H. Briscoe, comdg. 2nd Regt. Cavalry, (Capt. Frith). Capt. Woodburne's Coy. 2nd Bn. Artillery. 3rd Bn. N. I., (Capt. Sir P. Balfour). 7th do., (Capt. Rattray). 13th do., (Capt. McLeod). 23rd do., (Capt. Farmer) 24th do., (Capt. Vibart). 27th do., (Major Harding).

1786-87.-—4th Brigade of Sepoys, Col. H. Briscoe, comdg. 2nd Regt. Cavalry, (Capt. Frith). 1st Bn. N. I. 8th do., 20th do. 22nd do. 30th do. 32nd do. 4th European Bn. 1st Coy. 1st Bn. Artillery.

1788.—2nd Brigade N. I., Lt.-Col. J. Nicol. comdg. Col. H. Briscoe, comdg. Fatehgarh. 2nd Regt. Cavalry, (Capt. Frith). 2nd Coy. 1st Bn. Artillery, (Capt. Montagu). 9th Bn. N. L, (Capt. Limond). 14th do., (Major Smith). 26th do., (Capt. Scott). 28th do., (Capt. Scrymgeou). 33rd do,, (Capt. Witherston).

1790-92.—Col. J. White, comdg.

1793.—2nd European Bn. 1st Bn. N. I. 21st do.

1794.—Col. C. Morgan, comdg. 1st Regt. Cavalry, (Capt. Ramsay). Capt. Havdwicke's Coy. 3rd Bn. Artillery. 10th Bn. N. I. 12th do. 14th do. Resident's Bodyguard at Farrukhabad. The Fatehgarh Brigade took part in the battle of Bitaurah on the 26th October, 1794. Lieut. E. Wells, 14th N. I., Major T. Bolton, comdg. 18th N. I. and Lieut. A. Cummings, 18th N. I. were killed.

1795.—Col. Wm. Popham, comdg. 1st Regt. Cavalry. 2 *Coys.* 3rd Bn. Artillery. 6th Bn. N. I. 12th *do.* 14th do. 17th do. 18th do. 21st do.

1796.—Col. Wm. Jones, comdg. up to March.

1797.—Major-Gen. E. Rawstorne, comdg. Major-Gen. R. Stuart came at end of 1797, and commanded up to 1802.

1797-98.—1st Regt. Cavalry. 2 coys 3rd Bn. Artillery. 1/lst Bn. N. I. 2/lst do. l/6th do. 2/6th do. 2/5th do. (in October 1798).

1800-01.—2nd Regt. Cavalry. Two coys. 2nd Bn. Artillery. l/2nd N. 1. 2/2nd do. l/7th do. 2/7th do. Escort of Scindia's troops, (apparently Resident's Bodyguard).

1802.—2nd Regt. Cavalry. Two coys. Artillery. 2/lttth N.I. 2/14th do.

1808.—Major-Gen. C. Ware, comdg. 4th Regt. N. Cavalry, (Major Frith). Two coys. Artillery. l/22nd N. I. 2/22nd do. Sebundy Corps.

1804.—27th Light Drago ons. 4th N. Cavalry. 2nd N. I. 8th do. 10th do. l/25th do. 2/25th do. l/27th do. 2/27th do.

1805.—Col. R. Macau, comdg. 2/l2th (1st) N. I. Fatehgarh ceased to be headquarters of a brigade. Farrukhabad Provl. Bn.

1806.—Major-Gen W. Dowdeswell (H. M. S.), comdg. Cawnpore and Fatehgarh. 2/2nd N. I. Farrukhabad Provl. Bn., (disbanded). 27th N. I. 4th Coy. 2nd Bn. Artillery.

1807.—2nd Coy, 1st Bn. Artillery. 18th N. I. Lt.-Col. J. Lawtie, comdg.

1808-09.—2/11th (17th) N. I. Lt.-Col. S. Palmer, comdg.

1810-11.—3rd Coy. 1st Bn. Artillery. l/18th (36th) N. I. Lt.-Col. J. Vanrenan, comdg.

1812.—1/3rd N. I. Lt.-Col. F. Rutledge, comdg.

1813,—l/4th (7th) N. I. Lt.-Col. C. Crawford, comdg.

1814-15.—l/4th (7th) N. I. Lt.-Col. W. Bedell, comdg. Farrukhabad Provl. Bn. revived in 1815, Lt.-Col. W. Cuppage, comdg.

1815-16*.—2/1 Ott (16th) N. I. Farrukhabad Provl. Bn. Lt.-Col. W. Cuppage, comdg.

