

BAREILLY IN 1857

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A significant feature of the rebellion of 1857-58 was that many scions of former ruling houses took leading part in it. Some of them had served, or were still serving the British East India Company in different capacities.¹ One such man was Khan Bahadur Khan (1860), a descendant of Hafiz Rahmat Khan (d.1774) who led the rebels in Bareilly. He was perhaps among the few rebel leaders who received a double pension, one as the heir of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, and the other as a retired Sadr Amin under the Company's administration.²

Very little is known about the early life of Khan Bahadur Khan. It seems that having acquired traditional education in Arabic and Persian and Islamic learning, he joined the Company's service, rising to the position of Sadr Amin. Upon retirement he continued to live at Bareilly where he enjoyed considerable status as grandson of the widely venerated Ruhela chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan. In 1857 when the rebellion began Khan Bahadur Khan was well over 82 years of age.³

During the rebellion, Bareilly became one of the important centers of the rebels under Khan Bahadur Khan's leadership. In course of time many rebel leaders came to Bareilly and held meetings with Khan Bahadur Khan with a view to continuing the struggle against the Company's Government.⁴ A remarkable communal harmony in Bareilly was maintained despite the Company Officers' persistent efforts to create trouble through bribery and inciting Rajputs against Khan Bahadur Khan.⁵ Yet even when the rebellion lost out in other areas, Bareilly had last to fall (May 1858), but not without spirited resistance. The present paper is an attempt to show how an old man of over eighty was able to achieve so much success in keeping the torch of Rebellion alight at Bareilly.

Bareilly and its environs had a considerable population of the Ruhela Afghans.⁶ The Ruhelas had supplanted some of the former chiefs mostly

Katiheriya Rajputs, during the course of the 18th century. They preserved a reputation of having conducted during their days of power a fair, accommodating and just administration.⁷ In order to counterbalance the Katiheria Rajputs, they had favoured Gaur and Jhangara Rajputs, along with Gujars.⁸ They lost their power in 1774 in Warren Hasting's Ruhela War. Ruhelkhand, as the Bareilly territory had come to be known, passed to Awadh and then, in 1861, to the

Company. The Ruhelas harboured natural feelings of antipathy to those whom they regarded as usurpers, Their feelings were further aggravated when the Company imposed a new system of revenue administration. In Bareilly and Moradabad districts, the land revenue amounted to over 46 lakh rupees in 1802. Of this 42 lakh rupees were in the control of fifteen Revenue farmers including two pargana zamindars.¹⁰ This rough and ready system, where local custom and influence, helped to smooth out the grosser inequities of a heavy tax demand, was replaced by an increasingly systematic application of what came to be known as the Mahalwari system.¹¹

The disasters brought upon the older land controlling families by the new system have been commented upon by E. I. Brodtkin in a short study.¹² Imtiaz Husain too points out how with the Company's rule the old farmers were very adversely affected. Land was now a saleable and purchasable commodity to suit a "capitalist" concept of property." In fact, however, owing to the tax burden, the change did not develop a true land market. Land transfers were mainly the result of "forced sales of land because of land revenue arrears and the frauds of the subordinate revenue servants".¹³ These transfers threatened to change the complexion of landed property. Brodtkin reminds us that during the 7th settlement (1836-42), more than a third of the land underwent transfer of ownership.¹⁴ Money-lending classes gained at the cost of traditional proprietors, notably the Rajputs.¹⁵ Such a situation was seen as the opposite to that under the Ruhelas administration where interest of the landholders (farmers) as well as the peasantry were fairly well-guarded."

The resentment fuelled local anger, which burst into an uprising when in 1816 the Company imposed the Chowkidari tax.¹⁶ Though the uprising was ruthlessly suppressed it indicated a wide-range discontent against the new regime, as people from different parts had flocked at Bareilly to join the uprising."

A simmering discontent continued. Land-owners were particularly beset by a feeling of insecurity brought about by forced sales. Edwards, the Collector of Badaun (1857-58), describes the situation in these words:

To the large number of these sales during the past twelve and fifteen years, and operation of our revenue system, which has had the result of destroying the gentry of the country and breaking up the village communities, I attribute solely the disorganization of this and the neighbouring district in these provinces. By fraud and chicanery, a vast number of estates of families of rank and influence have been alienated, either wholly or in part, and have been purchased by new

men chiefly traders or Government officials without character or influence over their tenantry. These men, in vast majority of instance, were also absentees, fearing or disliking to reside at on their purchases, where they were looked upon as interlopers and unwelcome intruders. The ancient proprietor of these alienated estates were again living as tenantry on the lands once theirs by no means reconciled to their change of position, but maintaining their hereditary hold as strong as ever over the sympathies and affections of the agricultural body, who were ready and willing to join their feudal superiors in any attempt to recover their lost position and regain their possession of their estates."

