THE 1857 REBELLION IN DELHI

ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT
The thesis "The 1857 Rebellion in Delhi," centres around the first war of independence of 1857 in Delhi; its genesis, its progression and its collapse have been discussed in detail. Besides introduction, it has been divided into eight chapters. Chapter I deals with the intellectual environment of Delhi on the eve of the revolt. It provides an insight into the nature of the pursuits of the intellectuals and the learned in Delhi until it was brought to a grinding halt by the outbreak of the rebellion. The loss of political power does not seem to have seriously affected peoples' longing for the cultivation of intellectual, literary and religious interests of a very high order. The era was in fact particularly marked by efflorescence of literary and poetic attainments of exceptional quality. In the field of religious scholarship this age was graced with the presence of some of the most outstanding scholars that India had produced.

Second Chapter deals with the political and economic conditions of Delhi between 1803-1857. This Chapter provides glimpses of the transformation of various public institutions and administrative changes brought about by the English rule. Its impact on the social life of the people around Delhi has been also assessed.

Third Chapter deals with the rebellion in Delhi and its neighbourhood. Main focus of the discussion in this chapter revolves around the reasons which were responsible for alienating
the Sepoys from their erstwhile masters whom they had served with great loyalty and had conquered their own country for them. The English have produced a vast literature on the subject and full note has been taken of it. Besides, the role of neighbouring principalities such as Ballabgharh, Farrukhnagar, Pataudi, Jhajhjhar etc. has also been discussed. It is clear that the role of the rulers of these principalities was extremely dubious and this adversely affected the prospects of the rebels.

Chapter four is devoted to "Delhi under the Rebels; Problems and Difficulties." In the light of the discussion in this chapter it clearly emerges that Bahadur Shah was not cast for the role of the leader of the rebellion which the circumstances forced him to assume. He was an old man of 80 years, bereft of authority and power and living on a pension of the English. His interests lay in literature and poetry and in spite of extreme paucity of resources, he was extending all possible patronage to men of learning, literature and art. He still commanded great respect and love of the people. Now he was called to deal with an altogether different situation. It would clearly appear that in spite of all his limitations, he tried his best to serve his country and his people. The nobility of his character, his humanity, his concern for the sufferings of the people, his anxiety for law and order clearly demonstrate that he was not lacking in good qualities, which are so essential for a
ruler. But he was betrayed by the people around him. In this torrid drama the most reprehensible role was played by the Princes who failed to rise to the gravity of the occasion. Many important people around the King were loyal to the English and were working for them. The Sepoys did not obey him. In this kind of situation even more capable people could not have done much. For a brief period after the arrival of Bakht Khan on the Scene, a glimmer of hope appeared in the otherwise bleak atmosphere. Bakth Khan enjoyed complete confidence of the king, was capable and sincere but he had to contend with great odds as those forces united against him whose interests were threatened and this great effort also failed. Delhi continued to drift from bad to worst.

Chapter five deals with "Delhi during 1857", in this Chapter attention has been drawn to the activities of the Jihadies, Bahadur Shah's efforts to maintain Hindu-Muslim unity, the role of vernacular press in Delhi. In maintaining communal harmony in Delhi during fateful days of 1857, Bahadur Shah and Bakht Khan played an important role and achieved great success and the attempts of the English to sow seeds of dissension among the rebels could not succeed. This is one of the brightest aspects of the rebellion.

Chapter six of the thesis deals with the ideological and political dimensions of the rebellion of 1857. These found reflection in the proclamations issued from time to time by the rebels. In fact these
proclamations provide an insight into the grievances and the deep sense of humiliation and injury that the entire spectrum of the Indian society from the ruling classes to the lowest of the low including the religious classes nursed. The proclamations thus represented the feelings of almost every section of the Indian Society. The monoplisation of trade by the English has also been discussed.

Chapter seven deals with the conspiracies and allegations and counter allegations which were rife in the rebel circles in Delhi during 1857. Red Fort seems to have been at the centre of these conspiracies. Palace intrigues and conspiracies were not something new. But it would seem to have assumed a new dimension during those crucial days. These contributed in no small measure to the ultimate failure and collapse of this heroic struggle.

Chapter eight is devoted to the study of the collapse of the rebellion in Delhi. Causes which were responsible for the failure have been discussed. It would not be perhaps far-fetched to conclude that the factors responsible for the collapse of the struggle lay with the rebels themselves.
This is to certify that the thesis entitled "The 1857 Rebellion in Delhi" is original work of Ms. Zohra Parveen and suitable for submission for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

( Prof. Ishtiyaq Ahmad Zilli )
Supervisor
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(ZOHRA PARVEEN)
The history of the first war of independence of 1857-58 continues to be a matter of great significance for the country and an issue of absorbing interest for the students of history. The causes of the so called mutiny or revolt have been variously understood and interpreted by the historians. The literature which is now available on this great event, amply proves that it was much more than a mutiny or revolt. Marx was the first person who termed 1857's uprising as the first war of independence. Savarkar, perhaps under the influence of Marx, wrote a full fledged book under the title, "The Indian War of Independence 1857". In fact the archival evidence, such as letters and despatches written and sent by the English officers to their family members, friends and government officials; the vernacular newspapers specially Urdu, the histories written by both the loyalist Indians and the English officers, the impartial persons and the folk literature clearly indicate that the events of 1857-58 in reality constituted the first war of independence. In this war, the beginning was made by the Sepoys and hence many historians of the period termed it as mutiny. Other sections of the people also joined the Sepoys. It was thus termed as a revolt by some historians and writers. A large number of historians, both English and Indians, however, termed it as a rebellion.

in view of the participation of a very large number of people hailing from a cross section of the society. Marx's and Savarkar's contention that it was the first war of independence is largely explained through their writings. Marx argues that the people rose against the English rule chiefly because it was exploitative, it ruined the indigenous industries, it destroyed the agriculture, inundated the Indian markets with its own products destroying the cotton industries, high taxation in agriculture and on Indian manufactured goods, which brought about a total ruin of the Indian people. Poverty and hunger became the order of the day. Greatly dissatisfied and grievously suppressed Indians broke into rebellion against the English authority. The Christian missionaries with the full support of the government, adopted a very aggressive posture and maligned Islam and Hinduism, and endeavoured to convert them to Christianity. This was naturally deeply resented by both the communities. This was not all. Even the most important segment of the English army i.e. the Sepoys, who had been instrumental in the conquest of their own homeland for their alien masters, were subjected to discrimination, humiliation and economic distress. Consequently, the regions where the Indian people, including Sepoys who suffered at the hands of their masters, broke into rebellion with avowed object to establish a government to be run by Indians.

The flash point of the rebellion, as is well known, came at Meerut on 10th May, 1857. The very next day, as could be expected, Delhi became the centre of rebels' activities. The rebels gave vent
to their hatred and anger against the English by killing all those on whom they could lay their hands in the most atrocious manner.

As Delhi became the centre stage of the rebel activities, the Sepoys refused to obey their English masters. The people of Delhi also extended their full support to them. Bahadur Shah does not seem to have been optimistic about the outcome of this spontaneous outburst of peoples' anger. As a result, he was reluctant to join the rebels but later he surrendered to the pressure of the Sepoys and assumed their leadership. He still enjoyed the love and respect of the people of India. The anger and hatred of the rebels against the English led them to indiscriminately kill many of them in Delhi. In many cases even women and children were not spared despite Bahadur Shah's best efforts to save them. The beginning of the revolt was sudden and it was not preceded by any planning and preparation. The Sepoys who were in the forefront of the revolt lacked economic resources and had no money. Bahadur Shah himself was a pensioner of the English. He was a king only in name. His treasury was empty but the requirements of running an administration were enormous. Even the Sepoys who had staked their lives for the cause of liberating the country from the yoke of the English, did not possess resources to meet their bare minimum needs. For meeting these needs they resorted to loot and plunder. This naturally led to chaos, and the law and order situation badly deteriorated. Some of the more ambitious and less scrupulous Sepoys now also endeavoured to advance their
own personal interests and started collecting money through more plunders. Many robbers and other antisocial elements did the same in disguise of the Sepoys. To control the situation Bahadur Shah himself went to the city and requested the frightened shopkeepers to open their shops. But his visit and appeal made little impact on them as they knew well that this could not ensure their safety. The combined effect for the people meant greater hardship.

The conditions further worsened due to the factionalism that emerged under the patronage of different Princes. The Princes were impoverished and inexperienced. They tried to collect money for their own pleasure pursuits. As a result, instead of making any serious effort to control this downward slide, they instigated and encouraged looting and plunder in the name of administration. The people were exposed to mere rapine and no relief was forthcoming. Some of the neighbouring states like Bahadurgarh, Dujana, Farrukhnagar and Jhajhjhar had also joined the rebels and supported the Sepoys. The Khanazads of Nuh remained Loyal to the English, while the rulers of Ballabhgarh, Pataudi, Loharu and Rewari adopted a dual policy hob-nobbing with both the English and the rebels at the same time. The rulers of Jhajhjhar and Bahadurgarh extended some financial support to Bahadur Shah but it was insignificant and entirely inadequate to meet the requirements of maintaining an army which was expected to fight the well organised and fully equipped English army.
The Sepoys trained and brought up in the rough and tough atmosphere of the barracks, naturally lacked etiquette and manners. They did not know how to behave in the presence of the King. Inspite of all the limitations and constrains, highest standards of culture and polite mannerism was observed at the court, which was totally alien to the Sepoys. They sometimes behaved in most disrespectful manner with the King. This uncouth behaviour naturally annoyed the King. The exalted Fort now became the residence of the rebel infantry with all its attendant consequences. The King was bereft of any authority. He asked the Princes to provide relief and protection to the people who were badly harassed by the Sepoys but there was little impact of his sermons. For maintaining law and order in the city Thanedars were appointed but most of them were incompetent and powerless.

After the appearence of Bakht Khan on the scene the situation somewhat changed. Bahadur Shah who had earlier appointed the Princes to different positions of authority, now abolished all such appointments. He conferred on Bakht Khan unprecedented honours as well as responsibilites. Bakht Khan succeeded in checking the increasing chaos in Delhi with an iron hand and brought the conditions of Delhi under control to some extent. But the Princes did not like it and became extremely jealous as they also lost much of their power and influence. They started creating problems for Bakht Khan and conspiring against him. With a view to counter it, Bahadur Shah gave full authority to Bakht Khan
to deal with the Princes as the situation demanded and even to
punish them if they indulged in loot and plunder. But in spite
of his best efforts Bakht Khan could not succeed in stopping the
Princes who were hell bent on exploiting the situation to their
advantage and did not even hesitate to take resort to plunder and
rapine with a view to fill their own coffers. Bakht Khan had abolished
a number of taxes which were imposed on the people ostensibly
for raising necessary resources for running the government. This
was done, in spite of severe resource crunch, to provide relief
to the people who were the worst sufferers of the chaotic con­
ditions prevailing in Delhi. But the Princes continued to realise
these taxes bringing the gallant efforts of Bakht Khan in this regard
to naught. People continued to suffer and reel under the push and
pull of these forces working at cross purposes.

While all this was happening in Delhi, the ousted English officers
from Delhi were licking their wounds and making feverish prepa­
rations for a come back. They adopted the old policy of dividing
their opponents to break the unity of the Sepoys. They tried their
best to create Hindu-Muslim dissension among the Sepoys by sowing
seeds of communal hatred among them, so as to break their power.
But the Sepoys remained united and fought jointly. The Pandits
and Maulvis urged the members of their communities to remain
united against the English and frustrate their designs. Bahadur
Shah played a very important role in the task of maintaining this
unity and emerged as a symbol of communal harmony. He took
concrete steps to maintain the unity. Among other things, he banned the cow slaughter on the occasion of Eid-Al-Azha. Moreover, when the people asked him to declare the war against the English a *jihad*, he refused on the ground that majority of the Sepoys were Hindus. This shows the far sightedness of the old King, which prevented a division among the Sepoys and inspired a sense of confidence among them.

It would seem that the old King had a clear vision of the situation. He fully understood that India was standing at cross roads. A sagacious and clear sighted leadership with the support of the people could lead to the permanent banishment of the English. But a false step would bring disastrous consequences for the country. He seems to have been fully aware of the complexities of the situation and clearly realised that unless all the sections of the people extended their full support for the new dispensation, it was bound to fail. It was necessary to take the people in confidence, inspire them and hold out to them the hope of a bright future, when aliens would be banished from the country and they will be masters of their own destiny. They needed to be reassured that though the present conditions were difficult but a bright future was beckoning them.

With this objective in view, Bahadur Shah issued a number of Proclamations. In these Proclamations he dwelt at large about the nature of the ongoing struggle against the English. He also tried to spell out to the people the shape of the things when the
English would be banished from the country and true Indian rule would be established. He compared the repressive English rule and delineated the advantages that will accrue to the people when once their own rule was established. He also took care of ideological issues which were involved in the struggle against the English. All the sections of the society were assured that their particular interests would be fully taken care of. But for achieving all this, it was necessary that this struggle should be pursued relentlessly with complete sincerity of purpose and singleness of mind.

The rebels were deeply annoyed with all those sections of the society who were supporting the English. They included mostly members of the upper classes such as Zamindars, Talukadars, moneylenders and their agents. It was only natural that they harboured deepest sense of hostility and animosity against them. They attacked their houses, plundered them and destroyed their account books. This only made them more nervous and apprehensive about the future shape of the things to come and were more convinced that their salvation lay in the re-establishment of the English rule.

In that state of uncertainty and tension, when all kinds of problems were galore, the Princes exhibited unbelievable shortsightedness and lack of vision. Unlike Bahadur Shah, they seem to have been blissfully ignorant of the gravity of the situation. Instead of directing their efforts to save the country and themselves from the impending catastrophe, they spent their time in conspiring against the King, Bakht Khan and against each other
so that they could extract their own pound of flesh. There were many other people also who were constantly conspiring against the King and the rebels and supporting the English with money, material and above all with vital inputs regarding the conditions of Delhi and the rebels. They also worked overtime to spread all kinds of rumours to create dissension among the ranks of the rebels in particular and the people in general and convince them of the futility of their efforts and the invincibility of the English. They also served as English informers and spies. These people like Hakim Ahsanullah Khan, Ilahi Bakhsh, Moinuddin Hasan Khan and others were apparently with the King and the rebels but actually they were loyal to the English. When Bakht Khan reached Delhi, Bahadur Shah gave him sweeping power abolishing all earlier arrangements and posts. It incurred jealousy among the Princes against him. They constantly conspired against him. Mirza Mughal especially had little liking for Bahht Khan as his independent authority on all state affairs and in decision making process had been subordinated to the wisdom of Bakht Khan. Blinded with their selfish interests, they forgot the very object of their struggle. And later on this internal conflict caused great harm to the rebel unity. The army was divided into three factions. As a result no unity of command which is so essential for the success of such endeavours, could be possible. This proved to be one of the most important causes of the failure of the rebellion. It is, however, interesting to note that the rebel forces which had revolted on the introduction of
Enfield rifles as greased catridges were used in it, fought with the same weapon as long as they could.

The arrival of Nicholson with his army at Delhi marked the beginning of the end of the rebels' rule. With their superior arms, tenacity and diplomacy they far outweighed the rebel army. In fact the rebel army with all the attendant problems was no match to them. It was an unequal fight and its consequences were not hidden to those with a discerning eye. It was before long that the resistance collapsed and Delhi was captured by the English. The English launched a reign of terror in Delhi and massacred a large number of innocent people alongwith the rebels. It is, however, worth noting that though they crushed the rebellion but they could not kill the spirit that had kindled it. It remained alive in the innermost recesses of the hearts of many Indians and no amount of repression could entirely erase their longing for freedom. It continued to smoulder under apparent calm and when the opportune time came it came forth with all the vigour. The great national freedom movement that won the freedom for the country has undoubtedly its roots in this first war of independence.
Chapter 1

THE INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENT AT DELHI

I. THE MUGHAL COURT

There was a marked decline in the Court atmosphere of the later Mughals. The pomp and glory that existed during the reign of great Mughals had considerably vanished. After the death of Shah Alam there was a new King Akbar Shah II, who enjoyed even lesser power than his predecessor.

The state of affairs at the Red Fort was quite pathetic. The grand buildings constructed by Shah Jahan was in neglect and required extensive repairs. Even the Diwan-i-Aam and Diwan-i-Khas, where the King used to meet the common men and the elites of the empire, required a facelift. On accession to the throne, Akbar Shah II paid some attention to the repairs of Diwan-i-Aam and Diwan-i-Khas.\(^1\) The position of the Court as reported by Nugent was such that the precious stones which had been pirated by the plunderers had been replaced by mock. Akbar Shah II paid attention to the repairs of the important buildings by spending Rs.500 per month but such a meagre amount was not adequate for the repairs of a palace like the Red Fort. Bishop Heber, who visited the Red Fort in 1827, described the palace as "dull, desolate and forlorn - - - - . The Shah Burj was dirty, lonely and wretched; the bath and fountain dry; the inlaid pavement hid with lumber and gardener's sweepings and the

walls stained with the dung of birds and bats\textsuperscript{1}.

On accession to the throne, Bahadur Shah II retained the traditions of the Court set by his predecessors. The English agent reported in 1838 that "considerable improvements have been made of late, both with respect to the appearance and cleanliness of the palace."\textsuperscript{2}

Bahadur Shah however seems to be gradually losing interest in repairing the palace which in any way was not an easy task in the given circumstance. Percival Spear assumes that the loss of King's interest in the upkeep of the palace was due to his age.\textsuperscript{3} This is, however, not a proper estimate of the situation. As a matter of fact, Bahadur Shah Zafar was receiving an annual pension of rupees 3 lakhs which was too small an amount to maintain the Court and to meet other royal commitments from time to time. Moreover, the rapid increase in the price level also added to the miseries of the King. In such a situation it was a natural phenomenon that Bahadur Shah gradually lost interest in the upkeep of the palace. However, the interest of the King did not cease altogether as one notices that a garden was raised by Bahadur Shah outside the palace walls and houses on European style, for the heir-apparent Mirza Mughal and other Princes were constructed.

There was another important problem faced by the emperors Akbar Shah and Bahadur Shah II. There were a large number of royal decendents

\textbf{References}

within the walls of the palace. They were the off springs of the former kings and were related very closely to Akbar Shah II and Bahadur Shah II. They were poor and their ejection from the palace was not desirable in view of the dignity of the Mughal family. The residence of those princes was in a very bad shape. While by all means the two Kings tried to maintain the palace and the Court where they held the darbar, it was not possible for them to maintain the huge complex of the palace.

Spear records that the "Visitors to the palace pass through the neglected outer court before they reached the audience chamber, the consequence was that the first impression was usually bad. Any revision of opinion to which they might feel tempted in the darbar hall itself were offset by the tawdriness of the Khillats and the cheapness of the presents given by the King."¹ Thus statement of Sir Syed refers to the salatin crying for help from the roof tops.²

The position of the reigning King's close family, however, was comparatively better than the other family members. While the other family members had no liberty of movement and action, they had full liberty of movement and action and enjoyed subsistence allowances. According to the time honoured customs of the Mughal Court, they stood in rows on both sides of the throne in the darbar. Even among the princes were two classes; one section comprised of those princes who were off springs of the legitimate wives of the King. They enjoyed a superior position. While the others born of concubines had

1. Spear, p. 61.
an inferior position in the royal hierarchy. According to Delhi Residency and Agency Report, Bahadur Shah had 12 surviving sons in 1856. Of them only 2, were legitimate. Out of them only one or two princes made some mark on the annals of time. To illustrate this point the case of Mirza Jahangir, the son of Akbar Shah II, may be cited as an example. His father attempted to secure the nomination of Mirza Jahangir as his successor. Mirza Jahangir, a young man of 17 years, had collected some people around him and had also hired a number of Pathan mercenaries. The Resident objected to this attitude. Consequently, Mirza Jahangir treated the Agent harshly. Perhaps a conflict between Mirza Jahangir and the Agent grew on account of the attitude of the latter as the events in different parts of India indicated the English attitude towards the Indian ruling classes had become quite hostile. For example Hope Grant and Travelyan may be cited to show how the English officials had become oppressive and atrocious. However, the conflict between Mirza Jahangir and the Resident resulted in military action commanded by Seton. Mirza Jahangir was removed from the Palace and sent to Allahabad as a state prisoner. Mirza Jahangir appears to be an ambitious person. For the time being he reconciled to his fate, behaved properly and was allowed to return to Delhi. He was, however, again sent to Allahabad in 1816, where he drowned himself into wine and thus ruined himself. He died in 1821 at the age of 31 years. The second son of Akbar Shah II was Mirza Babur. He was greatly influenced by the European way of life. He was the main brain for the construction

1. D R R, p. 455.
of European quarters in the Red Fort. He wore European clothes and uniforms'.

Bahadur Shah's sons were not so prominent as Mirza Babur and Mirza Jahangir were. However, his two sons prince Dara Bakht and Fakhruddin who were successively appointed as also the heir-apparrents, were men of culture and were respected by the Delhi Society. Mirza Mughal played a distinct role during the rebellion of 1857 and was executed by the English. Mirza Jawan Bakht, the favourite son, of the King was too young. He accompanied Bahdur Shah to Rangoon where he lived and is said to have been survived by many sons.

During the reign of Akbar Shah and Bahadur Shah, the position of the Court was not as good as it had been during the time of Shah Alam. It seems that the English had their eyes on the Red Fort. The political scenario of India had considerably changed, the English conquest was almost complete. Now only Awadh, Delhi and Punjab were functioning as the so called independent states. Even Punjab had entered into a treaty (1809) while Awadh was an old ally of the English and Delhi was under a titular King. But even this position was not acceptable to the English any more. They were sent open to incorporate even these loyalist and subordinate states so as to complete the English conquest. Consequently, Akbar Shah II, who is considered to be a man of considerable ability, and possessed good features as well, was declared to be senile by Sleeman2.

1. Spear, pp. 64-65.
Bishop Heber who was a keen observer and free from any bias, gives a
detailed description of the Court and the activities of Akbar Shah II which
is of great interest and therefore is being reproduced below:-

"The 31st December was fixed for my presentation to the emperor,
which was appointed for half-past eight in the morning. Lushington and
a Captain Wade also chose to take the same opportunity. At eight I went,
accompanied by Mr. Elliot, with nearly the same formalities as at Lucknow,
except that we were on elephants instead of in palaquins, and that the
procession was perhaps less splendid, and the beggars both less numerous
and far less vociferous and importunate. We were received with presented
arms by the troops of the palace drawn up within the barbican, and proceeded,
still on our elephants, through the noblest gateway and vestibule which
I ever saw. It consists, not merely of a splendid Gothic arch in the centre
of the great gate-tower, but, after that, of a long vaulted aisle, like that
of a Gothic cathedral, with a small, open, octagonal court in its centre,
all of granite, and all finely carved with inscriptions from the Koran, and
with flowers. This ended in a ruinous and exceedingly dirty stable-yard!
where we were received by Captain Grant, as the Moghul's officer on
guard, and by a number of elderly men with large gold-headed canes, the
usual ensign of office here, and one of which Mr. Elliott also carried.
We were now told to dismount and proceed on foot, a task which the late
rain made inconvenient to my gown and cassock, and thin shoes, and during
which we were pestered by a fresh swarm of miserable beggars, the wives
and children of the stable servants. After this we passed another richly-
carved, but ruinous and dirty gateway, where our guides, withdrawing
a canvas screen, called out, in a sort of harsh chaunt, 'Lo, the ornament
of the World! Lo, the asylum of the nations! King of Kings! The Emperor
Acbar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious! 'We saw, in fact, a very handsome
and striking court, about as big as that at all Souls, with low, but richly-
ornamented buildings. Opposite to us was a beautiful open pavilion of
white marble, richly carved, flanked by rose-bushes and fountains, and
some tapestry and striped curtains hanging in festoons about it, within
which was a crowd of people, and the poor old descendant of Tamerlane
seated in the midst of them. Mr. Elliot here bowed three times very low,
in which we followed his example. This ceremony was repeated twice
as we advanced up the steps of the pavilion, the heralds each time repeating
the same expressions about their master's greatness. We then stood in
a row on the right-hand side of the throne, which is a sort of marble bedstead
richly ornamented with gilding, and raised on two or three steps. Mr Elliott
then stepped forwards, and, with joined hands, in the usual Eastern way,
announced, in a low voice, to the emperor, who I was. I then advanced,
bowed three times again, and offered a nuzzur of fifty one gold mohurs
in an embroidered purse, laid on my handkerchief, in the way practised
by the Baboos in Calcutta. This was received and laid on one side, and
I remained standing for a few minutes, while the usual court questions
about my health, my travels, when I left Calcutta, & c., were asked. I
had thus an opportunity of seeing the old gentleman more plainly. He
has a pale, thin, but handsome face, with an aquiline nose, and a long
white beard. His complexion is little if at all darker than that of an European.
His hands are very fair and delicate, and he had some valuable-looking
rings on them. His hands and face were all I saw of him, for the morning
being cold, he was so wrapped up in shawls, that he reminded me extremely
of the Druid's head on a Welsh halfpenny. I then stepped back to my former
place, and returned again with five more mohurs to make my offering
to the heir apparent, who stood at his father's left hand, the right being
occupied by the Resident. Next, my two companions were introduced with
nearly the same forms, except that their offerings were less, and that the
emperor did not speak to them.

The emperor then beckoned to me to come forward, and Mr.
Elliott told me to take off my hat, which had till now remained
on my head, on which the emperor tied a flimsy turban of brocade
round my head with his own hands, for which, however, I paid four
gold mohurs more. We were then directed to retire to receive the
'khelats' (honorary dresses) which the bounty of 'the Asylum of
the World' had provided for us. I was accordingly taken into a
small private room, adjoining the zennanah, where I found a handsome
flowered caften edged with fur, and a pair of commom looking shawls,
which my servants, who had the delight of witnessing all this fine
show, put on instead of my gown, my cassock remaining as before.
In this strange dress I had to walk back again having my name announced by the criers (something in the same way that Lord Marmion's was) as 'Bahadur,, Boozoony, Dowlutmund,' & c., to the presence, where I found my two companions, who had not been honoured by a private dressing-room, but had their khelats put on them in the gateway of the court. They were, I apprehend, still queerer figures than I was, having their hats wrapped with scrafts of flowered gauze, and a strange garment of gauze, tinsel, and faded ribands flung over their shoulders above their coats. I now again came forward and offered my third present to the emperor, being a copy of the Arabic Bible and the Hindoostanee Common Prayer, handsomely bound in blue velvet laced with gold, and wrapped up in a piece of brocade. He then motioned to me to stoop, and put a string of pearls round my neck, and two glittering but not costly ornaments in the front of my turban, for which I again offered five gold mohurs. It was, lastly, announced that a horse was waiting for my acceptance, at which fresh instance of imperial munificence the heralds again made a proclamation of largesse, and I again paid five gold mohurs. It ended by my taking my leave with three times three salams, making up, I think, the sum of about threescore, and I retired
with Mr. Elliott to my dressing-room, whence I sent to her Majesty the
Queen, as she is generally called, though Empress would be the ancient
and more proper title, a present of five mohurs more, and the emperor's
chobodars came eagerly up to know when they should attend to receive
their buckishsh"¹.

After the death of Akbar Shah II Mirza Sirajuddin Abu Zafar ascended
the throne with the title of Bahadur Shah. He was not the favourite of
Akbar Shah II. Akbar Shah was keen to raise Mirza Jahangir to the throne
but, as seen earlier, Mirza Jahangir was banished and he is also reported
to have attempted to poison Akbar Shah II twice.

Bahadur Shah II was indeed the most suitable person to succeed Akbar
Shah II. He had, however, a great disadvantage. He was quite advanced
in age at the time of his accession. He must have been around 57-63 years
old when he ascended the throne.

304-306.
Bahadur Shah was brought up in a decaying palace tradition where reason had been replaced by superstition. As could be expected Bahadur Shah was not free from that. Apart from this he was after all a pensioner to the English and therefore enjoyed little freedom. He had been already told that after him the title of kingship would be withdrawn and the Mughal establishment would be transferred to Qutb area. In such a situation Bahadur Shah II may be termed as a King in name without any power and authority. Bahadur Shah, however, was a cultured and educated person and was advised as the Heir Apparent to submit with patience to the will of his Royal Father. (Akbar Shah II). It may be added that his conduct was undoubtedly the most respectable, the most accomplished of Princes, the most worthy of his Majesty's love, and although it was withheld from him, he was not to deviate from the observance of proper respect and filial duty.

During the reign of Akbar Shah II and Bahadur Shah II, the public darbars were held in Diwan-i-Khas. The Diwan-i-Aam, which was originally meant for the purpose, was not being used any more and lay deserted. Perhaps this was due to the fact that it required extensive repairs. Occasionally, it was cleared by King's order only to fall back soon in the same neglect.

There were some people who had free access to to Diwan-

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1 D R R., case 1, No.3, 26th June, 1827.
i-Khas and could go even near to Lal Purdah. These people could witness the most intimate ceremonies of the court. One of the interesting ceremonies was related to the weighing the King against seven kinds of grains and corals on important occasions. The weight then used to be distributed among the poor. It may be mentioned here that during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb the emperors used to be weighed in gold and silver and the weight was distributed among the poor. With the decline of the empire, as gold and silver were no more available for the ceremony hence grains and corals were used. The celebration of the weighing ceremony originated from Akbar who borrowed it from the Hindus. The ceremony took place on King's birthday, the Nauroz and the Hindu festivals of Diwali and Holi and also on the occasions of eclipses. This special weighing ceremony used to be held when the king took bath after recovering from an illness. Other functions celebrated by the Court were Id, Baqra Id, Holi, Diwali, Nauroz etc. Shah Alam and after him his descendents maintained this tradition.

The system of Nazar to the King was also a normal feature of the Mughal Court. It was discontinued by the English in 1831 and it was greatly resented by the Mughal King.

One of the routine affairs of the Court, which was very punctiliously followed was the Physical examination of the King.
by the Court Physicians. During the reign of Akbar Shah II and Bahadur Shah II, Hakim Ahsanullah Khan looked after the King's health and thus he acquired close proximity to the King.

In a decaying society prevalence of corruption is a natural phenomenon. The court of Akbar Shah II was no exception. Although the king enjoyed no political authority and economic resources yet outside the Court the prestige of the Mughals was still very great. Within the court, the Princes, Salateen and the nobles had their own cliques. They conspired against one another. The best example of the Court rivalry is noticed during the rebellion in Delhi. There had emerged distinct rival groups within the Court relegating the power of Bahadur Shah II to nought. These groups were: (a) Mirza Mughal's group (b) Mirza Abubakar's group, (c) Mirza Khizr Sultan's group (d) Mirza Jawan Bakht's group led by Zeenat Mahal and Ahsanullah Khan's group and so on. As a result of the intrigues within the court, the English could stage a come back successfully.

However, despite the intrigues in the Court, of Bahadur Shah II, there were some positive aspects of the Court. For example the Mughal Court was a centre of many cultural activities. Bahadur Shah's patronage of the poets and painters had earned him a name. It was his patronage which for some time changed the gloomy atmosphere with the presence of poets like Ghalib, Zauq, Shah Naseer
etc. Similarly, his patronage kept the Delhi school of painting alive, which produced two great painters of the time Raja Jiwan Ram and Hussain Nazeer. It goes to the credit of Bahadur Shah that he maintained the poets, artists and craftsmen within his meagre resources. The end of the Mughal court in Delhi in 1857 heralded the break of the cultural activities and ushered in the garish period of utility in life. The end of the Mughal Court in Delhi created a vacuum for the time as modern education was still far away from Delhi. However, as the following pages would indicate, there was great cultural activity in Delhi among the people and ulema on the traditional lines. In the midst of all pervading decay, there was a rare resurgence of intellectual and cultural activity.

Ibrahim Zauq

Shaikh Mohammad Ibrahim Zauq (1789-90) was born in Delhi. He was the son of a trooper and had a poor family background. The family lived in considerable difficult economic situation. The family lived near Kabuli Darwaza in Delhi.\(^1\) Shaikh Ibrahim received his early education at the maktab (school) of Hafiz Ghulam Rasool which was located near his house.\(^2\) Hafiz Ghulam Rasool was a known poet and his poetic name was Shauq. It seems that Hafiz Ghulam Rasool encouraged youngsters in composing verses. In his company, Zauq began his career as a poem composer. After having attained

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2 Ibid.
some command in this art, he joined Shah Naseer as a disciple. Shah Naseer's company greatly benefitted Shaikh Ibrahim. He was now composing his poems with skill and excellence. One of his friends, Mir Kazim Husain, became instrumental in introducing him to the Red Fort.

Shah Naseer enjoyed a very influential position in the Red Fort as he was the ustad (teacher) of the heir-apparent in the sphere of poetry. But he soon departed from Delhi for Hyderabad in search of greener pastures. After the departure of Shah Naseer, the heir apparent, Mirza Sirajuddin Abu Zafar who was destined to be popular as Bahadur Shah Zafar, turned to Shaikh Ibrahim Zauq and recognised him as ustad. Else-where a story is narrated regarding Shaikh Ibrahim's access to the court. It says that on one occasion Shaikh Ibrahim, whose poetic name was Zauq, recited a Persian qasida to the King Akbar Shah, the then Mughal ruler. Akbar Shah conferred upon him the title of Khaqani-i-Hind. Shaikh Ibrahim at that time was only nineteen years old.

Shaikh Ibrahim who was already acknowledged as a poet in the intellectual circles of Delhi, now turned to acquire the knowledge of music, astronomy and tibb. It seems his interest in these sciences

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4. Ibid.
5. *Qasida* is a form of poetry which contains praise or satire of a person.
was short-lived and his main interest remained confined to poetry.¹

Shaikh Ibrahim Zauq was a regular participant of the Mushairas that were regularly organised at Red Fort as well as Delhi College.²

Since Shaikh Ibrahim Zauq had a close association with the heir-apparent, he rose into prominence as the Court poet in 1837 when the latter ascended the throne. The new King ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah adding at the end his poetic name Zafar. Zauq naturally became one of the most favourite persons of the King. Now he was the poet and a mentor of the King—a position he retained till his death in 1271 A.H./1854.

After the death of Zauq, his arch rival Ghalib gained the coveted position of ustad and came in close contact to Bahadur Shah Zafar⁴.

Mirza Ghalib

Mizar Asadullah Khan Ghalib also known as Mirza Nausha (1797-1869), was born at Agra⁵ in a respectable Mughal family. It is said that his grandfather came to India during the reign of Shah Alam II⁶. Ghalib claims that he was of Turkish origin⁷. He

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1. Aab-i-Hayat, pp. 445-446.
6. Aab-i-Hayat, p. 481; Dastanbu, Urdu translation as Ghalib Ka Roznamcha-i-Ghadr by Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Delhi, 1921, p.5 (Hereafter cited as Dastanbu).
7. Ibid.
became an orphan at the age of five when his father, Abdullah Beg, died. In that situation his uncle, Mirza Nasrullah Beg, came to the rescue of the family. He took the responsibility of the maintenance of the family. Unfortunately, he also died within three years. Then Asadullah was only of eight years of age. The family appears to have been subsisting on pensions. After the death of Nasrullah Beg, his successors were recognised as lawful successors to the pensions. Ghalib also got a share of 700 rupees annually.

Asadullah's marriage at a tender age of thirteen years with the daughter of Nawab Ilahi Bakhsh Khan 'Maroof' is rather surprising. No convincing argument can be be given at this stage in the favour of the decision except that the marriage offer came from a respectable and well to do family. The well wishers of Mirza Asadullah might have seen it as a means of better prospect for their ward. Hence the marriage was finalised and solemnized.

It seems that the deaths of father and uncle had an adverse effect on the education of Asadullah. Yet the family background and the God-gifted intelligence made Asadullah a well read person specially in Persian. He developed a deep love for the Persian literature and earned a very high reputation for his skills in the field. At one stage when there was a need of a good Persian teacher at Delhi College, his name had been suggested. But to be a teacher

1. *Aab-i-Hayat*, p. 481; *Dastanbu*, p. 5.
2. Ibid.
in an institution was perhaps to become a prisoner at will. Asadullah's temperament was altogether different. He declined the offer and remained free. In 1849 Bahadur Shah Zafar gave him the title of Najmuddaulah Dabeer-ul-Mulk Nizam Jang.\(^1\) It seems that Asadullah had established his position at the Mughal Court, which, in the midst of the decadence was a centre of great cultural activity including the *Mushairas.* Asadullah was a regular participant in it.

Bahadur Shah Zafar, taking into consideration the knowledge of Turkish and Persian language that Asadullah possessed, desired that he should write a history of Timurids. A monthly allowance of fifty rupees was thus fixed for Asadullah for this work.\(^2\)

In 1854 Asadullah became the *ustad* of Bahadur Shah Zafar after the death of Zauq.\(^3\) During the revolt of 1857, Asadullah was placed in a double loss. On one hand, his allowance for writing the history of Timurids suddenly ended, and on the other hand, his monthly share of pension rupees 700/- which he was receiving from the English Government was also stopped due to the Rebellion.\(^4\) Asadullah suffered mentally and economically to a great extent. His agony and sufferings during the period of rebellion and afterwards are best reflected in his writings which have now become gems of literature.\(^5\)

After the suppression of the Rebellion, Mirza struggled for

\(^{1}\) Askari, p 324.
\(^{2}\) Ibid.
\(^{3}\) Ibid.
\(^{4}\) Ibid.
some time to get his pension restored. At last he proved his innocence as a non partisan in the Rebellion. His pension was released relieving him greatly from the economic difficulties.¹

Asadullah’s reputation as a poet had crossed the boundaries of Delhi. The Nawab of Rampur, due to his loyal services and faithful attitude to the British during the Rebellion, was able to save his state. He was now regarded as one of the most faithful rulers of North India. The British patronage to the Rampur State and the tranquility in the state, had drawn many men of repute there. The Nawab also extended patronage to a number of learned, scholars, poets etc. Rampur thus emerged as a centre of cultural activity after the fall of Delhi. The Nawab of Rampur also extended patronage to Mirza Asadullah by fixing a monthly allowance of Rupees one hundred.² In his adverse days, this allowance had enabled him to meet his daily expenses. He continued to receive this allowance till his death in 1869 at the age of 73.³

Sadruddin Azurdah

Mufti Sadruddin Azurdah was born at Delhi in 1789.⁴ He was son of Maulvi Lutfullah of Kashmir.⁵ He acquired early education at home from his father.⁶ After that he received education from

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¹ Ood-i-Hindi, p.129.
² Aab-i-Hayat, p. 484.
³ Gul-i-Rana, p.309.
⁴ Imdad Sabri, Delhi Ke Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris, Delhi, 1977, p.103 (Hereafter cited as Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris).
⁵ Askari, p. 344.
⁶ Mufti Intizamullah Shahabi, Ghadar ke Chand Ulema, Delhi (n.d.) p.46 (Hereafter cited as Ghadar Ke Chand Ulema).
the ulema of Shah Waliullah's family like Shah Abdul Aziz, Shah Rafiuuddin, Shah Ishaq and Maulana Fazal Imam of Khairabad. He learned the art of calligraphy from Bahadur Shah Zafar the last Mughal King of Delhi who is known for his excellence in this art. Mufti Sadruddin Azurdah attained high proficiency in logic (mantiq), etymology (sarf), Syntax (nahv), Philosophy (hikmat), Mathematics (riyaziyat), Literature (adab), composition (Insha), Fiqh, Hadith and Tafseer. Due to his learning and social position, he was appointed Sadr-us-Sudur by the East India Company. It was the highest post at that time for the Indians in the Judiciary. In addition to his judicial responsibility, the Mufti Sahib took keen interest in imparting education. He used to teach students at his house. The reconstruction of Madrasa Dar-ul-Baqa was carried out by him. He was also a good poet. The intellectual background of Delhi at that time naturally attracted him towards poetry. First he went to shah Naseer seeking guidance, then to Mian Mujrim of Akbarabad (Agra) and after that to Mir Mamnoon, who guided him in the art of composing verses. In the days of economic decay there were only few who could even think of calling the meetings of intellectuals at home. Azurdah due to his social status and economic position was able to invite intellectuals.
and poets at his residence. So his residence became one of the important centres of intellectual gatherings in Delhi.