1817-18.—2/lst (4th) N. I. Dromedary Corps. Lt.-Col. W. H. Cooper, comdg. Both units absent on service during Pindari War, Fatehgarh Levy, (Major T. P. Smith, comdg). Farrukhabad Provl. Bn. (Lt.-Col. W. Cuppage, comdg.)

1818-19.—Fatehgarh Levy. Farrukabad Provl. Bn. Lt.-Col. W. Cuppage, comdg.

1820.—2/11th N. I. Fatehgarh Levy. Farrukhabad Provl. Bn. Lt.-Col. D. V. Kerin, comdg.

1821.—2/5th N. 1. Fatehgarh Levy. Farrukhabad Provl. Bn.

1822.—1/6th N. I. Fatehgarh Levy. Farrukhabad Provl. Bn.

1823.--l/6th N. I., (right wing). 2/4th do. Fatehgarh Levy, (now brought into the line as the l/32nd N. I.). 9th Farrukhabad Provl. Bn., (Lt.-Col. C. H. Baines).

1824.—9th Farrukhabad Provl. Bn.

1825.—1st Extra Regt. 9th Farrukhabad Provl. Bn., (Lt. Col. G. Hickman).

1826.—29th N. I., ^lcft wing). 9th Farrukhabad Provl. Bn.

1827.—3rd Local Horse. 2nd Extra Regt. (now 5/7th Rajput Regt.) 9th Farrukhabad Provl. Bn.

1828.—2nd Local (Gardner's) Horse. 2nd Extra Regt. 9th Farrukhabad Provl. Bn.

1829-30.—70th N. I. (late 2nd Extra Regt.) Lt.-Col. J. Simpson, comdg. 9th Farrukhabad Provl. Bn., (Lt.-Col. C. Poole).

1831-32.—17th N. I. Major F. Hawthorne, comdg. 9th Farrukhabad Provl. Bn. disbanded in 1831.

1833-34.—1st N. I.

1835.—60th N. I.

1836-38.—34th N. I.

1839-40.—14th N. I. 2nd Recruit Depot. Bn. (Major J. L. Earle).

1841.—63rd N. I.

1842.—63rd N. I. (right wing). 1st Infantry Levy. 8th Irreg. Cavalry.

1843.—43rd N. I. 1st Infantry Levy.

1844.—43rd N. I. 2nd Oudh Local Infantry, (right wing).

1845.—43rd N. I.

1846-47.—-22n;l N. I. In 1846 also a dett. 10th N. I.

1848-53.—Kelat-i-Ghilzai Regt.

1853-54.—2nd N. I.

1855.—Two coys. 8th N. I.

1856-57. — 10th N. I. Mutinied. Lt.-Col. G. A. Smith, comdg.

Note:—

A detail of Native Foot Artillery (2 guns) was permanently stationed at Fatehgarh, probably for duty at the Gun Carriage Factory.

APPENDIX II.

REGIMENTS RAISED AT FATEHGARH.

July 1803.—1/21st N. I., (Doobye ki paltan). Raised by Lieut. J. Vaughan. Called after Lt.-Col, Dubois, who was one of its first officers. Afterwards 41st N. I. In 1857 mutinied at Sitapur. (See " Fatehgarh and the Mutiny " for account of this regiment at Fatehgarh in 1857).

Nov. 1803.—1/22nd (43rd) N. I. Raised by Capt. J. Malcolm. Now the 1st Royal Bu. 9th Jat Regt.

Nov. 1803.—2/22nd (44th) N. I. Raised by Lieut. VV. Bali. Mutinied at Agra in 1857. The 22nd N. I. was called Kyne ki paltan after Lt.-Col. F. Kyan, who commanded both battalions.

Oct. 1804.—l/25th (49th) N. I. Raised by Capt. W. Royle. Called Ray le ki Paltan. Disbanded at Lahore in 1857.

Oct. 1804.—2/25th (50th) N. I. Raised by Capt. C. Christie. Called Cristeen ki paltan. Mutinied at Nagode in 1857.

Oct. 1804.—1/27th (53rd) N. I. Called Castor ki paltan after its first commander, Lt.-Col. de Castro. Mutinied at Cawnpore in 1857.

Oct. 1804.—2/27th (54th) N. I. Called Mapcrt ki paltan after Lt.-Col. It. Mabert. Mutinied at Delhi in 1857.