A specific example of the destruction of an old family comes to us from that of the Raja of Shishgarh— a Katiheriya Rajput who had managed to retain his possession in pargana Siswan, District Bareilly, throughout Ruhela and Awadh rule. He, however, lost his estate for arrears under the Company. Many of his villages were farmed out to the *muqaddams* who were confirmed as proprietors in 1850.²² Similar conditions also prevailed in other parts of Ruhelkhand.²³ A marked feature of the 1857 Rebellion was the anxiety of the rebels to destroy survey records of the villages containing the registration of proprietary tenures and records of rights.²⁴

The Rebellion in Bareilly was thus not merely a religious war against the Company's Government as appears from the Bareilly proclamation of Khan Bahadur Khan.²⁵ Behind it, and reinforcing it, was the bitterness of those who had lost their lands and the anxiety of those who feared to lose them.

II

Strong rumours of there being trouble at Bareilly were already circulating two months before the actual outbreak.²⁶ By way of precaution the Company's officers posted there removed their families to Nainital." As elsewhere, the people of Bareilly were also largely influenced by what was thought to be the Company's policy of taking away the religion of Hindus and Muslims.²⁸ The Company officials keen to assuage such feelings hired the services of a Muslim teacher of Bareilly College on 22 May 1857 to preach that any revolt against the Company's Government was religiously unlawful.²⁹ Nevertheless the authorities took few substantial precautions, despite the forewarning given by the revolt of 1816. The 18th Infantry Regiments and the 8th Irregular Cavalry were stationed at Bareilly. Of these the 8th Irregular Cavalry consisted almost entirely of Parhans." No European troops were stationed at Bareilly.³¹ There was in addition

the artillery branch which had in its ranks, as *esubedar*, Bakhat Khan, a disciple of Moulvi Sarfaraz Ali.³³ The latter took a leading part in the Rebellion of 1857 and brought numerous Ulema of Delhi to call the struggle against the British as *Jihad* (holy war). It seems that the rebel sepoys were keen to raise Khan Bahadur Khan the Nawab of Bareilly as their leader but in the beginning he did not respond favourably to their overtures. Just two days before the outbreak of the rebellion in Bareilly, he was even summoned by Alexander Shakespeare, the Commissioner of Bareilly, to hold charge of the District, but he declined.³⁴ Shakespeare's choice was mainly in consideration of Bahadur Khan's family background, and his long and loyal services to the Company. How Khan Bahadur came to be persuaded by the rebels is evident from his own letter to the Governor General dated 14th February 1860 where he states that upon the deterioration in law and order, a deputation of the citizens of Bareilly headed by Syed Miyan Jan, Syed Faizullah, Miran Khan from Nau Mahla Mohalla, accompanied by several other persons and traders of the city approached him to take step to restore order. Syed Miran Jan at last prevailed upon him to move out of his residence."

Ultimately on May 31, 1857, i.e. twentyone days after the outbreak of the revolt in Meerut, Bareilly joined the rebellion. Durgadas Bandopadhyaya, a clerk in the East India Company's cavalry branch stationed at Bareilly gives interesting details of the events. He says that the sepoys raised Bakht Khan, a major in the artillery branch as commander in consideration of his age, seniority, high rank and long outstanding service." Mohammad Shafi, a major in the cavalry also joined him. The rebels handed over a treasure of Rs. 10 lakhs probably plundered from the treasury and cantonment.³⁷

Durgadas appears to have a strong dislike for Bakht Khan for his rustic nature and outspokenness. Bakht Khan after assuming the new position invited the local gentry, officials including Durgadas and entertained them. He also expressed regrets for the inconveniences caused to them. Durgadas interestingly claims that Bakht Khan offered him the position of *Wazir* in the newly established government, predicting the restoration of Bahadur Shah II to his ancestral throne at Delhi.³⁵

Durgadas who wrote his account of Bareilly is, however, not free from anomalies. At one place he holds Khan Bahadur Khan responsible for the murders of Englishmen, throwing the city of Bareilly in total anarchy and declaring himself Nawab." But at another place he refers to Mubarak Ali Khan and Madar Ali Khan, strong, powerful and influential persons of Bareilly who on their own raised Khan Bahadur

Khan as Nawab on 31st May 1857.⁴¹

On 1 June under the guidance of Bakht Khan, concerted efforts were made by the rebels to persuade Khan Bahadur Khan to assume leadership. Sobha Ram, Madar Ali Khan, Syed Miyao Jan, Syed Fyzullah Khan and others met Khan Bahadur Khan. Khan Bahadur Khan pleaded old age and financial difficulties. Sobba Ram, Mobarak Shah and Ahmad Shah then promised to contribute substantially to his coffers. Khan Bahadur was still lukewarm but was finally won over when Bakht Khan plainly told him that if he did not accept the leadership, the rebels would recognize Chaudari Basant Ram⁴² as their leader.

Assuming leadership, Khan Bahadur Khan visited the city to restore order." He proceeded to deal firmly with the disorderly elements, in a manner for which Atkinson was later to charge him with cruelty. He held a formal *darbar* where prominent Hindus and Muslims were present."

