

The 1857 Rebellion in Shahjahanpur : Role of the Local Gentry

Iqbal Husain

I

1.1 A notable feature of the rebellion of 1857-58 in Ruhelkhand was that the descendants of the former ruling houses took a leading part in it. In Bijnor, Nawab Mahmud Khan¹ and his close relations, and in Bareilly, Khan Bahadur Khan² raised the standard of rebellion. Similarly, in Shahjahanpur the rebellion was led by the descendants of Bahadur Khan Ruhela,³ the founder of the town. The Ruhelas' role in the rebellion in Ruhelkhand was in fact the manifestation of their anger against the British who had helped Shuja-ud Daulah for their destruction in the Ruhel War (1774). During the rebellion Shahjahanpur also, for a brief period, became a centre of activity of the rebel leaders. Ahmadullah Sha,⁴ the Maulvi of Faizabad, came here to continue his crusade. Where the British arms failed to contain Ahmadullah Shah, their diplomacy succeeded in killing him.

1.2 This paper attempts to show how the local gentry reacted during the rebellion of 1857-58 in Shahjahanpur district, and the weaknesses of the rebels leading to their defeat by the British.

II

2.1 The Rebellion in Shahjahanpur and Bareilly began on the same day, 31 May 1857, exactly 21 days after the beginning of the Revolt in Meerut. Rumours of discontent among the sepoy (28 N.I. Regiment) stationed there had been circulating among the British officers since 15 May.⁵ The outbreak on 31 May, however, was largely owing to Maulvi Sarfraz Ali, *jihadi* (a term used for the Wahabis during the rebellion) who had considerable influence among the Ruhela soldiers in the Company's employment. Fisher tells us that Sarfraz Ali arrived in Shahjahanpur 20 days before the beginning of the revolt.⁶ He was also responsible for the rebellion at Bareilly where his disciple Bakht Khan⁷ led a leading part.⁸

2.2 As in Meerut, the rebellion in Shahjahanpur also started by an attack on the British officers, some of whom were killed at the local church.⁹ It, however, seems that in this attack only a few sepoy of the 28th N.I. were involved.¹⁰ Nawab Qadir

Ali Khan¹¹ and Nizam Ali Khan Kotwal now joined the rebels and they took the control of the city of Shahjahanpur on 1st June. Nawab Qadir Ali Khan also headed a procession (like Khan Bahadur Khan in Bareilly) going through the town, proclaiming the dismissal of the British raj forbidding strictly the mention of the name of the English by anyone.¹² The rebellion soon spread to the adjoining *paragnas* like Tilhar,¹³ Miranpur Katra,¹⁴ Jalalabad¹⁵ Pawayan etc., inhabited by the Ruhelas and the Rajputs.¹⁶ In Shahjahanpur Nawab Qadir Ali Khan, however, seems to have lacked the ability to administer judiciously. Being heavily under debt, he attempted to obtain his jewels from his creditor and on the latter's refusal got him murdered.¹⁷ For other reasons also, as we will see hereafter, he could not retain Shahjahanpur for long. Differences with Nazim Ali Khan (Kotwal) seem to have led to Qadir Ali Khan's quick downfall. Within 23 days he was superseded by Ghulam Qadir Khan¹⁸ who enjoyed considerable influence¹⁹ and following among the local gentry. Having obtained a formal appointment from Khan Bahadur Khan, the rebel Ruhela chieftain of Bareilly, who was also recognized by Bahadur Shah as *subadar* of Ruhelkhand, Ghulam Qadir became the Nazim of Shahjahanpur replacing Nawab Qadir Ali Khan.²⁰ Surprisingly enough, the change was smooth and Nawab Qadir Ali Khan and his supporters did not resist. Khan Bahadur Khan also appointed Nizam Ali Khan of shahbaznagar, Hamid Hasan Khan (formerly Deputy Collector) and Shahbaz Ali Khan (formerly tahsildar of Bisalpur) as Deputy Nazims to assist Ghulam Qadir Khan. Abdul Rauf Khan and Sital Singh were respectively given the positions of Commander of the forces and Diwan.²¹