1809.— Lt.-Col. Gardner's Corps of Irregular Horse, (now 2nd Lancers, Gardner's Horse). Partly raised at Farrukhabad by Lt.-Col. W. L. Gardner.

Jan. 1815.-l/29th (57th) N. I. Raised by Capt. C. S. Fagan. Called Moira ki paltan after Lord Moira, Marquis of Hastings. Mutinied at Ferozepore in 1857.

Mar. 1818.—l/32nd (63rd) N. I. Raised as the Fatehgarh Levy by Major T. P. Smith. Now 9th Gurkha Rifles. Capt. C. S. Fagan also named as having raised it.

May 1825.—1st Extra Regt. Raised by Lt.-Col. C. S. Fagan. Later became 69th N. I. Mutinied at Multan in 1857.

1842.—8th Irreg. Cavalry, (now 18th King Edward's Own Cavalry).

1858.—Fatehgarh Levy, (34th N. L) Disbanded in 1881,

APPENDIX III.

RESIDENTS.

1780.—Mr. Shea.
1781-4. No Resident.
1784-5.—Mr. Willes.
1785-1801. The Resident at Lucknow.

AGENTS TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

June 1802.—Giiwme Mercer. A surgeon. Retired 1814. Died in Midlothian, 1841.
1802.-—Claud Russell. Died at Benares 1817 aged 36 Judge of Court of appeal.
1803.—M. Leslie.
1804.—-E. A. Cuthbert.
1805.—C. Lloyd.

JvIKIES AND AGENTS TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

1802.—J. T. Grant. Died.at Fatehgarh, 1804.
1804.—R. Ahmuty. W. P. Potts. Died at Fatehgarh, 1806'.
1805. R. Ahmuty.
1807.—R. Graham.
1808.—R. K. Dick.
1800.—J. Millard.
1811.—C. Elliott.
1815.—H. Wilkinson.
1819.—W. Wright. Register or Judge's Assistant from 1810.
1826—T. J. Turner. India 1817-50. Member, Board of Revenue. Died 1866.
1826.—c. J. Middleton. India 1810-36. Died 1884.
1829.—T. Taylor. India 1824-52. Commissioner of Murshidabad. Died 1882.

1851.—Hon. F. J. Shore. 1st District and Sessions Judge (1833). India 1818-37. Died at Calcutta 1837.

1835.—G. Lindsay. India 1819-46.

1835.—H. Swetenham. India 1810-52. Commissioner, Farrukhabad. 1832-34. Judge of Dacca. Died I860.

1841.— C. H. Cartwright. India 1819-51. Judge of the High Court, Agra.

1845.—W. H. Tyler. Last Agent to the Governor-General. India 1824-54. Commissioner of Agra. Died 1891.

1847. A. P. Currie. India 1824-47. Died as Judge of Mirzapui, 1847.

1847. H. Morland. India 1829-59. Judge of Agra. Died 1892.

1849. C.Allen. India 1827-57. Member of the Legislative Council, 1855. Died 1884.

1851. G. D. Raikes. India 1836-57. Killed in the Mutiny, 1857, when Judge of Bareilly.

1852. F. P. Buller. Retired 1858.

1857. R. B. Thornhill. Killed at Cawnpore, 1857, after escaping in the boats from Fatehgarh.

1858. A. Ross. India 1837-71. Judge of the High Court.

1859. E. C. Bay ley. India 1841-77. Sir Edward Clive Bay ley, K.C.S.I., C L E. Member of the Council, 1874. Died 1884.

1862. H. P. Fane. India 1842-68. Judge Mirzapui-.

1863. F. M. Lind. India 1841-77. Died 1879.

1865. M. B. Thornhill. India 1842-72. Judge, Saharanpur. Wrote '' Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official " at Fatehgarh.