Like other rebel leaders, Khan Bahadur Khan also issued a proclamation addressed to all the Rajas and others, appealing to their zeal in defending religion. The main thrust of his proclamation was that the Indians' religions (Islam and Hinduism) were in danger owing to the Company's pro-Christian policy and attempts at Christianizing Indians.⁶ The proclamation also criticized some of the progressive measures taken by the Company's Government such as the prohibition of Sati and widow-remarriage.⁷ The Bareilly proclamation was clearly an attempt to win the support of the Rajputs, a social group which practised Sati and adoption, and so resented their suppression. An interesting aspect of the proclamation was the allegation that the Bengalis were in collusion with the Company in converting the people to Christianity. The reference was presumably to the English-educated Bengalis who lived in Bareilly as petty Government officials. After the outbreak of the Rebellion, they were expelled from the city for their loyalty to the Company."- The Bareilly proclamation also added that the Muslim leaders had to ban cow slaughter - a step considered of vital importance to maintain communal harmony. This was specially so when the majority of the rebel sepoys consisted of Hindus." The concluding part of the proclamation is full of bitter denunciation of the British demanding that the people should not pay heed to the promises of the English as they had always committed "deception and treachery" against people of Hindostan."- Later on Begam Hazrat Mahal in her proclamation underlined similar points even more categorically."

Khan Bahadur's second major task was to re-organize the administration on lines acceptable to all in Bareilly. The problem was

discussed at length in an open meeting. Khan Bahadur Khan was authorized by the meeting to look into it.^{s2} Ironically, there were a number of persons in Bareilly who were acting against the newly formed government. (Durgadas identifies them as Baijnath Misra, a wealthy person, Rai Chet Ram, Altaf Ali Khan, Lakhi Narain, and Hakeem Shahadat Ali Khan. Baijnath Misra was later on rewarded by the British for his services and he became one of the most prominent Zamindars of Bareilly." Shobha Ram, whose antecedents cannot be established but who was undoubtedly a man of considerable talent, was appointed Diwan by Khan Bahadur Khan." Durgadas says that the rebel government allowed Shobha Ram to retain the surplus over and above the expenses of the government. Madar Ali and Niyaz Ali were appointed commanders of forces with a monthly salary of Rs. 1,000/- each." Brij Lal was appointed as assistant to Shobha Ram." The office of the finance department (Diwan) was dominated by the Hindu officials (13 out of 16) whereas the Secretariat (Dar-al- Insha) headed by Faiz Ali was dominated by Muslims (10 out of 15), a feature which was not uncommon under the Mughal Empire and Ruhela rule. Pandit Lok Nath, a local zamindar, was to act as judge to decide disputes according to the Shastras as well as to make tax collection from the city.^{s7} Khushi Ram was to serve as Nazim of Bareilly (he was dismissed within two months for negligence of duty). Hari Lal, son of Shobha Ram, was appointed Post Master at a high salary of Rs. 1,000/- . Saifullah Khan was made Superintendent of Prison on a monthly salary of Rs.500/-. Khan Bahadur Khan also took steps to raise revenue collection as the treasury was vacant. A committee was thus formed which decided to collect revenue at the rate of 1/10 of the prevailing land revenue. Further Kanshi Ram was advised to raise Rs.1.70 lakhs from the Mahajans. In actual fact Rs.82,000/- were raised. ^{sa} Interestingly Khan Bahadur Khan's administrative measures were a combination of the Mughal and British patterns. He retained the newly introduced magistracy established by the Company with the same functional responsibilities. A Mufti's Court, and an Appeals Court were also set up. In addition, the officers of the Intelligence Department and of the Bakhshi, formed other elements of his administrative set up."

Having settled affairs at Bareilly, Khan Bahadur Khan extended the rebel administration to the adjoining district, Badaun. He appointed Abdul Rahman Khan as Nazim there, and Shaikh Fasahatullah as his deputy." The Nazim retained the old employees requiring them to function in their former positions and tried to restore order. These appointments were challenged in vain by a section of the Rajputs at

Shaikhpur.⁶¹ The Nazim in order to streamline the administration in Badaun appointed his own Magistrate and brought two retired tahsildars as deputy Collectors. Gradually the rebel administration was extended to Sahaswan, Gannaur and other important places around Badaun. By November 1857, the entire district of Badaun was under rebel control.⁶² Khan Bahadur Khan's position was strengthened by a formal recognition by Bahadur Shah II confirming him in his newly acquired position in Bareilly and Shahjahanpur.⁶³ He used the formal rescript to extend his control over Shahjahanpur, by appointing Ghulam Qadir Khan as Nazim and Nizam Ali Khan (a retired kotwal) and Hamid Hasan Khan (formerly a Deputy Collector) as Naib Nazims of Shahjahanpur at a monthly salary of Rs. 500 rupees. Abdul Rauf Khan was made Commander of the forces at a salary of Rs. 400 rupees and Sita Singh was appointed Diwan at a pay of 200/- rupees. Thus Khan Bahadur extended his hold to the two neighbouring districts of Bareilly.⁶⁵