2.3 Having assumed charge of Shahjahanpur, Ghulam Qadir Khan began to organise his government. Like Bareilly and Bijnor, Shahjahanpur also, from the very beginning of rebel rule, suffered from defiance by unfriendly elements. The Rajputs of Bhatela rose against the rebel government. Nizam Ali Khan acted promptly to contain them. In the meantime the situation worsened in Atbara, Serama, Sirtauli and Amora.²² Ghulam Qadir Khan needed troops to manage the situation. Under his care several regiments of cavalry and infantry were raised (23 June).²³ It seems that in Shahjahanpur, the technology of casting guns indigenously still survived, as Ghulam Qadir Khan was able to make eight brass pieces. Four other pieces were cast by Nizam Ali Khan the *naib nazim* at his house.²⁴

2.4 In Tiher Ghulam Muhammad Khan 'a principal resident' rebelled on 31 May 1857. He occupied the tahsil building and set the prisoners free. He also expelled the thanadar and destroyed records of the tahsil.²⁵ Subsequently, he was appointed *nazim* of Tilhar by Khan Bahadur Khan followed by the appointments of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Ghulam Rasul Khan as *naib nazim* and *ulusdar* to assist him. Besides, Nasrullah Khan was raised to the position of the Commander of the forces and Kifayatullah and Hidayatullah were appointed tahsildars.²⁶ It transpires that at Tilhar the rebels could not remain united, and disaffection and rivalries led to the fall of Ghulam Muhammad Khan. The conspirators were Kifayatullah and Hidayatullah who approached Khan Bahadur Khan, and obtained Tilhar on lease. Ghulam Muhammad Khan was, however, accommodated as commander of the local forces.²⁷

2.5 In Miranpur Katra, Faizullah Khan and Ghulami Khan emerged as rebel leaders. Each of them raised a regiment of infantry and held it under his personal command.²⁸ In this *pargana*, however, a strong group of Rajput of Khera Bajhera remained loyal to the British. Though the Rajputs of Khera Bajhera did not immediately come into conflict with the rebel government they continued to maintain their links with the British for which several of them were later rewarded.²⁹ At Jalalabad Ahmad Yar Khan, *tahsildar* continued to hold his position under the rebel government. Ahmed Yar Khan too had to face stiff resistance from the Rajputs of Khandar.³⁰ To control them, he had to seek help from Bareilly. Ismail Khan who came to his assistance committed atrocities by plundering the villages and killing some of the Rajputs there.³¹

2.6 Raja Jagannath of Pawayan³² a Jhangara Rajput, joined the Rebellion, when the news of rebellion at Shahjahanpur reached him. He made his own arrangements to manage the *pargana* by raising troops, casting ten guns and strengthening his fortress by digging a broad deep ditch the whole way round the boundary of the town.³³ He also began to collect taxes from the villages. Khan Bahadur Khan, having learnt of Raja Jagannath Singh's acting independently, sent a force demanding revenue from him. After a brief period of tension, the Raja acknowledged the superior authority of Khan Bahadur Khan and agreed to pay 30,000 rupees as *nazrana*. He also agreed to pay 1,00,000 rupees annually for the *parganas* Pawayan, Puranpur³⁴ and Khutar.³⁵ This arrangement was, however, challenged by Baldeo Singh³⁶ son of Raja Khushhal Singh of Khutar, who had held the entire *pargana* upon the cession of Ruhelkhand in 1801. The fortune of the family had, however, declined owing to the rigidity of revenue assessment and litigation. By 1857 the family had almost lost the entire *pargana* to the revenue farmers. During the rebellion of 1857, Baldeo Singh like many other descendants of the former landholders, approached Khan Bahadur Khan through his Diwan Sobha Ram, and managed to get the *parganas* of Puranpur and Khutar transferred to him, though these had been recently settled upon Raja Jagannath Singh of Pawayan.