At the time of Revolt of 1857, he joined the Court of Bahadur Shah Zafar, leaving the job of the British. Azurdah had great love for the Mughal Emperor in his heart. As Sadr-us-Sudur he used to get one thousand to twelve hundred rupees per month, but he used to take two rupees fifty paise from Mughal court as sacred money. At the time when the famous fatwa (religious decree) of jihad was signed by the Ulema of Delhi, he was also one of the signatories. On this account, British Government after the supression of the rebellion confiscated all his property and put him in jail.

After some time he was released when he succeeded in proving his innocence. Then he went to Lahore and met Financial Commissioner and Lt. Governor for his property and at last succeeded in retaining half of his confiscated property. He did at the age of 81 years.

Momin Khan Momin

Hakim Momin Khan Momin was born in 1801 at Delhi. His family had migrated from Kashmir. Momin's forefathers were physicians in Unani medicine. Due to the excellence in the knowledge of tibb

2. Yaadgar Hastiyan, p. 278.  
4. The Written verdict of the Mohammadan Officer of a Court according to Shara.  
9. Ibadat Barelvi, Momin Aur Mutalai Momin, Delhi, 1975, p. 16 (Here after cited as Mutalai Momin).
and treating the people through the system, the family became very popular. It gave the family access to the Mughal Court. Momin's grandfather, Hakim Nadir Khan, and father, Hakim Ghulam Nabi Khan, became nobles and royal physicians.¹

Momin's family lived at Chelon Ka Koocha.² Which was considered to be a posh colony as most of the nobles had their residence there.³ Momin's father, Hakim Ghulam Nabi Khan, set up his matah (clinic) near the madrasa of Shah Abdul Aziz, situated in the same locality⁴.

Momin started his primary education at the madrasa of Shah Abdul Aziz and from there he went to Shah Abdul Qadir⁵, one of the great scholars of the town, and a brother of Shah Abdul Aziz and son of Shah Waliullah, for further education.⁶ Momin acquired the basic knowledge of Arabic from Shah Abdul Qadir. Azad Also endorses this account with slight variations in detail.⁷

After completing education in Arabic and Persian, Momin turned to his ancestral profession. It seems that he had been acquiring knowledge of tibb through his father and grandfather over the years. Knowledge of Arabic and Persian greatly helped him to understand the text books in tibb which were mostly in Arabic and Persian. This coupled with the family background in tibb, made him a successful

¹ Aab-i-Hayat, pp. 405-406.
³ Mutalai Momin, p. 16.
⁴ Ibid p. 20.
⁶ Gul-i-Rana, p.298.
**Hakim** (Physician). Specially his father and uncle, Ghulam Haider Khan, were of great help in imparting training to him as a Physician. Under their supervision, he began to write prescriptions in their clinic. He also learned astronomy which was considered to be essential for becoming a good physician.¹ He achieved perfection in this science.²

Momin Khan acquired proficiency in some other subjects as well. But he attained a high degree of perfection as a poet and physician which enabled him to move in high intellectual circles of the period and get access to the Delhi darbar. He was very popular as poet in Delhi during the first half of the 19th century.³

Momin had not taken up poetry as a profession. For him poetry was an art and a passion. He never did any job at any place. He avoided to serving the nobles and the court and earned his livelihood from what he had inherited or from his own profession of tibb. He was thus quite indifferent towards the expectations of the rewards from the nobles and the King which was a distinct characteristics of his contemporaries like Zauq and Ghalib. He also earned a share of pension fixed for his family.⁴ The history of this pension indicates that Shah Alam had assigned mauza Bilaha in paragna Narnaul as jagir probably to Momin's grandfather. This jagir was resumed by the English when they conquered the territory around 1803 A.D. It was then assigned to Nawab Faiz Talab Khan.⁵ It seems that there

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¹ *Aab-i-Hayat*, p. 406.
² Ibid.
⁴ Ibid. p 31.
⁵ *Aab-i-Hayat*, p. 406.
⁶ Ibid
had been an agreement between Nawab Faiz Talab Khan and the British under which the grandfather of Momin was to receive a pension of one thousand rupees annually. Thus by passage of time the family was subsisting on this pension.

Delhi College which was established in 1824, was in need of a Persian Scholar. Momin's name was suggested but he refused saying that the salary of forty rupees per month was very small to meet his requirements. He demanded a higher salary of one hundred rupees. Abdul Haq, the author of 'Marhoom Delhi College', gives some details. He writes that in 1840, Thomson, the Lt.Governor, came to the College for inspection and found that there was no qualified teacher in Persian. Since Persian still held ground in official correspondence at the lower level and most of the records were in Persian, the Lt.Governor strongly proposed to appoint a competent and qualified Persian Teacher so that Persian knowing persons with some knowledge of English could be available to serve the government. He thus proposed the appointment of an able teacher in Persian. Mufti Sadruddin Khan Sadr-us-Sudur reported that in Delhi there were only three experts in Persian; one was Mirza Ghalib, the second Hakim Momin and the third Imam Baksh Sahbai; Lt.Governor Bahadur invited all the three persons. Mirza Ghalib was not interested to get himself entrapped in the chain of subordination and he refused. Momin Khan instead of outright refusal to the offer, demanded a monthly salary of one hundred rupees.¹ In fact Momin was not very keen in seeking employment. Masihuzzaman seems to be right that Momin never

¹ Abdul Haq, Marhoom Delhi College, Delhi, 1989, pp. 162-63.
worried for employment. He was perhaps satisfied with whatever he received in pension.\textsuperscript{1}

Momin was one of the great intellectuals of Delhi in the first half of the 19th century. He was a physician (Hakim), astrologer, an expert chess player and a poet of great eminence. He, however, never, tried to take advantage of any of these qualities for securing material benefits. He had friendly relation, with the nobles of the Court, both bold and new, but, he never tried to get any thing from them. That was a period when everyone was keen to have an access to the Red Fort where, a king, bereft of power and resources, held a crown and a so called empire. But the King's patronage to the learned within his meagre resources was a great source of inspiration to the intellectuals of Delhi. The court itself became a centre of great intellectual activities. Discourses on various topics, recital of poems and \textit{qasidas} were some of the common features which provided an avenue to the intellectuals of Delhi to satisfy their inner urge and give vent to their feelings.

Momin as a physician, poet and astrologer was extremely popular in Delhi and in the fort. Though he did not force his entry into the court service, he was nevertheless a frequent visitor.\textsuperscript{2} He was invited by the King to participate in the Court's \textit{mushairas} and discourses. In that way he had become one of the court intellectuals without being on the payroll of the King.\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Mutalai Momin}, p. 89.
\item Ibid. p. 93.
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Mustafa Khan Shefta

Nawab Mustafa Khan Shefta (1806-1869) was born at Delhi. His grandfather Walidad Khan came to Delhi from Kohat. His father, Nawab Murtuza Khan, was a rich man of Jahangirabad district, Delhi. His mother was the daughter of Mirza Ismail Beg of Hamdan and grand-daughter of Ehtishamud-Daula Mohammad Beg of Hamdan.

His ancestors arrived in India from the Bangash region of Afghanistan. Nawab Murtuza Khan and Mohammad khan Bangash, the founder of Farrukhabad house, belong to one family. Murtuza Khan stayed at Farrukhabad for some time. At this time the Delhi government had become very weak. Murtuza Khan joined the service of Jaswant Rao Holkar. He was appointed chief of Holkar's army. The Political condition of the country had caused great unrest in the Holkar's army and an anti-British feeling was growing steadily. Murtuza Khan, soon after assuming his office at Indore, was directed to check the advance of Lord Lake. Murtuza Khan discharged his responsibilities with distinction. But the superior army of the British made Murtuza Khan realize the futility of continuing war with the British. Consequently, on his advice peace was concluded with the British.

1 Gul-i-Rana, p. 326.
2 Ibid.
3 Ghadar ke Chand Ulema, p. 55.
4 Gul-i-Rana, p. 55.
6 Ibid
7 Ibid, p. 56.
8 Ibid.
Lord Lake is said to have recognised the usefulness of Murtuza Khan. He managed the assignement of a territory in paragna Palwal and Gurgaon yielding an annual revenue of 3 lakh rupees. Murtuza Khan enlarged his estate through purchases. Thus the territory of Jahangirabad was bought for Shefta.

Shefta received the traditional education from Maulvi Mohammad Noor, Maulana Karamullah, an authority on Hadith and other renowned ulema. During his pilgrimage to perform Hajj, he came into contact with Shaikh Mohammad Abid Sanadi, the famous authority on Hadith.

According to the tradition of the period, Shefta also had an interest in poetry from the beginning. He wrote both in Persian and Urdu. The correction of his verses in Urdu was done by Hakim Momin Khan Momin and in Persian by Ghalib. Since he was a rich man and lived an aristocratic life, his verses by and large reflect the traditional love theme which had been a common feature of Urdu poetry in its early stage. Unlike Ghalib, Zauq and Momin, Shefta dwells into the domains of his beloved sometime complaining of separation and some time desirous of a union. Nevertheless Shefta as a poet has been outstanding and is ranked among the top poets of the time. His indifference to the social and political milieu of the time is not very surprising as he was far from poverty and hunger and the other problems of the common man. However, his way of

1. Ghadar Ke Chand Ulema, p. 56.
2. Ibid, Ram Babu Saksena in The History of Urdu Literature, suggests that Jahagirabad was purchased by Shefta himself, see Askari, p. 309.
thinking differs with those of his contemporaries who were struggling for retention of their position in society with rapidly declining fortunes.

After the death of his father, Murtuza Khan, the jagir was taken back by the British and a pension was fixed for the family. The family shifted to Jahangirabad. At the time of the revolt of 1857, Shefta was suspected of harbouring the Rebels. He was caught and sent to the prison for seven years. His property was confiscated.

After the suppression of the revolt, Nawab Siddiqu Hasan Khan came to his rescue. Being a highly influential and respected person among the British, Siddique Hasan Khan succeeded in securing the release of Shefta and restoration of his property. Shefta breathed his last in 1869 at Delhi.

Ahsanullah Khan

Hakim Ahsanullah Khan (d.1873) was a well known Unani Physician of Delhi. It is said that one of his ancestors, Khwaja Zainuddin, migrated from Herat and settled in Kashmir. The family of Ahsanullah Khan was always engaged in profession of tibb and served the nobles and leading persons of the time. Syed Ahmad Khan informs us that the family of Ahsanullah Khan was highly respected and their ancestor was one Hazrat Khawaja Zainuddin

1 Ghadar Ke Chand Ulema, p. 56.
2 Maulvi Syed Siddique Hasan khan was born at Qannauj. After acquiring education, he came to Bhopal. Here he got married to the Princess of Bhopal and became a Nawab. See Rahman Ali, p 250.
5 Asar-us-Sanadeed, vol II, p 48
6 Ibid
of Herat, who was a well known spiritual figure of the time. He had a large number of murids (disciples). Due to growing hostility of the Governor (Wali) of Herat, he migrated to Kashmir. He died there. His grave still attracts a large number of people.

We find that the father of Ahsanullah, Azizullah, came from Kashmir to Delhi and made it his home. Here Azizullah rose into fame and prominence as a tabib (Physician). Interestingly, the tibb was not the ancestral profession of Azizullah. He chose this for himself. Ahsanullah began his study in tibb under the supervision and guidance of his father. Having completed his study, Ahsanullah began his independent practice as a physician. Since Delhi was already crowded with a large number of well established physicians of fame, Ahsanullah did not find it very convenient for his ambitions. It seems, he got an opportunity to serve nawab Ahmad Khan, a small Chieftain of Firozpur Jhirka, now in Mewat, and a place not far away from Delhi. After the death of Nawab Ahmad Khan, Ahsanullah Khan joined the service of Nawab Faiz Mohammad Khan, a chieftain of Jhajjar in modern Haryana. He was received with honour and rewards.

Ahsanullah Khan also acquired the knowledge of this science

2. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
from Hakim Mohammad Zakaullah and soon excelled other renowned and senior physicians in Delhi. After the death of Nawab Faiz Mohammad Khan, Ahsanaullah Khan became quite disgusted with this world and chose to live in seclusion. But the reputation that he had earned as a physician attracted the attention of the Mughal King Akbar Shah II, who invited him to his court, honoured him with a Khilat\(^1\) and conferred the title of *Umdat-ul-Mulk Haziq-i-Zaman* and attached him to his personal service\(^2\). After the death of Akbar Shah II, Bahadur Shah Zafar retained him in his position after conferring the titles and giving rewards.\(^3\) Bahadur Shah Zafar conferred upon him the title of *Ehtram-al-Daulah Thabit Jang*\(^4\). Gradually, Hakim Ahsanullah Khan gained access to the king and enjoyed great influence on his affairs.\(^5\) Day by day Ahsanaullah Khan rose into greater prominence and became one of the most trusted advisors of the King. In all affairs, state and personal, Bahadur Shah II used to depend heavily on his advice. Ahsanullah Khan had considerable interest in the art of the building and painting.\(^6\)

During the rebellion of 1857, Ahsanullah Khan lost faith in the people of Delhi specially the Sepoys who suspected him, not without foundation, for hobnobbing with the English. Consequently, he was forced by the rebels to live in confinement. His house was

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2. Basheer, vol II, p 200
3. *Asar-us-sanadeed*, vol II, p 49
plundered by the rebels. He was rescued by Bahadur Shah's personal intervention. Ahsanullah played a dubious role during 1857. His loyalty to the English East India Company did not serve him any good. The English did not trust him as well. After the recapture of Delhi by the English forces, he was put under guard by the English Government. Mirza Ghalib, an admirer of Ahsanullah Khan thus wrote to Hakim Ghulam Najaf Khan on 1st April, 1858: "The Sepoy who was appointed to keep watch on Hakim (Ahsanullah Khan) has been withdrawn and he has been allowed to live as he liked, but he cannot leave the city without permission. Once a week he has to present himself at the Katcheri (Court) I long to see him but cannot go because I have to be cautious." Hakim Ahsanullah's treacherous conduct during the rebellion seems to have been well calculated. Perhaps, he expected rewards and greater honours from the English which he could not get. However the British Government recognising his faithful services during the rebellion and fixed for him a pension of rupees 200/- per month. Award of a small pension by the British was nothing as compared with the honour and prestige enjoyed by Ahsanullah Khan under Bahadur Shah Zafar. He fell in people's estimation.

The life of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan was not very comfortable

1 Nizami, p 175
2 Metcalfe, C T, Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi, Delhi, 1974, p 59 (Hereafter cited as Metcalf)
3 Khotoot-i-Ghalib, Ghulam Rasool Mehr, (ed) Lahore, n d Vol II, p 61 (Hereafter cited as Khotoot-i-Ghalib)
in Delhi after the revot, though he was a government pensioner¹. Ghalib, in *Dastanbo* throws light on the economic distresses of the surviving Mughal nobles such as Hasan Ali Khan, Hamid Ali Khan and Hakim Ahsanullah Khan who had become almost destitute having no destination and future².

Delhi in that situation must have become a hell for Hakim Ahsanullah, for people's anger against him must have multiplied after his deposition against Bahadur Shah leading to the latter's transportation for life to Rangoon. Whether the Hakim repented or not for his conduct, is difficult to say. It, however, seems that he found it difficult to stay in Delhi and migrated to Baroda where he died in 1873³.

**Ghulam Najaf Khan**

Ghulam Najaf Khan, son of Hafiz Mohammad Masihuddin, was born at Shaikhupur⁴, district Badaun⁵. Ghulam Najaf Khan's ancestors are said to have held close relations with the Mughal Court and also enjoyed *mansab* of high rank⁶.

Ghulam Najaf Khan was one of the descendents of Shaikh Qutbuddin—a grand son of Shaikh Salim Chishti⁷. Jahangir favoured the family greatly assigning a high mansab of 5000 to Shaikh Qutbuddin⁸. Shaikh Qutbuddin was killed in Sher Afghan's episode

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¹ *Memoirs*, (Introduction) p.V.
² *Dastanbo*, p. 13.
⁴ *Yadgar Hastiyyan*, p. 352.
⁸ Ibid.p.556.
at Bardwan. His son, Shaikh Farid rose to prominence under Jahangir and Shahjahan, attaining a high mansab of 3000/2000. Jahangir assigned a Jagir of 4000 bighas of land in village Maulia, Sarkar Badaun for his settlement. Shaikh Farid constructed a fort there re-naming the village Maulia as Shaikhupur after Akbar's favourite name 'Shaikhu' for Jahangir. The family of Shaikh Qutbuddin played an important role in the history of Mughal India. Ghulam Najaf Khan belonged to this illustrious family. He was born at Shaikhupur. He came to Delhi at the age of 5 alongwith his uncle Mir. Syed Ali. They settled at the Katra Dina Beg, Gali Qasim Jan. Mir Syed Ali had joined the English Government employment and became Mir Munshi of the Governor General.

Ghulam Najaf Khan was interested to learn the Unani medical sciences. He became a disciple of Hakim Sadiq Ali, son of the great Unani physician Hakim Sharif Khan. He also learned how to write a prescription from Hakim Ahsanullah Khan who was one of his close relatives. Ghulam Najaf Khan's close relationship with Ahsanullah khan helped him build his position as a successful physician, at Delhi, He became one of the physicians of Bahadur Shah Zafar and was conferred the title of Azad-ud-Daulah Itimad-ul-Mulk Hakim Ghulam Najaf Khan Bahadur. After the deposition of Bahadur Shah, he was employed by the Company's Government.

4 Yadgar Hastiyan, p. 350.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid p 352.
As a leading physician of Delhi, Hakim Ghulam Najaf Khan moved into the intellectual circles of Delhi. It seems that he was interested in Urdu poetry hence he appreciated Mirza Ghalib. One of the letters of Mirza Ghalib addressed to Hakim Ghulam Najaf khan reveals that the latter had become his disciple in poetry writing.1

It seems that Hakim Ghulam Najaf Khan kept himself aloof during the turbulent period of the Revolt. That is why he continued to enjoy a prominent position in Delhi. He died in Delhi and was buried at Qadam Sharif. Hakim Ghulam Jajaf Khan's son Zaheeruddin was also a Hakim and was very famous for his treatment.2

1 Khootoot-i-Ghalib, p.382.
2 Yadgar Hastiyan, p.353
3 Ibid
II. ULEMA

Shah Abdul Aziz

Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824) was born at Delhi. His Father, Shah Waliullah, was a renowned religious teacher of Delhi and one of the most outstanding thinkers and reformers of Islamic history. Shah Waliullah is said to have been the founder of Madrasa Rahimiya of Delhi in the memory of his father. Shah Abdul Aziz was the eldest son of Shah Waliullah. He was only 17 years old when Shah Waliullah died in 1762.

Shah Abdul Aziz receive instruction from his father in the various branches sciences in the Madrasa which later on came to be known as Madrasa Rahimiya. He was acknowledge as an accomplished scholar at an early age.

Shah Abdul Aziz started teaching at the Madrasa while his father was still alive. After the death of his father, the responsibility of the Madrasa fell entirely on his shoulders.

Shah Abdul Aziz was a renowned teacher of Islamic sciences in Delhi. He was so famous that students came to study under his supervision from all parts of the country. Some of his students who attained great reputation for their scholarship and erudition, included Maulana Shah Rafiuddin, Maulana Shah Abdul Qadir, Maulana

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2. Qaddem Madaris Aur Mudarris, p. 113.

The main thrust of Maulana Abdul Aziz's teachings was directed towards spreading the ideas of Shah Waliullah, reforming the society, and preserving Islam in its pristine purity. His method of education was simple and effective. Regular lessons were given to the students both through texts and lectures. Stress was also laid on purifying the inner soul of the students through religious discourses and intensive training.

At that time the Mughal Empire was at its lowest ebb. The English had virtually become masters of the country and had imposed a number of regulations upon the people which were thoroughly resented by them. Shah Abdul Aziz's famous fatwa is an example of the people's reaction at that time as it declared India, Dar-ul-Harb (a land where jihad was permissible). Shah Abdul Aziz was only the spiritual leader and the political leadership for this purpose was provided by Syed Ahmad Barelvi who was a student of Shah Abdul Aziz. Syed Ahmad Barelvi declared jihad against the English. He also declared himself as the servant of God and declared that the jihad, was not for worldly gains but purely for the sake of Allah.

2 Ibid p 44
3 Ibid p 45-47.
Thus Shah Abdul may be regarded as the main sources of inspiration and spiritual had of the movement. He provided ideological basis and content for *jihad* movement of Syed Ahmed, Barelvi. He wrote a number of books. *Sir-us-Shahadateen, Bastan-ul-muhaddisin, Tuhfa-i-Asana Ashria, Ujala-i-Nafea and Fatwa-i-Azizia* are some of them. Shah Abdul Aziz died on 6th May 1824 at Delhi.

The *Madrasa* of Shah Abdul Aziz in Delhi emerged as main centre of the Wahabi Movement. After his death, he was succeeded by Shah Mohammad Ishaq who continued his work efficiently and successfully. When Syed Ahmed Barelvi died in 1831 at Balakot, the movement suffered a severe set back. Specially the British chalked out a well considered plan to break the movement resorting even to military expeditions and persecution of the leading people of the movement. The movement was ruthlessly suppressed yet the spirit of *jihad* did not die. The followers of the movement kept on fighting individually and in small groups in the frontier region. The movement had a great impact on the Muslim Society in India. It is true that there had not been more than a few hundred followers in the movement in the initial stage. Later, thousands of common Muslims joined the movement making it a very formidable movement of the time.

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1. Rahman Ali, p 302
3. Ibid Vol IV, p 60
4. Ibid Vol II, p 202
Maulana Shah Rafiuddin was born in 1749. He was the second son of Shah Waliullah of Delhi. Shah Rafiuddin was younger than his brother Shah Abdul Aziz and elder than Shah Abdul Qadir and Shah Abdul Ghani. Shah Rafiuddin acquired education from his father Shah Waliullah. He acquired particular command over Hadith and Tafseer. After completing his education, like his father and brother, he also began his career as a teacher from Madrasa-i-Rahimiya, the institution founded by his father Shah Waliullah to promote higher studies in Arabic and Islam. When Shah Abdul Aziz became old and sick, Shah Rafiuddin was assigned the responsibility to look after the management and teaching of the madrasa. Renowned Ulema from different places in the country used to come to him and hold discussions on various delicate religious and academic issues. Shah Rafiuddin used to convince them with his great knowledge, quoting profusely from the hadith and Quran. The knowledge and understanding of Shah Rafiuddin greatly impressed them.

Shah Rafiuddin, as a teacher, had a reputation that he was quite at home in all the subjects which he taught. Thus he had attained the fame of a perfect teacher. Shah Rafiuddin was deeply involved in his profession and did not get much time for other pursuits.

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5. Raheem Baksh, p. 344.
7. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
Despite the fact that he used to be extremely busy in discharging his administrative and teaching responsibilities, he managed to find time for study and research work. He wrote a number of books like *Muqadma-i-tul-Ilm, Risalai Urooz Kitab-ul-Takmil, Risala Dafa-ul-Batil, Israr-ul-Mujtaba, Muaza-ul-Quran*. One of his remarkable achievements was the translation of the holy Quran into Urdu in simple way language and thereby enlarging the scope of its understanding. He also wrote in Arabic language.

Shah Rafiuddin lived longer than his brothers. Shah Rafiuddin died in 1833 and was buried near his father Shah Waliullah. He was survived by his four sons, Maulvi Mohammad Musa, Maulvi Mohammad Easa, Maulvi Mohammad Makhsooullah and Maulvi Hasan Jaan.

**Shah Abdul Qadir**

Shah Abdul Qadir (1753-1827) was born at Delhi. He was the third son of Shah Waliullah. Shah Abdul Qadir was younger than his brothers Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Rafiuddin but elder to Shah Abdu Ghani. Shah Abdul Qadir acquired his early education from his father Shah Waliullah and some other *Ulema* of the period.

Abdul Qadir had acquired a particular efficiency in *Tafsir, hadith* and *fiqh*.  

Like his father, he enjoyed great respect from the residents of the Red Fort. The nobles and the members of the royal family had so much respect for him that they felt proud in obeying his instructions on religious issues. The nobles and the people of Delhi held him in great respect. The people used to stand attentively on seeing him and very few could venture to speak before him. While Abdul Qadir enjoyed such respect and veneration of the people, he himself was a man of mild nature and lived a very simple life.

He spent greater part of his life in Akbarabadi Mosque, where he used to pray most of the time. He had no interest in the worldly affairs as his views of life were that this world is mortal and knowing this fact one should not involve very much in this world.

Shah Abdul Qadir translated the holy *Quran* into idiomatic Urdu. His other significant contribution is *Tafseer Mauzih-al-Quran*.

Shah Abdul Qadir died in 1827 at Delhi and is buried near his grand father Shah Abdul Rahim.

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2. Raheem Baksh, p. 349.
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
10. Ibid.; Sir Syed in *Asar-us-Sanadeed*, Vol. II, p. 86, says that since he was always busy in prayers he didn't leave any thing in prose or poetry.
Shah Abdul Ghani

Shah Abdul Ghani was the youngest son of Shah Waliullah the famous Sufi, Scholar and theologian of Delhi. Shah Abdul Ghani received his early education at home. He acquired basic knowledge of Persian and Arabic and received instruction in hadith and fiqh\(^1\). After that he learned the art of interpretation of the tafseer and hadith from his brothers, Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Rafiuddin\(^2\).

Abdul Ghani had great resemblance with his father, Shah Waliullah in his physical features. He also used to dress himself like Shah Waliullah\(^3\). Abdul Ghani was a very strict and orthodox follower of Islamic Law (Sharit)\(^4\). He had great faith in God and contentment which was a very rare quality\(^5\).

Like his ancestors, he also adopted the profession of teaching and was deeply involved in it\(^6\).

It seems, as a scholar and teacher, he did not attain that position which his father had attained or later on his son Shah Ismail obtained. Yet by all accounts he is recognised as a great scholar of the time. Maulana Qasim Nanautavi studied hadith from Abdul Ghani.

Maulana Abdul Ghani died at an early age of 57. He was survived by his outstanding son Shah Ismail\(^7\).

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1 Raheem Baksh, p 352
2 Basheer, Vol II, p 590
3 Rahim Baksh, p 352
4 Tarajim, Vol 1, p 63
5 Ibid
6 Raheem Baksh, p 352.
7 Tarajim, Vol 1, p 63
Abdul Hai

Maulana Abdul Hai, another important alim of the period is noteworthy. Unfortunately, not much is known about his date of birth and early life. The brief biographical account given by Rahman Ali only leads to his place of birth being Budhana in District Muzaffaranagar and that he was the son of Moulvi Habibullah. He seems to have came to Delhi for higher education at the Madrasa-i-Rahimiya, then headed and run by Shah Abdul Aziz. He was greatly influenced by Syed Ahmad Barelvi and joined his mission to extirpate the alien rule from India. Shah Abdul Aziz having seen his intellect and pious character, gave his daughter in marriage to Abul Hai.

Abdul Hai was one of the great supporters of Syed Ahmad Barelvi and rendered valuable services to the cause of jihad. He was an eminent alim of his time specially an expert exponent of tafsir. Shah Abdul Aziz recognising the scholarship of Abdul Hai used to call him Shaikh-ul-Islam.

It seems that Abdul Hai, unlike many of his contemporary Ulema, had an open mind. With the permission of Shah Abdul Aziz, he accepted a job under the East India Company as Mufti in the Court of justice at Meerut. How long he served there is not known. He however, seems to have come into contact with Syed Ahmad Barelvi when the latter visited Meerut on his mission to recruit mujahidden.

1 Rahman Ali, p. 287.
5 Rahman Ali, p. 287.
6 Ghulam Rasool Mehr, Jamaet-i-Mujahedeen, Lahore, 1955, p. 111. (Hereafter cities as Mehr).
for his contemplated movement against the British. Abdul Hai became a disciple of Syed Ahmad Barelvi. Abdul Hai till his death lived with his pir and also went to Hajj (pilgrimage) with him. Abdul Hai and Shah Ismail went to Bihar with Syed Ahmad; there he addressed the people in public meetings persuading them to join the proposed jihad. When Syed Ahmad marched for jihad (holy war) towards North Western Frontier Province, he accompanied him. Abdul Hai died in 1828 because of a chronic illness.

Abdul Hai had very close relations with Shah Ismail. It is said that the inspiration to Shah Ismail to become Syed Ahmed Barelvi's disciple actually came from him.

Abdul Hai is credited with a number of books and treatises such as Kamil Dastgah Risala-i-Nikah-i-Ayama and many Fatwas. He has also translated Sirat-i-Mustaqim from Persian into Urdu along with Shah Ismail. Sirat-i-Mustaqim is the social and religious manifesto of the so called Wahabi Movement.

Mohammad Ishaq

Shah Mohammad Ishaq (1778-1875) was the son of Mohammad Afzal and a grandson of Shah Abdul Aziz, the renowned Alim of Delhi, from mother's side. He acquired his education from his

2. Q. Ahmed, p. 33.
4. Rahman Ali, p. 287 (He had chronic disease of piles).
6. Mehr, p. 112.
8. Q.Ahmed, p.27.
9. Ibid. p. 29.
10. Mehr, pp. 312, 314.
11. Ibid. p. 312.
grandfather Shah Abdul Aziz. His teachers included the outstanding scholars of the period like Shah Abdul Qadir and Shah Rafiuddin. Shah Mohammad Ishaq acquired special proficiency in the science of hadith and was considered to be one of the best interpreters of that branch of learning in his age. He also excelled in the knowledge of tafseer and fiqh. After completing education, Shah Mohammad Ishaq was involved as a teacher in the Madrasa-i-Rahimiya along with his grandfather. Shah Abdul Aziz due to some family reasons established a new madrasa for Shah Mohammad Ishaq where he continued to teach till his migration to Makkah.

Shah Mohammad Ishaq was a great supporter of Syed Ahmad Barelvi's movement generally mentioned as the Wahabi Movement of India. Shah Mohammad Ishaq was one of the great followers of Syed Ahmed Barelvi's ideology and a staunch advocate of socio-religious reforms. He had also become his disciple (murid) and supported his crusade against the Sikhs. When Syed Ahmad Barelvi decided to launch his mission of jihad from the North West Frontier region, Shah Mohammad Ishaq was assigned the responsibility of managing the supplies to the mujahids. His younger brother Shah Mohammad Yaqub, assisted him in the discharge of arduous' responsibility. Later, both of them migrated to Makkah.

Like his grand father Shah Abdul Aziz, he also used to deliver

3. Mehr, p. 312.
5. Mehr, p. 313.
sermons and lectures twice a week\(^1\) to the residents of Delhi who who attended these lectures in a large number and listened to them with great attention. A number of women were also included among the audience\(^2\).

As Shah Mohammad Ishaq spent most of his time in organisational works and delivering sermons and speeches, he had little time to contribute to the religious and literary writings. However, some of his printed works which have survived are *Masail-i-Arbaen, Miatah Masail*, and *Tazkira-tus-Siyam*\(^3\). Another work *Tazkira-us-Sabah* is also attributed to him\(^4\).

Shah Mohammad Ishaq migrated to Makkah with his whole family in 1840\(^5\). He sold all his property, house and madrasa\(^6\). After a few years he died in 1845-A.D. and is buried at *Jannatul Mala*\(^7\). He was survived by three daughters and a son named Suleman\(^8\).

**Mohammad Ismail**

Maulvi Mohammad Ismail was born in 1779\(^9\). His father Shah Abdul Ghani, son of Shah Waliullah, as noted earlier was an eminent scholar and a religious teacher of Delhi. Maulvi Mohammad Ismail acquired elementary education from his father\(^10\). At the age of six, his father sent him to a teacher who had a great insight in

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1. Mehr, p. 313.
3. Ibid. p. 119.
5. Ibid.
7. Mehr, p. 314.
8. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
Quran, to receive proper education and guidance in the holy Qur'an. At the age of eight he learnt by heart the whole Qur'an. He also acquired knowledge of Sarf (etymology), Nahv (Syntax), Maqul (logic) from his father.

At an early age he became an expert in logic, philosophy, mathematics, geometry, Hadith and Fiqh.

After the death of his father, the whole responsibility of the upbringing of Maulvi Mohammad Ismail fell of the shoulders of Shah Abdul Aziz. Among other things he gave him special instruction in hadith.

Besides academics, he seems to have particular interest in martial arts, consequently, he became an expert in military affairs and some other related areas. At the age of fifteen-sixteen years, he attained perfection in most of the subjects taught to him. It is reported that he also attempted to learn the basics of politics.

After the completion of education, he became the disciple (murid) of Syed Ahmed Barelvi, the founder of the so called Wahabi Movement in India. He also performed hajj along with Shah Abdul Aziz. After returning from pilgrimage, he started, giving sermons on religion at Delhi.

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1 Rahim Baksh, p. 353.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
5 Rahman Ali, p. 412.
7 Rahim Baksh, p. 354.
9 Basheer, p. 411.
10 Rahim Baksh, p. 356.
In spite of much from a group of Muslims of Delhi, he continued his work and acquired full support from the majority of the Muslim and Hindu population.

Maulvi Mohammad Ismail had written a pamphlet, *Tanveer-ul-Ainain Fi Isbat Rafa-i-yadain*, followed by some other pamphlets. His work *Taqviat-ul-Iman* has played a very important role in the crusade against the innovations (*Bidat*). This still held in great respect, particularly in the Salafi circles.

His lecturers earned him great popularity among the populace of the city and he attained a very high reputation at Delhi, which by now had come completely under the influence of Syed Ahmed Barelvi. The latter asked Maulvi Mohammad Islami to join the movement of *jihad*. Maulvi Mohammad Islamil wrote letters all over India asking Muslims to join the proposed *jihad*. Responding to his call, a large number of Muslims joined in the proposed mission of *jihad*. Shah Ismail distinguished himself during the *jihad* in the North-east province and was killed in the battle of Balakot in 1831 along with Syed Ahmed Barelvi.

**Qazi Mohammad Sanaullah**

Qazi Mohammad Sanaullah of Panipat belonged to the family of Shaikh Jalaluddin, a man of eminence and highly respected as

2. Ibid. p. 355.
3 Ibid, p. 358.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. p. 359.
a religious leader. Sanaullah of Panipat was in the 10th generation, according to the genealogical table of Shaikh Jalaluddin. Qazi Sanaullah originally belonged to Panipat. At the age of seven years he learnt the holy Quran by heart, and at the age of sixteen he completed his education. Shah Abdul Aziz was greatly impressed by the knowledge of Sanaullah in hadith and tafseer. He had given him the title of Baihaqi of the time. Like many Ulema of the time, Sanaullah also acquired education at Madrasa-i-Rahimya. He became disciple of Shah Mohammad Abid Sanami, and after his death he became the disciple of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan. Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan gave him the title of Alam-ul-Huda.

He had a complete command over tafseer, fiqh and mysticism. Specially he had a very high position in fiqh. He had studied Hujjatullah-il-Baligha at the feet of its author, Shah Waliullah. Qazi Mohammad Sanaullah of Panipat after having completed his education at the madrasa-i-Rahimiya, was honoured like many other talented students to shoulder the responsibility of a teacher at the madrasa.

Qazi Mohammad Sanaullah wrote many books and pamphlets on different topics and subjects. He wrote tafseer in seven volumes.

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3 Rahman Ali, p. 142
5 Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris, p. 115
7 Ibid
8 Rahman Ali, p 142.
9 Tarajim, Vol I, p 206
under the title of *Tafsir-i-Mazhari*. He gave this name to his magnum opus due to his respect and regard for Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janani. His other works are *Mala Buddminhu*, a famous book on fiqh which is still part of a syllabus of a number of madrasas including *Dar-ul-Uloom* Deoband and *Nadwat-ul-Ulema* of Lucknow. *Mala Buddminhu* has since been translated into Urdu. Apart from *Mala Buddminhu*, his other works are *Saiful Maslool* (Shamshir-i-Barhana), *Hurmat-i-Muta*, *Irshad-i-Tabein*, *Tazkirat-ul-Mauta Wal-quboor*, *Tazkirat-ul-Maad*, *huqiq-ul-Islam*, *Risala Dar Hurmat Wa ibahat-i-Saroood*, *Risala Usul-i-Fiqh*, *Risala Shahab-i-Saqib* and many others which number about thirty. It seems that Sanaullah continued to serve *Madrasa-i-Rahimiya* till his death in 1810 A.D.

**Ghulam Ali**

Maulana Ghulam Ali (1773-1824) was born at Batala in Punjab. His real name was Abdullah. Ghulam Ali's father was a very religious man. His genealogical lineage relates him with Ali Ibn-i-Talib. He received his early education at Batala.

When he was of sixteen years, his father called him from Batala to Delhi to make him the disciple of Shah Nasiruddin, but when

1 *Tarajim*, p. 207.
2 Ibid p 216.
3 Ibid pp 216-217.
4 Ibid
5 Rahman Ali, p 142.
7 *Asar-us-Sanadeed*, Vol II, p. 16.
10 Ghulam Sarwar, Vol I, p 693
11 Shah Nasiruddin was a saint of Qadri Sect. See Ghulam Sarwar p 693.
he reached Delhi Shah Nasruddin had died. His father then asked him to select a teacher himself.

Ghulam Ali met a number of Ulema at Delhi in the quest of a real guide and teacher. At last he came into contact of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan. Ghulam Ali was only twenty years old at that time. Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan was very kind and affectionate to his students and disciples. Gulam Ali became disciple and soon rose to be his fabric so much so that after the death of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan, he as the head of the silsilah at Delhi; he also took his place as a teacher and attained eminence in that field as well.

Many people from India and abroad came and become his disciples. There used to be more than five hundred persons in monastery (Khanqah) at a time, and entire expense of their maintenance was bore by him. Shah Gulam Ali never accepted any grants or jobs from any king, noble or nawab. In his personal life he was a very disciplined person and had a very tight schedule. All the time either he used to teach or pray. He used to teach hadith, fiqh and tafseer. Shah Ghulam Ali had great erudition in hadith.

1 Asar-us-Sanadeed, Vol II, p. 16.
2 Ibid.
4 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Tarikhi Maqalat, Delhi, 1966, p. 215 (Hereafter cited as Tarikhi Maqalat).
5 Ghulam Sarwar, p. 694.
6 Ibid.
8 Tarikhi Maqalat, pp. 215-216.
10 Ibid p 18.
Shah Ghulam Ali died in 1824 and was buried in his monastery beside his spiritual guide Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan.  

_Dar-ul-Maarif_ is the collection of sayings (Malfuzat) of Shah Ghulam Ali.

_Rasheeduddin Khan_

Maulvi Rasheeduddin Khan, son of Aminuddin, belonged to Kashmir. He was related to Mufti Sadruddin Azurdah. Maulvi Rasheeduddin acquired his early education from Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Abdul Qadir. After that he went to Shah Rafiuddin, another great scholar of Delhi, and received higher education from him. Maulvi Rasheeduddin is said to have mastered most of the sciences of the time but he attained a special knowledge of Mathematics and Astronomy.