Khan Bahadur's growing power seems to have considerably alarmed the Nawab of Rampur who was playing a dual role by keeping the Company as well as the rebels in good humour.⁶⁶ The British Officers were keen to win the support of the Nawab. Diplomatically, they continued to praise him for his loyalty while Ruhelkhand passed into the hands of the rebels.⁶⁷ In the meantime Prince Firuz Shah⁶¹ captured Muradabad, which was being managed by the Nawab of Rampur on behalf of the Company. Later on Nana Sahib appeared in Bareilly and planned to attack Rampur.⁶⁹ These were enough to alarm the Nawab who seems to have been planning an offensive against Khan Bahadur Khan. Khan Bahadur Khan also diplomatically avoided a clash disclaiming any hostile intentions towards the Nawab.⁷⁰ However, the Nawab's apprehension of the rebels' intentions seems to have thrown him completely to the Company's side and he henceforth stood firmly for the restoration of the Company's Government.

Khan Bahadur Khan paid considerable attention to organizing the rebel forces which now comprised 4,618 horses, 24,330 infantry and 40 guns.⁷¹ The army was formally divided into cavalry, infantry and artillery and salaries were fixed as detailed below.⁷²

CAVALRY		
	Average rate of Pay	Remarks
1. Risaldar	Different amounts	Above Rs.50/- Per month
2. Naib Risaldar	Rs.50/-	—

3. Vakeels	Rs. 30/-	-
4. Nishan Bardars (Standard bearers)	Rs. 25/-	-
5. Sawars	Rs. 20/-	-

INFANTRY

1. Sepoys	Rs. 6/-
2. Kamidans	Rs. 100/-
3. Uloosdars	Rs. 50/-
4. Tamandars	Rs. 35/-
5. Bakhshis	Rs. 30/-
6. Vakeels	Rs. 8/-

The infantry was organized almost on the same pattern as was done over 100 years before by Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela. It was divided as under:

- (i) Dasta: Consisting of 10 sepoy
- (ii) Tuman: Consisting of 100 sepoy
- (iii) Ulus: Consisting of 500 sepoy
- (iv) Paltan: Consisting of 1000 sepoy"
(Regiment)

Each *dasta* was under the control of *ajamadar* who received Rs. 10/- per month. A *turnan* was controlled by a *tumandar* who got Rs.25/- per month and *hisnaib* (deputy) received a salary of Rs.15/- per month. An *ulus* was under the command of a *ulusdar* who received Rs. 50/- per month."

Shobha Ram, the diwan, was given a free hand in organizing the army. He took personal interest in supervising the drilling and discipline of the rebel forces. He strengthened the artillery by advancing considerable amount for casting 25 pieces of canon and sanctioning Rs. 1,25,000/- for the expenses of the artillery branch. He was keen to retain as many good soldiers in cavalry and infantry as possible by persuasion and disbursing their salaries in time. Khan Bahadur Khan also promoted recruitment to cavalry and provided incentives to good horsemen. He never dismissed any one owing to possessing a weak or bad horse. He, however, encouraged them to purchase good horses. Khan Bahadur Khan was so keen to raise an efficient army that he did

not burden the Rebel treasury with the pensions he had been receiving earlier from the Company."

Other important positions in the army were assigned to Tej Singh, the Raja of Mainpuri, Walidad Khan of Malagarh and the Nawab of Farrukhabad, all the three holding independent commands."

It appears that the rise of Shobha Ram to prominence and as a confidant of Khan Bahadur Khan caused jealousy among some of the prominent Syeds of Nau Mahla. Bandopadhyaya and Atkinson both allege that from the very beginning of the rebel rule in Bareilly, the Muslims particularly the Syeds of Naumahla, disliked the presence of such a large number of Hindus on the Council, especially Shoba Ram, and they attempted to unseat the latter alleging his complicity with the British." Bandopadhyaya states that Khan Bahadur succumbing to the pressure of the Syeds of Nau Mahla, allowed the search of Shobha Ram's house where the English had allegedly been sheltered. Greatly shocked, Shobha Ram discontinued his participation in the rebel administration. But he was subsequently persuaded by Khan Bahadur Khan to shoulder his responsibilities as usual.⁷⁹ Subsequent events in Bareilly, however, do not substantiate such allegations as both the Hindus and Muslims remained firmly united. Khan Bahadur's administration, though, undoubtedly received a set-back owing to the corrupt conduct of Moolchand one of the deputies of Shobha Ram.⁸⁰