2.7 From the very beginning the rebel administration in Shahjahanpur was unstable. Soon after the replacement of Nawab Qadir Ali Khan by Ghulam Qadir Khan one of the newly appointed deputy *nazims*, Hamis Hasan Khan, tendered his resignation under the influence of his brother, who was a Company servant at Agra.³⁷ Najib Khan, formerly *naib* Chakladar in Awadh, was made deputy *nazim* in his place.³⁸ Since the rebel government at Shahjahanpur badly needed money to keep the administration running, Najib Khan was assigned the task of collecting revenue from the villages of *pargana* Kant which had so far evaded payment. Several villages of the *pargana* were held by the Rajputs. The revenue collector faced stiff resistance by the Rajputs of village Lodhpur. Najib Khan compelled the village to surrender after a bloody encounter.³⁹ The Rajputs of Saramau, however, offered tough resistance to Nizam Ali Khan, who sent for assistance from Bareilly. We lack detailed information in regard to the real causes of Rajput resistance to the revenue demand. It can be assumed that many Rajput clans in Shahjahanpur were

descendants of the former ruling chieftains. They wished to maintain their independent identity during the rebellion and objected to submit to a government dominated by the descendants of those who had earlier supplanted their ancestors.⁴⁰

2.8 Throughout the year of 1857, the rebels in Shahjahanpur seem to have been working within their jurisdictions independently by acknowledging the governorship of Khan Bahadur Khan.⁴¹ Khan Bahadur Khan's inept handling of administration particularly supplanting one rebel leader by another under pressure, influence or in consideration of money, antagonised many persons of note including the Raja of Pawayan. Although none of them openly defied his authority, they did not remain loyal to the rebel government as their interest was not being fully served. In turn, they maintained communications with the English. Prominent among such notable were Umrao Singh of Jalalabad, Hamid Hasan Khan (former deputy *nazim* of the rebel government in Shahjahanpur) and Raja Jagannath Singh of Pawayan. The rebels tried to keep an eye on such elements. Hamid Hasan Khan and his brother were killed by them when they discovered their complicity with the English.⁴²

2.9 The rebel position in Shahjahanpur began to weaken with the fall of Delhi (September 1857), followed by Lucknow (March 1858). General Colin Campbell was assigned the task of the re-conquest of Ruhelkhand. Accordingly a plan was devised to occupy Ruhelkhand by marching from three sides into Ruhelkhand.⁴³ It is needless to give the details of British military operations against the rebels in Shahjahanpur which has been described in considerable detail by Kaye and Malleon.⁴⁴ It is, however, interesting that for some time Shahjahanpur became a centre of many prominent rebel leaders.⁴⁵ While the British forces were dragging their net around the rebels in Shahjahanpur, the latter miserably failed to devise a coordinated plan to check them. The rebel leaders had their small armies in each of the *parganas*, but they could neither maintain any coordination with one another nor even with their chief Khan Bahadur Khan. At this critical juncture there appeared Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah who was now waging a guerilla war against the British. Ahmadullah Shah who had declared himself King in Muhammadi (20 March 1858),⁴⁶ made a futile attempt to enlist the support of the larger number of zamindars and taluqadars by declaring that half of the *jama'* would be remitted to them if they would fight against the British in their territories.⁴⁷ In his struggle against the British (March-May 1858) he very frequently changed his encampments. From Muhammadi he moved to Khairabad (28 April). On 30 April General Colin Campbell occupied Shahjahanpur and moved ahead to Bareilly.⁴⁸ Taking advantage of the departure of the bulk of the English forces Ahmadullah Shah attacked the small British force stationed at Shahjahanpur on 3 May with a strong cavalry.⁴⁹ But the indolence of some of his troopers allowed Lieutenant Hale posted at Shahjahanpur to entrench himself in the Shahjahanpur District Jail.⁵⁰ Ahmadullah Shah occupied Shahjahanpur city and the fortress. But he was soon dislodged (11 May) by Brigadier John Jones after a brief and sharp engagement. Ahmadullah Shah, however, kept on moving within the district from place to place. By the time Bareilly and Shahjahanpur were under the grip of the British forces. On 15 May Nana Sahi, Firuz Shah, Begum Hazrat Mahal and other rebel leaders joined