Due to his piety and extreme cautiousness in religious affairs, he was invited to work as Qazi and offered the post of qaza by the English authorities in Delhi so that large number of people of Delhi could get benefit from his impartiality and justice. But Maulvi Rasheeduddin Khan declined the offer due to his own engagements.

Maulvi Rasheeduddin Khan firmly believed in the need of dissemination of knowledge to the larger section of society so that

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1. _Tarikhi Maqalat_, p. 216.
2. Rahman Ali, p. 364
4. Ibid.
5. _Yadgar Hastiyan_, p. 244.
7. Ibid.
8. _Yadgar Hastiyan_, p. 244.
it could benefit even a common man. With this object in mind, Maulvi Rasheeduddin joined Delhi College as a teacher, on a monthly salary of rupees 100/- per month. He had great sympathy with the poor people and was quite generous. Out of his modest salary he used to help the destitutes, needy and helpless persons.

By temperament, Rasheeduddin was more attached to the scholarly discussions. Hence he had no time for poetry writing or other literary activities.

Rasheeduddin lived in an age when the English diplomacy was working overtime to somehow engage *shia* and *Sunni ulema* in religious debates and by this means keep them divided. For the purpose, they encouraged public debates. Religious zeal, unfortunately, kept a large number of *Shia* and *Sunni Ulema* ignorant of the real object of the English. Maulvi Rasheeduddin was also swept away in the current of religious debates unconsciously. He kept himself engaged in debates and discussions with *Ulema* of different sects specially the *Shia*. Maulvi Rasheeduddin Khan wrote *As-Saulatul* a book which refers to the problems of *Muta*. (Temporary marriage which is allowed among the *Shia* but considered illegal among the *Sunnis*). His another important book is *Shaukat-i-Umariyyah* which in essence has been written in answer to *Bariqa-i-Zaighamiyyah*.

The sectarian conflicts among the Indian Muslims were not

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2. *Yadgar Hastiyan*, p. 244.
3. *Asar-us-Sanadeed*, vol.11, p. 79.
4. *Yadgar Hastiyan*, pp. 244-245.
confined between the Shias and Sunnis. Shah Ismail the great exponent of establishing the Shara according to Quran and hadith was launching a relentless crusade against innovations (bidat) and Shirk (polytheism). Maulvi Rasheeduddin was acknowledged by every one for his intelligence, scholarship, farsightedness and competence. He had his own interpretations about recitation of amen loudly, quirat-khalf-i-Imam, possibility of examples (Nazeer) and its checkmating. On these issues, he candidly differed with Shah Ismail and Shah Abdul Hai and also had lively discussions with them\(^1\). Maulvi Rasheeduddin, due to his scholarship, piety and knowledge of hadith had an access to the Red Fort. Akbar Shah II used to call him frequently and listened to his discourses on religion.

Maulvi Rasheeduddin has written a number of books. Some of these are (1) Latafat-ul-Maqal (2) Tafsilul Ashab (3) Lyantul MuM'ahiddin (4) Ihanatul Mulhidin-a book written to refute Ram Mohans' treatise, probably Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin\(^2\).

While approaching an advanced age of 70 years, he planned to go for Hajj (pilgrimage) but it was not destined to be. He died in 1833\(^3\).

Fazle Haq

Maulana Fazle Haq (1797-1861) was born at Khairabad\(^4\). His father, Fazle Imam, was Sadr-us-Sudur at Delhi and was a known

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1. Yadgar Hastiyan, p.245.
2. Ibid pp. 246-47.
figure in the society of Delhi specially as a teacher\(^1\). Fazle Haq acquired early education from his father\(^2\). He received instruction in *Hadith* from Maulana Shah Abdul Qadir\(^3\), a prominent person of the age\(^4\). He also learned the *Quran* by heart a short time of four months and a few days\(^5\). After completing education, Fazle Haq began to assist his father in teaching.

It is seem that after some time, Fazle Haq sought a job in the Resident's Office as a *Sar-rishtadar*\(^6\), during the reign of Akbar Shah II. The heir-apparent, Mirza Sirajuddin Abu Zafar, had become very friendly with Fazle Haq\(^7\) and this relationship led Fazle Haq to visit the Red Fort frequently\(^8\).

The larger part of Fazle Haq's life, from the childhood to the old age, was spent in Delhi\(^9\). Being a member of a respected scholarly family of Delhi, he had developed a very large circle of friends consisting of scholars and learned men of the time. One of them was Mirza Ghalib\(^10\).

The fast changing political scenario in India, due to an absolute ascendancy of the English and a silent but definite eclipse of Indian sovereignty, had made many intellectuals uneasy leading to the

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4. *Ibid*
6. *Ghadar Ke Chand Ulema*, p 34
7. *Ibid*
8. *Ibid*.
emergence of anti-English sentiments. Job dissatisfaction was another major reason for the growing anti-English feelings. Fazle Haq was included among those who were not satisfied with their jobs. Growing feelings of alienation made him leave the English employment. Nawab Faiz Mohammad Khan, Rais (prince) of Jhajhjhar invited him to join him on five hundred rupees per month. When his departure from Delhi became a certainty, the heir apparent Mirza Sirajuddin Abu Zafar became sad and bade a tearful farewell expressing his own inability to retain him. Fazle Haq stayed for a considerable period at Jhajhjhar and from there he went to Alwar to serve the state on Maharaja's request. It is not known under what circumstances he left his job at Alwar and went to Saharanpur. From there he went to Rampur where he stayed for about eight years. From Rampur he went to Lucknow and was raised to the position of Sadr-us-Sudur.

The simmering discontent among the Indian intellectuals against the English rule had by the time reached a breaking point. Discontent had been was particularly accelerated due to English colonial policy of exploitation, social discrimination and growing propaganda of Christianity and conversions.

Fazle Haq was at Awadh when rebellion of 1857 broke out. From the circumstancial evidence, it could be surmised that having been persuaded by Maulvi Sarfaraz Ali, he had agreed to join the
band of mujahids. He visited Alwar, where he had many acquaintances, to persuade them to rise against the English. From Alwar, he quickly moved to Delhi, obviously to strengthen the movement. In August 1857 he reached Delhi and openly declared his support for the rebellion. He played a pivotal role in bringing the Ulema of different schools of thoughts on one platform at Delhi for jihad against the English, consequently a religious decree (fatwa) was issued in support of the rebellion which was signed by as many as twenty six other Ulema.

When Delhi was occupied by the British, Fazle Haq along with his family shifted to Khairabad. The British spies were quite active in tracking the rebels who were regarded as their main opponents, specially the Ulema. Fazle Haq was one of the most wanted persons for his anti-English activities. Someone informed the British officers about the presence of Fazle Haq at Khairabad. He was arrested and his moveable and immoveable property was confiscated. He was charged for sedition and conspiracy against the English rule and given a life sentence with orders to deportation to the Andaman and Nicobar islands. Fazle Haq's love for his country and hatred for the British Raj only increased during his captivity. He had seen good days and was not accustomed to hard life. A man of literary taste and scholarly temperament was thus compelled by the British officers to do menial works. He was exposed to burning sun which

1 Maulana Abdushahid Sherwani, Baghi Hindustan, (The Urdu Translation of As-Saurah-al-Hindiya), Mubarakpur, 1985, pp. 267-268. (Hereafter cited as Baghi Hindustan).
2 Ibid p 215
4 Baghi Hindustan, pp.73-75
wrought grievous injuries to his body. Due to unbearable heat his skin had started to bleed. The bad climate had terrible effects on his health. His mind however remained quite alert. In that captivity, where there were no means available to communicate his feelings, Fazle Haq used coal and completed a remarkable work in Arabic entitled 'As-Saurah-al-Hindiya' which has since been translated in urdu and published by Abdushahid Sherwani under the title 'Baghi Hindustan'. This work mainly deals with the background of rebellion of 1857, the role of the English and the, causes of the failure of the rebellion. In this work, one finds the pathetic appeals of Fazle Haq, his unbounded love for the country and the causes Which were basically responsible for the failure of the rebellion. Coming from the pen of an outstanding scholar who himself was in the thick of a rebellion, the value of the book as the source of the freedom struggle of 1857 can be very well imagined.

Fazle Haq's son tried his best to get his father released from the Andman Islands. But destiny played its cruel role. When he reached there he came to know that his father was dead' facing his unbearable sufferings there. Like Bahadur Shah Zafar, Fazle Haq was also buried out side the country's soil. His remains lie buried in Andman Island.

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III. ANGLICISTS

Joseph Henry Taylor

Joseph Henry Taylor was appointed Principal of Delhi College in 1837. Taylor had, however, an old association with the Delhi College and he was one of the founders of this institution.

In 1824, the Government appointed a sub-committee to enquire into the educational condition of the people of Delhi and to recommend the possibility of its expansion. Taylor was assigned the responsibility to work as Secretary of the Committee. He did his job with devotion and wrote in his report that the old Madrasas of Delhi had greatly suffered from neglect and hence there was an urgent need of protection and promotion of education. He also observed in his report that the economic condition of the people was so bad that even the offspring of good families were not in a position to receive education. He also pointed out that there were several Madrasas in Delhi which needed financial aid. Apart from this there was a number of well educated people in Delhi who had deep commitment to education and they could be gainfully employed for imparting education.

Writing about the Madrasa Ghaziuddin Khan, Taylor observed that it was suffering from total neglect. Maulvi Abdullah Khan was perhaps the lone teacher there with the strength of nine students only. The report of Taylor was accepted by the Court of Directors.

1 Delhi College Magazine's Qadeem Delhi College number 1953, p 105 (Hereafter cited as Delhi College Magazine 1953).
2 Ibid
3 Ibid
4 Ibid
5 Marhoom Delhi College, p, 13.
and a sum of rupees 7,110/- from the town duty fund was set apart for the repair of the Madrasa. Later in the same building Delhi College was established in 1825. Taylor was appointed its Superintendent and Secretary at a salary of rupees one hundred and seventy five per month which was increased to rupees three hundred per month later. In 1836 he was appointed the Principal of Delhi College. It appears that Taylor came into conflict with some members of the Committee of the Delhi College or some Government officials. He was relieved from the responsibility of Principalship and also those of Secretaryship and Superintendentship of the College. In his place Flex Boutros was appointed Principal in 1841. At the same time Taylor was to act as Head Master of the College on a reduced salary (Rs.300/-) and position. He seems to be greatly shocked and aggrieved with this treatment. In one of his petitions dated 1st April, 1838 to the Governor General, without accusing anyone, Taylor enumerated his services to the Government concluding: "I am also too near the close of life to be profited by sad lessons which our disunion teaches that rectitude of conduct does not always afford the readiest access to power; innocence is no security, that zeal may be visited with disgrage and long services with desertions." The petition did not been any favourable response.

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1 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, p. 105.
2 Marhoom Delhi College, p. 12.
3 Ibid. p. 156.
4 Ibid.
5 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, p. 105.
6 Ibid.
7 Malik Ram, Qadeem Delhi College, Delhi, 1975, pp. 41-42 (Hereafter cited as Malik Ram).
8 Cited from Delhi College Magazine, 1853, 106.
from the Government which expressed its inability to meet the demand on technical grounds. In April 1841, Taylor was appointed at the Local Committee, Dacca College. In February 1848, when Springer went to Lucknow to prepare a list of the books available in the library of the rulers of Awadh, Taloyr worked as the an acting Principal of the college. In 1850 a new principal Kargill was appointed. On Kargill's departure in 1854, Taylor was appointed Principal of the Delhi College for the third time.

When the rebellion of 1857 broke out, Taylor was the Principal of the Delhi College. On 11th May 1857 the rebellion started, Taylor received a letter from the Commandant of Magazine to come immediately to the Magazine. Taylor along with his other English companions went there. The rebels came to the magazine and when the English hiding inside the magazine lost hope, they set the magazine on fire. Thousands of Indians along with few English died. Taylor and one of his friends succeeded in coming out. Taylor's cook took him to the home of Maulvi Mohammad Baqar, the father of Maulvi Mohammad Husain Azad, a student of Delhi College. Taylor had learnt Urdu and Persian from Maulvi Baqar and had full trust in

1 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, p. 106.
2 Ibid
3 Marhoom Delhi College, p 158
4 Ibid
5 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, p 106
6 Marhoom Delhi College, p 159
7 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, p.27.
8 Ibid
9 Marhoom Delhi College, p 70
10 Ibid
11 Ibid
12 Ibid pp 71,168
him. Maulvi Mohammad Baqar concealed Taylor in the *tahkhana* (basement) of his house. But some people came to know about Taylor's being protected by Baqar. The rebels surrounded the house of Moulvi Baqar and threatened to destroy the house if the Maulvi did not surrender Taylor. Having realised the gravity of the situation, Taylor did not like that his teacher and family be harmed. He gave all the money that he possessed to Maulvi Baqar and came out of his house only to be killed. After the suppression of rebellion Maulvi Baqar was charged for the killing of Taylor. He was sentenced to death.

Mr. Taylor was a very loving and caring person and possessed a good temperament. The death of Taylor shocked all peace loving Indians in Delhi, as Garcin de Tasse rightly observed that he treated the students like a father. He used to say that all of them are my children. No children could be better than them because all of them were competent, well mannered and of good character. His own character had a good impact on the students and they loved him truly.

Maulvi Zakaullah was one of the great admirers of Taylor. Needless to say that the first generation of Delhi College students had greatly benifitted from Taylor's character and conduct. C.F. Andrews rightly observed that all the teachers and students of the College were spirtually impressed by Taylor. It was his contribution to make Delhi College

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1 Malik Ram, p. 56.
2 *Delhi College Magazine*, 1953, p.107
3 Ibid
4 Ibid
5 Ibid
6 Ibid
as one of the top ranking Colleges of the Country. His name cannot be forgotten for his sterling services to the promotion of modern education.

**Flex Boutros**

Flex Boutros, a French by birth, had the distinction of being appointed as the first Principal of the Delhi College. The appointment of Flex Boutros was made on the proposal of the General Committee submitted in 1839 to the effect that there should be a Principal at Delhi College. This proposal was accepted and Boutros was thus appointed as Principal of the College. Boutros came to India in 1824 in his childhood. He learned Indian languages. He started his career as a teacher in 1834. In 1841 he was appointed the first Principal of Delhi College at a salary of rupees six hundred per month.

Boutros was mainly responsible for the establishment of Delhi Vernacular translation Society. The Society played an important role in enlightening the people of Delhi through its work. He was the Secretary of the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society also. The society was the result of the attempts of both Indians and Europeans. Both gave liberal donations and moral support for the establishment
of the proposed society.\(^1\) The main purpose of the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society was to translate the standard books of English, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian into Indian languages like Urdu, Bengali and Hindi\(^2\). Boutros gave moral support in the promotion of the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society\(^3\).

From 1841 to 1845 the Vernacular Translation Society translated thirty (30) books on different subjects like physics, Chemistry, Legislation, Mathematics, Economics, Law and Poetry\(^4\). Other than translations, Boutros himself wrote three books which are actually the collections of his lectures\(^5\). These books were *Usool-i-Sazi, Maliyat* and *Huqooq-i-Shakhsi*\(^6\).

Boutros introduced many reforms in the Delhi College\(^7\). The Delhi College had two sections i.e. Western which looked after the teachings of modern scientific education and the other was Eastern Section, which imparted education in Arabic, Persian etc. Boutros considered the separation of the two sections illogical. Hence he brought the two sections together. For this purpose he had to shift the College from the building of *Madrasa Ghaziuddin Khan* to *Kashmiri Darwaza* in 1844\(^8\). Before the implementation of this programme an examination was conducted to check the ability of the students of Eastern section and the result proved that the students of Eastern

\(^1\) *Marhoom Delhi College*, p. 136  
\(^2\) Malik Ram, p. 43-44  
\(^3\) *Marhoom Delhi College*, p. 157.  
\(^4\) *Delhi College Magazine*, 1953, p. 104.  
\(^5\) Ibid 1953, p. 104.  
\(^6\) Ibid  
\(^7\) Malik Ram, p. 48  
\(^8\) Ibid pp 48-49
section were at par with the students of Western section. His long stay in India proved to be very harmful to the health of Flex Boutros. Doctors suggested that he should go to Europe for a change. Boutros went to Europe in 1845. He submitted his resignation with the condition that if in two years he felt better, he would come back to rejoin the college as Principal. This could never as he continued to have an indifferent health.

However on his return to Europe he got married. He died in 1863 and was survived by a son.

**Springer**

Dr. Springer (1813-1893) was born at Triol in Austria, and received his early education there. He acquired his higher education in different Universities of Europe such as Wien, Paris and Leiden. He did his M.D. (Masters in Medicine) from Leiden University, Holland. He also learned the Eastern Languages like Arabic, Hebrew and a deep understanding of the Eastern problems. His education of Medical Science was based on a long term plan to visit India. To make his plan a success, he felt a contact with the English East India Company was essential. In 1836 at the age of 23, he sailed for India.
of 22 years he went to England. In 1843 he secured the citizenship of England and got a job in English East India Company. In the same year the East India Company sent him to India as an assistant surgeon.

In 1845 Dr. Springer was appointed Principal of Delhi College as its former Principal Mr. Flex Boutros resigned due to illness. Dr. Springer at that time was serving in Bengal Military Service as Assistant Surgeon. In Delhi Springer's actual purpose was fulfilled; he got the chance of acquiring knowledge of the East. He got a chance to make deep study of Islamic literature. Dr. Springer soon became very popular among the Muslim nobles, gentry and scholars. Due to his great knowledge of Arabic language and literature, he was held in great respect by the people of Delhi.

Dr. Springer was the Secretary of the Varnacural Translation Society and made sincere endeavours to cultivate interest among the Indian students for Western sciences. He introduced reasonable reforms in the Syllabus of education of eastern studies. In order to enrich the syllabus, he edited Tarikh-i-Yamini and got it printed. He also arranged copies of Hamasa and Mutanabbi included them in the course of Arabic Literature. The administrative condition

1. Malik Ram, p. 50.
3. Ibid., p. 99.
7. Ibid. p. 158.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
of the Delhi College was also improved during his time.1

In February 1848 he was sent to Lucknow by the Government of India to prepare a Catalogue of the books available in the Library of the ruler of Awadh. Dr. Springer arrived at Lucknow on 3rd March 1848.2 He spent about 21 months there for the purpose. Springer returned to Delhi in January 1850. From there he went to Simla due to illness and in May 1850 he was transferred to Calcutta as the Principal of Calcutta Madrasa. At that time, the Calcutta Madrasa was suffering from bad administration and the English Visitor of the Madrasa reported to the Government the lamentable affairs of the Madrasa. He also wrote that the Madrasa had not made any progress since the time of Warren Hastings.3

One of the chief feature of Calcutta Madrasa was that it provided officers to the Government with considerable training and knowledge to interpret Islamic Shariat. The entire education was in the charge of Ulema. The Madrasa imparted education in theology and law according to the Quran.4

In 1857 Dr. Springer attained supraannuation. He returned to Europe in 1857 where he died in 1893 at the age of 80 years.5

1. Marhoom Delhi College, p. 158.
2. Ibid.
6. Marhoom Delhi College, p. 158.
7. Malik Ram, p. 52.
9. Ibid.
10. Malik Ram, p. 52.
Dr. Springer did many reforms at the Delhi College. He changed the syllabus according to the demand of modern times so that it could inspire the students\(^1\). He included many new books of Arabic and Persian in the syllabus\(^2\). Dr. Springer brought some books which were published in Europe and even got some of them translated into Urdu\(^3\). Dr. Springer inspired Sir Syed to write his famous book *Asar-us-Sanadeed*\(^4\). Dr. Springer was the founder member of the *Risalah Fawaiad-un-Nazirin*, which was being edited by Professor Ram Chandra\(^5\).

Due to Dr. Springer's deep interest in eastern sciences, Delhi College was greatly benefited and a section of students developed keen interest in modern sciences. Dr. Springer's frank and fair attitude and gentle treatment of the students led to greater interaction between the students and the teachers of Delhi College. Apart from the teachers and students of Delhi College, he had very cordial relations with the people of Delhi\(^6\).

**Imam Baksh Sahbai**

Maulana Imam Baksh was a teacher at Delhi College\(^7\). His poetic name was Sahbai\(^8\). The genealogical line of Maulana Imam Bakhsh Sahbai traces his descent to the second Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Umar Farooq\(^9\). Before coming to Delhi, Imam Baksh's family seems to have been living at Thanesar, now in Haryana. From there,

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1. Malik Ram, p. 51.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
6. Ibid. p. 124.
Imam Bakhsh's father, Mohammad Baksh, migrated to Delhi and settled at Koocha-i-Chelan\(^1\) (the area near the Red Fort)\(^2\). It seems that at the time of migration, Imam Baksh was a minor. Here he began his early education from Abdullah Khan Alvi\(^3\). Imam also acquired education in \textit{tibb} which was then considered to be a noble profession among the middle class Muslim families. He, however, never used his knowledge of \textit{tibb} as a professional physician\(^4\).

Delhi at that time was reverberating with cultural activities. One such activity that was very popular among the intellectuals, was indulgence in the writing of verses in Urdu as Persian was now slowly losing its coveted place among the middle class educated Muslims. Abdullah Khan Alvi, the teacher of Imam Baksh, also seems to have been quite fond of verse writing and a regular visitor to the assembly of Urdu poets (\textit{Mushaira}). Imam Baksh seems to have been greatly informed by the cultural and intellectual milieu of Delhi at that time. Under the influence of his teacher, he also began to compose verses in Persian and Urdu\(^5\).

In 1842 Thomason\(^6\) came to Delhi College as an examiner. He asked Mufti Sadruddin Azurdah, the \textit{Sadr-us-Sudur} of Delhi to suggest a teacher of Persian for Delhi College\(^7\). Azurdah suggested

\begin{enumerate}
\item Md. Mian, vol. IV, p. 261.
\item Imdad Sabri, \textit{1857 Ke Mujahid Shuara}, Delhi, 1959, p.260, (Hereafter cited as \textit{Mujahid Shuara}).
\item Asar-us-Sanadeed, vol. II, pp. 166-167.
\item \textit{Ghadar Ke Chand Ulema}, p. 11.
\item Ibid, pp. 6-7.
\item Thomason was the Lt. Governor of the North Western Frontier Provinces. He died on 27th Sept. 1857. The teachers of Delhi College, Mufti Sadruddin and other prominent persons of Delhi paid glowing tributes to Thomason for his keen interest in the promotion of education. See, \textit{Delhi College Magazine}, 1953 p.41.
\item Marhoom Delhi College, p 162.
\end{enumerate}
the names of three persons i.e. Ghalib, Momin, and Imam Baksh Sahbai. Ghalib and Momin declined the offer, considering that it would bond them in subordination at the cost of their own freedom. Imam Baksh Sahbai, however, accepted the offer. He was appointed as a Persian teacher on a monthly salary of Rs.50/- per month. After some time, he became the Head of Persian section and his salary was further increased to Rs.100/- per month².

Imam Baksh Sahbai had good relations with the nobles and inmates of the Red Fort. He used to visit the Fort regularly³. Imam Baksh Sahbai also served as Ustad in guiding the verse composition to many princes of the Fort⁴. Imam Baksh wrote an elaborate article praising the last Mughal King, Bahadur Shah Zafar⁵. The title of the article was 'Reza-i-Jawahir⁶.

Imam Baksh Sahbai enjoyed a very respectable position among the people of Delhi, specially the intellectuals, for his character, behaviour and learning. Particularly, Sadruddin Azurdah, Maulana Fazle Haq and Mirza Ghalib held him in great esteem⁷. After the College hours, Sahbai used to pass his time in the company of these people⁸. After returning from the College, Sahbai generally used to go to Fazle Haq's house and from there, the two used to visit Azurdah's house where they indulged in intellectual discussions⁹.

1. Markoom Delhi College, p 163.
6. Ibid.
7 Mujahid Shuara, p. 262-263.
8 Ibid p 265.
9 Ibid.
When the rebellion of 1857 broke out, Imam Baksh Sahbai supported fully the rebels. After the suppression of the rebellion Sahbai along with his twenty one other family members was taken prisoner by the English forces. After a mock trial, as was the practice at that time, Sahbai along with his family members was held guilty and sentenced to death. The sentence was executed without mercy.

Imam Baksh Sahbai has written a number of books in Persian. He wrote a book on Sarf-o-Nahu in Urdu. Sahbai was also a member of Delhi Vernacular Translation Society. He had translated Hadiaq-ul-Balaghat from Arabic to Urdu. His other writings are Khulausi-Diwanha, Aala-ul-Haq (in reply to Risala-i-Ihqaq-ul-Haq). He helped Sir Syed in the compilation of Asar-us-Sanadeed. He helped Mirza Qadir Baksh Bahadur Sabir in writing Ghulistan-i-Sukhan. Din Dayal, Munshi Agency Bhopal, an admirer of Sahbai, collecting his writings printed in various Magazines, has published a collection under the title of, Kulliyat-i-Sahbai in 1253 A.H./1837-38.

**Ram Chandra**

Ram Chandra (1821-1880) was born at Panipat in a Kayasth family. His father, Sunder Lal, was originally a resident of Delhi. Perhaps in the quest of employment he went to Panipat, a town not
far from Delhi. By dint of merit, Sunder Lal got one after another promotions. He served as naib tahsildar and tahsilar at Delhi. Sunder Lal died in 1831 leaving a large family, consisting of six children and a widow. Ram Chandra was one of the sons of Sundar Lal. The death of Sundar Lal might have adversely affected the fortunes of the family, had the widow of the deceased and mother of Ram Chandra, not been a women of strong will who kept the family together. She took special care of the education of Ram Chandra. Ram Chandra, accoring to the tradition of the time, was admitted to a maktab at the age of six. After studying there for two years, he was sent to an English school in 1833, where he outshone himself in the studies. He received a monthly stipend of repees 10/-.

It seems that the family of Ram Chandra was traditionalist and conservative. He was married to a deaf and dumb girl after a year of his father's death. He was only of eleven years at that time. This proved to be a crucial blow to him. He, however, faced it manly. The economic position of the family worsened and he was not in a position to carry on his studies further. Consequently, abandoning his studies he accepted a clerical position in 1841. Ram Chandra had to seek this job against his wishes and at the cost of his academic career. However, he kept on studying privately. In 1844 he got an

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1 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, p 61
2 Ibid
3 Marhoom Delhi College, p 170.
4 Ibid
5 Yadagar Hastiyah, p. 232
opportunity to resume his studies. He was admitted to the Delhi College in 1844. The College life proved to be a turning point in his career. After passing a competitive examination he was awarded a stipend of rupees 30/- per month, which used to be awarded to the best student.

In 1844, Ram Chandra was appointed Science teacher in Delhi College at a salary of Rupees 50/- per month. Appointment as teacher turned the course of the life of Ram Chandra. He was now devoted to the profession and had become an important link between the British and Indian teachers. He became a member of the newly formed Delhi Vernacular Translation Society.

The Secretary of the Society, Botrous was also the Principal of Delhi College and Ram Chandra and Imam Baksh Sahbai were its active members. The objects and programmes of the Society were elaborated as under:

1. To translate the classic Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit works into Urdu, Hindi and Bengali Languages, and text books be prepared in the Indian Languages.

2. The responsibility to publish or not to publish the translation would lie on the Managing Council of the Society.

3. In the beginning the Society should not buy books exceeding 500 pages for translation.

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The following principles were made for the translation.

a. If in Science, History or other subjects an equivalent translation of a word is not found in Urdu, the original English word should be adopted.

b. If there is no equivalent translation of a compound English word in Urdu, the same be adopted. It does not, however, mean that the entire English sentence is to be adopted in Urdu.

c. If this principle is not applicable to an English compound word; the other word may be adopted.

d. The Indians are ignorant of the English language. It is imperative that while translating, easy words and phrases should be used. If writing of any word by way of guidance is necessary, there should be a note on it in the margin so that the reader may understand it easily.

e. Recent useful writings in the Indian languages, and the manuscripts of standard books in English, Sanskrit, Arabic at the rate of 6 annas to rupees 11/- be purchased.¹

The object of the translation Society was revolutionary and aimed at broadening the out-look of Indians through the translations. The Society did good work. A number of students of Delhi College benefitted from it and later became important people and

¹ Yadgar Hastiyan, p.233.
played significant role in the modernisation of India and changing the views of Indians through their writings.

Ram Chandra had a knock for Mathematic. His book on the subject 'Maxima and Minima' is very important. He was an admirer of Urdu language and his writings are mainly in Urdu.

Ram Chandra carved out a special status in journalism. He was the Editor and publisher of a newspaper 'Akhbar Fawaid-ul-Nazireen. The articles contributed to the paper covered a large scope. The articles published during 1847 in Akhbar-Fawaid-ul-Nazireen give an idea how Ram Chandra was inspiring his students and others to write articles on subjects like Shah Alam II, the Church (Girja), welfare of the people, Air, Labour, the Geator, an insect which is not affected even by fire, the History of British Government, The volume of the earth, Diamonds, History of Cromwell, Narrations about the islands, knowledge about Morality, Sayings of learned people, Description of the rivers, the method of converting Hijri era to Christian era, Civila, Gold, Death, Steam Coach Train, the palace of Gharnata (Gharnada), the natural description of the fountains, Earthquakes, description of Mars, Statistics, descriptive account of Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul, Guru and Chela, Asar-us-Sanadeed, and description of murals in the Diwan-i-Aam, description of King Albert, description of Raja Sher Singh of Lahore and the lives of
Aulia-i-Kiram etc. Similarly, the volumes of 1848 and 1850-51 of the Akhbar-Fawaid-ul-Nazireen consisted of articles on History, Science, Literature, Politics, Geography, Archaeology, Safar Nama, Animals, Physiology, Religion and Hikmat etc.

Ram Chandra was intellectually much in advance of his contemporaries. Close contacts with the Christian Missionaries from his childhood and the propaganda launched by them through published material and debates, had its impact on Ram Chandra. Akhbar-ul-Haqaiq, Agra, in its publication dated 13th November, 1848 gives the details leading to the conversion of Ram Chandra to Christianity. Ram Chandra's friend Chaman Lal, a physician and surgeon, also became a Christian. People of Delhi though admired Ram Chandra and Chaman Lal, were extremely unhappy over their conversion to Christianity. They considered him an atheist and faithless person. It had an adverse impact on enrolment in the Delhi College. Spread of the news of conversion made a number of guardians to withdraw their wards from the College. It also affected the admissions of fresh students.

Master Ram Chandra began to publish another magazine, 'Khair Khawah-i-Hind' from September 1847. The magazine did not survive for long as another magazine under the same title was being

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1 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, pp.45-46.
2 Avril Ann Powell, Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India, Surry (U.K.), 1993, pp. 210-11 (Hereafter cited as Powell).
3 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, p.46.
4 Ibid.
5 Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 18th July, 1852.
6 Yadgar Hastiyen, p.234.
7 Ibid. p.237.
published from Mirzapur. *Khair Khwah-i-Hind* ceased its publication after two issues. Ram Chandra, however, brought out another magazine *'Muhibb-i-Hind'* from November 1847. This magazine published standard and scholarly articles.

Ram Chandra's interest in Mathematics earned him an all India reputation, yet he was not free from criticism, specially from the Calcutta Review. Ram Chandra, though thoroughly disappointed with the criticism, decided to go to Calcutta in 1851 to answer the criticism made by his critics.

The merit of Ram Chandra and his writings on Mathematics were recognised by Dr. Springer, the Principal of Delhi College, who introduced him to D. Bithune, a member of Supreme Council and the President of the Law Council of Education. Bithune appreciated Ram Chandra for his book on Mathematics and helped him in the sale of the book to reduce the debt which Ram Chandra had incurred. On the recommendation of Professor Morgan of London University, Ram Chandra was given a cash award of rupees 2,000/- by the Court of Directors alongwith a robe of honour which was conferred upon him in a public meeting by William D. Arnold, Director of Public Instructions, Delhi.

Master Ram Chandra's book on Mathematics was greatly appreciated by scholars and they recommended it to be included in College and School Syllabus in India and Europe.

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1. *Adgar Hasilfan* p 234
2. Ibid
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
While Master Ram Chandra was gaining fame and prestige outside India, he was losing his place among his own caste and brotherhood. Many caste people began to hate him. This caused great hardship to Ram Chandra and it in turn led to a hardening of his attitude.

With the outbreak of the rebellion of 1857, hostility to Ram Chandra knew no bounds. People treated him like other English men. On 11th May, 1857, the rebels attached Dr. Chaman Lal's dispensary and killed him. Master Ram Chandra then residing at the Chandni Chowk, was saved by his brother Ram Shankar Das. Fearing that the rebels would attack his house for protecting Ram Chandra, he sent Ram Chandra to the village of his Jat domestic servant. From there Ram Chandra went to Baoli Ki Sarai and joined the English forces on 12th June, 1857.

Master Ram Chandra continued to serve in the English camp till 20th September, 1857. He then returned to Delhi.

In January 1858, Master Ram Chandra was appointed Head Master of Thomson Engineering College, Rurkee. He was transferred to Delhi in September, 1858. Ram Chandra retired from service in 1866.

Ram Chandra was a good teacher and very affectionate to his students. His students held him in high esteem. Moulvi Nazir Ahmad was one his favourite students.

1 *Yadgar Hastiyan*, 238-239.
After attaining superannuation, Master Ram Chandra was employed as ataliq of Raja Mahendra Singh of Patiyala. His services were greatly admired by the Government of India and Patiyala, when Mahendra Singh ascended the throne in 1866, Ram Chandra was honoured with the conferment of robe of honour and jagir¹.

In June 1870, he was appointed Director of Education, Patiyala. He did commendable service in the spread of education².

After the death of his first wife (1870), Ram Chandra married (1871) a Bengali Christian woman who was a social worker and an activist for the cause of widow remarriage. Master pyare Lal and Munshi Zakaullah were also active for the same cause in Delhi society. Master Sahib added strength to this small group. In November, 1865, Ram Chandra was appointed a member of the Sub-Committee of the University for selecting subjects. In one of the meetings of the Society (1866) Master Ram Chandra read an article on Female Education³. In another article on Woman's welfare presented before the Society in 1872, he demanded from the Government that it was their duty to promote education, arts and establish factories. In 1874 he presented his article, 'Bhonchal' (Treamour). It was the practice that the papers presented before the Society were discussed by the Members. Master Ram Chandra took great interest in the discussions.

2. Ibid.
Master Ram Chandra was a great protagonist of English education. His Society was devoted to it.

Ram Chandra sunk so deeply in Christianity that towards the end of his life he became intolerant to Islam. He wrote three books *Ijazul Quran, Risala-i-Masih-u-Dajjal* and *Risala-i-Tahriful Quran* in which he has made unspeakable attacks on the Quran and the Prophet.

By 1862, Ram Chandra's health became very bad. He died on 11th August 1880 at the age of 59\(^1\).

The life of Ram Chandra indicates that he was a genius. Though he was converted to Christianity and had turned hostile to Islam, his interest in promoting modern education and sciences had a great impact on the youth of Delhi. His interest in social reforms specially in the widow re-marriage was a step forward in the direction for reforming the Northern Indian society in that age.

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Chapter- 2

DELHI BETWEEN 1803 TO 1857

The English army led by Lord Lake captured Delhi and the adjoining areas after a hectic campaign in 1803. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, the nominal sovereign, an exalted prisoner of the Marathas, now came under the control of the English. The English policy towards the Mughal Emperor was clearly to seize Delhi and the Jamuna Doab and, "the possession of the nominal authority of the Mughals."

It is well known that the Marathas, led by Mahadj Sindhia, had brought Shah Alam out of the control of the English in 1771 and placed him on the throne of Delhi. Shah Alam, though anxious to reach Delhi, was not happy under the Maratha tutelage. Moreover, he had grown old. Like an old man he required more comfort, rest and peace of mind. In the circumstances, Shah Alam made himself content to throw his lot to the English in 1803. It amounted to a total surrender of Shah Alam to the English. However, if we look at the prevailing situation and the imbecile nobility, and the chaos that prevailed over the length and breadth of the Empire, Shah Alam's surrender becomes quite understandable. Shah Alam was simply pursuing the policy of retaining the nominal sovereignty of India and the real control of the empire was being exercised by the English. Prior to this the Marathas enjoyed this position. The Marathas in the past maintained the imperial court at Delhi ostensibly made a show of respectful attitude of submission to the Mughal King at the minimum of expense, both in terms of money and courtesy. But for the English the situation
was different. They were the rising power of the world and had conquered large territories in different parts of India by force and fraud. To them the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam was to be used as a cover to exploit his sovereign authority from behind the curtain till they could assume direct authority at an appropriate time. Following this policy they even reduced the position of Shah Alam from the Maratha puppet to an English pensioner. Consequently, there was a huge cut in the personal allowances which Shah Alam received earlier and as a pensioner he could not protest much against this change.

It may be recalled that prior to the English occupation of Delhi in 1803, Shah Alam had sought British help on 29th August 1803 against the Marathas. Lord Lake who was campaigning around Delhi, seized the opportunity. Consequently the battle of Delhi was fought on 11th September 1803. The British occupied Delhi. Lord Lake got an audience with the King on 16th September 1803. Needless to say that Lord Lake's appearance was a formal ritual, Wellesley the then Governor General, who had laid the policy of expansion of British territories through war, hypocritically wrote to Shah Alam on 8th October 1803 that, "the happy instruments of your Majesty's restoration to a state of dignity and tranquility under the power of the British Crown."

Shah Alam also hypocritically wrote in his letter of 29th August 1803,

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1 India Office Home Misc, Vol.492, pp. 251-2 cited in Spear, p. 36.
"that hereafter there be no want of obedience or cause of dissatisfaction to me."\(^1\)

On 21st September Shah Alam conferred a high sounding title on Lake, "Samsam-ud-daula, Astya-ul-Mulk, Khan-i-Dauran, Khan Bahadur Sipah Salar Fath Jung: ' including the title of Sipah Salar. Percival Spear is right to point out that" the title conferred on Lake differed considerably with that earlier conferred upon Mahadji Sindhia. To Sindhia it was not merely an honorary title but also an office of state and was in strict accord with the Mughal practice of legalizing the de facto power for the time being by grant of dejure offices. "In the same way, as we know, Shuja-ud-daulah had been made the wazir of the Empire and after him Asaf-ud-daulah held this position and Sindhia was raised as his regent. Shah Alam by conferring this title upon Lake was trying to cover the English with a Mughal ceremonial mantle.

Theoretically Shah Alam was in a better position and enjoyed the sovereign authority but practically the real power was wielded by the British. This relationship becomes clearer soon in the dispute of the French commandant of the palace, M. Drugeon, who had given a large sum, nearly five and a half lakh rupees, to Shah Nawaz Khan, the Imperial treasurer, to prevent it from falling into the hands of English. Sindhia's army being defeated and Emperor coming under the control of the English Lake was enjoined to give demonstration of reverence, respect and attention to Shah Alam; the latter regarded that the money lost by Drugeon was legally his own as Sindhia was

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his minister. But Lake insisted that the money belonged to the government and not to the royal necessities. Moreover by admitting this claim Lord Lake thought to violate Wellesley's pensionary thesis. Shah Alam cleverly maintained his superior position and reduced the chances of dispute by offering the money as an imperial donation to the English army. Wellseley realised his mistake and ordered the refund of the money.¹

The position of the British however remained dominant in Delhi affairs. Wellseley's policy hereafter was to reduce Shah Alam's status and also to ensure attention to his material comfort and personal dignity. At the same time it was also his object to ensure that the Mughal Emperor was no longer to count in Indian politics. This policy, to quote Spear again, "involved two issues, the question of finance and royal stipend and the question of etiquette and honour. Each must be taken in turn. The first question was provisionally settled by Lake and Ochtrlony in 1803 and confirmed by a letter from Wellesley in 1805."²

Sindhia had fixed in 1789, rupees 13 lakhs as King's allowance but it dwindled later on to rupees 17 thousand per month. As against this the British fixed rupees 60 thousand per month as Shah Alam's pension.