1865. B Sapte, C. B. India 1843-71. Died 1891.

1867. M. B. Thornhill.

1868. S. N. Martin. India 1848-73. Judge, Aligarh.

1869. J. H. Prinsep. India 1847-82. Judge, Cawnpore.

1871. W. S. Paterson. India 1840-72. Judge, Agra. Died 1892.

1872. F. Thompson. India 1846-74. Died 1892.

1874. G. R. Pasley. India 1851-77. Judge, Gorakhpur.

1877. R. F. Saunders. Arrived in India 1851. Judge, Gorakhpur.

1880. H A. Harmon. India 1855-87. Also Collector 1873-77.
1884. C. J. Darnell. Retired 1886.
1886. W. H. Hudson. India 1861-90.
1890. R. S. Aikman, LL.D. India 1867-1909. Puisne Judge, High Court, Allahabad. Died 1917.
1892. G. J. Nicholls. India 1864-94. Up to 1883 in Central Provinces. Died 1920.
1894. C. Rustomjee. India 1876-1911.
1894. H. F. 1). Pennington. India 1875-1901. Dead.
1896. G. A. Tweedy. India 1879-1914. Member, Board of Revenue.
1897. J. W. Muir. India 1871-98. Died 1910.
1898. L. M. Thornton. India 1881-1906.
1899. Pundit Sri Lal. Statutory Civilian 1889. Died 1913.
1901. L. Stuart. Sir Louis Stuart, Kt., CLE. India 1891-1930 Chief Judge, Oudh Chief Court.
1903. IL W. Lyle. India 1887-1914. Died 1926.
1906. Mohamed Ishaq Khan. 1884-1913. Dead.
1911. H. E. Dupernex. India 1889-1913.
1912. J. L. Johnston. India 1897-1916.
1915. A. Sabonadiere. India 1888-1917.
1918. E. Bennet, LL.D. Puisne Judge, High (Joint, Allahabad.
1921. B. C. Forbes. India 1903-24. Died 1927.
1923. IL J. Coilister.
1926. H. G. Smith. Judge, Oudh Chief Court.
1927. G. C Badhwar.
1929. I. B. Mundle.
1930. B. Tirloki Nath. Retired.
1931. S. Iftikhar Husaiu.
1932-34. B. Gauri Prasad.

NOTK.—Officers who officiated for a few months have been excluded. In 1867, for example, there were four and in 1871 no less than three such Judges.

APPENDIX IV.

COLLECTORS.

1806.—A. Cockburn. 1st Mint Master.
1807.—R. Graham.
1808.—J. Donnithorne.
1820-24.—H. Swetenham. Commissioner 1832-34. Judge 1835-41. Died 1860.
1824.--H. Newnham. Last Mint Master. 1st Commissioner 1829-30.
1827.—M. Moore.
1829.—R. P. Nisbet. India 1809-34. Judge, Meerut. Died 1882.

MAGISTRATES AND COI.I.KCTOKS.

1832.—II. Pidcock. 1st District Magistrate (1833).
1834.-- J. C. Grant,
i* 18:55.—F. H. Robinson. India 1824-52. Member of the Hoard of Revenue. Died 1856.
1837.—H. H. S. Campbell. India 1830-57. Died 1864.
1843.—-P. C. Trench. India 1828-58. Died 1888.
1844.—M. R. Gubbins. India 1830-63. Financial Commissioner, Oudh. Wrote an account of the Mutiny in Oudh.
1845.—H. G. Astell. India 1834-62. Judge, Jaunpur.
1847.—W. R. Timins. India 1827-50
1849.—W. C. S. Cunninghame. India 1835-57. Judge, Azamgaih.
1856.—H Vansittart. India 1837-72. Offg. Commissioner of Customs. Judge. Rareilly.
1856.—VV. G. Probvn. India 1847-77. One of the survivors of the Mutiny at Fatehgarh. Judge, Saharanpur. Died 1911.
1858.—C. R. Lindsay. India 1844-80. Judge of the Chief Court of Punjab.
1862.—G. R. Pasley. India 1851-77. Judge, Gorakhpur.
1863.—R- C Oldfield. India 1848-87. Sir Richard Charles Oldfield. Judge *of the High Court, Allahabad,

1873-87, In 1857 was Assistant Secretary to Government at Agra. Joined the Volunteer Cavalry, and was severely wounded in the action at Shahganj. Died 1918, aged 90.

1^65.—W. Kaye. India 1858-93. Commissioner of Rohilkhand.

1867.—R. C Oldfield.

1869.—C. P. Elliott. India 1854-76. Dy. Commissioner, Apybala.

1871.—A. Boulderson. India 1855-77. Collector, Bijnor.

1873.—H. A. Harrison. India 1855-87. Also Judge 1880-84.

1877.—C. W. Watts. Died 1887.

1880.—A. Sells. Retired 1890.

1882.—W. W. G. Cornwall. Retired 1886.

1887.—F. S. Growse, C. I. E. Retired 1891.

1891.—E. Rose. Commissioner, Meerut. Retired 1901.

1893.—J. S. Mackintosh. Commissioner, Lucknow. Retired 1896.

1894.—E. Galbraith. Died 1899.

1898.—R. P. Dewhurst. Retired 1919.

1899.—H. G. Warburton. Retired 1916.