The end of March 1858, Bareilly remained under the control of Khan Bahadur Khan. The British policy of dividing the rebels at one time assumed a new proportion on the cow slaughter issue despite a clear state resolution. This time some Muslim mischief mongers became active and insisted on the cow slaughter on public places despite objections by the Hindu sepoys. This necessitated the call for a meeting of the leading Hindus and Muslims. The meeting was attended by 12 Hindu and 20 Muslims of the city. It started in a tense atmosphere. A sad and anxious Khan Bahadur Khan intervened exclaiming: "O Allah, why is so? Why is there so many squabble and blood-shed among the brothers, Hindus and Musalmans? The Hindus are my right hand and my right ear. Because of their support and strength, I am able to sit on this seat. Salik Ram is a devout Hindu. I have appointed him as my Chief Minister of the administration. Hira Lal, Gokul Nand, Brij Kishore - all these high rank Brahmans have been appointed to high posts in the administration. From to-day I declare that if any Muslim oppresses any Hindu or kills a cow at a forbidden place, he would be punished severely. Hindus and Muslims are the same. This ought to be the slogan of the two communities from this day".⁸¹ In order to strengthen communal harmony, Muhammadi

flags by the Muslims and Mahabiri flags by the Hindus were hoisted in Bareilly asking the two communities to assemble and get united under the respective flags to fight against the British.⁸² Khan Bahadur Khan personally visited the city to restore confidence among the people. The people raised the slogans "Hindu and Muslim are one"..."Ram and Rahim are the same", while pledging to expel the British from the country.⁸³ In the meantime Khan Bahadur Khan also sought a formal recognition from Bahadur Shah as Nazim of Bareilly.⁸⁴

One of the reasons for the long duration of the rebel regime at Bareilly was the British pre-occupation with the rebellion at other places. During this period Bareilly became a refuge for rebel leaders from far and near. Prince Firuz Shah's proclamation issued on 18 February 1858 from Bareilly is of great significance. As do other proclamations, this also treats the conflict with the British East India Company as a religious war against the Christian rulers and urges upon the Hindus and Muslims to join in battle against them. The purpose of the proclamation was to infuse confidence among the Rebels which had been shaken owing to the fall of Delhi (September 1857). The proclamation ascribes the defeat to the cruelties committed on the Christians, children and women by the Rebels in violation of the order of their *sardars*. It emphasizes discipline as well as unity as essential pre-requisites for victory against the enemy.⁸⁵ The proclamation disclaimed any attempt to draw away troops from Begam Hazrat Mahal and Khan Bahadur Khan. This was clearly done to safeguard rebel unity. So also was the thrust of the general appeal. "The people of all grades should regard themselves equals, for in religious matters all brothers should equally defend the faith."⁸⁶ Apparently the clarification as to equality of "grades" was considered necessary in view of people from lower classes having joined the rebel banner. The assertion of "equality" in such circumstances shows that some rebel leaders at least were receptive to modern social ideas.

Khan Bahadur Khan was hopeful till very late that Bareilly would not fall to the Company as long as Lucknow remained free.⁸⁷ His confidence derived perhaps from the large concourse of rebel forces.

The concentration of rebel forces at Bareilly, however, created problems for the leaders. Despite all care taken by Shobha Ram, many sources of vice began to affect the rebel forces. Indolence and acts of immoral conduct and drunkenness increased considerably.⁸⁸ The *Farhul Akbar* of Bareilly in its issue of 11 March 1858 refers to the appearance of numerous ill-behaved boys, mostly employed by the officers of rank causing difficulties in keeping them in control. The *Akhbar* also reported that some of the commandants held dancing

parties in their tents. These activities were perhaps owing to the general belief that the Company's rule had completely vanished. Yet such acts were bound to affect discipline.^{8*}

As a mark of the termination of British rule from Ruhelkhand, Khan Bahadur Khan revived the Mughal mint of Bareilly, a sure sign of independence. Earlier a mint was functioning at the house of Ram Prasad which was not shifted to the house of Nawab. Bandopadhyaya links this event with the imaginary plunder of ornaments made of gold and silver and its accumulation in the treasury at Bareilly.⁹¹ He also refers to the earlier accumulation of stock of ornaments and jewelry.⁹² Bandopadhyaya thus explains Khan Babadur's ability mint of *tanka* and *mohurs* (silver and gold coins). The coin minted did not bear the name of Bahadur Shah II since he was languishing in the Company's gaol. The coins were of good silver and full weight.⁹³ The obverse was a copy of Shah Alam's coins and of the Company's Farrukhabad rupees. The reverse read "73rd year of the auspicious reign-struck at Bareilly 1274 Hijri i.e. 1858 A. D. It is not clearly understandable as to why it reads "73 year of auspicious reign of Shah Alam" as that ruler had ascended the throne in 1759 A. D. and died in 1806 after a reign of 47 years."

By the first week of March, 1858, many important rebel leaders had assembled at Bareilly. *The Fath-ul-Akhbar* in its issue of 11 March reported:

..In these days there is a strange assembly of people in the town, every body is ready to join the crusade against the infidels and thousands of persons are gathering like locusts from various town and villages ... Moreover various chiefs and princes from different parts of the country such as Nawab of Bangash of Farrukhabad, Walidad Khan, Hyder Ali Khan, the Nawab of Jajjhar, etc, are here encamped with their respective followers. Now Nana Rao is coming to this town for holding conference with our Nabob on some military affairs.⁹⁴