This money was to be raised from the assigned territory of land

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¹. India Office Home Misc, Vol.492, pp. 566-78.
². Spear, p.37.
west of Jamuna. The revenue receipts from this part was however much less to meet the royal requirements. The government was to supplement it from its own fund. According to Spear the mahals west of the Jamuna situated between the west and north of village Qabilpur, practically the management of the village was to be controlled by the Resident and the expense of administration was to be met by the East India Company. The King's mutasaddis were to check the receipts of the money in the Kuchhery. According to the English arrangements two courts were also to be established, one to look after the revenue and the other for criminal affairs. The criminal affairs of the Muslims were to be dealt with according to the Sharia arrangements and appointment of a Qazi and a Mufti to these courts were made. Death punishments decreed by these courts were subject to the confirmation through the Resident by the King.¹

The position of the king and his authority was limited as we note that the King exercised some power within the walls of the Qila-i-Mualla (Red Fort)². Within the fort the King enjoyed powers as a ruler. The residents of the Qila-i-Mualla, Bazar were his subjects and the Salateen (Princes) and King's family members who lived within the fort enjoyed diplomatic immunity. The Mughal Court maintained its traditional etiquette. The English Resident attended the Imperial Court regularly observing the usual practice of dismounting at the Naqqar Khana. From there he was guided to the Lal Pardah (the Red Curtain) to the presence of the King where he stood respectfully like the rest. Thus the symbol of sovereignty was being maintained through the generosity of the British diplomacy.

¹. D.R.R. Pol. and Misc, case 1, no. 3.
². Spear, p.38.
As long as Shah Alam was alive, this practice was observed by the British. After his death, Akbar Shah ascended the throne and made a demand for 30 lakh rupees. Now the British were paying 12 lakh rupees per annum to the great satisfaction of the King. Wellesley had promised in 1805 that the Mughal King's pension should be Rs. 15 lakhs which was not being done. Akbar Shah continued his efforts for raising the money upto 15 lakhs, at least, per annum as promised by the Governor General. In 1827 Akbar Shah being disappointed sought the help of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and sent him to England as Royal envoy. Ram Mohan Roy proposed to the British authorities in London on behalf of the Mughal King to commute all claims for an annual stipend of Rs. 30 Lakhs. The Court eventually agreed to the proposal but in the beginning Akbar Shah did not approve it. Subsequently, he however agreed with the hope of some better results in future.¹

After Akbar Shah his eldest son ascended the throne assuming the title of Bahadur Shah II in 1837. Unfortunately, Bahadur Shah II was not the choice of his father who had been supporting Mirza Jahangir. Moreover, Jahangir had enmity towards Bahadur Shah and tried to poison him twice. In the conflict of succession Bahadur Shah was supported by the British. Perhaps he was the best choice as among all the princes he had talents; imagination, determination and far-slightness. Through his career as prince or King, Bahadur Shah-II appears as a man of cultured and upright character. In 1806

¹ Spear, p.40.
Setan described him as a "very respectable character"\(^1\)

Later on Charles Metacalf wrote as under: "I have always advised the Heir Apparent to submit with patience to the will of his Royal Father. I must of his add that his conduct is in every respect highly creditable to him. He is undoubtedly the most respectable the most accomplished of the Princes, the most worthy of his Majesty's love, and although it is withheld from him. I have never known him to deviate from the observance of proper respect and filial duty."\(^2\)

The activities of Bahadur Shah as a king, poet, Philosopher, and man and his other activities have been described in detail by Spear in Chapter IV. His instruction to his nobility, the British and the common man have been fairly impressive despite his many limitations. He was popular among the people who loved him as a true representative of the house of the Mughals.

**British Administration**

Although the British had extended full support to Bahadur Shah II and provided all protection to him, they were not slow in bringing about changes in the Mughal Administration to gain their own objective. At that time, the Delhi territory was still very important because within it was the seat of power where the king resided. The British interest in Delhi was increasing greatly after the defeat of the Marathas and their control over Delhi in 1803. They considered

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1. Spear, p.73.
Delhi to be the fine place to declare their seat of power or capital for various reasons. For them Calcutta was too far, moreover the Empire had spread far and wide and a suitable place for capital was essential to control the vast English territory in India. But they had a problem. The Englishmen generally were not fully prepared to take over the Mughal administration initially as they lacked the required number of English or European officials to manage the administration. Undoubtedly, the local officials of the time reared under the Mughals and the Marathas were competent to pursue private interests in the guise of public spirited appearances. When the Marathas were in powers they held the revenue producing responsibilities. The doctrine of maya was a common feature. By and large they did not hesitate in using unfair means to fulfil their private ambitions. However, from 1806 the English began to introduce new elements in the erstwhile Mughal administration of Delhi.

Before bringing about any change in the administration of Delhi, Metcalfe toured the region in 1807. He made a beginning by introducing a settlement of land for one year and thereafter for three years. Later on, the settlements were made for longer periods ranging from 3 to 20 years by 1820. However, there was no attempt made at measurement and the traditional measures continued to be used as the basis. Yet it is noted that two changes had been made; the cash payments were substituted for payments in kind, and second the elimination of the Mahajans of
Delhi as middlemen. Other persons were, however, allowed to work as revenue farmers, but it is not known from where they came. The positive aspect of the banker and mahajan involved as middle men was that they passed the capital which enabled the villages to face a bad crop without defaulting and risking of their lands. But the problem was that the bankers played tricks with the government by underestimating the crop yield to increase their own profits. Needless to say that the farming system had taken roots in agrarian economy with the weakening of the Mughal Empire. Satish Chandra writing about 18th century problems of land in the jagirdari crisis and increasing incidents of farming system under the later Mughals gives considerable details. ¹ The farming system, later on, became a common feature and even Nizam-ul-Mulk's attempts to put a check on it during early years of Muhammad Shah's reign were foiled by the vested interest of the nobility. ²

Thereafter the farming system had become almost a common feature of Mughal administration. The British after taking over Delhi did not attempt to disturb it immediately. By that time most of the farmers were either the wealthy muqqaddams or the village headmen or enterprising jagirdars. Now when Metcalfe introduced the two changes by substituting cash payment to kind and eliminating the Delhi bankers as middlemen, the peasantry appears to be unhappy because the dues of the muqqaddams were deducted and the balance taken by the government, and the other half left to the

cultivators' after deducting the *patwari's* (village accountant) allowances.

From the instructions given by Seton to Metcalfe it appears that the former was largely influenced with the consideration of previous revenue experience with landlords from whom the peasants must be protected looming large, he was far from fully understanding the unique system of Delhi. He was first inclined to believe, for example, that proprietary right to land did not exist in Delhi. Seton was keen to reduce both the power and number of the *muqqaddams*, considering them to be vexatious. Yet as a good administrator Seton allowed Metcalfe to use his discretion. Till then the shares of the *muqqaddams* varied from 2.5 to 20 per cent of the produce. Metcalfe succeeded in making his own formula acceptable by fixing 5% for the weaker *muqqadams* and 10% for the stronger.

From 1807 to 1827 Metcalfe was continuously engaged in his mission in Delhi (except for the year 1808 when he was in Punjab). As an intelligent administrator and keen to understand the agrarian structure of the territory under his control, Metcalfe had been touring regularly. He realised that the *zamindars* needed respect for their position as is reflected from his note of 1815, "There is a manliness of character which makes it pleasant to deal with them...... on the whole, not withstanding the faults which have been mentioned, my opinion is in favour of the inhabitants both of the City of Dihlee and of its territory; and I feel an attachment for them, which will make it painful to be separated from them, whenever the day

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1 D R R, p 19 Seton's instruction to Charles Metcalfe
2 Ibid
of separation shall come."\(^1\)

Metcalf acquired strong respect for the system working so vigorously. So he wished that the system should be kept intact as far as he could and outside interference should be avoided. In 1818 Seton left Delhi recording his observations on the Delhi system as under, "If the commissioners of Delhi are now able to smile benignantly on what they call innocent forgeries and to give way to sentiments of commiseration towards convicts- if they consider themselves at liberty to let loose criminals on society without dreading bad consequences - it is perhaps owing to the very system which one of them so strongly condemns and derides that they can venture to do so." Thus he made a name for himself in Delhi.

His successor Metcalfe and his Delhi System depended upon a chance discovery. According to Metcalfe, "the chance that exempted Delhi from Bengal and his own discovery of the autonomous village system." Now Metcalfe was enabled by this chance discovery to proceed further.

In order to understand the territory of Delhi and its holders, it may be pointed out that before the conquest of Delhi territory by the English it was known as *suba* of Dehli (actually a part of the former Mughal *suba* of Delhi). However, when the English took over, Delhi was still considered a *suba* which was held by the Resident as *Subadar*. There were 3 to 6 *Naibs* of the *Subadar* or deputies of the *Subadar* who had no definite territorial jurisdiction. Metcalfe had four assistants in 1815, of whom three were assigned judicial responsibilities, and one was assigned

the responsibility of revenue officer of the Delhi customs. Metcalfe wrote in 1815 that" he could manage without European assistance." The Resident at Delhi was also responsible to look after the responsibility as a Mughal frontier governor with charge of the protected Cis-Sutlej Sikh State and other small states in and around Delhi. He had also to conduct foreign relations with the independent states of Rajputana (till 1818) and with Punjab and North West.

Apart from the Resident and his assistants, other officials were the *amil* or the office incharge of the *paragna*. Later on the *paragna* became a *tehsil* and the designation of the *amil* was transformed to that of *tehsildar*. The responsibility of *tehsildar* was to deal with *muqqadams* on all matters except the revenue assessments. The English also introduced a change in the system by forming the contiguous villages into groups called *zails*, with a headman now designated as *zaildar*. Normally, a *zaildar* used to be a prominent *muqqaddam* and served as a link between the villages and the *tehsildar*.

Administratively the *muqqaddams* retained their position as the representatives of the peasants. Here it may be pointed out that Seton wanted to reduce the position of *muqqaddams* and to appointed the *maliks* of the village as *muqqaddams*. Metcalfe resisted this motion and he maintained that the land could not be sold or alienated unless and until agreed to by the proprietors. Metcalfe very well understood the evils of this system. This is clearly elaborated by Kaye, "The sale of lands for arrears of revenue is a common instance

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2. It should not be confounded with the Zila or district of Bengal.
of the little consideration in which the zumeenadaree rights are held by government. For trifling arrears of revenue, which might be restored in subsequent years, the hereditary rights of families, which have existed for centuries, are annihilated, and a new right of absolute property established in favour of other persons, purchasers of the proprietary right at the public auction; by which purchase the original proprietors or zumeenadars must either become the labourers of the new proprietor, or quit their houses and lands, their country and home, forever.

The custom of selling lands for arrears of revenue has not yet found its way into this district and I trust that it never may be introduced".¹

Apparently, Metcalfe was not satisfied with the consequences of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal which had resulted into large scale transfer of land and ruin of peasantry. That is why he did not agree with Seton's suggestions fearing the same results in the newly conquered territory of Delhi, as till then the agrarian structure of the region had retained its traditional basis and the internal supremacy within the villages continued. Spear is right in observing that," The chief changes in their internal position were the addition of some new duties and expenses."² Here the patwari had the protection of the government, and also assisted by some other functionaries like peons and chaukidars. The system of begar (forced labour) however continued in this region and apparently not much change occurred even after the change of government.

Some of the duties which the muqqaddams performed in this region

¹. J.W. Kaye, Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe, vol. 1, p.338,
². Spear, p.89.
included the repair of the carts and the replacement of the cattle perished either in a natural way or due to some calamity. They were also required to provide services to the trains of Europeans passing through the territory of the muqqaddams. Apart from this, high officials, important visitors or any other important officers passing through his territory were bound to receive attention of the muqqaddam materially and physically. Begar was a common feature which continued from the time immemorial. Metcalfe clearly states about the abuse of this system. The burden of begar normally fell on the shoulders of the villagers near the high road. Extremity of this system was such that most of the villagers used to flee to avoid rigorous sufferings of the begar imposed upon them by the government officials. The villagers suffered most when the army passed through the villages. Sepoys forced the villagers to carry their muskets and the chaprasis or peons their bundles. The worst suffers were the Women. Spear observes that, "Women far gone with child, or with infants at the breast' were to be seen carrying the baggage of the great man ambling on his elephant or being carried in his palanquin."\textsuperscript{1} Ironically the British Officers were acting contrary to what they ought to have done. They were supposed to suppress the custom but their personal interest was to maintain it. Metcalfe wrote that the suppression of this practice required all authority of the government. Spear referring to the psyche of the lower cadre of Indian Officials serving the British, says that it was not only a question of money, but of the vital and all important izzat (Prestige). The serving Indians in lower cadres by and large made it a point of izzat and felt pride in taking begars from their own countrymen.

\textsuperscript{1} Spear, p.91.
The Administration of Justice

The Mughals already maintained a system of justice within their government, which had its own hierarchy. Responsibility for dispensation of justice was the primary duty of the king under the Mughals. The King exercised the higher authority in dispensation of justice. The Mughals had evolved the whole system afresh under Akbar. To assist the King in the dispensation of justice, the offices of Sadr-us-Sudur and Qazi-ul-Quzzat had been created. These two officers enjoyed the highest position after the King in the judicial system of the Mughals. Under them functioned the provincial sadrs and qazis. Similarly, the sadrs and qazis functioned in the sarkars and paragnas and they performed the duties according to the provisions of the shariat.¹

After the fall of Delhi, the English found this system more or less intact despite the weakening of the empire but it was not functioning so effectively. Robberies, dacoities and anarchy was a common feature in the region. This situation had been developing ever since Aurangzeb's involvement in the Maratha affair and has prolonged absence from the north. North Indian affairs were in neglect due to corrupt officials which in turn led to the emergence of regional powers. Especially within the vicinity of Delhi, the Jats had become very powerful and they had been plundering even the imperial army.² The Jat menace grew as the time passed and some of the neighbouring peasant castes like the Gujars and, the Meos also joined the banditry. By 1803 when the British took over Delhi territory, the law and order situation was extremely unsatisfactory. The Mughal

¹ J.N.Sarkar, Mughal Administration, Calcutta, 1972, pp.18-20.
judicial system had in a sense collapsed as neither the sadr nor the qazi could exercise their authority without proper support from the central or provincial government which had become almost extinct. In this situation the British found it an uphill task to maintain the law and order, and to stop highway robberies so as to keep the highways clear and safe for the people and merchandise. Naturally, they had to pay greater attention to this task. The British sought assistance from the neighbouring zamindars and jagirdars in resolving the situation. Consequently, the English, on the one hand, took their help, and on the other, made them responsible for maintaining law and order within the limits of their territories. The lands of eight Rajas, four Nawabs, three Sardars, one Thakur and the Begum Samroo were surrounded by the English territory.¹ Some of the local chiefs were promoting decoits such as the ruler of Ferozpur Jhirka. Further the villagers were also providing shelter to the gangs of dacoits and plunders especially the Gujars. Here Metcalfe used the old practice by holding the muqqaddams responsible for any robberies within their jurisdiction. Similarly, he also gave directions that no injured stranger would be provided hospitality by the villagers. In addition to this the Khojis (Spies) were used extensively.² Further the muqqaddams were required to report to the tahsildars of any crime that took place within their villages.

In the villages the normal disputes and litigations related to land and debts. In order to clear the rental obligations, the peasants obtained loans from the rich persons, especially the village mahajans. In most

¹ They were: the Nawabs of Kunjpura, Hindon, Narnaul, Firozpur; the Khan of Bhattis; the Sardars of Landaura, Thanesar, Azimgarh; the Rajas of Jind, Patiala, Nabha, Bikaner, Jaipur, Katri, Alwar, and Bharatpur; the Rao of Shahjehanpur, the Bhai of Karthal; the Begum Samroo; the Thakur of Burao; the plunderers of Sidmuk, Bahadur and Darera.

² H.G. Keene, A Servant of John Company, Calcutta, 1897, pp.111-112.
of the cases the peasant had to mortgage his land and in most of the cases he became victim of the perfidy of the mahajans. Thus the land disputes were considerable in the villages. The problem was that early decision of the disputes was not possible owing to the lack of judicial machinery in the villages. In order to solve this difficulty, Charles Metcalfe relied upon the existing panchayats. The village mukhya or sarpanch played the role of the judge in deciding such disputes. He did not establish any district court. However, an appeal against the decisions of the panchayat could be made to Delhi or to a touring magistrate who was expected to visit the villages frequently. Metcalfe detested the Regulation judicial system as far as he could. Later on, William Fraser added the system of a jury with that of the panchayat.

Here a quotation from the evidence of Holt Mackenzie may be cited by way of illustration, "His scheme was partly on the principle of a jury, and partly on that of the panchayat; that is to say, the members were generally chosen on the nomination of the parties; but they were required to decide without delay; the matter in dispute was brought to a distinct issue and the whole proceedings were regularly recorded by a government clerk who was deputed for the purpose, with instructions to follow a prescribed course. The disputes were generally between (what I may call republican) communities of Yeomen cultivating their own fields, for the possession of land generally of little value, but very easily contested by the people.
The headman of the contending villages, acting for and in the presence of the whole body, were required to nominate six on each side, making in the whole twelve. The right to challenge was freely allowed; and the jury (so to term it) was required to be unanimous. Mr. Fraser's reason for having so many as twelve was, as he said, chiefly that they might, by their number and weight, be placed above the reach of intimidation or danger from the vengeance of those against whom they might decide; and it was with the same object, also with that of putting down party spirit, that he required unanimity. ¹ Spear states that Fraser by the means of this method settled 300 disputes. However, Metcalfe held the opinion that the courts should function and he allowed them to work in Delhi. The whole dispute about the Courts and the approach of Fraser and Metcalfe in regard to the functioning of the Courts brings some interesting information. For example Metcalfe complained that the courts were unpopular and corrupt. His own observations may be of some interest to be reproduced here, "A European judge is the only part of them that is untainted. He sits on a bench in the midst of a General Conspiracy and knows that he cannot trust anyone of the officers of the Court." In this regard Spear says that the witnesses, pleaders and the court officials were totally independable. He further says that in Delhi itself, not even the judge was free from corruption. He further points out, generally the judge was often so young and inexperienced that he either gave hasty decisions neglecting local customs or leaned too heavily on a subordinate advice. Metcalfe gives a graphic account of the whole function of the judiciary which presents a mixture of corruption, ignorance, inexperience and overdependence upon the

subordinate staff. Despite this Metcalfe was bound to follow the system which he found. Spear refers that the judicial officers were a cancer beyond his power to eradicate.

Despite all limitations Metcalfe did some good work. John Kaye praises Metcalfe for his numerous works which included the abolition of Sati and the abolition of capital punishment.¹ These were undoubtedly progressive steps.

From Metcalfe's efforts it may be assumed that he wanted to maintain the existing village institution. Secondly, he also attempted through his exertions to win the loyalty of the people around Delhi for the English. We know that Delhi was surrounded by the peasant castes such as the Jats, the Mewatis, the Gujars etc. Specially the Jats and Gujars had played a very destructive role during the second half of the 18th century which weakened the Mughal Empire further. Naturally, to contain this rebellious population, Metcalfe, as a English administrator had to evolve a multi purpose policy or in other words a policy which could be of immediate gain for the English and could strengthen the English government in the future. Consequently, the method which he introduced was to make moderate assessments for long terms leaving the muqqadms to control the revenue arrangement. This arrangement gave more profit to the zamindar from their lands and he was encouraged to extend the area of cultivation enticing cultivators to take up vacant lands. Obviously, the system was to divert the attention of the pesantry to be work oriented, to obtain profits from

their labour in their fields and not to indulge in refractory activities.\(^1\)

Metcalfe's Delhi system remained in force for some time Thomas Fortescue admired this system and defended it before the East India Company in 1832. Metcalfe's system of administration, however, soon became a target of criticism by his opponents due to sheer jealousy and from 1823 onward changes began to take place. In 1829 Colebrooke accused Metcalfe of winking at a system of robbery and corruption. He accused that Metcalfe, his munshi and sais had acquired huge money through corrupt means.\(^2\) In 1838 John Lawrance criticised the Delhi system. His main criticism related to the functioning of the Delhi system. His criticism boiled down to the fact that the settlements around Delhi were very harsh which impoverished the population. As a matter of fact Metcalfe was aware of this and he had himself remonstrated Fraser for such harsh settlements. His remark were, "No people labour so indolently as those who work in chains and by compulsion. Hearty exertion is always self-willed, and with a view to self interest. This justice, the benevolence, the wisdom, the expediency, the necessity of a system of conciliation towards the zumendiars, would appear to me to be indisputable, were it not that you apparently pursue one of compulsion. If you think that force alone is calculated for the management of these people, I shall respect both your opinion and

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2. India Office Bengal Public Consultations, minute by C.T. Metcalfe, November 1829. The Charge is to be found printed in the Travelyan Papers.
your experience, but it will require strong proofs to convince me".¹

The long term policy of Metcalfe was easy settlements for long periods with a view to inspire the peasantry and win their confidence and to encourage them to settle on the waste land. Metcalfe's policy was sound and farsighted.

When Metcalfe began to work in Delhi he was assigned a team of five assistants to assist him. Later on they became the collectors of five districts. At the headquarter of the collectors, courts were set up and their scope was extended gradually. Spear's observation that, "They slowly trenched upon the village jurisdictions in much the same way as royal justice replaced the federal courts in medieval England. The functioning of the courts and implementation of its decision brought the police as an important mechanism to execute the orders of the court. The Khojis however continued to function until the outbreak of first war of independence in 1857. In the village the mughaddams and zamindars continued to look after the revenue matters. Admittedly they were no longer masters of the countryside, free to fight or to pay as they liked, they were under no pressure of victimisation of early British rule that is frequent settlement and chronic over assessment. In 1830s and 1840s the longer settlements were made through the Delhi territory. The liberty of dealing with the village cultivators was restricted thanks to the exact measurement. The mughaddams also got a new designation of lumberdar, a corruption of the newly coined word numberdar. The responsibility of the lumberdar was to manage the number or revenue figure. Under the British rule in Delhi a superior or an Aala lumberdar is also seen functioning in the

¹. Papers of Lord Metcalfe, p.49.
territories where a number of muqaddams existed. The tendency to treat the lumberdar as hereditary office holder also developed. Very rarely the lumberdards used to be transferred from the area of assigned responsibility unless they committed serious irregularity or were involved in crime. The zaildars were also generally prominent muqaddams. The village system however continued to function as usual, the muqaddams continued to retain their position of headship of the village. The position of muqaddams, that was existing at that time is referred to by John Lawrance in 1838. In the following words: "In a flourishing paragna on this side of the river, we have no large zamindar with his lac or two lacs of annual income, but on the other hand, we have thousands of small proprietors each with his broad mare, his buffaloes, his oxen, in short, with everything that makes a comfortable position in life. In no part of the Western Provinces, of which I have had experience, are the tenures so complete and so well recognised as here, no district where the ancient village communes are in such excellent preservation, or where the practice of our Civil Courts has hitherto done so little harm." Another important feature of the English administration in Delhi was the restoration of ancient canal system. It may be recalled that originally the canal system was constructed by Feroze Shah Tughlaq in the 14th century and extended on both sides of Jamuna. Western part of the Jamuna, canal came to Hissar which is now known as Hissar Feroza after the name of Feroz Shah. Later on, it was further extended to Hansi. The eastern part of the canal ran through the

2 Selected Delhi Reports, Sonepat and Punjab districts, 1836.
doab and rejoined the Jamuna at New Delhi.\(^1\) These canals were of great help to the peasantry as it provided water for irrigation. Unfortunately, these canals were severely damaged due to the Timur's invasion and apparently remained largely in disuse until Shah Jahan's reign. Ali Mardan Khan at the behest of Shah Jahan constructed an additional branch of canal from Karnal to Shahjahanabad. The restoration of the canal system brought prosperity to the peasantry. During 18th century the canals appear to have suffered due to various reasons. However, the prosperity of the region, which was largely due to the canal systems, can be understood by the example of Safdar Jung, the Wazir of Ahmed Shah, who acquired 25 lakh rupees annually in the early 1750s.\(^2\) In 1740 Nadir Shah's invasion caused much damage to a part of canal and the Delhi branch of the canal was broken in 1754 during the course of civil war and uprising of Safdar Jung. Zabta Khan, the son on Najib-ud-daulah, did make an attempt to restore the canal but due to his fall from power the canal remained neglected. Metcalfe had already seen the advantages that the administration could obtain through its restoration as early as 1810. He made strong recommendation for a grant for its restoration.\(^3\) In 1815 Lord Hastings visited the territory, saw the traces of the old canal, a fine stone bridge near Karnal and sought the advice of the Engineers for its restoration to its original form. The engineers agreed that the canal could be made to work in perfect order. Consequently the restoration of the canal work was undertaken.\(^4\) In 1817 another survey was made for the complete restoration

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of the canal and after a gap of 80 years the canal and water ran into Delhi again in May 1820. The canal continued to function despite occasional interruptions due to blockade or other defects. The eastern doab canal was also restored under the government instructions. In 1830 the work was completed. The restoration of the canals around Delhi largely helped the British administration to keep the areas peaceful. The Gujars, Aheers and Jats now became more interested in agricultural activities as they found the husbandry more fruitful. The canals brought prosperity to the region. Lawrence wrote in 1836: "Sonepat Bangur is finest, most populous and best cultivated pargana the district ....... You may ride for miles and see nothing but the most splendid cultivation."¹

The police system introduced by the British was effective against the dacoits and the thugs but corruption made the Police force vulnerable. Moreover, they were oppressive. A very high authority admitted that: "Everyone in or out of authority, admitted fully the extent of their (Police) exactions and more tormenting and exacting conduct".² The police exercised great power and authority. It had a power to inquire into the crimes in a village. On this pretext they exacted money. They had the power to arrest anyone for inquiry purposes. This also gave the opportunity to exact money. They also manipulated their dairies, introduced false witnesses to prove their viewpoint and punish an innocent person.³ An interesting case of false witness has been mentioned by one of the

1. Selected Delhi Reports, (Sonepat district, 1836).
2. Bentick Papers, 16th September, 1829, Bentinck to Auber, 14th Dec. 1829 cited in Spear p.112.
3. See for details, India Office Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations.
magistrates of Agra who noticed some people in chains under police escort. On enquiry he was informed that they were not convicts but witnesses who had been brought by police. Generally the police undermined the authority of the village elders and the whole system of village. Instead of playing constructive role, the police mostly played a destructive role. The adverse sufferers of the police system were the village lords. Their numbers continued to decline. It may be concluded that the British administrators in the first half of the 19th century in Delhi made some attempts to set an efficient administration by improving the existing one. The improvement was however not without interference. They thought that the Indian rural society and the villages particularly had survived despite constant neglect by the government. But the fact was that a continued neglect of Indian villages was the source of its survival throughout the ages.

1. See for details, India Office Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations.
Chapter-3

REBELLION IN DELHI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

The sepoys broke into revolt at Meerut on 10th May 1857. Much controversy exists over the sepoy revolt as may be seen from the pages of various English historical works. Whatever might have been the cause of the outbreak, it is undisputed that there existed a simmering discontent among the sepoys for the last one hundred years. To understand the attitude of the sepoys and the outbreak of the rebellion in 1857 a peep into the past would be essential.

It has been noted that under the British rule it became fashionable to contrast it favourably with the regimes it had replaced. In 1844 Elliot in his preface taunted the Bengal nationalists for forgetting the persecution the Hindus had suffered before the British ascended power in India. Elliot's views were ostensibly to protect the British interest in India so as to create religious and sectarian divide among the Indian people ---- a beginning of which was probably made in 1773 when Narayan Rao, the Maratha Peshwa, was assasinated to the glee of the governor of Madras. Here the secret British policy is exposed by W.Torrens,"..... except that the fanatacism of foolishmen, or the craft of worthless men, rekindled now and then old jealousies, the Hindu and Mohammadan lived happily together, and, at the approach of an enemy, went forth cheerfully to fight

side by side for one another's homes."¹ Torrens was right as the co-existence between Hindus and Muslims is largely seen after the enunciation of Sulh-i-Kul policy by Akbar. This policy was pursued by his successors. It is noted that neither Muslims nor Hindus were incapacitated for a public employment on account of the belief in which he had been brought up. Mohammadan princes gladly confided to astute and learned Brahmins civil trustees of importance; and many a Musulman rose to honour and won fortune in a Maharaja's camp.² This homogenous atmosphere in India was remarkable. To quote Torrens again "...... in Ireland no Catholic could inherit freehold, command a regiment, or sit on a judicial bench; while in France the Huguenot weaver was driven into exile beyound sea and while in Sweden not but Lutherens could sit as juries; and in Spain no Heretic was permitted Christian burials. While in India, Sunnis and Shias, Marathas and Sikhs competed fully for distinction and profit in almost every city and camp of Hindustan."³

The British, unlike other foreign conquerors did not come to India directly as invaders. They ascended to sovereignty by the policy of dividing the princely states and extending military support to the contending parties. In this power game the British employed Indians as sepoys. The Indian sepoys inducted in the British army played an important role in the conquest of their own country for their foreign masters, expecting a fairplay and justice in return for their services.

² Ibid. p. 105.
³ Ibid. p. 106.
It was the majority of these very sepoys who suddenly rebelled in 1857. The Sepoys in the past one hundred years had earned a great reputation for their loyalty and dedication to their masters who addressed them, "the faithful Sepoys." However these very faithful sepoys had developed a sense of great repentance and began to regard their English masters a species of "quint and some what objectionable demons", or, "a race of demidevils, neither quite human or quite supernatural; not wholly bad, yet far from perfectly good, who had been settled in the country by the will of fate." 1

The British officers could not find an answer to why the sepoys changed their behaviour. 2 In this background the psychology of the Indian sepoys needs to be understood. It is not surprising that soon after the outbreak of the rebellion, the Meerut rebels rushed to Delhi and occupied it on 11th May. They had already informed their Delhi counterparts of their arrival in Delhi on 11th or 12th of May. 3 The Meerut sepoys as well as their comrades in Delhi were confident of their success in expelling the English from India as would transpire clearly from their behaviour. All of them were charged with emotions and raising slogans, which Zakauullah sarcastically says, "When the Cavalrymen moved they cried Deen! Deen! (religion! religion!). It is why a large number of Muslims were flocking around them. Many religious minded Hindus were also offering sharbats

1 Hope Grant, *Incidents in the Sepoy War, 1857-58*, London, 1872, p.6 (Hereafter cited as Hope Grant).
2 Ibid. p. 8.
and other eatables to these people".  

The English intelligence report had informed Mr. Simon Fraser, the Chief Commissioner Delhi, on the night of 10th May about the possible outbreak in Delhi. But he could not read the report and went to sleep. In the morning the Collector of Delhi was informed of the Meerut revolt. He gave orders to close the gates of Delhi and dismantle the boat bridge. According to Zakauallh, Simon Fraser was moving on a buggy. He stopped at the magazine where the company of Telanga (Seyoys) was standing in its uniform. The Commissioner had some conversation with the subedar of the Company. Later on the subedar disclosed that Fraser was asking them whether they were still loyal to the government. The answer of the subedar was, " We are loyal to our religion. They did not salute the commissioner as per practice."

Probably the activities of Fraser were unknown to other English officers. The revolt of Meerut Sepoys had a stunning impact on them as may be seen from the reports published in the Delhi Urdu Akhbar of 17th May, 1857. By and large the English bureaucracy in Delhi was greatly upset over the development. Some of the magistrates were busy in disposing of cases in the court at seven a.m. when the Darogha-i-Pul informed the magistrate of the arrival of the rebel Sepoys, and their atrocities on the government officials. He also informed the authorities that he was successful in dismantling the bridge and had temporarily stopped the entry of the rebels despite

1. Zakaullah, Tarikh-i-Urooj-i-Ahde saltanat-i-Engli^a, Delhi, 1901, p.411. (hereafter cited as Zakaullah ).
2. Ibid. p. 409.
their aggressive attitude. He, however, conceded that when their number swelled the officials controlling the bridge took flight. By that time a number of horsemen assembled under the jharokha of the Fort and began to cry urging upon the Emperor to allow their entry to the city. In the meantime some English Officials also came to the Fort, and began to threaten the Sepoys of dire consequences. The situation in the city was getting bad to worse, even the fort was not safe as many Sepoys were threatening to kill the English officers. Bahadur Shah II was almost taken by surprise by these developments. In the initial stage he succeeded in preventing the rebels from committing atrocities on the English officials. As the number of rebel Sepoys increased in Delhi they became more aggressive. Consequently, they killed Fraser and others. They killed Mr. Taylor of Delhi College and plundered the Bank which was in the garden of Begum Samro. The manager of the Delhi Bank, Beresford, sought English officers' help to protect the Bank and release of ladies and children who had been taken prisoners. The anti-English sentiments had become so surcharged that the Khansaman who was working there informed him of the arrival of the rebel Sepoys. Hearing the news the manager became furious and went upstairs directing the Khansaman not to disclose his whereabouts. The rebels, however, located him and his family. They killed them. After plundering the Bank the roving bands of the rebels plundered the Delhi Gazette press and killed a number of converted Indian Christians whom they considered to be accomplices of the English. After the plunder

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
of Delhi Gazette the Sepoys turned to magazine which was near the royal palace. Evidently the intention of the Sepoys was to destroy all the existing devices of the English rulers or the persons who were controlling these devices, so as to destroy the English Power machine. The Magazine was one of the most important devices which provided gunpowder and ammunitions to the English army. The attempt of the rebel Sepoys was to seize the magazine and to use it against the English. Unfortunately, they could not succeed to seize the magazine through negotiations. They decided to seize it by force. The keeper of the magazine, Willoughby set the magazine on fire. Willoughby and three other Englishmen ran away to save their lives.¹ The editor of the Delhi Urdu Akhbar gives a graphic account of the incident as under, "This humble creature went towards the magazine just ahead of Masjid Nawab Hamid Ali khan. He saw that the mujahids had occupied the barracks of the magazine. He also heard that some Englishmen along with some khalasis were sitting inside the Magazine closing its door. Thereafter this humble creature returned to his residence. The sounds of gunfire were coming from all sides. After 3'O Clock there was a bang of artillary fire. Those who were present were anxious that the second explosion of artillary was heard, this humble creature immediately went towards the Kothi to find out the truth. Suddenly there was a severe earthquake which was so dangerous that I thought that the day of judgement had arrived. In brief when I saw, the Magazine was blown out. There was darkness in which the stones of the walls were seen to be flying like birds

¹ Zakaullah, pp. 419-21.
and leaves of the tree. This humble creature apprehending to be hit by the stones immediately retired from that place reciting holy names. In the end it came to be known that 25 Englishmen locked inside the Magazine were threatened for life by the Sepoys who had ascended the wall of the Magazine with the help of a staircase. They hardly succeeded in their mission. Being disappointed the rebels brought artillery on the gate of the Magazine to break it open. The besieged had already opened a tunnel. Blowing up the Magazine they escaped taking advantage of the hue and cry of the people. They might have also been killed.\(^1\) The destruction of the magazine took a heavy toll of life of the sepoys and the civilians. Zakaullah writes that despite the destruction of the magazine the sepoys succeeded in acquiring considerable stock of ammunition which they continued to use later on till the reconquest of Delhi by the English.\(^2\)

Charles Metcalfe was within the walls of the city for making arrangements putting himself in a difficult situation. He saved his life with great difficulty through the help of Moinuddin Khan and escaped through Ajmeri Gate and from there to Pahari Dheeraj.\(^3\)

The beginning of rebellion in Delhi in 1857 heralded a new era. The Sepoys had an upper hand in the daily affairs as the English regime had been replaced by the Rebel's Government. Unfortunately, the change of power was devoid of an effective leader. Undoubtedly the Sepoys had

\(^1\) Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 17th May, 1857.
\(^2\) Zakaullah, p. 421.
\(^3\) Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 17th May, 1857; The Author of Khadang-i-Ghadr gives a detailed account of the escape of Metcalfe see Moinuddin Hassan Khan, Khadang-i-Ghadr, Delhi, 1972, pp.37-58, ed. by Khwaja Ahmad Faruqi.
foisted upon the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah, the responsibilities of the so called leadership of the rebels. It was a great misfortune that Bahadur Shah was an old man of 80 Years, totally incapable to lead an organised movement to defend the country against the English. He was bereft of power, lacked economic resources, an empty treasury and a host of irresponsible flatterers and intriguers. It was even more unfortunate that taking advantage of the growing anarchy owing to the disappearance of the English administration, a large number of criminals and undesirable elements became active in Delhi. Poor Bahadur Shah found himself in a very difficult situation. The plundering bands of bad characters were moving from place to place in the city. Some of them were using the Sepoy uniforms and plundering shop keepers and rich persons. The genuine rebel Sepoys averse to plunderers apprehended five such plunderers and sent them to jail. It appears that the author of Roznamcha and Moinuddin Hasan Khan could not distinguish between the imposters and genuine Sepoys and alleged that the later were plundering the baniyas of the city for money. Had this been the situation the Sepoys might have not apprehended such people as stated above. It may be inferred that in the beginning of the rebellion the rebel Sepoys did not indulge in any undesirable activities. Their hearts were full with sentiments of expelling the English from India and had a vision of reestablishing Indian rule. However, the paradoxical

3. Ibid.
situation that existed in Delhi, adversely affected law and order situation in the city. Munshi Jeewan Lal tells us that on 12th May the condition of the city worsened further. The unwilling King was distracted by the cries and petitions, the servants of the Europeans, shopkeepers, rich people whose houses had been plundered, all appealed to Bahadur Shah for redress. Bahadur Shah was sad over this situation as like all the other Mughal Emperors he also wished to keep the people happy. Consequently, with a view to restore order in the city he summoned Mirza Ziauddin Ahmad Khan, Aminuddin Ahmad Khan and Hasan Ali Khan to form a committee to maintain law and order in the city. But Hasan Ali Khan declined and foiled his attempt. Another bid was made on the recommendation of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan to restore order in the city and its neighbourhood. These arrangements were hardly enough to satisfy the terrified people. It seems that the rebel Sepoys were also keen that the semblance of authority of the King is established and order restored in the city. They pressed the King to visit the city personally making appeals and ensuring the shopkeepers their safety, asking them to resume their business. On 12th May Bahadur Shah directed his eldest son Mirza Mughal to go to the city with a company of telangas to stop plunder in the city. But the prince could not succeed in his mission. Bahadur Shah himself riding on an elephant visited the Chandni Chowk and some of the adjoining areas and persuaded the shopkeepers to open their shops.

1. Metcalfe, p. 86.
2. Ibid p. 85.
and supply the essential commodities to the rebels' army. Maulvi Zakaullah sneeringly writes about Bahadur Shah's visit to the city as under, "Before the elephant of the King there was an ordinary presence of the people, hundred of the *telangas* wearing *dhoti* and flying their colours on their shoulders accompanied Bahadur Shah raising slogans 'Bahadur Shah ki Jai'. They also called him *Gusainya* (master of religion and the world)." Bahadur Shah's personal appeal and visit to the shop keepers made little impact and they kept their shutters down. Delhi continued to reel under chaotic conditions for over two months.