Ahmadullah Shah. On 16 May Ahmadulla Shah occupied Pali.⁵¹ The British forces under the command of Colin Campbell were, however, on his heels. The shah was surrounded at Bani on 18 May.⁵² It seems that Nana Sahib, Begum Hazrat Mahal and Firuz Shah did not stay with him for long. Consequently Ahmadullah Shah had to fight all alone at Bani, a battle which he again lost and could save his life with only 500 followers.⁵³ He escaped to Sandi. Now the situation had completely become unfavourable to the rebels. It seems that Ahmadullah Shah still received some help from a few zamindars and talquaders of Awadh. He was also holding negotiations with Baldeo Singh, the brother of Raja of Pawayan. It may be pointed out that Ahmadullah Shah's *modus operandi* had made the British officers greatly worried. He was now the only rebel leader on the Awadh-Ruhelkhand border who despite many reverses had shown the potentiality of quickly organizing the rebels against the British. While the British were already using their arms to inflict a decisive victory against Ahmadullah Shah, they, as usual, also diplomatically moved to capture him alive by announcing a reward of 50,000 rupees. G.P. Money's testimony is quite revealing and sets at rest the controversy over the killing of Ahmadullah Shah. Money acknowledges that ever since his taking over charge of the district he was 'pressing upon the Raja of Pawayan the advantage to be derived by his doing some singular act to evince loyalty which he professed to entertain for the British Government.....'⁵⁴ It may be recalled that the conduct of Raja Jagannath Singh at the outbreak of the rebellion had not been friendly to the British fugitives to Pawayan.⁵⁵ The tactless step of Khan Bahadur Khan in appointing Baldeo Singh of Khutaras the farmer of *parganas* Puranpur and Khutar which by an agreement had already been assigned to Raja Jagannath Singh, caused a rupture between the rebels of Shahjahanpur and the Raja. With the coming of the British into the district, the Raja naturally began to lean towards them. Now the circumstances were favourable for proving his loyalty. Taib says that at this juncture the Raja hatched a conspiracy by taking his brother Baldeo Singh into confidence. Apparently showing hostility to the latter, he planted him in Ahmadullah Shah's camp.⁵⁶ Baldeo Singh pretended to be the victim of his brother's unjust treatment and sought help from Ahmadullah Shah. Raja Jagannath Singh also made friendly responses to the Shah's communications. To settle the dispute between the brothers, Ahmadullah Shah moved to Pawayan on 5 June 1858 with two or three followers.⁵⁷ Unexpectedly he found the gate of the fortress closed and there was none to welcome him. In anger he ordered his elephant to break open the gate.⁵⁸ On this he was shot by the Raja's men who were already taking positions on the walls of the fortress. He died on the spot.

2.10 The news of Ahmadullah Shah's treacherous murder angered some of the neighbouring zamindars and taluquaders. They planned to avenge the death but the British forces under the command of Nolice were stationed at Pawayan and a cavalry regiment was also sent under the command of Lieutenant De Kantzow to assist him.

2.11 For the time being the rebels kept low. They were, however, determined to punish the Raja of Pawayan for his treacherous conduct. In October 1858 they again organized themselves and made a simultaneous attack on Shahjahanpur and

Pawayan overwhelming Lieutenant De Kantzow, who took shelter in the fortress.⁵⁹ The original plan of rebels was to attack Pawayan while distracting the British forces by attacking Shahjahanpur. The plan failed, however, owing to Brigadier Seaton's march from Shahjahanpur on 8 October. In a fierce engagement the rebels lost their 300 men. Their attempt to seize Pawayan also could not succeed owing to the fatal injury suffered by their leader Mohsin Ali Khan of Shamsabad.⁶⁰ This was the last major engagement between the rebels and British forces in Shahjahanpur. It was now 'pacified'.