III

The movements of rebel forces to and from Bareilly was closely watched by British military officers. The British army command continued to maintain close links with Agra, Delhi, Nainital and Ambala, and through couriers with areas where they had no complete control. The rebels, on the other hand, lacked an efficient system of communication. They were, however, fully aware of the danger from their adversary. They made elaborate arrangements for guarding various ferry crossings.⁹⁵ They also attempted to dislodge the Company

officials from Nainital and other places, capturing Haldwani and Bhamauri (October 1857), and then Bundia on the high road between Haldwani and Bareilly." Their advance was checked by Colonel Mclausland at Baheri." The reverse was enough to persuade Khan Bahadur Khan to change the strategy. He instructed the rebel forces:

Don't attempt to meet the regular column of the infidels, because they are superior to you in discipline and *bandubast*, and have big guns. but watch their movements, guard all the *ghauts* on the rivers, intercept their communication, stop their supplies, cut up their *daks* and posts, and keep constantly hanging about their camps; give them no rest.⁹¹¹

How far these instructions were followed is not clear. In Bareilly, British had their agents, who caused the explosion of the powder magazine on 24 March 1858, killing 63 persons.¹⁰² At the same time the position of the rebels in the contiguous districts was fast deteriorating as the Company's forces pressed forward. Nana Sahib, having lost Kanpur, crossed into Ruhelkhand and had an interview with Khan Bahadur Khan on 27 March 1858 at Kachlaghat.¹⁰³ The Company's forces in the meantime continued to increase their pressure. Continuous debacles to the rebels in Badaun and Shahjahanpur seem to have considerably demoralized the rebels at Bareilly, and differences among them increased.¹⁰² Still the people of Bareilly showed courage and unity and the Company's officials failed to raise the Rajputs against Khan Bahadur Khan - a policy which was enunciated by Lawrence and Barues as early as August 1857.¹⁰⁴ The British authorities seem to have also circulated a false rumour of growing differences between Khan Bahadur Khan and Nana Sahib over sharing power in Bareilly.

Though the Company's attempts in pitting the Rajputs against Khan Bahadur Khan in Bareilly failed, it succeeded in raising Rajputs of Dhatiaganj in Badaun against Khan Bahadur's rule.¹⁰⁵ Khan Bahadur also had to take care to keep the Shias and Sunnis united at this juncture.¹⁰⁵

With the recovery of areas around Bareilly by the Company's troops, one after another, the rebels at Bareilly found themselves surrounded from all sides. Muradabad and Bijnor fell on 25 April 1858.¹⁰⁶ Shahjahanpur and Badaun fell on 1 May and 2 May.¹⁰⁷ The Company forces led by Brigadier General Jones surrounded Bareilly on 6 May.¹⁰⁸ Khan Bahadur Khan had no option but to fight a pitched battle.¹⁰⁹ He divided his troops into two lines. The first line was supported by the artillery commanding the bridge. The second comprising the Ghazis, defended the suburbs of the city. The British

forces speedily broke the first line."? They, however, had to face stiff resistance from the second line which displayed remarkable courage and determination against the enemy's trained and organized forces. They resisted with such energy and boldness that Sir Colin Campbell was taken by surprise. To quote Russell "... a lot of Gazees got in pass the left of their right wing, attacked Walpole and Cameron, and wounded them Sir Colin (Campbell) had a narrow escape ... The Gazees were fine fellows, grizzly bearded elderly men for the most part, with green turbans and *cummerbunds*, and every one of them had a silver signet-ring, a long text of Koran engraved on it. They came on with their heads down below their shields, and their *tulwars* flashing as they whirled them over their heads, shouting, Deen! Deen! and dancing like mad men (6 May 1858)."111 Sheer chivalry was, however, futile. The rebels lost the battle. Bareilly was occupied by the British forces on 7 May 1858.112

Having lost the battle, Khan Bahadur Khan took to flight. At this critical moment, the Kurmis around Bareilly provided shelter to the fugitives."113

From Bareilly, Khan Bahadur Khan moved towards Shahjahanpur with the intention of joining Ahmadullah Shah.114 Unfortunately at this time of crisis, Shobha Ram was captured by the British forces. Khan Bahadur Khan kept on moving and attacked the out-skirts of Shahjahanpur on 12 June driving in all the pickets posted there.115 He, however, could not join Ahmadullah Shah as the latter was treacherously killed by the Raja of Pawayan on 15th June.116 Ahmadullah Shah's death left Khan Bahadur Khan alone. The British forces were at his heels. He took shelter in the *terai* forest bordering Nepal.117 He wandered from place to place until Rana Jung Bahadur captured him, in December 1859, near Butwal. For some time he remained a prisoner of the Rana. Subsequently he was brought to Bareilly and confined in the Bareilly fort.118 He was charged with rebellion and inciting others to rebel and tried by a special Commission of enquiry. He was sentenced to death.119 He was hanged and laid to rest at the Bareilly Jail on 24 March 1860.121