Bahadur Shah's effort to control the affairs of the city remained largely unsuccessful owing to the emergence of several rebel factions. In order to understand the functions of various rebel leaders it may be pointed out that within the imperial family there were a number of ambitious princes. These princes were anxious to grab power through the help of the Sepoys. Consequently, it is noted that three important princely factions headed by (i) Mirza Mughal (ii) Mirza Abubakar and (iii) Mirza Jawan Bakht supported by the favourite Queen of Bahadur Shah, were active. Mirza Mughal was the eldest son of Bahadur Shah and possessed some quality to administer. He was being supported by a section of rebel Sepoys. Mirza Abubakar was also a talented youngman. He had enrolled a number of persons under his contingent. Zeenat Mahal headed the third faction as she was extremely keen for the succession of her young son Mirza Jawan Bakht, and was already

1. Zakaullah, p. 662.
2. Metcalfe, p. 86.
3. It is said that all the eight sons of Bahadur Shah had given a written pledge agreeing to the succession of Mirza Jawan Bakht. See S. A. A. Rizvi, *Sautantra Dilli* (1857), Lucknow, 1968, 3rd ed. p. 150. (hereafter cited as *Sautantra Dilli*).
hobnobbing with the English. Under her influence Bahadur Shah had a sympathetic attitude to his succession. It may further be stated that Mirza Jawan Bakht is alleged to have an intense anti-English feelings. Sergent Fleming while deposing before the Commission of Inquiry said that in April 1857 his son visited the place of Jawan Bakht who reacted sharply and said. "Never try to come again. I don't want to see the face of a Kafir. Very soon I will kill and crush them"\(^1\)

Apparently the allegations against Jawan Bakht were levelled to malign the prince and justify the prosecution in 1857. However the real picture was altogether different. Maulana Fazle Haq Khairabadi, a leading rebel leader of 1857 gives a graphic account about the character of the princes. He writes, "They had no experience of battle nor had ever the opportunity to play with sword and spears. They had made friendships with the street people and trusted them. They were zero in experience and involved in pleasure pursuits, extravagance and evil doings. They had become rigid yet they became wealthy. With the coming of wealth they indulged themselves in pleasure pursuits greatly. They began to collect money from the people in the name of raising army for the administration but they did not spend even a paisa on the maintenance of the army. Whatever they collected they used to spend it on their own selves. Hitherto it was tolerable, but the prostitutes and market people had not left them in a position to lead any war campaign. Whenever an incapable person is entrusted with such responsibility and the poor people are

\(^1\) Garret, p.170.
crushed under the grinding burder, then the things happen like this. They passed their nights in slumber and days in intoxication. Had they been awakening and alert they might have taken some care and pondered over the situation. It will be seen that the rebellion in Delhi in its initial stage had caused great confusion. It gave rise to disorder and factional feuds. On the other hand, the English who had been forced to vacate the city were trying to collect their scattered forces at one place. Metcalfe who had already escaped, was seeking English armed help. A number of British bureaucrats had taken shelter at Agra fort which was still in their possession. The English had also written letters to all the ruling princes and rajas seeking their full support to quell the rebels. At the same time they were also trying to create bad blood between Hindus and Muslims through their agents in Delhi. The situation for Bahadur Shah was very grim, his heart was not with the rebels but he had been forced to become their leader. Interestingly, the Muslim scholars who had been very active in engineering the rebellion of 1857 realised fully well the consequences of the English diplomacy in seeking help from the ruling classes of the country. The Delhi Urdu Akhbar published a news item on 31st May, 1857 which indicates the concern of the Muslim scholars. To quote the Akhbar, "A Maulvi Sahab was preaching with warnings to all the Raises, Rajas, and jargirdars that they should not succumb to the greed and deceit of the English and invite their own destruction and ruin with their own hands. They should see that the English had not allowed even a patch of land and a small part of government under their control. They had occupied the government

and attempted to destroy the religions of Hindus and Muslams. They misbehaved with the Mughal ruler and the kingdom of Awadh, ignoring all the promises, and treaties and agreements for loyalty. The Maulvi further warned them not to fall into their trap otherwise the people of the country - Hindus and Muslims - will repent one day and it would do no good to them. He, therefore, asked them to welcome the opportunity given by Almighty God.  

While the city of Delhi was reeling under chaos and disorder, the impact of the rebellion was being felt in neighbouring towns of the capital. Since these towns were very close to Delhi, the rebels had penetrated into the remote areas and made the people aware of the happenings in Delhi and Meerut. The immediate neighbouring district Gurgaon having a strong population of Mewati Rajputs, revolted against the English regime when 300 Sepoys reached there on 11th May 1857. The Mewatis were generally peasants by profession and were unhappy with the English land laws and other regulations which had adversely affected their age old economy. A large number of peasants, artisans and other professionals joined the rebels including those serving in the Bengal Army or the Sindhia's armed forces. Nawab Ahmad Mirza Khan and Nawab Dulajan also joined the rebels. It appears that the rebels did not trust the upper class gentry and considered them loyal to the English. So they did not trust the two nawabs and kept the leadership under their control. An important feature

of rebellion in Gurgaon was that the Mewatis had become independence conscious after centuries of subjugation. The Chaudhari of every village became the leader of the revolt as is evident from their letter dated 13th August 1857 addressed to Bahadur Shah Zafar. According to a modern historian the Chaudharis and other freedom fighters in Mewat wrote a letter to Bahadur Shah, recognised him as Emperor of Hindustan and assumed the responsibility of governance of Mewat on his behalf. By the end of May 1857 almost entire Mewat had declared independence expressing loyalty to Bahadur Shah. However, a small section of people residing in towns continued to profess loyalty to the English. The English officer Ford attempted to stop the movement of rebels but he could not succeed and he had to escape to Mathura. The rebels in Gurgaon are said to have been led by Hasan Ali Khan Mewati who defeated Ford near village Ghasera situated in between Sohna and Nuh. The rebels captured Gurgaon headquarter and occupied the treasury and Court. Rupees 7 Lakhs 84 thousand were obtained by them from the treasury. The rebels in Gurgaon made two pornged attacks. First was directed against the Europeans and English and the second was to punish the Indian loyalists of the English. The rebels also obtained artillery and some other equipments from the district head quarters. They also set on fire the record office of Gurgaon which preserved revenue records, obviously to evade payments to the baniyas, moneylenders and others. They, however, had to face the Khanazads

1. Arzdasht, Mujahideen-i-Mewat, National Archives, New Delhi.
of Nuh, who were loyal to the English - the only element in Gurgaon district which was intellectually and economically advanced than the Mewatis. Here Sadruddin Khan Mewati led the rebels and brought a number of villages under his control and gave fierce fight to the Khanazads several times. From Nuh Sadruddin diverted his attention to Holdal where Rawat, Jats and Rajputs had considerable population. The rebels apprehended their complicity with the English. Hence they attacked them. The struggle between Mewatis and Jat-Rawat-Rajput combined forces continued for several months. The English had to suffer a lot. It appears that the Rawat and Jats were in secret alliance with the English as Major Eden attempted unsuccessfully to rescue them.

Apart from Gurgaon, Ballabhgarh, a Jat principality, also revolted on 11th May 1857. Its ruler, Nahar Singh, threw his lot with the Delhi rebels. He also sent a detachment of 30 cavalrymen under the command of Qalandar Baksh to support Delhi rebels. He also wrote a number of letters to Bahadur Shah assuring him support. But despite repeated calls from Bahadur Shah, he never visited Delhi which makes his position dubious. It is said that Nahar Singh was proceeding with extreme caution in the chaotic situation of 1857. On the one hand, he was helping the English Officers and, on the other hand, he was following

5. Nizami, pp. 129,139,156.
the orders of Bahadur Shah. Nahar Singh helped the fugitive Englishmen like Ford and Hanway. He not only protected them but also helped them in every possible way. Interestingly, in one of the letters sent to Bahadur Shah, Nahar Singh denied having extended any help to the English. The activities of Nahar Singh largely indicate that he had little interest in Delhi affairs. Taking advantage of the situation prevailing in the region, he was seizing villages after villages to consolidate his own position. He also informed the English officials that his aggrandizement was for the English. He also assured the English officials of his loyalty and kept on informing them of the rebel activities in Delhi. The activities of Nahar Singh within the close proximity of Delhi was bound to affect the solidarity and unity of the rebels in Delhi. The Delhi Urdu Akhbar published a revealing piece of information that with the help of Raja Nahar Singh a number of English men have reached Agra safely. The newspaper in the end expressing sorrow says that the small rulers were still supporting the English and paving way for their own destruction. The duplicity displayed by Raja Nahar Singh was very confusing. An Urdu newspaper wrote on 19th July, 1857 that Raja Nahar had become a strong opponent of the English. The fact was that the duplicity of Raja Nahar Singh emanated

2. Foreign Political Consultations no. 51-54, 4th March, 1859.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
from his own considerations and difficulties. Cave Browne’s observations explain his position without any ambiguity. He writes, "...... his estate lay within 20 miles of Delhi, on the Agra Road, and he was surrounded by traitor (rebel) and a turbulent population on every side, and was consequently (he said) swept by the force of the tide into the rebellion; but, on the other hand, the line he from the first adopted admitted of no such palliation."¹

Nahar Sing pursued his policy till the rebellion came to an end. He was sentenced to death and his estate was confiscated².

Another town close to Delhi namely Sohna revolted. The rebels expelled the English from there and set up their own administration. They defeated captain Eden’s troop on 9th June. Followed by this, Lt. Grant was sent there to protect the area. Bahadur Shah Zafar said to have acknowledged the contributions of the Mewatis against the English in Sohna.³

Another important place near Delhi was Bahadurgarh founded by Ismail Khan, brother of Najabat Khan. Bahadurgarh also supported the rebels. The Nawab of Bahadurgarh presented considerable sums of money on several occasions to Bahadur Shah despite his poor economic condition and expressed all sympathies with the rebels.⁴

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². Ibid. pp. 235-236.
Another small state in the close proximity of Delhi was Dujana. This state was formed in 1806 when the English assigned it to Abdus Samad Khan for his services.\(^1\) In 1850 Hasan Ali Khan occupied the state and earned a good reputation and popularity \(^2\) with his nice behaviour. Soon after the spread of the rebellion in the neighbourhood of Delhi Hasan Ali Khan appeared before Bahadur Shah on 12th May 1857 and paid his respects.\(^3\) Prof. Nizami, the editor of the *Tarikhi Roznamcha* of Abdul Latif, says that he was a frequent visitor to the Mughal Court prior to the outbreak of the rebellion. On the re-establishment of British rule in Delhi, Hasan Ali Khan abandoning everything went into the wilderness.\(^4\)

Like Dujana, Pataudi was another small state very close to Delhi. It was also founded in 1806 through the generosity of Lord Lake for the services rendered by Faiz Talab Khan, the founder of the state, in the Anglo-Maratha-conflict. In 1829 Akbar Ali Khan succeeded to the Gaddi of the State. Akbar Ali Khan was invited by Bahadur Shah Zafar on the outbreak of the rebellion with the obvious hope of support and assistance in controlling the growing lawlessness in the capital. Like Raja Nahar Singh he expressed faithfulness to Bahadur Shah but evaded his presence to the court on one pretext or the other. Jeevan Lal reports that on 19th May Bahadur Shah received an *arzdasht* (Petition) from Nawab Akbar Ali Khan to excuse his presence for the time being and the impatient Emperor ordered that

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4. Ibid. p. 188.
he should present himself immediately.\textsuperscript{1} It appears that the continued evasive attitude of Akbar Ali Khan annoyed Bahadur Shah as may be inferred from the petition sent to the Court by various dignitaries including the ruler of Potaudi to allow them to appear before the King. The later however declined.\textsuperscript{2} It appears that Akbar Ali Khan was also pursuing the policy of Raja Nahar Singh by expressing verbal loyalty to the King without offering any solid support to a greatly worried Emperor.\textsuperscript{3}

Within the close proximity of Delhi was another small state of Farrukhnagar founded by Daler Khan Baluch in 1803 during the Anglo-Maratha conflict. The ruler of Farrukhnagar, Isa Khan, extended no support to the Delhi Court. Consequently, after the treaty between the Marathas and English the size of his state was reduced to half. In 1850 Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan became the ruler of the state. On the outbreak of the rebellion of 1857, Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan appeared before Bahadur Shah on his summons.\textsuperscript{4} Perhaps he was the only ruler summoned by Bahadur Shah who whole-heartedly gave full support to the cause of the rebels. Unfortunately, the ambitions of Rao Tula Ram, the Ahir ruler of Rewari, had considerably reduced the power of Ahmad Ali Khan and consequently it weakened the rebel activities against the English in Delhi. Undoubtedly Nawabs's involvement in the rebellion led to the disappearance of the English rule from Farrukhnagar. However, Nawab had to spend more time in Delhi than to look after the state affairs at Farrukhnagar. After the

\textsuperscript{1} Metcalfe, p.97.  
\textsuperscript{2} Nizami, p. 178.  
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Delhi Division Records}, Judicial Departments, Case no. 6 of 1858, File No. R/192, Punjab State Archives, Patiala, pp.196-99.  
\textsuperscript{4} Nizami, p. 123.
suppression of the rebellion Ahmad Ali Khan was prosecuted and hanged to death at Delhi.¹

Another important state near Delhi was Loharu founded by Mirza Arif Jan Beg during the 18th century. During the Anglo-Maratha conflict, one of his descendants, Ahmad Bakhs Khan, played an important role and with his efforts the Raja of Alwar concluded a treaty with the English in 1801². In reward for his services Ahmad Bakhsh Khan was given six mahals in jagir in district Gurgaon yeilding an annual revenue of 5-6 lakhs rupees. In 1827 Ahmad Bakhsh Khan died leaving two sons, Shamsuddin Khan and Aminuddin Khan. Shamsuddin Khan, being the eldest son, succeeded to the throne of Loharu. Unfortunately, he was executed in 1835 on the charge of conspiracy in the murder of the English agent, Fraser. The mahals assigned to Nawab Ahmad Bakhsh Khan by Raja of Alwar remained in the possession of the family. Since Shamsuddin Khan had no offsprings, the pargana of Loharu was given to Aminuddin Khan.

In 1857 when the rebellion broke out, Nawab Aminuddin Khan fell into confusion. He had been a regular vistor to Bahadur Shah prior to the outbreak of the rebellion and is reported to have been present with him on 12th May.³ It appears that Nawab Aminuddin Khan possessed great intelligence and fully understood the complexities of the rebellion of 1857 as may be inferred from his decline to accept Ferozpur Jhirka in Al-Tamgha.⁴ Bahadur Shah had also directed Aminuddin Khan to raise an army. The

3. Ibid.
Nawab did not respond favourably. However owing to the growing lawlessness in the neighbourhood of Loharu, Nawab Aminuddin Khan raised a body of 600 men. On 13th July he was given great honours. Apparently, Aminuddin Khan was maintaining very cordial relations with the Mughal Court. The Emperor was pressing him for sending money. At one stage Mirza Mughal, the eldest son of Bahadur Shah, attempted to use force against Aminuddin Khan for realizing money. This aggravated the situation and Aminuddin Khan informed Bahadur Shah about this. People intervened and the matter was resolved. However it appears that as the rebellion continued and the rebel activities in and around Delhi were surcharged with emotions, Aminuddin Khan also began to support the rebels' cause in Delhi. On the suppression of the rebellion, Nawab Aminuddin Khan was taken into custody, greatly humiliated by the English trial Court. He was made to stand before the Martial Law Court from 10 to 4 O' clock for several days. His life was, however, spared, and his estate was restored on the ground that he had extended full support to the English in Loharu when the rebel activities were at the height.

Another very important place in the vicinity of Delhi was Rewari which in the beginning revolted against the English authority under the leadership of Rao Tula Ram. Taking advantage of the prevailing confusion, he seized a number of villages and attempted to collect revenue dues from the peasants falling within the newly conquered territory of Farrukhnagar. This caused a clash of interest between

1 Nizami, p. 123.
2 Ibid. p. 180.
3 Ibid p. 160; Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 24th May, 1857.
4 Nizami, pp.170-71.
5 Foreign Secret Consultation, 13th August 1858, nos. 439-47, National Archives of India, New Delhi; Loharu State Gazetteir, pp. 3-4.
the Nawab of Farrukhnagar and Rao Tula Ram. According to Jeevan Lal, Rao Tula Ram also expressed his loyalty and solidarity with the Mughal Court and he also visited Delhi personally with the objective to collect the revenue from not only Rewari but also from Farrukhnagar.¹ From the narrative of Jeevan Lal and the account given by Abdul Latif in the Roznamcha, it appears that Nawab of Farrukhnagar held great influence in Bahadur Shah's Court. Hence Tula Ram could not gain much. Contrary to that, Tula Ram's detractors succeeded in convincing Bahadur Shah that Tula Ram was using force for revenue collection.²

Tula Ram was a shrewd and intelligent leader like Nahar Singh and the ruler of Pataudi. He maintained good relations with the English and also kept Bahadur Shah in good humour. Despite repeated letters from Bahadur Shah to send money, for a long time he kept on making promises until Bakth Khan appeared on the scene.³ Tula Ram, however, succeeded in collecting huge amount from the people by force and fraud as a report appearing in Akhbar-uz-Zafar on 22nd Muharram 1224 Hijri/9th March 1809, would suggest. However, despite issuance of repeated Farmans to Tula Ram, he did not present himself in person to Bahadur Shah on one pretext or the other.⁴

We find that another important state which had a close contact with Bahadur Shah was Jhajhjhar.⁵ This state also came into existence in 1806 as a consequence of reward by the English to its founder after the conclusion

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¹ Metcalfe, p. 159.
³ Nizami, pp. 184-85; One of the modern historians, S.B. Chaudhary, says that Tula Ram obtained Royal Sanad of Rewari Paying Rs.40 thousand. See Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies 1857-59, Delhi, 1957, p. 68.
⁴ Tarih-i-Meo Chatri, pp. 169-70.
of Anglo-Maratha conflict. On May 11th 1857, Bahadur Shah summoned Nawab Abdur Rehman Khan of Jhajhjhar to come to Delhi.\(^1\) Nawab Abdur Rehman received a letter on 12th May.\(^2\) Having received the letter, Nawab Abdur Rehman Khan collected his men and sent spies to Delhi to obtain information of that place. Apparently, the Nawab was not sure of the correct situation and on 13th May he is seen obliging Ford, the Collector of Gurgaon, by supplying a small contingent of cavalry\(^3\). However, it appears that the cavalry was either instructed by the Nawab not to co-operate with the Collector or the cavalry was itself not willing to support the British officer in that surcharged situation for the fight of freedom. Abdur Rehman Khan had also sent some soldiers to help Scott, the Magistrate of Rohtak. But Metcalfe who arrived at Jhajhjhar from Delhi with great hopes was greatly disappointed. The people of Jhajhjhar were standing like a rock unitedly against the English. On 16th of May Abdur Rehman Khan was informed about Metcalfe's arrival in disguise of an Indian and his request for help.\(^4\) The Nawab sent his father-in-law directing to provide all assistance to Metcalfe. Unfortunately, one of the servants of the Nawab either under the direction of his master or of his own, asked Metcalfe to leave the place immediately.\(^5\) Jeevan Lal however states that on humanitarian ground Metcalfe was helped financially but he was directed to vacate the Kothi

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1 Press List of Mutiny Papers, Box No. 39, May 11-December, 1857, National Archives, New Delhi, The author of Tarikh Roznamcha says that Nawab Abdur Rehman Khan was one of the most respected person in the Court of Bahadur Shah, see Nizami p 127
2 Ghulam Nabi, Tarikh-i-Jhajhjhar, 1301 Hijri, p. 236.
3 Foreign Political Consultations no 176-89, 9th July, 1858 The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, Vol II, p 232
5 Tarikh-i-Jhajhjhar, pp 265-66
of Jhojhak Das in Jhajhjhar where he was staying. Jeevan Lal further says that in the affairs of Metcalfe Sannu Singh played a vicious role and consequently when the rebellion was suppressed and Metcalfe attained his position once again, the Nawab, was treated savagely. Interestingly, Nawab Abdur Rehman Khan’s humanitarian outlook created a suspicious situation in Delhi as is evident from a report appearing in the Delhi Urdu Akhbar on 24th May 1857 that the Nawab was behaving like a rebel against the authority of the Emperor and sheltering the English.

Abdur Rehman Khan was a learned man and greatly valued the learned and the learning. The Nawab sought permission to appear in the Court personally on 22nd June, but for some reason the permission was not granted. The author of Tariikh-i-Jhajhjhar alleges that after the outbreak of the rebellion, Abdur Rehman Khan began to correspond with the Lt. Governor of Agra offering full support. The author of Roznamcha says that Abdur Rehman Khan sent 21 asharfis in nazr (offering) to Bahadur Shah Zafar and also dispatched 50 horsemen under the command of Mir Akbar Ali to assist the rebels in Delhi.

Divergent statements in regard to the activities of Abdur Rehman Khan project him to be a man of dialating nature. However if we go through the files of the newspapers, we find the totally different picture. He is

1 Metcalfe, p. 243, Foreign Consultations. No. 176-89, 9th July 1858
2 Metcalfe, p 244; Yadav, PP. 88-93.
3 Nizami, p 197
4 Ibid pp 139-140.
5 Tariikh-i-Jhajhjhar, p 284
6 Nizami, p 156, Punjab and Delhi in 1857, Vol II, p 233, The Author of Tariikh-i-Jhajhjhar (pp 267-68) claims that the Nawab sent 300 horsemen to Delhi
projected as a nationalist. According to the *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, he extended full support to the freedom fighters in Delhi in kind and cash. The economic position of Bahadur Shah in Delhi was very bad. He was writing repeatedly to Abdur Rehman Khan for sending five lakh rupees.\(^1\) Abdur Rehman Khan sent rupees one lakh to the Emperor.\(^2\) Probably due to the pressing demand by the Emperor, Abdur Rehman Khan began to demand money from the mahajans of Jhajhjhar.\(^3\) Within 15 days of the dispatch of rupees one lakh to Delhi, the Emperor sent Amjad Ali as his emissary to Jhajhjhar to collect more money. Apprehending persecution by Ahmad Ali, the Nawab sent his treasury consisting seven lakh rupees outside Jhajhjhar under the escort of Shalu Singh. Amjad Ali, on arrival, began to exercise undue authority on the Nawab causing a rift between the two. Nawab Abdur Rehman adopted a serious attitude towards Amjad Ali and the latter had to return without any success.\(^4\) In the meantime Prince Khizr Sultan, who was infamous for his activities in Delhi in exacting money from people also arrived at Jhajhjhar. The prince was not allowed to enter Jhajhjhar Fort. Abdur Rehman Khan and prince however held a meeting but what transpired between the two is not clear. The Prince returned to Delhi the next day.\(^5\)

As we have already stated that Abdur Rehman Khan had sent his father in law, Abdus Samad Khan, with a small contingent to assist the

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2 *Akhbar-uz-Zafar* 1st Muharram 1274 Hijri./22 August 1857.
3 *Tarikh-i- Jhajhjhar* pp. 273-74.
5 Ibid p 274.
rebels in Delhi. When the English launched counter offensive against Delhi on 14th September 1857, Abdus Samad Khan was at Delhi and fighting against the English. His other accomplices, Ibrahim Ali Khan and Hasan Ali Khan escaped from Delhi to Jhajhjhar and narrated the details of British attack to Abdur Rehman Khan. After the occupation of Delhi, the English gave orders for the arrest of Abdur Rehman Khan and others. He was hanged to death by the English trial Court.

From the above discussion at least two things would emerge: First, after the outbreak of rebellion in Delhi and ascendency of the rebels in Delhi affairs, Bahadur Shah Zafar, though reluctant at the initial stage of the rebellion, was either forced to write letters to the rulers of Hindustan including those mentioned above or on his own to restore order in the country. And the second sad aspect that comes to our notice is that not only the big rulers like Maharaja Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and other Rajput chieftains and Nawabs but also the small rulers around Delhi could not extend sincere support to Bahadur Shah in 1857. Had the Indian rulers not acted in division and made it a point to exterminate the English rule from India, India could have been free 90 years earlier and it would have presented Indians united even with their religious diversity. Unfortunately this was not destined to be. Further it is a sad commentary on our own people specially the ruling classes including the Princes in Delhi who proved to be extremely shortsighted and indulged in fulfilling their own desires—which they could fulfill earlier as princes due to lack of resources as we will see in the next chapter.

1. Tarikh-i-Jhajhjhar. pp. 275-76.
Chapter-4

DELHI UNDER THE REBELS; PROBLEMS & DIFFICULTIES

In the preceding Chapter we have seen the rebels' occupation of Delhi, temporary ejection of the English from there, recognition of Bahadur Shah as their leader and an unprecedented growth of anarchy, where the bad characters made the life of common people miserable. In these circumstances Bahadur Shah was forced to visit Chandni Chowk and other Bazars to persuade the shopkeepers to carry business as usual and assuring their protection. But this persuasion bore no results and the shopkeepers continued to keep their shutters down. Bahadur Shah's problem was that even his nobility was not venturing to extend its support to him at that juncture. On 12th May, 1857, as we have already stated earlier, Bahadur Shah was distracted by the cries and petitions of people, the servants of Europeans, shopkeepers and rich people whose houses had been plundered.¹ In that situation Bahadur Shah summoned a council of his nobles consisting of Mirza Ziauddin Ahmad Khan, Aminuddin Ahmad Khan, Hasan Ali Khan (uncle of Nawab of Jhajjhjhar), Mian Nizamuddin, Mir Hamid Ali Khan, the famous Urdu poet Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib, Nawab Muddhan Saheb, Khan Jahan Khan, Iradat Khan, Mufti Sadruddin Khan Azurda and Karam Ali Khan. In this meeting Mirza Moinuddin

¹ Metcalfe, p. 86.
Hasan Khan had also come in the company of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan. In view of deteriorating law and order outside Delhi, and in the city of Delhi, Moinuddin was appointed to restore order and provided a military contingent also. Apparently, it was a temporary arrangement to meet the exigencies of the situation. However, the King was extremely upset over the developments as is evident from the directives to Moiunuddin Hasan Khan who was directed in the evening to chastise the mischief mongers prudently so that the people were to get relief. He also directed Moinuddin Hasan Khan to discharge his responsibility for the sake of God and to obtain His approval for the protection of the people as his permanent duty. Unfortunately, Mirza Moinuddin Hasan Khan could not succeed much in the discharge of his responsibility due to factionalism. Disputes between the Meerut and Delhi sepoys on the distribution of plunder made the situation more grim. Not only that, the sepoys, unaware of Imperial Court's etiquettes, occupied the courtyard of Diwan-e-Khas, and addressed the King in a manner which was considered to be disrespectful causing annoyance to many close to the King. The attitude of the sepoys towards the King was not deliberate though, as they were not trained in the sophisticated atmosphere of the Court. However, this conduct

1 Nizami, P 123, Jeevan Lal says that Mirza Moinuddin Hasan Khan was appointed when Hasan Ali Khan (uncle of Nawab of Jhajjhar) declined to take up the responsibility. see Metcalfe, p.85.
2 Nizami, pp.123-24
3 Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 17th May 1857. The Akhbar further reports the appointment of Mufti Sadruddin as Sadr-i- Aala, Maulvi Abbas Ali and Karam Ali Khan as Munsif, criminal and civil courts.
4 Jeevan Lal tells us that the King was addressed "Are Budha listen", "I say you old fellow", etc. See Metcalfe, pp. 86-87. According to Delhi Urdu Akhbar of 17th May 1857, the Red Fort looked like a military contonment. See Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 17th May 1857.
by the Sepoys in the city and the Court let Mirza Ghalib to exclaim that they (rebels) laid into dust both the honour and mansion of those who were distinguished for wisdom and good name, while those who had neither power nor pelf shot into prominence. Men of valour were scared of their own shadows, and mere troopers ruled over all and the sundry.¹

On 13th May, 1857 Moinuddin Hassan Khan was entrusted additional responsibilities. He was appointed Kotwal of Delhi and head of Commissarate in the city. This was, however, a formality. Reports of rapine and plunder continued to pour in. Bahadur Shah felt helpless, shut himself up and refused to meet anyone.² Delhi continued to reel under the mercy of undesirable elements, mostly in guise of the rebels. Similar situation prevailed in the Red Fort. The abode of the King was turned into a residence of native infantry, who occupied the Fort, and placed their own guards without any officers to command them³. The behaviour of the Sepoys explains that they did not trust the King at all.

Bahadur Shah was desperate. Despite all the limitations, he was trying his best to do something for the protection of the people. On 15th May, he made another effort by raising a police force of one hundred men for the safety of the city. Again he could not succeed.⁴

In order to strengthen the City administration, Bahadur Shah appointed

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2. Metcalfe, p. 87.
Qazi Mohammad Faizullah and Abdul Hakim as city Kotwal and Naib Qazi of the administration of Justice.¹ This appointment was probably to support Moinuddin Hasan Khan who held a superior position as Kotwal of Delhi. These appointments were still inadequate to control the plunderers and disobeying Sepoys.² Bahadur Shah was making relentless efforts to raise troops. On 15th May orders were issued to recruit horsemen at a monthly salary of repees 30 and infantry at rupees 10 per month.³

It appears that till 15th May the Princes were not involved actively in the administrative affairs and to control the unruly elements in the city. Perhaps disillusioned by the failure of the nobility and Moinuddin Hassan Khan in controlling the law and order, Bahadur Shah considered it necessary to involve the Princes by assigning military responsibilities to them. Earlier on 11th May, he had directed Mirza Mughal, Mirza Abdullah and other Princes to help restore order in the city.⁴ Now Bahadur Shah assigned portfolios to the Princes designating them to various positions. For example, Mirza Mohammad Jawan Bakht was appointed Wazir of the Empire (Practically he did not function), Mirza Zaheeruddin Bakht (Mirza Mughal), Commander-in-Chief of the forces (infantry, cavalry and other branches

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¹ Metcalfe, p. 92, According to Abdul Latif, Qazi was appointed on 17th May. See Nizami, pp. 124-25.
² Metcalfe, pp. 57-58; Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 24th May, 1857, published the plight of the people of Delhi who continued to suffer at the hands of plunderers in the city in the guise of Telangas.
³ Delhi Proclamation, May 1857, cited in Charles Ball, The History of Indian Mutiny, Vol.1, p. 459; Jeevan Lal however says that the infantry was to be paid at the rate of Rs.5 per month, see Metcalfe, p. 92.
⁴ Sira-jul-Akhbar, 11th-12th May, 1857.
of army), Mirza Abdul Hasan alias Abdullah, Mirza Sohrab, Mirza Mohammad Khizr Sultan, Mirza Kochak Sultan and Mirza Abu Bakar were given different military positions.¹ Probably, the poor King expected that their royal prestige would enable them to enforce authority over the rebels. But the Princes lacked the ability and competence to discharge their responsibilities. Contrary to the expectations of Bahadur Shah, power and authority which was thrust on the poor Princes made them fall into intrigues and conspiracies among the rival factions of the Princes. Consequently, it brought no good to the fledgling administration. The Princes began to exert their authority and violated all norms of regular administration. Further, the King's authority was reduced to nought as the Sepoys captured his private office, placed guards on the Diwan-i-Khas and substituted the King's personal staff with their own². It is not clear as to how the Princes reacted to a virtual imprisonment of the King by the Sepoys. Their silence, however, suggests their connivance. It appears that the developments since 11th of May to 15th of May in Delhi had greatly injured the mind and soul of Bahadur Shah. His agony can be understood from his paternal and sermonial advices to Mirza Mughal and Mirza Khizr Sultan on 16th May: Dear ones, this is the time of great test and trial. Don't dishearten people. Do such work which is useful and provides relief to the people and be a source of approval of the Creator. Of the mischief mongers some should be blown

² Metcalfe, p.60.
away through the mouth of the guns and some should be hanged to death. Of all the trouble makers some should be imprisoned and some should be given such a punishment that not even an old women suffers at the hands of any oppressor, so that on the day of Judgement one is not ashamed. It is sad that at this old age when we were passing our days in this uneternal world in the thought of the eternal abode and were in pleasure slumber that we were suddenly thrown into this conflict and had to become ashamed and regretful. The oppressed people pour into us and weep over the destruction of the people and oppressions of the wicked men. My heart is burnt hearing all these miseries and lose my senses on my own helplessness. Ah! Our doings have taken the form of disorder and mischief and has placed the world and the people of the world in an extremely wretched condition. Oh! my God, save us from the mischief of this world and the last world1. Bahadur Shah's advices to the Princes however are seen to have made little impact. Their appointment to various positions of authority had made them more greedy and turned them into exploiters. Since the Princes had their own factions of Sepoys, they began to use them to exact money from leading city bankers. A large number of documents preserved in the National Archives, Delhi, refer to the role of the Princes in pressurising the rich people specially the bankers for money. For example, two leading Mahajans; of Delhi Jugal Kishore and Sheoprasad, through their petition to the King, drew his attention urging upon him to prohibit all the princes

1. Nizami, p. 124.
particularly Mirza Mughal, Mirza Khizr Sultan, Mirza Abu Bakar
and Mirza Abdullah from deputing *telangas* or Sepoys to their
residences for realizing money. They prayed that Najibs should be
deputed for their protection. The King ordered Mirza Mughal, the
Commander-in-Chief of forces, to comply with the request. It is
however doubtful that Mirza Mughal honoured the orders of the King
in letter and spirit as we find the latter made another effort to reorganise
the administration of Delhi. Jeevan Lal tells us that on 16th May
1857, the King appointed Mufti Yusuf Ali Khan, Mir Abdul Bahadur,
Captain Dildar Ali Khan Bahadur, Syed Sharif Ali Khan *faujdar* and
Nazrul Khan Bahadur. Despite this, the law and order situation
of the city remained far from satisfactory giving great annoyance
to the King. Even the King's personal servants such as Kashi Nalei,
a *thanedar*, pressurised the shopkeepers to pay bribe to him. On
receiving complains, the Emperor ordered to send him to the prison.

The law and order condition of the suburbs of Delhi was also
causing great concern to the Emperor. The caste composition around
Delhi was such that following the outbreak of the rebellion the dominant
caste in their respective regions such as the Mewatis, the Gujars
and Jats began to loot and plunder people. Sometimes intercaste
conflicts followed by plunder. Consequently, Bahadur Shah directed
Mirza Abu Bakar to march against two Gujars and chastise them.

2. Order of Bahadur Shah written with the pencil on the petitions of Sheoprasad
   and Jugal Kishore. See *Press List of Mutiny papers*.
4. Ibid. pp. 93, 94-95.
Mirza Abubakar marched along with the Turk cavalry and artillery, surrounded the Gujar villages and directed the guns towards their dwellings. Terrified Gujars abandoning their villages fled away. Mirza Aminuddin Khan was directed to maintain order in the Mewat region specially Ferozepur Jhirka and Gurgaon. Now the King also wrote letters to the rulers of Patiyala, Jaipur, Alwar, Jodhpur, Kota, Bundi, Malairkotla and Faridkot asking them to appear before the court. Apparently, this attempt was to strengthen the imperial authority so as to manage the administration of Delhi and outside. Bahadur Shah also invited Walidad Khan, the Nawab of Malagarh, who came to his presence on 16th May 1857.

Bahadur Shah's anxiety appears to be increasing day by day as he lacked competent and trusted persons. He found that those who were assigned responsibility earlier, were either totally incapable men or had secret alliances with the English. First of all, Moinuddin Hasan Khan, who had been appointed Kotwal of Delhi had to be dismissed within a couple of days of his appointment for committing excesses on people of Delhi. Thereafter Qazi Faizullah was appointed Kotwal on 15th May. But he had also to resign and Syed Mubarak Shah of Rampur was appointed Kotwal in his place. He remained in this position till the suppression of the rebellion in Delhi.

2. *Ibid.* p.6a. He also sent letters to other ruling houses.
Places like Najafgarh, Mahrauli, Shahdra, Paharaganj, Badarpur etc. where the thanas existed earlier, were provided with thanedars,¹ but most of them were incompetent and not loyal to the King.² Maulvi Mohammad Baqar, superintendent of the mint, had offered all services to the King but secretly he was a well wisher of the Englishmen. Among the Princes, Mirza Abu Bakar, whom the Emperor had directed to suppress the Gujars, had been divested of his powers on 15th May ³. On 17th May one of the servants of Mirza Mughal was apprehended on the charges of providing intelligence to the Englishmen. He was, however, released on Mirza Mughal's orders.⁴ Bahadur Shah had himself become too old and without the assistance of able officers it was difficult to achieve success. His advisors were also treacherous. However, within that short period whatever plans he made for the welfare of the nation and the orders he issued to give effect to them will always be remembered and appreciated.⁵

A desperate Bahadur Shah appears to be always thinking of controlling the uncontrolable situation of administration. On 18th May, he made another attempt to encourage the Princes to hold their responsibilities. He now appointed Mirza Mughal, Mirza Khizr Sultan, Mirza Abu Bakar and Mirza Abdullah to different commands over the rebels.⁶ It appears that the King's pleadings to some extent moved Mirza Mughal and he took a round of the city to check the unruly

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¹ Zakaullah, p. 689.
² Press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 39 p. 5b.
³ Ibid. p. 4a.
⁴ Ibid. p. 5b.
⁵ Sautantra Dilli, p. 65.
⁶ Metcalfe, p. 96, For more details see Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 24th May, 1857.
elements. His generous attitude and assurances to the people partly worked and some of the shopkeepers of the city opened their shops. Qazi Faizullah, who had been appointed Kotwal of Delhi, worked with vigour and looked after the administration of the thanas. He also punished the bad characters. Peace was partially restored in the city. But some of the distant parts of the city continued to remain in the grip of mischief mongers. A group of them surrounded the houses of Kalyan Singh, Kishen Garia and Nagar Seth, obviously demanding money from them.\(^1\)

The concern of Bahadur Shah was not confined to the maintenance of law and order. He also faced a serious economic crisis. His treasury was vacant while the number of sepoys in Delhi was increasing day by day. Bahadur Shah was badly in need of money. Consequently, he urged upon the Mahajans of Delhi to advance loans. On 21st May, the city bankers raised a sum of rupees one lakh for the payment of the Sepoys.\(^2\) Still peace continued to elude the city. This happened owing to the factional politics of the Princes. They remained indifferent despite continuous complains. If one section of the Princes attempted to restore some peace, the other section encouraged the rebels and his supporters to disrupt orders. Bahadur Shah was in a shocked state over this state of affairs. He was monitoring the situation regularly in his Darbar. On 20th May one of his close associates and advisers

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1. Nizami, p 125.  
Hakim Mohammed Ahsanullah Khan, in an attempt to reduce the anxiety of Bahadur Shah, stated that the present state of Delhi was a handy work of bad characters irrespective of their religion who were quarrelling time and again with wealthy men on various pretexts which has caused disorder during those days.\footnote{Nizami, p. 125.} On 21st May a group of people plundered the house of Ram Saran Das an English Official. Another group of them attempted to plunder money from the author of the \textit{1857 Ka Tarikhi Roznamcha}. The Princes were informed of the happenings. They ignored. The King was angry and chastised the Princes as well as the commanders of the army\footnote{Ibid. p.126.}. On 22nd May, 1857 Bahadur Shah directed Mahboob Ali Khan, the \textit{Khawaja Sara}, to do something to check the growing oppression and injustice to the people.\footnote{Ibid. p. 127.} On 23rd May the King while holding \textit{darbar} saw a number of English women and children who had been brought for execution by the rebels. Mian Mahboob Ali Khan the \textit{Khawaja Sara} who also did not like to shad blood of the innocents was appointed by Bahadur Shah and was directed by Bahadur Shah tried to stop excesses on the people. The steps taken by Mahboob Ali Khan were opposed by a section of the rebel Sepoys and led to angry exchange of words with them.\footnote{Ibid.} Bahadur Shah was extremely sad.\footnote{Ibid.} On 24th May Bahadur Shah once again addressed Mirza Mughal, Mirza Abdullah and Mirza Khizr Sultan with a sad heart saying that he was extremely upset to learn about the developments from reliable servants. To
quote his words: "I am bewildered. I have no remedy for this because no one listens to me nor there is any impact of my advices on them. "He told the Princes further, , "Don't try to go in search of a Mahdi at this time. Don't sleep nor sit idle. Rise like brave men. If you take cognizance of my advice then certainly you will be rewarded by God and receive your hereditary treasure. Thus first of all try to save these English women and children from the hands of these oppressors. The work of these cruel men is to harm and my intention is to protect them and obtain the approval of God. Do ensure that none of the women, children, weak and disabled persons of them is executed. Take care of all of them for supply of their necessities (food etc.). Depute some good natured people so that he provides them adequately and save them from hunger and thirst. Their execution is against the mercy and equivalent to uprooting the foundation of sharia, because by acting in this way one severes his relation with the religion and falls in the track of torment and difficulties. The pleader of the sinners, our Prophet has forbidden the execution of women and children." Abdul Latif further says that the sermon of Bahadur Shah had an impact on the Princes. They saved the children and women and provided them shelter in Kotwali of Red Fort.