1905.—D. Cnlnan, C. B. E. Retired 1921.

1908.—A. W. McNair, C. S. I., O. B. E. Member, Board of Revenue. Retired 1928.

1912.—Kumvar Jagdish Prasad, C. S. I., C. I. E., O.B.E. Home Member, Executive Council, IT. P. Retired 1933.

1913.—II. K. Gracey, C. B. E. Retired 1924.

1916.—C. L. Alexander. Retired 1926.

1918.—H. Bomford, C. 1. E.

1918.—E. F. Oppenheim, C. I. E. Member, Board of Revenue.

1920.—C. L. Wallace, M. C.

1921. E. F. Oppenheim, C. I. E.

1923.—A. P. Collett. Commissioner, Income Tax, U. P. Retired 1932.

1986.—J. F. Sale.

1929.—H. Minson, M. B. E.

1930-34.—C. L. Wallace, M. C.

NOTE.—Officers who officiated for a short period, have been excluded. In 1867, for example, eight officers acted as Collector, and in 1871 there were five. Similarly, for the pre-Mutiny period numbers of Joint Magistrates officiated as Collector for three or four months. Mr. Lushington (officiating Collector 185£) remarked that in twenty years he had held twenty-one appointments, and nine months was his average stay in any one place.

*Mr. F. H. Robinson (Collector 1835) was the great-uncle of Mrs. Alice Perrin, the well-known novelist, who died February 13th, 1934.

APPENDIX V.

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED.

1. Lauh-i-Tarikh, by Mir Bahadur Ali, 1839.
2. Fatehgarhnama, by Babil Kale Hai, 1846.
3. The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad, by C. W. Irvine, I. C. S., in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,* 1878-79.
4. The MS. diary of Nawab Doolah of Shamsabad, 18135-55.
5. Fatchgarh and the Mutiny, by Lt.-Col. F. R. Cosens and C. L. Wallace, I. C. S., 1933.
6. A Memorial of Fatehgarh, by Revd J. J. Walsh.
7. History of the Presbyterian Missions in India, 1886.
8. Farrukhabad District Gazetteer, 1880.
9. Pre-Mutiny Records in Commissioner of Allahabad's Office.
10. Handbook to Knglish Pre-Mutiny Records in the U. P., by D. Dewar, I. ('. S.
11. Christian Tombs and Monuments in the U. P. by F. A. II. Blunt, I. C. S.. 1911.
12. Bengal Military Consultations. India Office.
13. Bengal Ecclesiastical Consultations. India Office.
14. Registers of St. John's Church. Calcutta.
15. Registers in the Diocesan Registrar's Office.
16. List of Officers of the Bengal Army, by Major V. Hodson.
17. History of the I. M. S. by Col. D. G. Crawford.
18. Fast India Registers.
19. Asiatic Annual Register, 1799.
20. Bengal, Past and Present. Vols. 28 and :35.
21. Memoirs of Old Haileybury, by Monier Williams etc.
22. Wanderings of a Pilgrim, by Mrs. Fanny Parks. 1850.
23. Memoir of the War in India, by Major W. Thorn, 1818
24. Notes on Indian Affairs, by F. J. Shore, 1837.
25. Private Journal of the Marquis of Hastings.
26. Travels in India 100 Years Ago, by T. Twining.
27. Tours in Upper India, by Major E. C. Archer, 1833.

28. A Tour through the Upper Provinces, by A. 1).
29. Whinyates Family Records.
30. War and Sport in India, by Lieut. J. Pester.
31. Sketch of the services of the Bengal Native Army, by Lieut. F. G. Cardew, 1903.
32. Travels in India, by W. Hodges, 1793.
33. Voyages and Travels, by Viscount Valentia, 180b\
34. Pen and Pencil Sketches, by Capt. R. Mundy, 1832.
35. Up the Country, by Hon. E. Eden, 1866.
36. East India Military Calendar, 1823-26.
37. Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship, by I I . Furber, 1933.
38. Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes, by Seton-Kcrr.