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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5. *Fath-ut-Akbar*, li, March 1858 (vide Rizvi), Vol. V, p. 384.
6. *Foreign Department Index* No. 150-59. Vol.I.SN 14,p. 297.
7. Important Ruhe la settlements were at Bioli, Aonla, Richcha, Kabar, Kasganj, Mirganj, Pilibhit, Sherpur Kalan,etc. See Mustajab Khan. *Gutistan-i-Ruhmi*. Aligarh MS. ff. 7ab, 13a, 16a. Atkinson, Statistical, Descriptive and Historical. Account of the North Western Provinces of India. Vol.V, pp.777, 783-85, 801. *District Gazetteer*, Pilibhit, p.236.
8. Mustajab Khan, *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, Aligarh MS,ff. 22ib-224b; Strachey, *Hastings and the Rohilla War*,p.30.
9. Fisher, IX, pt.I, pp. 119-20; Atkinson, Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account ..., Vol.II, pt. II,pp.199-200.
10. Imtiyaz Husain, *Land Revenue Policy In North India, the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, 1810-1833*. New Delhi, 1976, pp.35-36 (hereafter quoted as Imtiyaz Husain).
11. For a detailed discussion, see Asiya Siddiqui, *Agrarian Change in North India*. Chapter 2.
12. 'British India and the Abuse of Power: Rohilkhand under Early Company Ruic'. *IESHER*, X (4) pp.129-156.
13. Imtiyaz Husain, pp. 35-36.
14. *Ibid.*, p.255.
15. *Ibid.*, p.255.
16. *IESHER*. X (4). pp. 155-6.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
18. W. Francklin, *History of the Reign of Shaw Au/um*, London, 1798, p.60; R. Heber. *Narrative of Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, Vol.I (reprint New Delhi, 1995), p.128; George Foster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*..., reprint. Delhi, 1997, pp.126- 27.
19. Marquis of Hastings, *The Private Journal*, Allahabad 1907,pp. 149-50; Heber. *Narrative of a Journey* London 1872, Vol.I, p.243.
20. *The Private Journal*, pp.249-50.
21. *An Eyewitness Account of the Great Indian Mutiny-Personal' Adventures During the Indian Rebellion*, reprint Allahabad, 1974,pp.12-14.
22. Atkinson, V, p.618.
23. Moulvi Sabihuddin, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur*, 1931, p.659 (hereafter cited as Sabihuddin)
24. Richard Temple, *Men and Events of my Time in India*, 1882 (reprint1985), New Delhi, p. 138.
25. Text in Abdul Razzaq, *Nawa-i-Azadi*, tr. Rizvi, I. pp.442-44.
26. Atkinson, V, pp. 679-80.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Atkinson, V,pp.679-80.
29. *Ibid.*

30. Henry Mead. *The Sepoy Revolt*, reprint Delhi, 1986. p.141.
31. Atkinson. V, p. 880.
32. See my paper. Bakht Khan- a leading Sepoy General of 1857. Indian History Congress. Amritsar, 1985.
33. He belonged to a Syed family of Gorakhpur. He was a disciple of Shah Abdul Lais, a Sufi saint of the Chishtiya order. He frequently visited the Cantonment near Gorakhpur where a number of Ruhela Afghans from Shabjahanpur were stationed. Through them he came into contact with people in Ruhelkhand. For details see, Rizvi, V, p.297, and *Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur*, p. 331.
34. *Foreign Political Consultations* (hereafter cited as FPC), NA!, New Delhi.
35. Ibid.
36. Durgadas Bandopadhyay. *Vidrohi Bangali*. Calcutta, 1985, p.84. (Hereafter cited as Durgadas). I am indebted to Dr. Gautam Bhadra for translating Bengali version into English.
37. Durgadas p.84. It is noteworthy that Durgadas designates Bakht Khan and Mohd Shafi as Major in the Company's army. But the fact is that no Indian could hold a position beyond the rank of Subadarship in the army.
38. Durgadas. p.84.
39. Ibid p. 85.
40. Durgadas. pp. 102-103.
41. Durgadas, pp.102-103.
42. Not yet identified.
44. Here we find a striking similarity with Bahadur Shah who also took the same step in Delhi on 11 May. See Jiwan Lal, *The Two Narratives for the Mutiny in Delhi* (tr. Metcalfe. Delhi 1974) p.86. Hereafter cited as Jiwan Lal. Durgadas pp.102-103 refers to Khan Bahadur Khan's visit on 31st May.
45. Atkinson. V. p.685.
46. Rizvi. I, pp. 442-44.
47. Ibid.
48. Durgadas Bandopadhyay (1835-1922) who was present at Bareilly is said to have thrown light on it. The account has been published in *Vidroha Bangala*.
49. Fazle Haq Khairabadi. *As Saurai Hind/ya*. Urdu tr. as *Baghi Hindustan*. Bijnore 1947. p.350.
50. Rizvi. I. pp. 442-44; *Nawa-i-Azadi*, pp. ye-mim.
51. Rizvi, I, pp. 465-68.
52. Durgadas. pp. 111-12.
53. Atkinson, Vol.V, pp. 688,87.
54. Atkinson, V, pp. 688-87; Durgadas, p. 152 refers to him sneeringly as a crippled man, yet admits his virtues.
55. Durgadas. pp.152-53.
56. Rizvi, I, p.430.
57. Rizvi, I, p.431, Atkinson, V, p.686. emphasises that the new committee included three kinsmen of Khan Bahadur Khan and dominated by the Muslims as there were only two Hindus.