The first sign of Bahadur Shah's sovereignty in the new setup is seen through the minting of coins in his name. The responsibility of the mint was entrusted to Munshi Ajodhiya Prasad and the mint

2. Ibid. p. 128; Also see Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 31st May, 1857; Press List of Mutiny papers, No., 1 p.21.
began to function from 25th May 1857 at Katra Mashru. The coin carried the following inscription, (In the world by the generosity of Almighty God the coin is struck for Bahadur Shah the King of Hindustan).

Interestingly, while Bahadur Shah was striving hard to put the administration on the rails facing heavy odds and a host of undesirable elements in Delhi, a number of rebel Sepoys appear to have collected a considerable amount through loot and plunder in Delhi. Some of the Sepoy plunderers left the city with their booty, but were plundered in the way by roaming bands of plundering Gujars and Mewatis, returned to Delhi only to add problems.¹ Those who were still staying in the city began to change their silver coins into gold or resorted to hoarding. This resulted in the rise of the price of gold coins to double from 16 to 32 rupees in Delhi. In the exchange transaction from silver to gold, a number of soldiers were also duped. At the same time, due to the excessive demand of gold coins counterfeit gold coins gained wide circulation in the market forcing the government to issue a proclamation asking the soldiers to desist from such purchases. The duped solidiers greatly chagrined for the loss of money, became more reckless in plundering people to recoup themselves.² The Princes took advantage of this situation and provided protection only to the rich persons who gave them money and the common man was thrown at the mercy of the plunderers.³ The prevailing conditions in Delhi was extremely painful to Bahadur Shah who once again wished

¹ Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 31st May, 1857; Press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 1, S.No.22.
² Metcalfe, pp. 100-101.
³ Press List of Mutiny Papers, No.1, So.21; Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 24th May, 1857.
to retire to the tomb of Khawaja Bakhtiyar Kaki at Mehrauli. In that confused situation and disorder in Delhi, Bahadur Shah issued a proclamation by the beat of drum that a *batta* would be levied on company's coins. The people of Delhi were also warned not to give shelter to the mischief mongers in their houses, and if any offenders were found in their houses they would be blown through the mouth of the guns.

In this confused state of affairs when the Princes' cooperation was almost negligible, Sepoys's factionalism had weakened the rebels in Delhi and the rebels plunder had created an extremely chaotic scene, Bakht Khan appeared on scene. Bakht Khan was a veteran of many wars while serving in the Bengal Army. He had an experience of 40 years as *subedar* of artillery. He was honoured on 26th May with a title of Bakhat Buland Khan by Bahadur shah. It appears that Bakht Khan's appearance before Bahadur Shah greatly relieved the latter as he was a silent spectator and lived under continuous fear of two different groups of Sepoys led by Mirza Mughal and Mirza Abu Bakar who were conspiring against him. Bhakht Khan arrived in Delhi with the Bareilly contingent of Sepoys with a treasure of 4 lakhs. Bakht Khan received many honours including the title

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1. Metcalfe, p. 102; *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, 24th May, 1857.
3. Nizami, p. 129, Here it may be pointed out that Sen and Spear say that Bakht Khan appeared before the King on 2nd July, See Sen, *1857* p.83; Spear, p. 208 which is based on Jeevan Lal's narratives.
4 *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, 12th July, 1857; Nizami, p. 124.
of *Sahib-i-Alam*. Presence of Bakht Khan in Delhi was a moral booster to Bahadur Shah. It was however not a guarantee of peace or assurance of good conduct of the Princes. Realising the complexity of the situation, as well as to strengthen his own position against the conspiratorial attitude of his own blood, Bahadur Shah decided to confer unprecedented honours and responsibilities on Bakht Khan. An imperial order was issued cancelling all earlier administrative arrangements placing all the military officers commanding regiments under the charge of Bakht Khan. To appease Mirza Mughal his position was designated as Adjutent General. Bakht Khan was given authority to deal with the Princes if they were found plundering. The anguish and concern of Bahadur Shah in bringing normalcy to Delhi may be judged from his orders to Bakht Khan reproduced in the *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* dated 12th July, 1857. Bakht Khan was to destroy the positions of the ejected English army and expel them from the ridge; to remove the sepoys from Red Fort by providing alternative accommodation to them with a stern warning to desist from plunder; to arrange for payment of soldiers, both new and old servants; to collect land revenue and control the *thanas* through the army and to punish the ruffians plundering the people of Delhi in the guise of Sepoys.

Further developments in Delhi indicated that Bakht Khan appeared to have been in the know of the Princes' role in the disruption of

normal life in the capital. However, probably he did not visualise the extent of the intrigues and other difficulties which he would face at their hands. Like a good soldier, Bakht Khan exhibited confidence in overcoming these difficulties and carrying out his assigned responsibilities.\(^1\) In maintaining law and order the role of Kotwal of Delhi was very crucial. Realising this, Bakht Khan made the Kotwal fully responsible for the law and order failing which he was warned that he would face the highest punishment.\(^2\)

Since the outbreak of the rebellion, trade and commerce in Delhi had been adversely affected. The wandering bands of the sepoys and Princes had demoralised bankers and shopkeepers who sat in their houses. To allay their fears, Bakht Khan through a proclamation allowed them to keep arms at their shops. Shopkeepers having no arms were directed to obtain it from the military headquarters. He, however, warned them of capital punishment if they were caught spying or supplying provisions to the enemy.\(^3\)

A great task before Bakht Khan was to restore confidence not only among the Mahajans, traders and common men of Delhi but also among the former jagirdars, pensioners and madad-i-maash holders who were residing in Delhi and its suburbs. The uncertainty created by a section of rebels in Delhi due to their attitude had caused great concern to the jagirdars, madad-i-maash holders and the pensioners. Obviously, to save their jagirs, madad-i-maash grants and pensions,

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1 Metcalfe, p. 135.  
2 Ibid.  
3 Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 12th July, 1857.
some of them were secretly sympathising with the English and some were suspected of working as their spies. For Bakht Khan it was an extremely dangerous situation for the safety of Delhi. In order to allay their fears he issued an order assuring them that they would be fully compensated for the losses suffered during the period of struggle with the English. He however warned them of deterrent punishment if anyone of them was caught spying or supplying provisions to the English forces.¹

Bakht Khan's problem was also to raise fresh troops for an efficient administration and defence of Delhi. Consequently, he began to pay attention to this problem. He had to face financial difficulties as the treasury was empty and probably he was not ready to spend his own treasure for the recruits. Moreover, the old soldiery serving at the Palace had not been paid for a long time and they were also clamouring for the payment of their arrears. By chance on 28th May, on the demand of Bahadur Shah, a sum of rupees One lakh seventyfive thousand was received. The newly recruited soldiers had been assured payment of rupees thirty for a sawar and rupees ten for an infantry. This arrangement was being violated by Mehboob Ali Khan who attempted to pay rupees nine and seven to the cavalry and infantry men which led to violent protest. The cavalry was persuaded to agree and serve on a payment of rupees forty five per month.²

¹ Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 12th July, 1857.
² Metcalfe, pp. 104-6.
While the soldiers serving the King received some relief, the civil servants working in different branches of the administration were still clamouring for disbursement of salary as is evident from Delhi Urdu Akhbar. The Akhbar championing the cause of the civil servants urged upon the government to arrange payment of the salaries to save them from starvation. It also appealed to the government to keep the sepoys under control.¹

No government could be run without a permanent source of income. The money arriving from Rohtak had already been spent, the imperial treasury remained empty and the government continued to face acute financial difficulties. Now, on behalf of the Emperor on 1st June 1857, Gridhari Lal and Girwar Singh, the two leading bankers of Delhi, were asked to advance a loan of rupees three lakhs. They obeyed the command.² This money was too small for the expenses of the Kingdom. In order to raise more money, all the Mahajans of the city were summoned to the Fort. The houses of those who avoided to honour the summons were surrounded by troops.³ Under the compulsion, the bankers paid rupees one lakh promising to pay another one lakh of rupees within four days.⁴ Some of the bankers like Salik Ram, Zorawar Singh, Raja Bhola Nath, Aramji Ramji Mal, Gauhar Wala, Munshi Sultan Singh and Mathura Das assured the King that in future money would be supplied to the King regularly.⁵

¹. Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 31st May, 1857.
². Metcalfe, p. 111.
³. Press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 63, S.No. 4, 3 June, 1857.
⁴. Metcalfe, p. 113; Nizami, pp 133-134.
The rebellion had also affected adversely the working of the city municipal administration. It suffered on account of increasing filth and uncleanliness.\(^1\) *The Delhi Urdu Akhbar* in its issue of 14th June, 1857 reported that the worst affected Mohallas were Koocha-i-Raiman, Balli Maran, Kocha Mallik Attar etc. The difficulties of people of Delhi further increased when the water carriers stopped attending to their normal duties.\(^2\) The grocers, the grain merchants and other small shopkeepers added to the miseries of the people by hoarding the essential commodities. The result was that an artificial scarcity of food grains and other essential commodities caused great hardships to the people. Prices of essential commodities were sky high. The *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* shed tears of sincerity and quotes the rates of various commodities and complains of sale of adulterated ghee, oil, and flour etc.\(^3\)

Bahadur Shah was receiving all this distressing news regularly. He was fed up with the prevailing situation. He was not getting any help from the princes and the administrative machinery had been totally in a mess. Fed up with this situation, Bahadur Shah summoned all the Princes and expressed his desire to proceed to Makkah for Haj and pass his remaining life there. The princes once again assured him to normalise the administration. This, however, remained a hollow promise.

It would be seen that the civil as well as the military administration

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1 *Press List of Munity Papers*, no.61, S.No.43, *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, 14th June, 1857.
2 *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, 14th June, 1857.
3 Ibid
in Delhi was not working properly causing great distress to the general population. Even the presence of Bakht Khan with superior powers assigned to him by the King, appeared to be ineffective. The reason was not far to seek. Sudden rise of Bakht Khan to prominence had not only caused jealousy of the Princes but also the nobility and other high officers, including the Sepoys. Naturally, he was not receiving proper assistance from the persons in authority who could provide real support in arresting the deteriorating administration in Delhi. It is said that on 2nd July Bakht Khan visited the Red Fort and held a long discussion with Bahadur Shah. Here the news given by Jeevan Lal is revealing. " The King's orders were that the inhabitants of the city must not be plundered. The King said it was of no use his giving orders, as they were never obeyed, and yet no one cared to enforce them. He further said that the mainliness and wisdom is to protect the English women and Children from the oppressors, and pleaded for providing all necessities of life to them so that they did not die of hunder and thrust. Bahadur Shah quoted a hadith of Prophet Mohammad where in he has forbidden the execution of women and children.\(^1\) Mohammad Bakht Khan offered his services as Commander-in-Chief of the forces with a view to enforce general discipline. The King grasped his hands in a token of friendship. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the whole of the forces. A proclamation was issued ordering the attendance of all officers

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1. Nizami, p.128.
in command of regiments to receive instructions from Mohammad Bakht Khan. Mirza Mughal was appointed Adjutent General.\footnote{The date of Jeevan Lal differs with that of Abdul Latif in regard to the appearance of Bakht Khan to the Imperial Court. See Metcalfe, pp. 133-36; Nizami, p. 129.} Mohammad Bakht Khan informed the King that if any of the Princes attempted to plunder the city, he would cut off their noses and ears. The King replied you have full authority."\footnote{Metcalfe, pp. 134-135.} The appointment of Bakht Khan with sweeping powers to deal with everyone, interfering in administration, however, brought little impact on Delhi administration. Here it may be pointed out that Jeevan Lal in his diary of 2nd and 3rd July, 1857 gives some conflicting statements. For example, in his statement of 2nd July after stating conferment of full authority on Bakht Khan, he refers to the statement of Bakht Khan: "---he would not trouble the king for any assistance, and if his troops were victorious he would pay in any surplus to his treasury. The King ordered four thousand rupees to be distributed among the Bariely troops for festivity (ziyafat)."\footnote{Ibid. p. 135.} In his entry of 3rd July, Jeevan Lal says, "On this same date orders were issued by the King to Bakht Khan to arrange for the monthly payment of the King's servants." The question arises as to how Bakht Khan could manage to pay the King's servants when the treasury was empty. However, after being appointed to the position of authority and enjoying the confidence of the Emperor, Bakht Khan began to work with enthusiasm. But the continuous interference by the princes and conspiracies by some
of the nobles had placed Bakht Khan in a very difficult position. His actual position was that theoretically he was head of the Army and Commander-in-chief of the rebel forces after King's transfer of power to him. However, practically he could only exercise authority on his own Bareilly brigade and the Jihadis who had accompanied him to Delhi. The number of the latter began to swell thanks to the efforts of the ulema to persuade Muslims to join the struggle declaring the conflict with the English as a holy war (Jihad). The ordinary Musalman influenced by the call to defend the religion and to expel the English from India, was strengthening the position of jihadis day by day. Bakht Khan became their leader. The jihadis popularly known as Wahabies in some contemporary works, were the followers of Syed Ahmad Bareilvi. The Urdu contemporary historian, Zakaullah, sneeringly tells us that with the arrival of Bakht Khan the cry of jihad against English became louder. Interestingly, the jihadis were pouring in from different parts of the country such as Hansi, Hissar, Jaipur, Nasirabad, Tonk and Bhopal which were well known Rohilla Afghan settlements. And they were under the great influence of Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor, Syed Sarfaraz Ali, Imam Khan Risaldar and Ghaus Mohammad Khan. The jihadies generally belonged to weaker sections of the society (weavers, artisans and other wage earners). Zakaullah contemnuously described them as ill-dressed, ill-fed and hungry people who lived on the charity of the rich in Delhi.

1 Zakaullah, pp. 675-76.
2 Ibid p. 675.
Bakht Khan's difficulties may be imagined from the fact that his power and authority was dexterously missused by these persons who enjoyed influence. They were active in intrigues. A levy of eight annas per maund on sugar was imposed without the knowledge of Bakht Khan on 12th July. An irritated Bakht Khan ordered withdrawal of the tax immediately on the ground that it was bound to affect regular supplies to the city creating more distress to the people and soldiers. Similarly, Bakht Khan also abolished the salt tax. Such measures and the character of Bakht khan in dealing with the ruffians made him quite popular as may be inferred from a historical Masnavi praising him, which appeared in Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, Delhi of 27th July.

Apart from the administrative responsibilities, Bakht Khan had to face the English enemy who were strongly entrenched on the Ridge. Bakht Khan deputed his men to intercept the supplies to the enemy's camp. On 14th July he succeeded in capturing three hundred horses and several cart loads of food grains which were on their way to the English Camp.

Bakht Khan in order to eject the English from their positions made an attempt on 9th July with a strong force supported by the jihadies and captured Tis Hazari (Spelt as Tehari Hazari). It appears that this was the first important success since the rebels occupied

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3. Jasooson ke Khutut, National Archives, New Delhi, p. 5 (Here after cited as Jasooson Ke Khutut).
Delhi and it caused much jealousy to the Sepoys coming from Meerut and Neemuch, who supported different factions of the Princes. The attitude of the Princes was already unfriendly and the recent success of Bakht Khan appears to have made them more rigid in their attitude towards him. To retrieve the position Bakht Khan made some efforts to reconcile the sepoys and on his suggestions the King agreed to grant pensions to the wounded sepoys, and to assign lands for their subsistence.

Contemporary records and evidence indicate that Bakht Khan's endeavour to reform the administration hardly did any thing to pacify the Princes and the conspirators. Mirza Mughal continuously ignored Bakht Khan's orders and poisoned the ears of the King. Probably upset over growing popularity of Bakht Khan and his own declining authority made him desperate and at one stage while Bakht Khan was waging a war against the English and trying to set right the administration of Delhi, Mirza Mughal asked the King to relieve Bakht Khan from his supreme military position. Bahadur Shah appears to have more apprehensions from his own son, Mirza Mughal, than Bakht Khan. Without responding to Mirza Mughal's request, Bahadur Shah showed great favours by sending petitions and publicly stating satisfaction with Bakht Khan's works.

It may be pointed out that Bakht Khan's battle with the English

2. Zakaullah, p. 682; Metcalfe, p. 146.
at Tis Hazari was not decisive. The English still held their positions at different places to the very close proximity of the city such as Subzi Mandi, Alipur and Mubarak Bagh. Bakht Khan was keen to get these places vacated. However he found it difficult to achieve this task without the active and sincere support from other forces led by the commanders of Neemuch and Meerut Sepoys. The Neemunch contingent was trained by the English and had leaders like Sidhari Singh and Ghaus Khan. Unfortunately while their two leaders were committed to expel the English from the Indian soil, they extended no cooperation to Bakht Khan, kept themselves aloof and accused Bakht Khan of being complacent about the English. The attitude of these two great soldiers of the period appears to be a typical psychological case. Sidhari Singh and Ghaus Khan both were Subedar in the Bengal Army posted at Neemuch. Bakht Khan had also served at Neemuch as Subedar before being transferred to Bareily. The three had thus held the same position. However, Bakht Khan's spectacular rise to eminence and assignment of Supreme Command of the rebel forces, was supposed to be the cause of jealousy of Sidhari Singh and Ghaus Mohammad Khan. Consequently, the indifferent attitude of Sidhari Singh and Ghaus Mohammad Khan made it impossible to plan a joint action against the English. The delay in taking any action proved to be a boon for the English. Bahadur Shah had to intervene personally to forge reconciliation between Sidhari Singh

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and Bakht Khan on 5th August after their failure to capture the English positions at Alipur, the Ridge and Muttali Bridge. Here it may be explained that Sidhari Singh was in the faction of Mirza Mughal and it is alleged that the Neemuch forces had given only a show of fight and deserted Bakht Khan high and dry. Sidhari Singh also complained of Bakht Khan's relations with the English. Bahadur Shah again intervened and brought about a reconciliation.

Being desperate over the situation, Bakht Khan decided to handle the great task of expelling the enemy from their positions single-handedly. He announced his plans to attack the enemy's position on 7th August but he could not do so due to heavy rains. The delay annoyed Bahadur Shah while Bakht Khan's opponents exploited the opportunity to defame him.

Administratively, the difficulties of Bakht Khan were increasing day by day. Differences with Sidhari Singh and Ghaus Khan, the two great fighters from Neemuch, and the financial difficulties were adding to the miseries of Bakht Khan. Bahadur Shah's appeal to the neighbouring rulers for money proved to be ineffective. City bankers were the main suppliers of money. But they could not go beyond a limit in assisting the government without power and prospects of the return of their money with profit. Further, the attitude of the Princes had greatly horrified and annoyed them. Growing

1 Cooper, p. 110; Gauri Shankar's letter to the English Officers dated 8th August and 10th August, Press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 5, 15,19.
2 Ibid.
3 Metcalfe, p. 177.
factionalism within the army and conspiracies against Bakht Khan were adversely affecting the administration. The activities of Mirza Khizr Sutlan and other princes in collecting funds from bankers, ostensibly to pay the troops, were all the more disturbing. On the one hand, Mirza Khizr Sultan and the other princes forced the bankers to pay money for disbursement of payment to the troops causing great distress to the banking community, and on the other hand the troops were not paid salaries making them plunderer and creator of chaos. Although Bakht Khan had all the authority to punish the princes yet he acted with caution to avoid an armed conflict with the forces supporting the princes and his own. In that complex situation he reported to the King that how the princes were collecting funds from various bankers. Bahadur Shah was greatly annoyed and ordered Mirza Khizr Sultan to surrender all the money he had realized'. The bankers were also directed only to negotiate with Bakht Khan.2 It appears that the bankers also played a double game to save their money and obtain protection against the demanding Princes and Sepoys. When Bakht Khan approached them for money to meet the administrative expenses, he drew a blank. Hard pressed for money, Bakht Khan ordered for confining Devi Singh and Salik Ram, the two leading bankers in Delhi. He got only a sum of rupees six thousand.3

To what extent Delhi was plagued with the intriguing elements against Bakht Khan, may be discerned from the incident of 20th August 1857. Taleyar Khan and Gauri Shanker, a spy of the English,

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1 Press List of Mutiny Papers. No. 57, S. No.352; Metcalfe, pp.197-8, 203.
2 Metcalfe, p.199.
3 Ibid. p. 200.
produced one Sikh witness to the King alleging that Bakht Khan was secretly communicating with the English. It may be pointed out that Gauri Shankar belonged to the Neemuch contingent. The Sikh witness thus produced by the intriguers was examined personally by Bahadur Shah, and he came to the conclusion that he was an enemy's agent. However, Bakht Khan, considered it essential to clear his position before the army. On 23rd August he made a public statement where all the principal military officers including Mirza Mughal were present.¹

The presence of the English army which had occupied strategic position on the northern side of the city was worrying. Bakht Khan had planned on 21st August to launch a joint military campaign against them. It could not materialize due to mutual discords. Mirza Mughal was already unhappy with Bakht Khan for his spectacular rise to prominence, exploited this situation and blamed Bakht Khan for this failure. He also pleaded to the King to disarm the Bareily contingent and banned the entry of Bakht Khan to the Palace. Bahadur Shah, though old and powerless, still possessed considerable intelligence to see the game of Mirza Mughal in such a ploy. Mirza Mughal was becoming increasingly powerful day by day as Neemuch contingent was at his back. Bahadur Shah was thus concerned about his own safety at that time.² The position of the King at that time was such that he had to deal with the English enemies on the outskirts of Delhi.

¹ Metcalfe, pp 200-205
² Ibid pp 205-6
and his own kith and kin within the palace who, unthoughtful of the consequences of that game, were busy in their nefarious activities.

Subsequent events in Delhi and formation of Court of administration, however, indicate that Bahadur Shah still held Bakht Khan in full confidence. The formation of the Court of Administration appears to have been made with a dual object. First to contain the Princes and their supporters and to introduce effective administration in Delhi to cope with the extant situation. Thus, he appointed a Court of Administration consisting of ten members, four to be appointed by the King and six by the army. The composition of the Court, as would be seen, was neither purely Indian nor western in character.¹ The Court was to act on the basis of a written 12 point programme. According to this programme, the court was to consist of ten members. Of them two were to be elected from each of the three wings of the army that is infantry, cavalry and artillery. It would be seen that representation to all the three wings of army were given on equal basis. Obviously, this was to keep the entire rebel army under control. Further, Court was to have a president (Sadr-i-jalsa) and a vice president (Naib Sadr) who had the authority to nominate one member each. The president had the right of casting the vote (literally two votes) and had a clear edge over other members including the Vice-president. The Court was to function selflessly for the welfare of

¹ Press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 539-40. Here it may be mentioned that Sen suggests that the Court of Administration was formed, in May 1857 See 1857, p.75; Mahdi Hasan also suggests that the Court of Administration was formed probably in May 1857, See Bahadur Shah and the War of 1857 in Delhi, Delhi, 1958, pp. 182-89; Spear, p.206, says it was formed in July; Zakaullah refers to its formation without citing a date.
the people and the state. It was to work under the care of Commander-
in-Chief. All decisions were subject to his assent. In case of
disagreement on any issue the decision of Sadr-i-jalas (read Bahadur
Shah) was to be considered final and binding upon all. All the decisions
concerning the civil and military affairs were to be taken by majority
of votes. The Court thus clearly represented the influence of the
English constitutional ideas and to some extent introduces democratic
functioning in the army.

Subsequent events indicate that the well intentioned formation
of Court of Administration remained only on paper. It could hardly
become a successful device to check the uncontrollable Princes. Mirza
Mughal continued to interfere in the affairs of the Court and violated
its orders.

The Court was to hold two kinds of sessions, ordinary sessions
for four hours each day in Red Fort and special sessions at any time
in the night and day as the situation demanded. Bakht Khan was
required to be present at all meetings of the Court including Bahadur
Shah himself. In case of a deadlock in taking a decision at the Court,
the Kings decision was to be considered final. The Court was to
be supported by the committees. Each committee was to have a Secretary
which was to be formed under the aegies of the Court of each regiment
of the army. It is sad to note that the continuous differences between

1. Press list of Mutiny Papers, No. 539-40, S. No. 57; For a detail function of
36-60.
74-75; Mahdi Hasan between the pages 182-183 and Rizvi pp. 9-13 appendix-II
Sauatantra Dilli 1857.
the Neemuch and Bareily contingents rendered the Court of Administration ineffective. Thus Bahadur Shah's another effort to keep the leading sepoys leaders united did not succeed.

While the differences between the Neemuch and Bareily contingents unresolved, their object remained one, that is to overthrow the English from India. On 24th August in order to fulfill their common object, the Neemuch and Bareily forces marched separately towards Alipur via Najafgarh with an object to expel the English forces. Their common aim was to attack the English positions on the Ridge. Unfortunately, neither of the two had a common plan of action, and common coordination was still a dream. However, Bakht Khan realized that such independent action against the English army was fraught with danger and he suggested the Neemuch contingent leaders for a joint action against the enemy. His suggestion was ignored and the Neemuch contingent was routed.

The rout of Neemuch contingent appears to have demoralised Bakht Khan and he turned to Delhi without risking his own forces against the enemy's fire. As usual Mirza Mughal and Neemuch leaders made loud complaints to Bahadur Shah alleging that the defeat was caused by the inaction of Bakht Khan. Continuous accusations made Bakht Khan considerably demoralised. He resolved to keep himself aloof. Bahadur Shah once again came to assuage

2. Metcalfe, pp. 207-8, The Author of *Dastan-i-Ghadar* however says that the Neemuch Force was sandwiched between the English forces and Bakht Khan’s contingent. Zaheer pp. 142-143.
his feelings and persuaded him to work as usual.¹

The continuing differences among the rebel leaders in Delhi were the greatest enemy to the cause of expelling the English. These conflicts eventually weakened the rebels in Delhi and none of the factions operating there was in a position to foil counter English attack on Delhi. Further, prevalence of disorder in Delhi shattered the trade and commerce which was virtually in the shambles. It may be inferred from one of the joint petitions filed by Haider Baksh, Haji Maula Baksh and 15 others to Bahadur Shah. The leading traders of Delhi represented that due to the rebellion, they were suffering from heavy losses, their trade with places like Kanpur, Banaras, Calcutta, Ambala Lahore etc. had already been ruined making them penniless. To add to their miseries Mirza Mughal was demanding rupees fifty thousand from them. Being in a poor condition, they expressed their inability to fulfil the demand and consequently Mirza Mughal placed guards on their houses blocking their movements to the extent that they were not allowed to offer even their Eid prayers.²

Even after the issuance of clear orders by Bakht Khan, the people of Delhi specially the rich people did not have a respite from the exacting demands of the Princes and their coetries. Ramjimal, Saadat Ali, Agha Jaan and Zorawar Chand were being squeezed for money on 28th August. The demand was that each one of them must pay

¹. Metcalfe, p. 212.
rupees one Lakh, and to make payment sure their food and water supplies were stopped.¹ Ironically, Bakht Khan's position was so precarious that he could not intervene to force the Princes for an orderly behaviour due to their underhand intrigues. General Sidhari Singh being the right hand man of Mirza Mughal and his patron's hostile attitude towards Bakht Khan, kept the army divided². Again the rebel army in Delhi was further weakened due to the conflict between the Sikh soldiers and the Sepoys mostly from Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar.³

By the end of August several attempts were made to maintain law and order in the city of Delhi through making reforms in administration and by transfer and adjustment of power of the Princes and Bakht Khan. As has already been stated, with the formation of the Court and also by virtue of descent Bahadur Shah was in supreme command of authority but in practice he was powerless, Bakht Khan's orders were being flouted openly and attempts for reforming administration of Delhi through maintaining law and order was a distinct failure as may be seen from a petition sent by the members of the Court to Bahadur Shah urging upon him to direct the Princes not to violate the Court's orders in future.⁴

It would be seen that the Princes had become a problem and all the efforts made by Bahadur Shah, the Court and Bakht Khan to restore

² Ibid. No.19, S.No. 5.
³ Metcalfe, p. 183.
⁴ Press List of Mutiny of Papers, No. 57, S.No.352.
a semblance of administration and introduce reforms were foiled by them. The interest of the Princes dominated over the interest of the newly acquired independence by the rebel leaders in Delhi at a time when the English forces were still looming large and had entrenched themselves on the outskirts of Delhi. Unfortunately, Bakht Khan's talents in maintaining law and order in Delhi and to fight against the English at the outskirts could not be fully utilized due to the intriguing qualities of the princes. Much of the time of Bakht Khan was lost in checkmating the Princes' intrigues. Admittedly Bakht Khan enjoyed absolute power to deal with the Princes but he could not use it properly keeping in view the larger interest of the soldiers who could be thrown into the vortex of mutual bloodshed. In Delhi the rebel administration thus did not bring any relief to the people until it was reconquered by the English in September 1857.
Chapter- 5

DELHI DURING 1857

With the termination of English rule in Delhi on 11th May 1857, there was no dearth of such people who were still aspiring to reestablish the foreigner's rule and thus they indulged in conspiracies. There is no doubt that the uprising of 1857 against the alien rule was due to the combined and united efforts of the Hindus and Muslims. Sustenance of independence acquired so abruptly by the rebels needed a good organisation run by both the Hindus and Muslims. Its collapse was bound to allow the English re-entry. The English relied much on their agents living in Delhi creating a bad blood between the Hindus and Muslims. But it was their misfortune that the Mughal King Bahadur Shah still enjoyed great love of people and had considerable influence on them, as is evident from the developments during the course of rebellion and peoples' reaction. Everywhere in North India including Delhi, people regarded Bahadur Shah Zafar as their sovereign and raised as slogan as, "People of God, Country of the king and orders of ....... Bahadur Shah and so on." The Mughal King succeeded in maintaining communal harmony in Delhi despite the activities of disruptive forces till the re-conquest of Delhi by the English.

As is known, the majority of the Muslims were actively involved

in the rebellion of 1857. In Delhi on 19th May, 1857 the Muslims raised the cry of *jihad* from the Jama Masjid. Bahadur Shah did not approve the calling of the struggle against the English in the name of religion. To him the struggle was not religious. He apprehended that such slogans were bound to exasperate the Hindus.\(^1\) Again on 20th May, Bahadur Shah refused to consider Maulvi Mohammad Saeed's request that the holy war had been declared for the purpose of inflaming the minds of Muslims against the Hindus. Bahadur Shah termed this step as a folly specially when most of the Sepoys were Hindus. He warned that such an act would lead to an internecine war regrettable results. He also pointed out that the Hindus were leaning towards an alliance with the English and had no sympathy with the Muslims.\(^2\) Such remarks from Bahadur Shah were in true tradition of the ruling Mughal dynasty which did not discriminate among the people on religious basis. Like the Muslims, a group of Hindus also arrived to lodge complaint that a war against Hindus was being preached. Bahadur Shah clearly stated the fight was against English, adding that his orders exist forbidding to direct the fight against the Hindus.\(^3\) Apprehending that the endeavours by the pro-English elements to create a wedge between Hindus and Muslims might cause disunity, Bahadur Shah issued a proclamation on 21th May by beat of drum that Hindus and Muslims must not quarrel.\(^4\)

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1. Metcalfe, p. 98.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p. 100.
Bahadur Shah's endeavours in maintaining unity among the Hindus and Muslims might have made clear impression on his opponents that creation of wedge between the Hindus and Muslims was not easy. At the same time, saner elements among the Hindus and Muslims belonging to various classes such as the Maulvis and Pandits propagated through newspapers the necessity of an organisation. Their propaganda helped in maintaining unity among the Hindus and Muslims as may be discerned from Zakaullah's following statement, "The enemity against the English was entertained both by the Pandits and Maulvis. On several occasions after going through their papers (Patras), they predicted the auspicious time to the telangas, assured them that if they went to fight on that particular auspicious hour they would be victorious. The Sepoys fought desperately on such predicted auspicious hour. The Pandits assured the telangas (Sepoys) that the English rule would not be restablished. Rather it would be the rule of the rebels that would be eventually established. A strange scene used to be witnessed in the Chandni Chowk and other markets that holding their Pothis the Pandits were giving orders to the Sepoys according to the Dharam Shashtra that they should fight against the English (Malichh). When the Sepoy's dead bodies were brought from the battle grounds on the charpais they used to direct the Hindus to send away these people of heaven with respect as they neither required any religious rituals nor funeral." ¹ Among the Muslims, the Maulvis were taking leading role during the rebellion. They

¹ Zakaullah, p. 676.
issued religious decrees (*Fatwa*) and persuaded the Muslims to fight for the destruction of the English Government. The *ulema* also became very active and delivered speeches assuring the rebels that they were invincible and that none could cause any harm to them nor could kill them. People began to reveal their own dreams predicting the successes of the rebels. The *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* thus reported on 24th May, 1857 (an old man is seen in dream as if Prophet Mohammad was saying to Christ that your followers (*Ummat*) have raised their heads too much and have become an enemy to me and want to destroy my religion. Christ replied that they are not my followers. They are not following me or my teachings. They are the followers of Satan. Then Prophet Mohammad said the last word. Thereafter Christ presented the sword to the Prophet and said that the sword had been presented to him and hence being given. Prophet Mohammad replied, give it to 'Ali, when he was giving the sword to him, he said give it to Husain. And at the last the sword was given to him.)¹

Gossips with a view to strengthen the unity among the Hindus and Muslims also appear to have constituted a routine part of propaganda in Delhi. The *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* in its issue of 24th May, reported peoples' talking about the appearance of unknown fighters riding on female camels wearing green dresses on the day

¹ *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, 24th May, 1857.
when the rebels entered Delhi. Whoever could lay hands on an English
killed him without hesitation.

Delhi became a centre of the followers of Syed Ahmad Barelvi
who had initiated a religious war in 1826-27 in the frontier region.
As has already been discussed, he died at 1831 at Balakot but his
mission was carried by his followers despite English persecution
and suppression. The network which Syed Ahmad Barelvi had built
throughout the length and breadth of Indian subcontinent, had numerous
centres working on his ideology. To defame them the English
bureaucrats coined the term Wahabi to create a wedge among the
Sunní Muslims in India. The followers of Syed Ahmad Barelvi believed
in expelling the English from Indian soil at all cost. Hence in 1857
when the rebellion broke out, a large number of them became active
in different parts of the country. In Delhi too they began to pour
in as Bakht Khan patronised them. Their number began to swell
with the constant efforts by the ulema. Zakaullah, the Urdu Historian,
sneeringly says that with the arrival of Bakht Khan the cry of jihad
against the English became louder.¹ The jihahids came to Delhi from
places like Hansi, Hissar, Tonk, Bhopal, Bareilly, etc. Intrestingly
almost all these places had considerable Rohilla Afghan population.
The Rohilla Afghans were largely under the influence of Maulvis
Abdul Ghafoor, Sarfaraz Ali, Imam Khan Risaldar, and Ghaus

¹ Zakaullah, pp 675-6
Mohammad Khan. The so called Wahabis came from the poor classes of Muslim community such as weavers, artisans and other wage earners. Zakaullah describes them as ill-dressed, ill-fed and hungry people who lived on the charity of the rich in Delhi. These so called Wahabis did not receive any salary from the government established by the rebels. They fought with the English with their conventional weapons such as swords, daggers, spears etc. Here again Zakaullah may be quoted by way of illustration, "In Delhi when the highest authorities of the rebel forces, Bakht Khan, Ghaus Mohammad Khan and Imam Khan Risaldar assembled and with them arrived Maulvi Abdul Ghaffar and Maulvi Sarfraz Ali, then there was a great assembly of the Wahabis in Delhi. Maulvi Sarfaraz Ali became the Commander-in-Chief of the Wahabis and Bakht Khan became their supporter. The *jihadis* came from Jaipur, Hansi, Hissar, and Tonk. Three hundred to four hundred *jihadis* were thus assembled. These *jihadis* issued a proclamation addressed to the Muslims to take up arms for *jihad*. Most of the *jihadis* were hunger strucken. They were also not having proper dresses on their bodies but they possessed a sword and a dagger in their vest and a muzzle loading gun on their shoulders."

"Sneering for their economic condition and the support of the people, Zakaullah writes, "..... when the *jihadis* appealed to the King that they were dying of hunger, then he used to say that there was no money in the treasury but he arranged that the city people brought them breads for the sake of *sawab* (religious benefit). Nawab

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1 Zakaullah, p. 675
2 Ibid
Mohiuddin Khan alias Buddhe Saheb gave them two thousand rupees. The Muslims of the city joined them in a very small number. One Mohammad Sharif, the leading artist of Delhi, donated his entire property including house, and the ornaments of his wife to the *jihadis* and also joined their ranks.

Sen, however, alleges that the *jihadis* became a source of embarrassment to the King and his ministers. Their services could not be declined and at the same time the demand of the declaration of *jihad* against the English could not be encouraged. However, Sen misses the point that the *jihadis* were a close ally of Bakht Khan, and who had been under constant pressure of acrimonies and intrigues by the ministers specially Mirza Mughal. Indeed the section of (the *jihadis* pressurised the King as has already been discussed in the previous chapter ) of *jihadis* did pressurise Bahadur Shah to declare the fight against the English a *jihad* which he declined on the grounds that it would give a wrong signal to the Sepoys, majority of whom consisted of Hindus. It can thus be seen that Bahadur Shah avoided a communal strife which could have largely benifitted the enemies.

One of the hallmarks of the rebellion of 1857 in Delhi was the unprecedented unity among the Hindus and Muslims. This phenomenon was not confined to Delhi alone. This was also seen in Jhansi, Lucknow and Bareilly. Everywhere the rebels had issued

2. Ibid.
proclamations laying emphasis on the unity among the Hindus and Musalmans. In Delhi Bahadur Shah also issued a proclamation. For example these proclamations laid emphasis on the following points. (a) cruelty and misbehaviour of the Kafirs (English).1 (b) United defence of the religions of the Hindus and Muslims.2 (c) exteraption of English rule from India by all means.3 Then Birjis Qadr's assertion, "All the Hindus and Muslims know that four things are extremely dear to every human being that is (a) Deen and Dharam (b) honour and respect (c.) life and his own family members (d) property and other belongings."4 In Awadh a Urdu Pamphlete Risala-e-Fateh Islam describing the English cruelties against the people refers to them as Pharaos.5 Similarly, Feroz Shah's proclamation of 25th August 1857 generally believed to have been issued by Bahadur Shah also lays emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity. In almost all the proclamations issued by the rebel leaders emphasis was given on unity for the protection of Deen and Dharam which was in danger under the English rule.6 Apprehension about the danger to the religion of Hindus and Muslims was not without foundation. Even the loyalists like Syed Ahmad Khan and the author of Zafar Nama endorsed it.7

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2. Birjis Qadr's Proclamation, Foreign Political proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, No. 1693, NAI. pp. 615-17.
of the proclamations laid emphasis upon the Hindus and Muslims calling upon them to unite for the protection of their religions. This emphasis is understandable in view of the fact that the Bengal army consisted of upper caste recruits especially the Rajputs, Brahmins, Syeds, Shaikhs and Pathans,\(^1\) who were extremely orthodox and religious.