Many communications, the results of much research, which are gratefully acknowledged, from the following : —

Mrs. Beryl Jameson; Doctor Bethel G. Harris of Fatehgarh Memorial Hospital (photograph of the picture of Lord Lake entering Fatehgarh, information about the Mint, and extracts from old Gazettes); W. T. Ottcwill, Esq., Keeper of Records, India Office ; Sir Evan Cotton (extracts from William DauielPs diary, articles in Bengal, Past and Present, and information about the 18th century); Major V. Hodsou (services of officers, and information on every military topic connected with Fatehgarh) ; Captain H. Bullock (discovery or J. B. N. Hennessy, Army troubles of 17%', and details about old residents) ; Right Revd. C. J. G. Saunders, Bishop of Luckuow (consecration of the old Church); Mr. Justice E. Bennet, L C. S., Allahabad High Court (services of Judges); Lt.-Col. F. R. Cosens, commanding 10/7th Rajput Regiment (details of old Army organization) ; Captain V. C. A. Monckton, 1/7th Rajput Regiment (preparation of the two maps of Fatehgarh in 1835) ; R. VVestmacott, Esq., Diocesan Registrar (research in pre-Mutiny registers); Secretary, U. S. Institution (Clothing Factory); M. Safdar Husain Qizilbash, Stenographer, Fatehgarh Collectorate (research in Registrar's Office and pre-Mutiny Vernacular records).

1 to 20. Cantonment bungalows, as numbered today.
21. Shahzada's sons.
22. The Shahzada.
23, Iqbalmand Khan (owner).
24. "Kotmaster's House".
25. Mr. Kembali, |>ensioner.
2(i. Mr. Mercer, registrar.
27. " Martin's House ".
28. Hospital.
29. Treasurer's Garden.
30. Shahzada's Garden.
31. Alxlul Rahman, l)y. Collector.
32. *B*ibi Colonel Healy.
33 Mr. Paul.
34. Company School.
35. Kanhaya Lai (owner) .
36. Nawab of Farrakhabad.
37. Amina Khanum (owner)
138. Mrs. Collins (owner).
39. Mr. Potter (owner).
40. Mr. Sutherland.
41. Mrs. Clark.
42. Mrs. Palmer.
43. Mr. Jay.
44. Mr. Anthony.
45. Mr. Meikle.
46. Nau Ratan.
47. Mr. Storr.
48. Mr. Madden.
49. Mr. Martin.
50. Mr. Coles.
51. l)r. T-m-1.

52. '' Machine House ''.
53. Customs House.
54. Mrs. Clark (owner) .
55. Mr. Mercer (owner) .
56. " Customs Gate ''.
57. Saltpetre Factory.

MAP REFERENCES : FATEHGAKH CANTONMENT, 1835.

1 to 20. Cantonment bungalows, as numbered today.
21. Shahzada's sons.
22. The Shahzada.
23. Iqbalmand Khan (owner).
24. " Kotmaster's House ".
25. Mr. Kembali, ixmsioner.
26. Mr. Mercer, registrar.
27. " Martin's House ".
28. Hospital.
2!). Treasurer's Garden.
30. Shahzada's Garden.
31. Abdul Rahman, l)y. Collector.
32. Bibi Colonel Hcaly.
33. Mr. Paul.
34. Company School.
35. Kanhaya Lai (owner) .
36. Nawab of Farrjkhabad.
37. Amina Khanum (owner)
38. Mrs. Collins (owner) .
39. Mr. Potter (owner).
40. Mr. Sutherland.
41. Mrs. Clark.
42. Mrs. Palmer.
43. Mr. Jay.
44. Mr. Anthony.
45. Mr. Meikle.
46. Nau Ratan.
47. Mr. Storr.
48. Mr. Madden.
49. Mr. Martin.
50. Mr. Coles.
51. Dr. T-m-1,

MAP REFERENCES : CIVII, LINES AND RAKHA, 1835.

1. Hospital.
2. Brown's compound.
3. Church.
4. Theatre.
5 Racquet Court.
6- Mr. Brierly.
7. Mr. Pyle.
8. Mr. Clark.
9. Mr. Hine.
10. Mr. Jennings.
11. Mr. Morgan.
12. Mr. Ives.
13. Col. Brown.
14. Bungalows occupied by Cavalry Officers up to 1805.
15. Mr. Moir.
16. The Raja of Tirwa.
17. Mr. Bush.
18. Officer Commanding Fatehgarh.
19. The Judge.
20. Commissioner's Office.
21. Judge's Court.
22. Lock-up.
23. Mounted Orderlies Lines.
24. Hamilton's Tomb.
25. Mr. DeGruyther.
26. Mr. Jacob.
27. Heysham's Serai.
28. Mrs. Jennings.
29. Mrs. Collins.
30. Clothing Factory.
31. Clothing Factory Agent.
32. Mr. Bathurst.

33. Mr. Smith.
34. Mr. Dyce.
35. Miss Eliza Hickman.