58. Durgadas. pp. 152-54.
59. Rizvi, I, pp.432-34.
60. Raziuddin, *Kanzut Tarikh*, 1907,pp 331-32.
61. Ibid.
62. Kanz -ut- Tarikh, pp. 334-35.
63. Ibid .. p.439.
64. C.T. Metclafc. *nvo Narratives of the Mutiny*, Delhi, 1974, p.143: Abdul Latif writes that Khan Bahadur Khan was assigned Bareilly in *jagir*. See *1857 Ka Tarikhi Rotnamcha*, Delhi, 1958, p.147.
65. Fisher Vol.IX,pt. 1,pp.151,153.
66. *Foreign Consultation Political Proceedings*, 21 May 1859, No. pp.170-171,NAJ.
67. Rizvi, V,pp. 270-371.
68. For his career see Bengal Past and Present, ... Jan-June & July- December. 1969.
69. Rizvi, V,pp.434-35.
70. Register No.82, Sec. 4, *Mahakma-i- Aliya*, Daru! Insba, Rampur.
71. Atkinson, V, p.687.
72. Rizvi, V, pp. 289-90.
73. Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Safarnama*, Rampur, p. 78.
74. Mutiny Narratives, NWP, Appendix 'B' to Bareilly Narratives, p. IS, cited in Rizvi, V, pp. 289- 90, 295.
75. Mutiny Narratives, NWP, Bareilly Narratives: regular payments were. however, made.
76. *Fath-ui-Akbar*. 11 March 1858; Foreign Political Proceedings, 27 May 1850, Cons. No. 81, pp.170-71, NAI
77. Rizvi, V, p. 374.
78. Vidrohi Bangali, pp.161-62 .. Atkinson, Vol.V, pp. 687-688.
79. Ibid.
80. FCP, No. 39, 16 March 1860 National Archives. New Delhi.
81. Vidrohi Bangali, pp. 342-45.
82. Ibid. Also see *Foreign Department, NWP Narratives (Absuact Proceedings 1858. Narrative of events from Meerut Division ending 21 February, 1858.*
83. Vidrohi Bangali, pp. 342-45.
84. Roznamcha, p. 147.
85. Firuz Shah's Proclamation reproduced (tr.) in Rizvi, V, pp. 376-80.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 379-80.
87. Foreign Department Political. 30 December 1859, cited in Rudrangshu Mukherji, *Awadh in Revolt /1857-58*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 90.
88. Rizvi, V, p. 385.
89. Ibid, pp. 287-88
90. *Vidrohi Bangali*, pp. 336.

91. Ibid. It seems to be a sheer exaggeration as Bareilly had been under the British rule and possibility of keeping gold and silver stock there is not apprehend able.
92. Vidrohi Bangali, pp. 287-88.
93. Ibid, p. 335.
94. Rizvi, V, pp. 288.
95. Rizvi, V, p. 384.
96. Ibid., pp.371. 375, 396-97,441.
97. Ibid., pp.3~8. 363-64,367.
98. Ibid., p. 373. Baheri stands 31 miles north of Bareilly on Nanital Road, Atkinson, V. p. 710.
99. W. H. Russel. My *Diary in India*, p. 162.
100. Rizvi. V. p.389.
101. The Bengal Harkaru, 17 April 1858. p.364.
102. Ibid.
103. Foreign Department, Index. 1850-59. AB Vol.I, SN 14, NAI. p.207. Also see Zakauallah, *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, Vol. IX, p.332. *Tarikh-i-Hindostan*, Vol.IX, p.332.
104. Rizvi, V, p. 435.
105. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 27 May 1859, Cons. No. 81. pp. 57-60. NA!
106. Rizvi, V, pp. 410, 418-19.
107. Ibid., pp.424, 443.
108. Ibid., pp. 449, 458.
109. Charles Ball, *The History of Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, London, 1858, pp. 328-31.
110. Rizvi. V. p.447.
111. *My Indian Mutiny Diary*. pp. 144-46; also Charles Ball. Vol. II. 328-31.
112. Rizvi, V, pp. 464-67.
113. Rizvi, V, p. 486.
114. Rizvi, V, pp.485-87, 495,535.
115. He was prosecuted and sent to Burma. Letter to Secretary NWP.No.4407, of 15 July 1857 cited in Eighteen fifty-seven, p.371.
116. Ibid., V, p. 536.
117. Ibid., pp. 547, 575. This treacherous conduct of the Raja was greatly resented by 'many landowners on both sides of the border' and they took up arms to punish him. The Raja could save himself only with the help of British forces. (Mallson, *Indian Mutiny of 1857*, London, 1891, Vol. III, P. 274).
118. Ibid., V, pp.547,575.
119. Ibid., V, p.595.
120. Ibid., V, p. 595.
121. Ibid., V, pp. 616-17. The Bengal Harkaru and *Indian Gazelle*, reported on 10 May 1859 that both Khan Bahadur Khan, and Sobba Ram were large landed Proprietors. and their estates were likely to be confiscated.