In order to keep the Hindus and Muslims united and to fight against the English resolutely the *ulema* and *Pandits* began to preach that the rebels were invincible and they were bound to destroy the English.\(^2\) The newspapers in Delhi also played an important role and published articles to incite the sentiments of the rebels against the English. The attitude of the Press was so encouraging that through the publications they prevented the rebel Sepoys from disintegration when the English pressure began to mount. For example the *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* wrote, "God is all powerful. O'countrymen the intelligence of the English, trade, good administration and the expansion of their government and wealth, treasury and income and expenses have probably disheartened you as to how such a big government can be destroyed in such a short time. But the Muslims and Hindus all should enlighten their hearts with their faith (*Iman*) and knowledge obtaining inspiration from their religions...... There is none who enjoys absolute power and eternal life except God. Study your religious books as to how in this very Hindustan big Governments rose to power and declined. The Ravana, the ruler of Cylone, kept the army

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of Rakshasas with him. So far so that once he defeated the army of Raja Ram Chandra who was a Surya Vanshi but soon with the help of the army of the forest people (tribals) Raja Ram Chandra destroyed him and his army. Kans, the ruler of Mathura, became so powerful that he conquered the world and began to aspire the conquest of Inderlok. In the family of Yadavas and Sursen Shri Krishna Maharaj was born who eliminated the enemies in such a way that their names are no more found. Besides, how far the families of Chattris were brave and courageous and considered themselves to be equals of Brahmins. Look at the Gods' play that how Pershuram Raja destroyed them. Thus when you see that how big Rajas after sometime are destroyed by other caste people then how do you not understand that God has arranged through his absolute powers evidently that that nation which has established its power for the last one hundred years and treating the people of God with contempt and calls your kith and kins blackman (Kala Aadmi). God has shown his game. Generally it is seen that due to this anxiety and grief your routine has become disorderly. May God grant you power and satisfaction. It is imperative for you to eradicate fear from your hearts and not to flee abandoning the city with fear and despondency. It is to degenerate power of God. O'dear brothers if you are anxious in this war and do any work with satisfaction or are afraid and tremble with fear of them, you are bound to be called sinners. This is the sign of weakness of your faith. You possess two hands, your opponents have also the same. Everyone of you is a brave person who is like
a lion. For the enemies, they are hundred to one thousand numerically. Oh brave Sepoys! Oh brave and lion hearted telangas, as in the ancient history the achievements of braves are memorable, for example in the ancient history of India the Yaduvanshi Bhim and Arjun are memorable, in the history of Faras (Iran) Rustam, Sam and among the Muslims states Amir Taimur, Halaku and Nadir Shah are famous and encouraged people, similarly yours this war would be recorded in hisotry that how you fought bravely with such a powerful and proud people breaking their pride. The government which big rulers could not take over has been captured by you." In the same way the Delhi Urdu Akhbar in its issue of 21st June, published the news that how God has removed the fears of the English from the hearts of their servants and thrown the entire army and treasury to the feet of the King, then do you not believe in the power of Almighty God? You shoud not be fearful of the continuous gunfire of the white people. No one dies before his appointed time. If the white people capture one or two of your guns you should not worry. You should see that how they fire thousand times but by the grace of God except for few persons none is harmed.

On 19th July, the Delhi Urdu Akhbar wrote with a view to incite them against the English." O' brothers, countrymen, specially for the army men it is essential that Hindus and Muslims unite and become one, should understand one another as their arms. For the destruction of this group of people (English) make complete
endeavour and don't take rest until they are completely routed.

Though many people were striving to form a Hindu Muslim organisation, Bahadur Shah Zafar, however, was the symbol of unity. The King had complete faith in a united front, despite having been disappointed by the results of armed conflicts on 12th September, when the politics of the white and their diplomatic arms dominated. The unity among the Hindu and Muslims appeared to have weakened. Now the Muslims accused Hindus and Hindus accused Muslims at a time when the freedom struggle in Delhi was taking its last breath. Bahadur Shah made proclamation that he would lead a combined army of Hindus and Muslims and go to the battle field personally. Unfortunately, this could not happen due to a successful attack by the English forces on Delhi.

How British diplomacy was successful in Delhi to disunite Hindus and Muslims may be understood from their propaganda through press. In order to make Muslims antagonistic against the Hindus and to win the support of the latter they published an advertisement declaring that their war against English was unlawful. They incited the Muslims that they had been misguided by the Hindu Sepoys as they were fools. The advertisement further stated that the cartridges had the fat of cows and other slaughtered animals as the government intended to wage a war against Russia and Iran. On the occasion of its distribution of the Hindus objected that "They want to give

1 Metcalfe, p. 229.
us the cartridges made of cow fats and to the Muslims made of pig fats. The Army which is foolish, revolted and made a hue and cry. It also misguided the people. Therefore from the city people you should be alert. Our foremost object is to punish the Hindu army and those who support them or help them, would also be punished. It is incumbent upon you to follow according to shariat and kill the Hindus."1.

Appearance of such poster' made the ulema alert in Delhi. They concluded that it was an effort by British diplomats to divide the Hindus and Muslims and to weaken the unity of the rebels to serve their purpose. Immediately after the publication of this pamphlet, they countered it by publishing the famous pamphlet Radd-i-Ishtihar-i-Nasara (refutation of Christian advertisement). In this pamphlet, the ulema argued for a common platform quoting numerous examples of deceit and fraud committed by the English; the proof of such deceits were the states of Nagpur, Jhansi etc.

Another important event in Delhi during the short period of rebels' rule was the attempt of forging unity by disallowing cow slaughter. The credit for this endeavour goes to a galaxy of the persons who were assembled at Delhi determined to uproot the English rule. Their attempt was to revive the old days of religious unity and tolerance that existed during the reign of Akbar and was based upon the policy of sulh-i kul. By throwing the English rule from India, their object was to create a strong determined united

1. Delhi Urdu Akhbar, 5th July, 1857.
Indian nation. Among these leading persons was Maulana Fazle Haq Khairabadi, whose scholarship was acknowledged even outside India. Zakauallah tells us that he prepared a constitution for the government of Bahadur Shah and its first clause was to ban cow slaughter throughout the Kingdom. Consequently, Bahadur Shah issued order to General Bakht Khan, the Sepoys and the officers of the army that there should be no cow slaughter on the eve of Baqar-Id. The order gave stern warning to the Muslims that violation of this could lead to their death by blowing them away by the mouth of guns. It also warned that even if any one encouraged the cow slaughter, he could be given the penalty. Bakht Khan enforced this order. Hakim Ahsanullah Khan objected to this order and expressed his unhappiness. One of the witnesses in the trial case of Bahadur Shah, Mrs. Aldwell, told the trial court: "I think when the troops first came, the Hindus made the King promise that there should be no oxen killed in the city, and this promise was kept. I believe that not a single ox was killed in Delhi during the whole time of the rebellion. On the festival of Bakr-Eed, when the Mohamedans usually slaughter an ox, a disturbance was expected; but the Mohamedans refrained from doing so on this occasion." Zakauallah, a English loyalist sees this order in a different way. He says that Bahadur Shah issued his first order and that was the prohibition of cow slaughter. On 9th July proclamations were made through the beat of drums that who ever would be found

3. Ibid.
guilty of cow slaughter would be blown away through the mouth of guns. Thus Bahadur Shah acted to please the Hindu Sepoys as he was helpless in their hands. Needless to say that Zakaullah the Urdu historian, who was later on given the title of Khan Bahadur by the English, was one of the great supporters of them. Zakaullah forgot that in that situation no sane person could afford any strife among the Sepoys on the issue of cow slaughter. Moreover, he also forgot that Bahadur Shah was not entirely in the hands of the Hindu Sepoys as it was Bakht Khan who was heading the administration with absolute power transferred to him by the King to run the administration and it was he who enforced the order of prohibition of cow slaughter. Maulvi Zakaullah also ignored Maulana Fazle-Haq who was the architect of the policy of religious toleration, coexistence and mutual trust. The brave Maulana even after the fall of Delhi, stood by his principles and for his activities he was prosecuted and given a life term. He was imprisoned in Andaman Nichobar Island. He was not affected even by the apposition of such men as Hakim Ahsanullah Khan.

Similarly, Syed Qutb, a leading man of Bareilly and supporter of the rebels against the English, published a number of proclamations which laid emphasis on unity among the Hindus and Muslims.

It would be interesting to study various orders issued in the name of Bahadur Shah from Delhi during the period of rebellion.

On 28th July an order was issued prohibiting the cow slaughter completely. According to Emperor's orders, it is directed that no Musalman should sacrifice cow in the city on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha. If any one violates this order, he would be punished. The English intelligence immediately attempted to exploit the situation and began to provoke the Muslims against the prohibition of cow slaughter. The contemporary newspapers, however, indicate that the English could not succeed in their attempt. The prohibition orders were very clear. I quote "The people of God, the country of the King and order of the chief of the army (read Bakht Khan), whoever during this festival of Baqre Eid or prior or after it sacrifices cow, oxen, calf or she calf, buffalo or she buffalo secretly in his house he would be regarded as enemy of the Emperor and he would be put to death and who ever falsely makes allegations after inquiry by the court and if the allegation is proved to be correct the offenders would be punished otherwise who makes allegation would be given death punishment. Bahadur Shah in order to ensure that his proclamation banning the cow slaughter is fully enforced, a subsequent order was issued that the traders in animal trade specially the cow, oxen, buffaloes were forbidden to bring animals to the city for six days. The police officials were directed to count the cows maintained by the Muslims and bring them to Kotwali for safety until the festival was over. Even at the cost of space and time, this order deserve to be reproduced here for the benefit of posterity. This order is

1. Press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 111 (e) 31, National Archives, New Delhi.
addressed to the Kotwal of Delhi, Mubarak Shah. It reads, "Soon after the receipt of the royal order you should announce through the beat of drums that the slaughter and sacrifice of cow have been completely forbidden, hence it is written to you now to make such arrangements at the gates of the city that not a single trader in cow trade enters the city from today till the three days of the Baqre Eid. This should also apply to the sellers of buffaloes and wherever the Muslims are keeping cows in their houses they should be brought to the Kotwali and cows should be protected. If anyone openly or secretly slaughters the domesticated cows in his house, he would be given death punishment. On the occasion of Eid-ul-azha on the issue of cow slaughter such arrangements must be made that the cows are not even available for sale and the domesticated cows are also not slaughtered. What ever endeavour is made from the Kotwali in this regard that would please us".\(^1\) The orders issued on 29th July, 1857 shows the extent of anxiety of Bahadur Shah on this issue. He did not even care that such an order was bound to effect the sources of livelihood of a section of people. The entry of cows into the city could be stopped at various points of the city but it could not be a total success. Some of the leading Muslims raised this issue before Bahadur Shah that bringing all the cows from the houses of the Muslims to the Kotwali was extremely difficult. They thus suggested that the Muslims be allowed to keep their cows at their houses after their signing a muchalka (guarantee or security)\(^2\).

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1 Press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 111 (c) 43.
2 Ibid. No. 111 (c) 44.
Consequently, a subsequent order was issued to the Muslims of the city for submitting their muchalka and for the preparation of the list of cows maintained by them. The commander-in-Chief of the army (Bakht Khan) also wrote a letter to the Kotwal of the city to honour the orders of the Emperor in letter and spirit so far as the prohibition of cow slaughter was concerned. He also emphasised that the cows kept at the houses of the Muslims should be protected for three days from being slaughtered.

These rigid orders indicate that Bahadur Shah and Bakht Khan were keen to maintain communal harmony and law and order and were not prepared to allow any disorder on this issue. Ather Abbas Rizvi is perhaps right that it may be admitted that to what extent the Muslims were generous and how far they respected and loved the Hindus that they allowed to detach themselves from the cow slaughter to keep their Hindu brothers happy. It appears that Bahadur Shah's order of cow slaughter was not temporary. He was contemplating to enforce this order permanently as it was suggested that those involved in cow slaughter trade should turn themselves to goat and its meat trade.

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1 Press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 102,103.; Also see No. 120,144.
2 Sautantra Dilli, p. 113.
3 Ibid No. 111,45.
Chapter- 6

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE REBELLION, 1857

The revolt of 1857 which began from Meerut, soon spread to different parts of the country like a wild fire. Within a week entire Northern India revolted and the English rule disappeared. Delhi, as discussed earlier, became the centre of rebel activities, particularly because it was the capital of the Mughal Empire. There was a King on the throne of Delhi whose forefathers had built an Empire and introduced such a policy of toleration that despite the weakening of the political authority of the Mughals, the Mughal King continued to enjoy reverence and high regard from the people. The rebels probably expected that by raising Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal King, as their leader, they could bring a revolutionary change. The neighbouring zamindars, ruling classes and the distant chieftains would respond to the call of the Mughal Emperor and fight against the English. This inference is particularly strengthened by the rebels proclamations issued from time to time, addressed to the Hindus and Muslims as well as Rajas and zamindars, seeking their help in expelling the English from India. Delhi Proclamation of May 1857 refers to the English attempts to christianise Indians. Consequently the Sepoys working at Delhi and Meerut revolted to defend their religion. The Proclamation

thus urged upon the people — both Hindus and Mussalmans to remain united and asked people to enlist themselves in the forces to be raised against the English.¹ The next Proclamation issued in the name of Bahadur Shah by the rebels in Delhi is more interesting. It appeals to all Rajas appreciating them for their virtues, noble qualities, liberality and calling them the protector of not only their own faith but also the faith of others. The Proclamation further appeals to them not to support the English and urges the addressees to destroy them. In this Proclamation the necessity for protecting the religion has been emphasized in the following words: "The English are the people who overthrow all religions. You should understand well that with the object of destroying the religions of Hindustan, they have for a long time been writing books to be circulated throughout the country by the hands of their clergymen." This Proclamation further refers to the English attempts to prohibit Sati, disallow smooth succession, particularly discontinuing the age old practice of adoption and so on. The Proclamation also lays emphasis that the slaughter of kine and cows has been banned by the rebel leaders and that they were determined to kill the English wherever they were found.² The most detailed and elaborate Proclamation issued by Bahadur Shah on 25th August 1857 represents the actual sentiments of the rebels who revolted against the English. Briefly, the Hindus and Muslims of India were being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and

² Ibid. pp. 442-44.
treacherous English. It, therefore, urged the wealthy people of India, specially of those who have any sort of connection with any of the Muslim royal families and were considered the protectors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and properties, for the well being of the public. This Proclamation was issued probably in an optimistic mood as some princes were reported to have been sent outside India for seeking help from different countries, and, generate anger of the Hindus and Muslim against the English for their bad work. That is why the Muslims and Hindus raised green and Mahaviri flags respectively to destroy the English.

The most interesting part of this Proclamation has been divided into five sections which by and large covers all sections of Indian population. Referring to the Zamindars the proclamation says that the English government in making Zamindari settlements had imposed exorbitant Jama, and had disgraced and ruined several Zamindars by putting up their states to public auction for arrears of rent. This section has also a conservative outlook as it says that the English laws were such that any suit filed by a common royt, maid servant or a slave against a Zamindar could lead to their summoning in the court, putting in jail and disgrace. Further, the stamp duties, other unnecessary expenses of the Civil courts and all sorts of crooked dealings, and delay in the settlement of cases were all calculated to impoverish the litigants. It also criticises that every year the Zamindars were also taxed for schools, hospitals and roads etc. Then
the Proclamation says that if the Bahadur Shahi government was reestablished such extortions would be stopped, the Jama would be light, the dignity and honour of the Zamindars would be saved and maintained and the Zamindari disputes would be decided in the light of Shariat and Shastras without any expense.

The second section of the Proclamation refers to the state of merchants and traders. It says that the English monopolised the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of exports, leaving only the trifles to the people and even in this they are not without their share of the profits, which they secure by means of customs and stamp fees. Despite this the merchants were liable to imprisonment and disgrace on the complaint of a worthless man. The Proclamation thus assures that when the King's government would be established, such fraudulent practices would be dispensed with and trade of every article, both by land and water, would be opened to the native merchants of India who would have the benefit of the government steam vessels and steam carriages for conveyance of their merchandise. Thus the Proclamation urged upon the merchants to support the war against the English.

The Proclamation further refers to the plight of educated community of India who were in the Civil and military services on a very low salary and enjoyed little respect from their masters, and commanded no influence. It also accused the English government of keeping all the keyposts of dignity and high salary in civil and
military for the Englishmen. The Indians were not allowed any promotion except a petty position of subedar in military or a Sadr-i-'Aala in Civil services without any influence, jagir and rewards. The Proclamation assured Indians that after the restoration of the Badshahi rule, the old system of grant of mansabs, jagirs with all dignity and prestige in their appointments to various higher civil and military positions would be made.

The Proclamation is also addressed to the artisans' problems. Needless to say that with the coming of the English, Indian weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, blacksmiths and the shoemakers etc. had suffered heavily due to heavy imports from England. A large number of them had been rendered unemployed and every description of Indian artisan had been reduced to beggary. The Proclamation assured the artisans and others that the Badshahi government would take care of them and ensure their prosperity.

The Proclamation also took care of the learned like the Pandits and Ulema, the Faqirs and other persons. It also assured them a better future under the Badshahi government as it would work for their welfare.

This proclamation is of vital importance for understanding the nature of the rebellion as it covers larger section of Indian society which suffered at the hands of English conquerors. This Proclamation was followed by other proclamations in Delhi which invariably
denounced the English rule in India and urged upon the people to get united in the war against the English and ensure their ouster from the Indian subcontinent. Indeed, the proclamation represented the sentiments of sensible and dynamic Indian sections of population, which was fully conscious of the nature of the English rule and its exploitative nature which were ruining the Indian economy and society and endangering religions of Hindus and Muslims. Unfortunately, in this struggle of freedom, this section of Indian population could not receive the expected support from the upper and ruling classes which were still possessing considerable strength in men, material and money. Bahadur Shah's appeal to them bore no result in the face of English diplomatic manoeuvring and the selfish nature of Indian ruling classes. The English diplomacy was to prevent by hook or crook the land owning classes as well as the ruling classes from joining the rebel camp. The rebels during the progress of the rebellion had also begun to target the loyal Talukadars, their agents and pro-English elements for not supporting their cause. This situation alarmed the English diplomats who feared that if the land owning classes including the ruling classes joined hands with the rebels, the English would have to pack up and leave the country. The concern of the English can be understood from the letters of the English officers sent to Governor General from time to time. Henry Tucker wrote to the Governor General describing the situation thus, "All the large land holders and auction purchasers are paralysed and dispossessed,
their agents being frequently murdered and their property destroyed."¹

The rebels targeting the loyalists, plundering their houses, destroying their account books and other material of luxury, made them to fear the consequences of the victory of the rebels. To quote Joyce:

"Most of them were shrewd enough to perceive that it would not answer their purpose to join the rebel court."² Outram's statement is also significant. He says that "a large and influential class in Awadh ... among the most powerful and most of the middle classes of chiefs and Zamindars desired the establishment of English rule."³

Another English officer's statement that most of the Zamindars' participation in the mutiny had been more nominal than real.⁴ Some of these Zamindars also maintained armed neutrality and sent to the rebel camp only such contingents as were demanded and personally remained passive.⁵ Some of the rulers and Zamindars kept the English authorities informed of the movements of the mutineers and their want of ammunitions.⁶ The Delhi rebels also faced such a situation as they did not receive expected supports from the neighbouring Zamindars, Rajas and Nawabs. In chapter three we have already discussed that how the Nawabs of Jhajjhhar, Pataudi, the Raja of Ballabgharh, Tula Ram of Rewari and others remained passive towards the call of Bahadur Shah. Not

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³ General Sir James Outram, Orders, Despatches and Correspondence, 1859, p.297.
only that, as we have already discussed in chapter three the Raja of Ballabhgarh, the Nawab of Jajhjhar, Rao Tula Ram were double dealing. On the one hand, they were giving all oral assurances or sending a small contingent to Delhi, they themselves remained within their territories on the pretext of maintaining law and order. Bahadur Shah did not consider such a situation to be favourable. Sick of getting no active support, at one stage, he desired to relinquish the imperial power in the favour of the rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Alwar as he could not rely on the extant situation.  

While Bahadur Shah was shattered and his life was rendered miserable as Cave Brown writes, " ........ to the amazement of the few admitted into the secret, at the very time when the rebel force seemed the strongest, and our position of most perilous, Shah Bahadoor Shah, Emperor of Hindostan, sent in to camp to treat for terms." It may be imagined that Bahdur Shah was in such a state of mind at a time when the rebels were apparently in a commanding position in Delhi. But Bahadur Shah understood the consequences of the infighting of the princes, the Sepoys and other interested groups which was bound to bring disgrace to the aspiration of freedom. It is not surprising that the zamindars, the rulers and money lenders also found their interest in supporting the English and not the rebels to protect their own interest in India. We find that to prevent the continuous inroads by the so called plundering Sepoys in Delhi, they decided, "to buy up a regiment by monthly payment and later on raise a private police

force to protect themselves from plunder and violence."\(^1\) However, this arrangement could not last long in Delhi and on 20th August 1857 they decided to resist jointly further exaction by the Sepoys.\(^2\) In fact the relationship of the Sepoys with the bankers and other prosperous classes in and around Delhi had entered a vicious circle. The Sepoys were starving as they lacked state patronage due to a vacant imperial treasury. Hence, they targeted the affluent classes in and around Delhi. Resistance from the affluent classes made the Sepoys more desperate and they began to indulge in unrestrained plunder.\(^3\) Scores of bankers, nobles, merchants and princes were threatened by the Sepoys in a daily bid to extort money from them.\(^4\) This situation resulted in the abandonment of propertied classes to support the rebels. This followed by the refusal of all supplies to the sepoys in Delhi for want of payment.\(^5\) By the end of August, due to the abandonment of all supplies, the rebels in Delhi were not getting rations and regular supplies of sulphur to manufacture gunpowder.\(^6\) In Delhi the well to do classes believed that the sepoys were full of money as looted wealth was with them and they would hardly endeavour to protect the city.\(^7\) Thus in Delhi, if people like Hakim Ahsanuallah Khan, Mirza Ilahi Baksh and Begum Zeenat Mahal were prepared to make up with the English government, it is not surprising. They desired as Cooper says, "\..........the mercy of the

1. Metcalfe, pp. 59, 93.
2. Ibid. pp. 20-23.
3. Ibid. p.216.
4 Ibid.
5. Ibid. p. 214.
7. Ibid. p. 214.
Government is particularly asked for the 'King, the nobles and the citizens of Delhi who are innocent and helpless.'

While in Delhi pro-English elements were raising obstacles to the rebels' cause, in the villages and towns around Delhi shrewd and avaricious moneylenders, who had prospered under the English land and legal system, helped the English government to suppress the rebellion. The trading community was also interested in the restoration of the English rule and thus, one way or the other, supported the English. In this regard the statement of Cooper and Holmes are illuminating, as the claimed that the Baniyas ......... and native contractors, never lost their confidence in the power of the Company's government. They believed that the English would recapture power in three months time. Holmes also recorded, ".... the mercantile and shopkeeping classes .... who knew that their position and prosperity were staked upon the continuance of ordinary rule, and would be liable to ruin, amid the anarchy which would be sure to follow after its subversion, were steady, if not loyal supporters of the government ......." Naturally such feelings among the various classes of people who enjoyed influences through their money and muscle powers paid little attention to the call of the rebels. Contrarily they vied with each other in loyalty of their addresses and offers of services. Here a reference to Talmeez Khaldoon's conclusion to the whole attitude.

2. Holmes, pp. 45, 163, 188.
4. Cooper, p. 16.
of the Indian middle class especially the Zamindars, moneylenders, merchants, educated middle class and the native officials is revealing:

"...all sided with the British are observed sullen neutrality as demanded by the circumstances in which they were caught. All looked to the British as saviours at a time when the Indian peasantry was fighting desperately to free itself of foreign as well as feudal bondage." 1

It would thus be seen that the beginning of the rebellion was made by the sepoys and joined by the peasantry enmasse — a class which was already prepared and desperately hoped for the betterment of their lot. But other classes, especially the Zamindars and merchants, the small and big rulers remained indifferent and observed sullen neutrality to the cause of the rebels. Consequently, the burden of struggle against the mightiest empire of the time, fell on the shoulders of poor peasantry and the poor sepoys who lacked resources to keep their struggle alive.

Apart from the syndrome of the ruling classes and their attitude to the rebels of 1857, which had weakened their position greatly, there were some other reasons which contributed to the failure of the struggle. Besides betrayal by the propertied classes, contributing to the defeat of the rebels in their fight for political and economic freedom, probably the most important reason for the collapse of the rebellion was the lack of a central military leadership. This becomes very clear when we compare it with the military organisation of the

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1. P.C. Joshi, p. 52.
English. At all centres of rebellion such as Delhi, Jhansi, Gawaliar, Bareilly and Lucknow this weakness was noted by Sir John Lawrence, "..... had a single leader of ability arisen among them (rebels) .... we must have been lost beyond redemption." ¹

The rebels in Delhi also suffered from perpetual financial stringency. They were also short of equipments.² This position is explained by the rebels' attitude in plundering some of the wealthy persons in Delhi or pressurising the mahajans to pay money as we have already discussed in chapter four. It would therefore be very unfair to accuse the rebels for plunder and loot of the people. Moreover, after the outbreak of the rebellion, Delhi had become the centre of rebel Sepoys, who without considering the financial implications had assembled there. It is noted that except Bakht Khan who had brought a treasure of 4 lakh rupees, no other rebel leader had brought money. The financial position of Bahadur Shah was also not very sound as he was himself on a meagre pension of rupees 3 lakhs per annum. Without adequate financial support no war could be fought. Thus one of the reasons of the collapse of 1857 rebellion was the non availability of the funds. Further the rebels were totally a disjointed lot. Within Delhi they were torn in factionalism. Their disunity was their main weakness. That is why despite their numerical superiority they were out classed by a united English force. Further, they lacked ammunition. There is no doubt that they had acquired considerable

¹ Anderson and Subedar, *The Expansion of British India*, New Delhi, 1987, p 114
² Metcalfe, p. 214.
number of ammunition in Delhi from the magazine but it was insufficient to carry on a war. Moreover, the induction of Enfield rifles — the most sophisticated weapon at that time weakened their position. In addition to this the invention of telegraph and its introduction in India also caused havoc to the rebel struggle. Here Russell may be quoted to prove this point "... never since its discovery has the electric telegraph played so important and daring role as it now does in India. Without it the Commander-in-Chief would lose the effect of half his forces. It has served him better than its right arm."¹

The rebellion of 1857 was suppressed with an iron hand by the English. In her Proclamation Queen Victoria, the Empress of India, declared, "We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon. East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part...... we shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native princes as our own......"². This Proclamation thus assured the loyal princes of preservation of their position, rights, dignity and honour by way of reward. But this may also be understood that this assurance to this loyalist class came from the new regime i.e. the British Government after the sacrifices made by the peasantry and the freedom seeking sepoys and the learned. Further, as a sequel to the rebellion, the English fully recognised the usefulness of the Indian zamindars and moneylenders who had rendered exemplary

services to the English cause during 1857. Hence the English made an alliance with these classes on the consideration that it would be difficult to rule permanently if they adopted polices to alienate these classes.¹ Queen's Proclamation also assured the peasantry to protect their rights in land and to frame such laws with due regard to the ancient rights, usage and customs of India.² But it remained on paper and the zamindars became more powerful afterwards.

The English considered that the Muslims and the army were the chief instigators of the revolt. The British administrators thus paid special attention to it. A commission of enquiry was set up under Sir John Peel which recommended that reduction of native army and the ratio was to be fixed between the native and European/British men. After few years another commission recommended the artillery should be controlled exclusively by the British or the Europeans. Several reformatory measures were introduced in the army by the British government.

The Muslims felt wrath of the British government as may be noticed from such remarks by the English officers, "..... a Mohammedan was another word for a rebel". Another important step was also taken by Mr. Mont Gomery about this time who declared that, "the mutiny was essentially of Hindostanee and Mohammedan origin: the Mohammadan, they regarded, as the instigators, and the Hindus

¹ Gubbins, p. 98.
as the dupes." Sir William Muir refers to the attitude of the British towards the Muslims, "To teach these rascally Mussalmans a lesson the Nawab of Jhajjhar, Farrukh Nagar, Ballabhgarh and 24 Shahzadas were hanged." There was a whole sale massacre of the Muslims. 27 thousand Muslims were hanged in Delhi alone. On the restoration of order in Delhi, the English discriminative policy may be judged from the punitive fine imposed on the people of Delhi. Muslims were to pay 35% of their immovable property while the Hindus were let of on only 10% as punitive fines. This repression led to the decay of Delhi which never recovered to its old glory.

The repressive attitude of the British towards the Muslims made the latter extremely unhappy. They began to hate the British culture, civilization, philosophy, education and everything which was associated with the foreign rulers. This antagonism of the Muslims may be considered to be mainly responsible for their strong resistance in acquiring modern education or joining the institutions set up by the British to impart modern education especially the English language. The Muslim community began to set up their own educational institutions apprehending that the British educational system and the British government would destroy their culture and religion.

2 Indian Mutiny, North Western Province Intelligence Records (1902), Vol I, p 273
3 Bipin Chandra, Modern India, New Delhi, 1988, p. 249
4 P C Joshi, p 56; Zakaullah, pp. 715-16
5 Andrews, pp. 38-39 Interestingly in the twentieth century The British reversed the policy. A musalman could become a voter if his annual income was rupees 3000/- per annum. The Hindus could only exercise their votes if their annual income was Rs. 3 lakhs per annum. This policy was in accord to the British policy of divide and rule.
Thus, it is not surprising that in the post rebellion period, a large number of madrasas were established throughout the length and breadth of North India. To crown all these institutions was Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband where the founder of this institution preached for religious stability and an ideology which was in confirmity of Syed Ahmed Bareilvi. It also preached for a struggle against the British who had been responsible for enslaving the motherland. Contrary to this, in the post rebellion period, a section of Hindus, "inspired by the arts and sciences of Europe, were experiencing an intellectual and moral renaissance, the Muslims all over India were falling into a state of material indulgence and intellectual decay."¹ The plight of the Muslims in the post rebellion period has also been described by W.W. Hunter,² which is however beyond the scope of this thesis to dilate upon. Sir Syed realizing this situation made an attempt to extricate the Muslims from the agony of 1857 and persuade them to go for modern education. But it was too late. The uneven development of the Hindu and Muslim communities in India in the post rebellion period raised the Hindu-Muslim problem. The British took full advantage of it.

The impact of the rebellion of 1857 on the Indian people were of far reaching consequences. It led to the rise of various problems. Hindi-Urdu controversy gained momentum, Hindu-Muslim problem grew apace, thanks to activities of the Christian Missionaries and their holding of religious discourses under the supervision of district

1. Mohammad Noman, Muslim India, Allahabad, 1942, p. 32.
authorities mostly the English, activities of Arya Samaj and its instance leading to division of Hindus and Muslims in North India, the promotion of the Ahmedya in Punjab and Shia-Sunni controversy, and Bareilvi-Wahabi divide. It naturally weakened the unity of India that was seen during the crucial phase of the rebellion of 1857. The post rebellion scenario largely helped the British to consolidate their position in India and to perpetuate the exploitative nature of their rule.
Chapter- 7

CONSPIRACIES AND ALLEGATIONS

It should be fully understood that Delhi was not prepared to become the central place for such a large scale outbreak. Undoubtedly, the Mughal Emperor enjoyed great respect of the citizens not only in Delhi but throughout the country. Unfortunately, during the past 150 years his authority had progressively declined and the nobility and other functionaries of the so-called Mughal Empire had degenerated to the extent that was beyond repair. Most of them were not prepared to take any risk at the cost of their own comfortable life. Had the rebellion taken place simultaneously at each place according to a plan, the situation might have been different. Moreover, no war could be prolonged for an indefinite period and the English were in a better position to take advantage of this situation. It had been noticed in the previous chapter how the English tried to create disunity among the people of Delhi on communal lines. Further, it was not difficult for the English to create doubts against the integrity of the King. There are numerous examples that the English were continuously trying to tarnish the image of Bahadur Shah. The city population consisted of different types of people. The trading community, the industrialists and other professionals could not keep their work in abeyance for long. The moment the English surrounded the city of Delhi and blocked its exit and entry, this class became extremely restless. The spies and mischief mongers took full advantage
of this situation and soon they succeeded in creating an atmosphere of despondency and feeling of hopelessness among the people. Those who were fighting gallantly, despite their meagre resources, also succumbed to the conspirators' game-plan and the King was hard pressed to conclude peace with the English.

Bahadur Shah who had succeeded to the Mughal throne in September 1837 after the death of Akbar Shah II, was fairly in an advanced age i.e. 63 years. He was born in 1774. According to the Mughal traditions he received military training including the art of handling modern weapons. He was also a good rider and poet. He loved the people and felt sad, seeing their plight. Like a noble soul, he wished to remove the miseries of the people of the entire world, but his own position was so uncertain under the English tutelage that he could do nothing in this regard. The English were continuously trying to reduce his prerogatives. The assurances given to his father Akbar Shah for the increase of the tribute which the English preferred to describe as pension was not fulfilled on different pretexts.

In the Red Fort crisis of succession arose in 1839 when prince Dara Bakht, the nominated successor to Bahadur Shah, passed away. It should be remembered that the ominous era of Lord Dalhausie had already began to cast its dark shadow on the Indian subcontinent. His interferences in the affairs of the Mughal house as well as other ruling princes is too well known to be described. Lord Dalhausie

1. Zaheer, p.38, f.n. The author says that the King was born in 1773.
was determined to destroy the Mughal sovereignty. After the death of Prince Dara Bakht it was Fakhruddin Fatahul Mulk in the line of succession and was known to be a great supporter of English. Bahadur Shah was keen to raise Jawan Bakht, born of his favourite queen Zeenat Mahal, as his successor. Mirza Fakhruddin Fatahul Mulk is also alleged of possessing a weak character but to the English, his succession suited. Hence on the terms dictated by the English Fatahul Mulk was recognised as successor. On 10th July, 1856 Fatahul Mulk also died. On 11th July, Sir Thomas Metcalfe appeared before Bahadur Shah. The latter pleaded for the succession of Jawan Bakht. And to strengthen his argument the King gave him a statement signed by other claimants of succession supporting the name of Mirza Jawan Bakht as heir apparent. On 13th July, the eldest son of Bahadur Shah, Mirza Quresh, sent a petition to the English agent alleging that the Badshah forced the Princes to sign the statement threatening that their refusal would lead to discontinue of their allowances. It was also alleged in the petition that Bahadur Shah promised them to increase their allowance and salary if they signed the statement. The petition also alleged that the petitioner had not agreed to the proposal as he had come to know that Begum Zeenat Mahal was keenly interested to raise Jawan Bakth as the heir apparent. He also claimed that being the eldest son with all capability and qualifications, he should be declared heir apparent. This petition is not free from doubts. We have no evidence to suggest that it was done at the behest of the

English. However, the petition of Mirza Quresh provided a golden opportunity to the English to interfere in the Imperial affairs. It was now the turn of Lord Canning who recognised the right of Mirza Quresh as heir apparent and declared the termination of Sovereignty of the Mughals after the death of Bahadur Shah.

The Red Fort had become a centre of intrigues. Begum Zeenat Mahal, who was married to Bahadur Shah in his old age, was his favourite. Begum Zeenat Mahal was keenly interested in the succession problem and wished that her son, Jawan Bakht, should succeed Bahadur Shah. She anticipated that after the death of Bahadur Shah, if her son did not succeed as sovereign her condition would be worse. The tradition of the Mughal house was before her. She very well knew that Bahadur Shah would not live for long hence she was making every effort and even took resort to conspiracy and manipulation to raise Jawan Bakht as heir apparent. After the death of Mirza Fatahul Mulk, she had become very optimistic. However, her hopes ended in smoke when the Governor General recognised Mirza Quresh as heir apparent. Therefore, in the Imperial household, Begum Zeenat Mahal appears to be the greatest enemy of the English.

On the outbreak of the rebellion and occupation of Delhi by the rebel forces, Begum Zeenat Mahal might have thought that her aspirations to raise Jawan Bakht as the heir apparent would now be fulfilled. But Mirza Ilahi Bakhsh, Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and others appear to have assured her that the English would be successful.

and regain power. Keeping the entire situation in mind, it should not be a matter of surprise that in this conspiracy she joined hands with them. Mirza Ilahi Bakhsh was probably most enemical to Begum Zeenat Mahal as he seems to have believed that the sudden death of Mirza Fakhruddin (Fatahul Mulk) was the result of a palace conspiracy in which the Begum had a leading role. To him it was the most opportune time to take revenge from the King and the Begum by joining hands with the English and betraying the King and the queen. Since Begum Zeenat Mahal was prepared to do every thing for raising Jawan Bakht, it was not difficult for Ilahi Bakhsh to entrap her. He prevailed upon her and the King who believed in his integrity. This is manifest from the fact that Ilahi Bakhsh succeeded in preventing Bahadur Shah from joining hands with Bakht Khan and going outside Delhi in September, 1857. He wanted to handover the King to the English alive.

On 16th May, the rebels produced a letter before Bahadur Shah which was alleged to have been written by Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and Mahboob Ali Khan and was addressed to the English with the message, "come immediately to this palace and raise Mirza Jawan Bakht as heir apparent. We will arrange the arrest of all the Sepoys and horsemen present in the Fort." The Hakim stoutly refused to accept the credibility of the letter, declaring it to be a fabrication but the rebels continued to regard Begum Zeenat Mahal a suspect. Jivan Lal testifies that wherever the rebels discovered the hands of

Hakim Ahsanullah Khan in conspiracies they also believed Begum Zeenat Mahal's complicity. On the 8th August, 1857 Begum Zeenat Mahal conveyed to Bahadur Shah rebels' suspicion that she was an English ally. Maulana Fazle Haq Khairabadi endorses this allegation.

The problem of the succession in the history of Mughals has been very complicated from the very beginning. It assumed very serious proportions after the death of Akbar threatening a civil war. It went on increasing with the demise of every Mughal King and often proved to be extremely bloody. This problem continued during the English East India company's rule. It arose once again on the death of Mirza Fakhruddin Fathul Mulk.

The princes were assigned various responsibilities in the rebel army by the rebels expecting that their orders would be carried without dispute. But the princes could not prove to be competent enough to carry on their assigned responsibilities to effectively manage the administration and control the army. They even failed to win the support of the people. To raise funds and its proper distribution was also beyond their capacity. Their greed for money and plunder of mahajans of Delhi has already been discussed elsewhere. They had become unpopular among the people. The King warned them several times without any impact on them. Ehsanul Haq had filed a petition to the King on 4th July, 1857 to the effect that:

2. Ibid. p. 190.
"Mirza Abu Bakr visits the house of Princess Farkhunda Zamani located at the crossing of Bahram Khan with evil intentions. He behaves under the influence of intoxication which is expected by drunken man."¹ The character of Mirza Abu Bakr has been described in this petition in detail which shows him as a cruel person. Bahadur Shah knew this problem as his orders of 5th July, 1857 were clear that the Princes should be treated like the common men and dealt with without considering their positions². The cowardice of the Princes may be judged from the fact that they were 6-7 thousand strong in the Tomb of Humayun and they surrendered to the English forces tamely without any resistance.

**Bakht Khan and Mirza Mughal:-** An account of Bakht Khan and his fight against the English has been given earlier. It has also been mentioned that the date of Bakht Khan's arrival in Delhi has been given variously by historians. According to a report reproduced in the trial of Bahadur Shah, the King is reported to have written to Mirza Mughal on 29th June, 1857 that Bakht Khan was likely to arrive from Barielly on 30th June. Orders were thus issued to the Darogha of Pul to make arrangements for quick crossing of Jamuna through the boat as the river was in spate. Bahadur Shah also gave orders to Mirza Mughal that it should be ensured that no officer and soldiers endeavoured to interrupt their crossing³.

Bahadur Shah sent Ahmed Ali Khan, his father-in-law, to receive

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¹ Garret, p.17.
² Metcalfe, p. 139.
³ *Press List of Mutiny Papers*, 69, no.34.
Bakht Khan. Bakht khan was brought to Delhi on 1st July by Samsamuddaulah. Bakht Khan requested the King that he should be entrusted the responsibility for making all arrangements in Delhi. The King was greatly pleased. He gave him a sword, shield and four thousand rupees in cash for distributing sweets to his soldiers granting him the title of *Sipah Salar*. He was given all authority directing all officers to follow his instructions.¹ At this stage, Bakht Khan adopting a strict attitude had said to the King that he would cut the noses and ears of the Princes, if they were caught plundering. The King responded, "You have full authority, do whatever you consider proper" ². It appears that in order to justify the prosecution of Bahadur Shah, the English were planting false evidence to punish the King. In the trial case of Bahadur Shah it was stated that on, 1st July, 1857 Princes Mirza Mughal and Mirza Abdullah requested the Emperor to grant permission to bring the Breilly armour in the night to Delhi to avoid English artillery attack. They also sought permission for stationing them outside the Ajmeri Gate but the King asked them to station them outside the Turkman Gate. Here it may be pointed out that Bakht Khan had already appeared before the King and had been given Rs.4000/- for sweets. The whole attitude of Bahadur Shah towards Bakht Khan from the very beginning was such that the request of Mirza Mughal and Mirza Abdullah as refered to above makes no sense. The activities of Bakht khan were greatly annoying to the princes. The honour conferred upon Bakht Khan on account

of his ability and competence appears to have caused jealousy to other nobles as well, specially Mirza Mughal was not happy because till then he enjoyed an undisputed authority in the State affairs. Seeing that his position had become vulnerable, he said to the King on 2nd July that he had received a complaint from the city people that they have received an order from the Kotwal directing them to be prepared to serve under the direction of the Bareilly Sepoys with their arms. Perhaps this refers to Bakht Khan's general instructions to the city traders to keep arms with them to fight against the undesirable elements plundering them. Bakht Khan's order appears to have seriously endangered the position of the Sepoys loyal to Mirza Mughal who were supposed to be involved in plundering activities. Naturally, this caused jealousy of Mirza Mughal and he thought it fit to poison the ears of Bahadur Shah. Not only that, Bakht Khan's disciplined routine in keeping the administration was also quite irksome to many who were used to a lazy and easy life. This is explained by the contemptuous report published by Zakaullah who reported that Bakht khan was also enjoying the ways of the English Commander-in-chief. Some times he examined the Magazine and instructed the officers posted there to maintain it according to the rules by storing all the essential commodities in it, and some times he directed the respectable and rich people in Delhi to appear before him which annoyed them.

On 3rd July Bahadur Shah instructed to Bakht khan to arrange

1. Garret, pp.16-17.
salary for the army and provide compensation to those whose properties were lost, to control the judiciary, the police and revenue department. He was further instructed not to have any concern with the princes. This greatly annoyed those who were directly affected by those measures. This order might have made the Princes more enemical towards Bakht Khan. It also appears that Bakht Khan might have made inquiries about the plundered wealth which angered Mirza Mughal and he provoked Bahadur Shah and Bakht Khan had to explain his position. However, the King was supporting Bakht Khan's endeavour and ordered him to carry on inquiries.

The attitude of Bahadur Shah in not considering the accusations levelled by Mirza Mughal against Bakht Khan made Mirza Mughal desperate. Having no alternative, Mirza Mughal began to manoeuvre support of other nobles against Bakht Khan. Mirza Mughal always attempted to exploit the situation if it could serve his objective. It is said that on 12th July the Mirza wrote to the King, "According to your orders, your instructions have been conveyed to the Sardars of the army. Yesterday General Bahadur Bakht Khan also visited the slave. Your wishes were conveyed to him and transmitted to all the authorities of the army according to my ability to accept it. I am sending their petitions to you." It may be inferred from the character of Mirza Mughal that the petitions were signed by the Neemuch faction of the Sepoys loyal to Mirza Mughal. It is abundantly

2. Garret, p. 89.
4. Ibid. p.87.
clear from the group factionalism that Mirza Mughal was using his supporters as if the majority of the army was reluctant to accept the position of Bakht Khan.

Bahadur Shah's attitude towards Bakht khan remained neutral. He allowed him to work independently even after so much bickering and conspiratorial attitude of Mirza Mughal. A desperate Mirza Mughal now began to interfere in the military arrangements made by Bakht Khan and began to tarnish the image of Bakht Khan as an incompetent person. To create a wedge between Bahadur Shah and Bakht Khan, a forged letter from Bahadur Shah was sent to Bakht Khan criticising the style of functioning of the latter. Bakht Khan protested to the Emperor but the latter denied having written such a letter to him. It is sad to note that while the English were tightening their grip over the rebel forces, and had infact surrounded Delhi, Mirza Mughal and his party was engaged in such petty and condemnable activities. On 20th August anti-Bakht Khan group even alleged that he was in league with the English. The witness was produced before Bahadur Shah, and on cross examination he could not give any satisfactory evidence. In the end, he could only say that he came to visit Mirza Mughal. Again on 23rd August, an attempt was made to prevent Bakht Khan's entry to the Court. On 17th July, Mirza Mughal had levelled a serious allegation against Bakht Khan that the latter was deliberately avoiding battle with the English where as prior to his arrival the war against the English was being fought satisfactorily. He urged upon the Emperor

1. Metcalfe, p. 201.
2. Ibid. p. 204.
to dismiss Bakht Khan as Commander-in-Chief of the forces so that
he could launch a massive attack on the enemy\textsuperscript{1}. Bahadur Shah kept
quite over this proposition. Meanwhile, another petition was sent
to the King pointing out that Bakht Khan was an officer in artillery
branch and he knows only one work that is how to manage artillery.
He is not competent in the battle field nor he deserves the position
to hold the office of Governor. The petitioners also alleged that Bakht
Khan was ill mannered, and did not pay any offerings to the Emperor.
The petitioners thus urged upon Bahadur Shah to raise Mirza Mughal
as Commander-in-chief of the entire forces, a position which he held
earlier. They maintained that the entire army also wished that a
Commander-in-Chief should be appointed. Bahadur Shah sent this
petition to Bakht Khan for suitable reply. Since the time did not
allow squabbles, Bakht Khan acted with caution and suggested that
the army should be divided into three parts. First part should consist
of Delhi and Meerut regiments, the second part should consist of
the forces which came with him and the third part consist of the
remaining forces. Bahadur Shah showed Bakht Khan's reply to Mirza
Mughal\textsuperscript{2}.

A close scrutiny of the petitions of Mirza Mughal and the Sepoys
reveal that Mirza Mughal was the main instigator behind these petitions.
Bakht Khan also understood that a division of army was the only
solution in the circumstances. That is why he kept his own forces

\textsuperscript{1} Garret, p.89.
\textsuperscript{2} Zakaullah, p. 684.
with him and suggested the division of others. However, it is interesting to note that when the rumour of division of the army gained momentum, many soldiers from other military contingents began to join Bakht Khan's army. A panic stricken Mirza Mughal directed the Kotwal of the city to make a public announcement that all the soldiers who had left their contingents should return to their respective contingents failing which they would be severely dealt with².

Apart from the princes, there were some other persons who were known for their loyalty to the English. They were naturally unhappy with the appearance of Bakht Khan in Delhi. One of them was Hakim Ahsanullah Khan. From the very beginning, the rebels doubted the integrity of Ahsanullah Khan. He believed that the English would be finally victorious, that is why he managed to send a letter in the name of Bahadur Shah to the Lt. Governor of Agra³. The rebels also suspected Ahsanullah Khan and his associates⁴. On 15th May, 1857 the rebels made allegations against Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and Mahboob Ali Khan, a confident servant of Bahadur Shah, for conspiring with the English. Mehboob Ali Khan assured on oath that he was not involved in any conspiracy. On 16th May, the rebels produced a letter of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and Mahboob Ali Khan addressed to the English. Ahsanullah Khan and Mahboob Ali Khan denied having written any such letters⁵. On 26th May the rebels came to know that the gun placed at Salimgarh fort had been made ineffective by filling stone chips. The rebels suspected the hands of Ahsanullah

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1 Metcalfe, p. 152.
2 Press List of Mutiny Papers, III d, No.41.
3 Metcalfe, p. 83.
4 Zaheer, p. 144.
5 Metcalfe, pp. 84-85; press List of Mutiny Papers, No. 39, p. 5a.
Khan and Mahboob Ali in this regard. The rebels decided to kill both of them. Bahadur Shah, however, persuaded them to act with restrain. Further, the rebels discovered that the ammunition and gunpowder was concealed in the grain store. The rebels believed that it was the work of Begum Zeenat Mahal, Mahboob Ali Khan and Ahsanullah Khan. Jivan Lal tells us that the rebels had become so desperate over the activities of Ahsanullah Khan that they attempted to murder him on 4th August. On 7th August the gunpowder factory of the rebels in the Kothi of Begum Samroo caught fire and was destroyed. The rebels believed that it was the handy work of Ahsanullah Khan. The rebels were so annoyed with Hakim Ahsanullah Khan that at last on 7th August he was captured from the Red Fort. Bahadur Shah pleaded not to harm his life and on 8th August he gave orders to his sons to see that Hakim's life was saved. On 9th August apprehending that the life of Ahsanullah Khan was in danger, Bahadur Shah made a personal appeal to the Sepoys that as a physician the Hakim was an indispensable necessity for him. He thus pleaded to save Hakim's life in view of his failing health. There was another person Mirza Ilahi Baksh who was a relative of Bahadur Shah and a well wisher of the English. Bahadur Shah held him in great confidence. Ilahi Baksh always counselled for a peace with the English. On 24th July he had warned that if the King did not open

1. Metcalfe, p.103.
2. Ibid. p. 107.
4. Sadiq-ul-Akhar, 10th August, 1857; Metcalfe, pp.185-86.
negotiations for peace with the English, he would be put to great loss. The rebels also suspected Jivan Lal for his espionage activities and secret deal with the English. Jivan Lal writes in his roznamcha. "I learned afterwards that, when I was arrested, Lalla Sham Lal wrote to Mirza Ilahi Baksh that now was the time to render me assistance, as I was a servant of the English and he a well wisher." Mirza Ilahi Baksh was mourning the death of his infant son. He hurriedly laid him to rest and rushed to save Jivan Lal. It was Mirza Ilahi Baksh who played a crucial role in not allowing Bahadur Shah to go out of Delhi despite persuasion by Bakht Khan.

Besides the Fort, there were a large number of well wishers of the English in the City. There are many names who posed themselves as the supporters of the rebels' cause but they were actively helping the English. Prominent among them were Jivan Lal, Moinuddin Hassan Khan, Chunni Lal and others. They had their own network of espionage and they provided regular information to Hudson who headed the department of the Espionage of the English. They were so clever that it was difficult to catch them in their nefarious activities. The Delhi Urdu Akhbar lamentingly writes that it was a peculiar game of God that some time it is hard to believe that most of the Hindus and Muslims are loyal to the English in this age and work against their own faith and religion. It is said that secretly they wish the

2. Ibid. pp.189-90.
3. Ibid. p. 190.
4. Kaye, Vol.III, p.644, Kaye writes that Mirza Ilahi Baksh, "made so many good arrangements that neither the King nor his sons did ever listen to them, (Bakht khan and others) and none of them have ever gone with the officers of the ungrateful regiments."; Also see Khadang-i-Ghadar, p.71.
success of the English and supply them information regularly. By heart they are sincerely with them.  

Ironically, the shamlessness of some of the greedy persons had reached to the extent that they were providing regularly essential commodities from Delhi to the English. A report cited by Jivan Lal indicated that on 14th June 13 bakers (Nanbaies) of Kabuli Gate were killed for supplying bread to the English. On 6th July three spies were executed in the camp of Bakht Khan and two men were caught carrying wine to the English camp. People were being imprisoned regularly for espionage activity but unfortunately the espionage net-work established by the English could not be broken.

As already noticed earlier, the army of the rebels was badly divided. It was torn into many factions. It lacked a central leadership. Jealousy and false pride played a leading role in not accepting the over all leadership of a veteran and seasoned warrior like Bakht Khan by other groups and factions. Moreover, except the army that was being commanded by Bakht Khan, the Neemuch, Meerut and Delhi army of the rebels lacked resources and discipline. Since they were not being paid either by the princes or by their commanders, the only avenue for their subsistance was plunder. The Princes were a worthless lot, their ambition was to hold offices and pose themselves as military rank holders without contributing in any way to support

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2. Metcalfe, p.121.
the rebels' cause. Their role in plundering the people with the help of the impoverished Sepoys has already been cited. In view of such a state of affairs prevailing in Delhi during the progress of the rebellion of 1857, it was bound to lead to a dismal result to the spontaneous revolution that had begun from Meerut on 10th May and engulfed Delhi on 11th May.
Chapter - 8

COLLAPSE AND CONCLUSION

The process of collapse of the rebels' rule may be traced from the second week of August 1857 when Brigadier Nicholson reached Delhi with his forces and joined the English camp on 7th August, 1857. The entire army of Nicholson arrived at Delhi on 14th August. The arrival of Nicholson was a moral booster to the English army. Followed by Nicholson, the English Artillery also moved from Punjab. The rebels in Delhi resolved to stop joining of the Artillery with Nicholson's army and marched with a strong contingent of artillery and army, determined to check the incoming English Artillery. Nicholson quickly acted, intercepted the rebel forces near village Bhaprole and attacked them but he could not succeed very much. On 26th August the rebels attacked Nicholson's camp but could not achieve any success.

By 6th September, 1857 the position of the English became very comfortable as they had received all the support from outside which they expected. The English position had become very formidable as they received a large quantity of ammunition. The English army was fully aware of the condition of the rebel forces in Delhi which was leaderless. It also knew that they were divided into several smaller

2. Ibid P. 201.
groups and also lacked a coordinated united and planned action. The English army also knew that the rebels suffered from an acute lack of arms and ammunition and possessed no wealth. It therefore correctly presumed that any English attack would shatter the rebel forces.¹

From the very beginning of September, the English engineers had begun to prepare fortifications for making an assault on Delhi. On 7th September they prepared their first battery near Mori Gate (about seven hundred yards away from Mori Gate). The rebel forces made an attempt to stop constructions but they were not successful due to their negligence. This proved to be very costly. Next morning the English army not only constructed a fortification but also raised a gun over it. A surprise rebel force carried out an artillery attack on the English fortification upsetting their plan. However after completing their batteries, they began to fire the city wall and destroyed the Mori Gate².

The English forces captured Ludlow Castle and set up a battery on it which was hardly 500 yards away from Kashmiri Gate³. The English set up another battery on 10th September at the customs Kothi and on the same day they raised another battery at the Qudsia Garden. From 11th September the English artillery attack became regular. The rebels tried to counter fire from Kashmiri Gate but they could not continue for long. The English artillery fire damaged the tower and city wall. On 12th September the 3rd and 4th batteries inintermittenly

¹ Parlimentary Paper 1857, No. 4 p. 527.
² Delhi 1851, pp. 267-270; Rotton, J.E.W., Meerut Mutiny and the Seige of Delhi, reprint, New Delhi, 1989 pp. 232-240 (Here after cited as Rotton).
emitted fire. The English firing continued day and night. The rebels brought their guns in the open against the English batteries and drilling the city walls placed their guns against each battery and made a quick attack on them. The rebels' artillery fire caused great damage to the English positions and their soldiers were also killed in large numbers\(^1\). Unfortunately, at this crucial the supplies to the rebels in Delhi were stopped. They were deeply disappointed but continued to fight against great odds for the sake of independence.

Unlike 12th September, 13\(^{th}\) September was relatively a calm day. It appears that the English kept on planning and making necessary preparations for next days attack. On 14th September, in the early morning the English forces assembled at Ludlow Castle. The army under Reed was not there as it had been deputed to make onslaught in Kishengunj area. This change of plan was necessitated due to the plugging of damaged wall which was to be used for English entry into the city. The English therefore gave fresh orders for Artillery fire. The rebels also retaliated with gun fire. The English forces advanced as per their plan. The rebels began to fire upon them but they could not stop the advance of the English army. The English suffered heavy losses of life on account of rebels' firing. However, some of the English soldiers, including Nicholson, succeeded in climbing over the city wall. A wing of the English forces captured the Kashmiri Gate with great difficulty. The English army which was marching towards Kishangunj, was resisted strongly by the rebel

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\(^1\) Rotton, pp. 249-256; Delhi 1857, pp. 271-272; Roberts pp. 119-120; Hope Grant pp. 118-119.
forces and made the English army suffer heavily. Nicholson was commanding the forces now launched a general assault on Delhi. He sent an army from Ajmeri Gate and another from Kabuli Gate while directing Campbell to march into the city with an army towards Jama Masjid. The English forces which were moving form Kabuli Gate towards the city had to fight a grim battle for every inch and had to decide to retreat. Nicholson had also reached there for support but he received a gun shot and was injured causing the English army to retreat. Campbell with the help of Metcalfe succeeded in reaching Jama Masjid without much resistance. But he had to bring his forces back to a church as other forces could not come to his support. The English had to suffer at every point. Wilson, the Commander - in - Chief, was disappointed to see the situation and was considering to retire to the hills. Some of the ambitious an courageous officers strongly opposed Wilson's views. Nicholson, who was at the death bed, also strongly opposed this proposal. The battle on 14th September is considered to be very fierce and the English had to suffer heavy losses. The 6 hours battle took the toll of 66 officer's and 1104 soldiers. The condition of the besieged rebels in Delhi worsened by 14th September. The civilians were extremely terrified with the rapid entry of the English into the city and they were fleeing with all the property they could carry off and burying the rest. Kaye suggests that the fleeing citizens of Delhi left large stock of wine,

3. Ibid.
which fell into the hands of invading English forces. Kaye says that
the result of getting intoxicating weakness by the English sepoys
was terrible. To quote his words, "The Europeans fell upon the liquid
treasure with an avidity which they could not restrain. And if the
insurgents had then seized the opportunity as cunningly as they have
made it, it is hard to say what calamity might have befallen us".

From 15th September to 18th September the English army captured
important areas like Kishengunj, Chandni Chowk, Lahori Gate despite
fierce fighting. On 19th September the English forces moved ahead
of Kabuli Gate despite fierce resistance by the rebels who were by
now much reduced in their ranks and support with the exit of majority
of the rebel forces. On 20th September Brigadier Jones captured the
Lahori Gate. The English army looted the people mercilessly and
shamelessly. Brigadier Jones received orders to divide his army into
two parts by sending one part of it to Chandni Chowk and occupy
Jama Masjid which he did. He also requested the general to allow
him to capture the fort. In the meantime Jones entered the Ajmeri
Gate. An English army was sent towards Eidgah and it was learned
that the camp of the rebels outside Delhi Gate was vacant. Lt. Hudson
took possession of the Gate capturing a number of people who were
executed. According to Bred's request, General Wilson was planning
to attack the Fort. The Fort of Delhi where the descendants of Timur
lived for long now presented a deserted look. They had fled away

to places of safety. The Sepoys, who were injured and had been kept in the fort were put to death. The princes had also disappeared from the scene leaving their houses. Where only infirm, weak and old people remained. They were also killed by the English army. The English army also blew away the bridge which linked Salimgarh with the main fort. The English forces occupied both Jama Masjid and Salimgarh Fort.¹

The invading English army did not show any mercy on the vanquished. Kaye admits that the English attitude was rather harsh upon the people of Delhi. To quote his words, "Many who had never struck a blow against us- who had tried to follow their peaceful pursuits- and who had been plundered and buffeted by their own armed countrymen, were pierced by our bayonets or cloven by our sabres, or brained by our muskets or rifles."² The English hatred and intolerance for Indians was immense. Again to quote Kaye," The very sight of a dark man stimulated our national enthusiasm almost to the point of frenzy. We tolerated those who wore our uniforms and bore our arms, but all else were, in our eyes, the enemies and persecutors of our race. So it sometimes happened that during the first days of our occupation of Delhi, many innocent men were shot down or otherwise massacred"³. Delhi was made the slaughter ground by the English army. Poor Bahadur Shah who had successfully faced the English diplomacy in combating their nefarious designs and maintaining communal harmony, was now totally helpless. He had

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³ Ibid. p. 636.
been exhorting the rebels in Delhi continuously to maintain communal harmony. His reprimand to the rebels throughout the period was aimed at arousing their national sentiments. Its demoralising effects on the English forces prior to Nicholson's arrival in Delhi may be judged from the fact that during the progress of the war (1857) two English Generals were killed, one had resigned and went away and the fourth one was always anxious and worried. In that situation if some time Bahadur Shah appeared to be dejected and sad in his old age or became disappointed, he should not be accused. He had full confidence in God and believed that he was fighting for a right cause. In that state of mind he used to cry for help from God.

Bahadur Shah appears to have had great faith in Bakht Khan's ability. Though old in age, weak in resources, infirm in leading an army, he possessed an alert mind and very well understood the English strength and rebels' weaknesses. This may be well understood from his conversation with Bakht Khan that took place on 5th September when the latter informed him of the arrival of English artillery and attack on Kashmiri Gate. The Emperor's question was: "what arrangements you are making to fight the English. If you are unable to fight them open the Gates of the city immediately." The General replied." I am taking the magazine out of the city. I will face the English artillery fire with forty guns for which I am preparing batteries." He further told the King that he was organising a special squad consisting of two thousand horses to cut the supply line of the English."

Thereafter the King questioned, "What is the position of gunpowder? " He sent an immediate letter to the Nawab of Farrukhabad to send two thousand mounds of sulphur to him immediately. Here it may be seen that Bahadur Shah was keeping an eye on the minutest detail of war machinery. Sulphur played a very important role in the warfare in those days and one of the reasons of the collapse of the rebel forces in Delhi was its shortage.

In view of the gravity of situation due to the penetration of the English army in Delhi, the rebel leaders were making every effort to enlist support of Hindus and Muslims to fight them.  

Even at this stage when the enemy's danger was looming large, the conspirators in the Fort were engaged in their hateful designs. Begum Zeenut Mehal was a playdoll in the hand of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and Ilahi Baksh. On 20th July a proposal was sent to the Lt. Governor of North-West provinces for peace. But the Lt. Governor understood the real objective of this proposal. On 21st August Begam Zeenat Mahal sent a message to Mr. Grid that if the English gave guarantee for the safety of the women and children then she would exercise her influence. The reply was that no negotiation could be made with the ladies of the Palace. Zeenat Mahal however got a responsive ally to satisfy her scheming mind. He was Hudson. Begum Zeenat Mahal bribed him and secured assurance from him for her own safety as well as of the King, her own son and her father. By

1. Metcalfe, p. 222.
2. Press List of Mutiny Papers, 16 No. 20; Metcalfe, p. 229.
3. Letter of General Neal to Governor General, Kanpur dated 4th September 1857; Parliamentary Paper, No. 4 p. 194.
doing this she put Bahadur Shah to shame. After that whatever Hudson did was simply a drama of bravery 1.

On the English entry into the city the Fort conspirators adversely influenced the mind of Bahadur Shah. Ilahi Baksh was an ally of the English in the Fort and a traitor. He very well understood that the English were to succeed. He dissuaded the King not to join the rebels. This advice came at a time when Bakht Khan was endeavouring to consolidate his position and continue the war. He met Bahadur Shah and the Princes at the Humayun’s tomb. To quote Kaye, "It was thought that amidst this crowd of people, the King and his family, swayed by later counsels, might escape." Hudson saved the opportunity, obtained permission from the General and captured the King along with other princes. The King surrendered to Hudson on the latter's personal verbal assurances. 3 Hudson partly kept his words but he executed a number of Princes. 4 The capture of Bahadur Shah ended the rebels activities in Delhi.

A word may be said here about the atrocities committed by the English after they occupied the city of Delhi in 1857. Earlier we have noted the attitude of the English towards Indians and their indiscreet killings. The houses of the people were burnt. The city was vacant as most of the people had gone out of the city. A large number of princes had also escaped with the army. However, the

4. Details may be seen in Kaye's vol. III, pp 647-51.
princes found around Delhi were killed.

In Delhi while Bahadur Shah had surrendered, Hudson succeeded in capturing a large number of Princes who had also taken shelter in the tomb of Humayun. The princes had a strong number of supporters whom Kaye refers to be the Mohammadies without mentioning the word. The detailed account of negotiation between the princes and Hudson recorded in the 'Twelve years of a Soldiers Life in India' by G.H. Hudson gives ample proof of the former's hostility towards the Mughal House. But he was also apprehensive of a blood shed if he used force to capture the pirnces. He moved with caution and secured once again the services of Rajab Ali who according to Kaye, "was the very life a Hudson's intelligence department, and the loyal member of the Delhi family, willing to betray his kinsmen for his own ends". Hudson was determined not to grant any concessions to any Princes. The Princes who apparently had been vaguely promised a safe exit, came out in bullockcarts surrounded by Hudson's men.

Kaye on the basis of a report gives the following account, "Meerza Elahee Buksh had a principal hand in this. At night, he says, "when I went to Hudson Sahib he told me to bring to him the Meerza Khazar Sooltan, Meerza Mogal and Meerza Aboo-Bakr. I answered that I had already made arrangements for that. He might find them any

1 Kaye, Vol III, p 648 (With them were some thousands of followers, including a number of Mussalman fanatics, who called upon them in the name of the Prophet to resist the infidel intruders, but they thought it better to sue for terms - hoping at least that their lives would be spared.).
2 Ibid pp 648-49 fn
3 Ibid pp 648-49
time he liked. ...............then (22nd September) according to the order of Hudson Sahib, I brought those three above-mentioned from the sepulchre to him. Having taken them with the King's property with him, He returned, and was very pleased with me. After the Princes, Hudson asked the People hiding in Humayun's tomb to come out and surrender their arms. After the surrender of the King and the Princes, the people followed suit. Moving towards Delhi with the caravan of the Princes, Hudson uncovered his real face and asked the princes to come down from their carts, stripped them and shot those unfortunate, unarmed and unresisting princes, Their dead bodies were thrown to public view in front of Kotwali where "they remained, till the bodies rotted and stank, and it was necessary for health's sake, to bury them."

The English army entered the city and let loose a reign of terror. Whoever came in their way was put to death, and houses set on fire. The city was plundered for three days. Thereafter the department of prize agency was established. Its work was to collect the plundered goods at one place and auction them at throw away prices. After the exit of the rebels from Delhi, a large number of people had buried their valuable things in the ground or in the walls. The English army began to dig out such wealth. Temples and Mosques suffered heavily. Jama Masjid was made the barracks of the Sikh regiment where pork was cooked. It was also proposed that Jama Masjid should

2. Ibid. p. 651.
3. Ibid.
be razed to the ground. While some debated for converting it to a church.¹ The life of Lord Lawrence gives a detailed account of the brutal activity of English army from September to December 1857. However Lawrence in the end put his foot down to protect Delhi from plunder.²

Bahadur Shah was now the prisoner of the British. He was being ridiculed in different ways by the English soldiers. He was put under trial for sedition against the English government. The proceeding of trial started on 27th January 1858.³ Zakallah gives a graphic account of this proceeding. He says that, "The Commission of trial against Bahadur Shah held its court in the Diwan-i-Khas where Bahadur Shah used to be brought as a prisoner. Sometimes he used to sit on a small charpai and lay on it. The place from where he had ruled for years, now some peons and mace bearer used to come and call him as prisoner".⁴ It is true that Bahadur Shah was at the fag-end of his life and had little concern for his own future. But it is unfortunate that he was still under the influence of the same people who had prevented him to go with Bakht Khan and made him hopeful. He was uttering the words which they asked him to say. He was held guilty for conspiracy against the English and was sent to Burma along with his two wives Zeenat Mahal and Taj Mahal and two Princes Jawan Bakht and Abbas Shah. He died on 7th November 1862 at

1. R. Bosworth Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, (Smith elder and co, 1883), Vol. II, pp. 238-266; Zakallah, pp. 701-730.
the age of 81, and was buried there. Bahadur Shah as a man and as a ruler, despite all his limitations, had a great love for India and its people. In Delhi whenever a Mussalman oppressed a Hindu and he went to Bahadur Shah for justice, he used to order the Muslims not to harass Hindus saying that, "As you are my one eye the Hindus are the other eye."  

The collapse of the struggle in Delhi paved the way for the restablishment of the British rule in India. The medieval order came to an end and the modern establishment replaced it. The consequences of the collapse were far reaching. The bloody struggle launched by the rebels of 1857 against the English regime for liberation of the motherland, however, did not go waste. It kindled the spirit of freedom in the heart of the Indians which never fully extinguished. And the post-rebellion period witnessed a series of struggles led by small group, of people from middle and lower middle classes until an all India organisation was formed in 1885 and thus a new era began in the history of India.

CONCLUSION

The rebellion of 1857 was nothing less than a cataclysm which shook the calm and placid life of Delhi to its very roots. It marks a violent break from the past which dealt a bloody blow to the values, traditions, and cultural ethos which had evolved over the centuries and had come to be identified as the distinctive quality of Delhi's life. The magnitude of the destruction, killings, tortures, and uprooting of the people from their hearth and home defies description. In this thesis, an attempt has been made to trace and delineate an outline of tragic events of 1857, its progress and possibilities, the failings and betrayals which turned this heroic struggle into an unmitigated catastrophe. For the proper understanding of the tragedy, the setting in which it took place and its consequences also need to be worked out and properly understood. Immediately prior to the events of 1857, in spite of the decline and erosion of Mughal power, people in Delhi were leading a kind of life which was marked with great cultural and intellectual pursuits of a very high quality. Though Mughal rule was limited to the Red Fort (Exalted Fort or Qila-i-Mualla) but its prestige among the people was still very high. The powerless Mughal king, who was living on the doles of the English and was totally bereft of political authority, was still held in highest esteem and was providing leadership to the people in the field of intellectual and cultural activities. This was one area where he could give full expression to his inner urges without incurring the ire of English. As a result, the Mughal Court became a veritable centre of great intellectual activity. Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal King, himself was a poet of some eminence and encouraged poets, poetry, and other literary pursuits. Due to his
encouragement and under his patronage, Urdu poetry reached its highest watermark and produced literary giants like Ghalib and others. In such a situation while Delhi lost its status as the political capital of India, it emerged as the capital of poetry, literature, learning and other intellectual pursuits. Despite his meagre resources, Bahadur Shah continued to extend all possible support to the intellectuals and the learned in Delhi.

During this period, Delhi also emerged as a very important centre of education; there were a number of renowned madrasas in Delhi catering to educational needs of the people. Some of the most outstanding Ulema like Shah Abdul Aziz, Shah Abdul Qadir, Shah Rafinddin and other members of the family of Shah Waliullah were attracting students from all corners of the country. They were not only disseminating education to those who came to learn at their feet but were also making earnest efforts to revive the pristine purity of Islam and cleanse it from many innovations, which had crept into it over the long period of their association with other communities.

Delhi College, established in 1825, played an important role in spreading Western education and sciences. Both English and vernacular languages served as the medium of instruction in the college. In spite of public apathy towards Western education, this college succeeded in attracting a large number of students. Besides imparting instructions in western subjects and English language, this College also undertook the translation of standard works from English into vernacular languages and thereby making it possible even for those who did not know English to have access to western sciences and learning. It was also the good fortune of the college
that it succeeded in securing the services of some very good teachers. This was greatly helpful in popularizing the objectives of the College among the people of Delhi. Due to the English administration of Delhi and large concentration of Englishmen there, people naturally developed contacts with them and became increasingly familiar with the English language. For jobs under the English, the knowledge of English language was very helpful. As a result, many people started learning the language and its knowledge, slowly but definitely gained momentum. This made it possible for them to have direct access to the new avenues of knowledge which were unknown to the majority of their countrymen.

While rapid progress was being made in these various fields and apparently it seemed that the English rule was now firmly established, and there was no challenge to the authority of the English, all was not well. Beneath the apparent calm and quite, deep resentment and discontent was simmering. The majority of the Indian people had not taken the English occupation of Indian states with equanimity and nursed a deep sense of injury and bitterness in their hearts. The haughty and arrogant attitude of the English officers added insult to injury. This was more true in the case of Sepoys who were mainly instrumental in the establishment of English hegemony and who had remained staunchly loyal to them. To their dismay and chagrin, they found that they were not being given their due which they thoroughly deserved in view of their services. They were discriminated and slighted and paid much less than their European Counterparts for the same kind of work. This naturally caused much heart burning and breded deep rooted bitterness and resentment.
A number of factors were responsible for the outbreak of the rebellion of 1857. The rebellion though started from Meerut, but the very next day on 11th May the Sepoys reached Delhi. The calm and quite life of Delhi was suddenly turned upside down and the people were confronted with a totally new situation as the city became the head quarter of the rebellion. Rebel Sepoys from different parts of Northern India began to gather at Delhi. It was primarily because Bahadur Shah as the heir and repository of a great dynasty and a glorious tradition, was still held in great respect by the people. They naturally looked to him for providing leadership at this crucial juncture in the history of the country. In the beginning Bahadur Shah hesitated to assume leadership of the new dispensation. But he was persuaded to lead the rebels in their endeavour to expel the English from the country. He tried his best to give some content and shape to the rebellion. He established a Court of Administration for filling the vacuum that was created due to the expulsion of the English from the city. The establishment of law and order in the city was the first priority of the King and in this endeavour he naturally sought the help of the Princes. They were given important administrative responsibilities. But the Princes betrayed his confidence and utterly failed in their mission which they never took seriously. They seem to have been possessed of a suicidal instinct. They failed to realise the gravity of the situation as well as the enormous opportunity that it offered. Their basic instincts came to the fore. They mere divided into factions that worked making at cross purposes. They utilized this opportunity to amass wealth by every possible means.

The King did not possess means to pay the Sepoys. They resorted to loot
and plunder to raise necessary resources to maintain themselves. Taking advantage of the situation, ruffians masqueraded as the Sepoys and wrought havoc on the people. This created not only a serious law and order problem but also led to much hardship to the people as the commercial class pulled down the shutters and economic activity came to a grinding halt. Best efforts of Bahadur Shah and even his personal intervention did not succeed to reverse the situation.

This situation somewhat changed after the arrival of Bakht Khan at Delhi. Bahadur Shah wanted to utilize his services as best as he could to restore at least some semblance of order in the chaotic conditions prevailing at Delhi. All earlier administrative appointments were cancelled. Bakht Khan was made Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces and was given sweeping powers to deal with the situation. Bahadur Shah seems to have great faith in Bakht Khan and wanted to use him as an instrument to establish at least a semblance of order in Delhi. The extent of King's faith in the ability of Bakht Khan can be gauged from the fact that he was given authority even over the Princes whom he could punish if they were found indulging in unlawful activities. In retrospect, however, it would appear to have proved counterproductive. In spite of many acts of omission and commission and grave offences on the part of the Princes, Bakht Khan could not punish them. But the Princes became extremely jealous of Bakht Khan and all their energies were now directed against Bakht Khan whom they considered to be the greatest stumbling block in their way. They constantly conspired against him and did all that they could to frustrate his efforts to restore law and order in Delhi. Even personal appeals of Bahadur Shah did not have any effect on them. Working against
such odds, Bakht Khan, inspite of his administrative acumen and military ability could not be expected to succeed.

While Delhi was reeling under the impact of the rebellion and it was becoming increasingly difficult to restore normalcy there due to a host of factors, there were a number of other serious problems to contend with. In the wake of the rebellion, several neighbouring principalities had also rebelled. But while the rulers of some of these states fully supported the rebels' cause, there were others, who acted as black sheep. Apparently, they were with the rebels but they also maintained secret contacts with the English and provided them crucial information about the position of the rebels. There were a number of people at the Court itself who enjoyed the confidence of Bahadur Shah but they were in league with the English. Besides them, there were many number of people in Delhi who, due to one reason or the other, had their sympathies with the English. All these elements were working overtime to defeat the objectives of the rebels and to cause dissensions among them.

The Sepoys came from different regiments and military cantonments. Their Commanders had ego problems and were not ready to accept the supremacy of anybody outside their own regiment. This factionalism within the Sepoys was further accentuated by the selfish designs of the Princes. With a view to push their own agenda and derive maximum advantage from the situation, they not only became instrumental in further widening their differences, but also compelled Bakht Khan, through intrigues to divide the army into three divisions. The consequence was that they could not put up a joint and united front against the English. That was
definitely one of the major reasons for the failure of the Sepoys against the English. The shortage of gunpowder and ammunition, so crucial in such an encounter, also played a very important role in the final collapse of the rebellion.

The upshot of all this was that the rebels were routed and Delhi was occupied without much difficulty. Bahadur Shah was taken as prisoner and many of the Princes were brutally slaughtered. One shudders to imagine the nightmare through which Delhi passed after the English re-occupation. The magnitude of destruction in Delhi and the brutalities which were perpetrated on the people of Delhi defy imagination.

There were many reasons responsible for the collapse of the rebels. The failure of the Princes to rise to the occasion and their abject lack of sincerity, maturity and vision to visualize the horrifying consequences of the collapse of the rebellion, was, undoubtedly, a major cause. In many cases the Sepoys, who were in the forefront of the struggle, could not shed their personal interests making a joint stand against the English well nigh impossible. Besides these grave drawbacks, the existence of the black sheep not only in the city but also in the Court and the royal household was a misfortune of unmitigated magnitude. Thanks to the nefarious activities of these fifth columnists, the minutest details of the rebels' activities and planning was known to the English and they revised and adjusted their plans accordingly. Severe resource crunch was a great handicap and gravely affected the capability of the rebels. The principalities gave priority to what they conceived to be their own interests rather than keeping in view the larger interests of the country. Bakht khan, a capable and sincere commander and administrator, could
not secure the cooperation and support of the Princes, who were blinded by their selfish interests and who in their short sightedness even did not spare the venerable King from their machinations. But for these grave shortcoming on the part of the Indians, the situation might have been different.

No doubt the rebellion, which was in fact the first war of independence against foreign rule, failed and claimed a very heavy cost in terms of untold suffering for the people of India. But it left a great impact on the minds of the people. The urge for independence that it had kindled in the hearts of the people never died and they continued to cherish this dream. The urge became stronger with the passage of time and ultimately it took the shape of a great national movement which even the mighty British Empire could not stop and India achieved its the freedom in 1947. No doubt it took 90 long years but surely in the life of a great nation it is not a long time.
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