III

3.1 By October 1858, Shahjahanpur was under the complete control of the British. They had already begun to take punitive action against the rebels. Cash awards were announced to those who would help in seizing them.⁶¹ For the capture of Nawab Qadir Ali Khan and Ghulam Qadir Khan a cash award of Rs. 1,000/- and 3,000/- had been announced. Nizam Ali Khan, another noted rebel of Shahjahanpur, had already been killed in an action. Ahmad Yar Khan, the *tahsildar* of Jalalabad, had already been executed in April 1858. Ghulam Qadir Khan, the principal rebel leader escaped towards Nepal. He died at Butwal. Nawab Qadir Ali Khan, Abdul Rauf Khan, Qazi Sarfaraz Ali were captured, prosecuted and sentenced to transportation for life to the Andaman islands.⁶² Their properties were confiscated and given to the loyal British subjects of the district. By 1882 there were still a number of proclaimed mutiners on the police records. Among these we find the names of Bikha, a weaver, supposed to be one of the accomplices in the murder of Revd. MacCallum, Shah Wali Khan alias Ghore Khan, Inayatullah, a bricklayer, and Karimullah, the suspected murderers of Smith, the Head Clerk of Collector's Office, are worth mentioning, as they give some idea of the class composition of the rebels in the district.⁶³

3.2 Kifayatullah and Hidayatullah of Tilhar were also prosecuted. Kifayatullah was transported for life while Hidayatullah was sentenced for fourteen years' imprisonment.⁶⁴ Their properties were also confiscated. Of the rebels transported for life, Nawab Qadir Ali Khan was released in 1885 on the recommendations of the Magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanpur. He found his fortress razed to the ground. He, however, settled on the debris by raising a hut there and died in 1887.⁶⁵

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. He was the great grandson of Najib-ud Daulah, the Ruhela Chieftain of 18th century. See for life Appendix 'A' to Syed Ahmad's *Sarkashi Zila Bijnor*, ed. Sharafat Husain Mirza, 1964, pp. 324-333.
2. He was the grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan Ruhela who was killed in the Ruhela War (1774).
3. Bahadur Khan was the son of Darya Khan Ruhela. Shahjahan, on his accession to the throne promoted him to the *mansab* of 4,000/4,000. He was extremely loyal to Shahjahan and took part in various campaigns. For life and career see, Samsamud Daulah, *Ma' --asir-ul Umara*, I, pp. 415-424.
4. For life and career see Fath Muhammad Taib, *Tawarikh-i Ahmadi*, Lucknow, 1925; Abrar Hasan

- Mirat-i Ahmadi*, Hardoi, 1973.
5. Sabihuddin, p. 136; Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 147.
 6. Fisher, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North West Provinces*, vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 151, 209. Also *Mutiny Narratives*, NWP, Agra, Shahjahanpur District, pp. 1-6.
 7. For life and career see my article, "Bakht Khan - a leading Sepoy General of 1857", *PIHC*, 1985.
 8. Khan Bahadur Khan's letter 14 February 1860 to the Governor General, vide Rizvi, S.S., *Freedom Struggle in U.P.* vol. V, pp. 180, 194-283. (Hereafter cited as Rizvi).
 9. Rizvi, V, p. 195.
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. He was the son of Nawab Bakhtawar Khan. See for details Sabihuddin, pp. 131-32.
 12. *Mutiny Narratives*, NWP, Agra, Shahjahanpur District, pp. 1-6.
 13. An important Tahsil of Shahjahanpur. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, pp. 197-202.
 14. A *pargana* in tahsil Tilhar. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 175.
 15. Another important tahsil and pargana of Shahjahanpur. See Fisher IX, Pt. I, p. 165.
 16. Many villages around Shahjahanpur were also affected. Some of them were Dilawarpur, Rusruthur, Zainuddin Nagar, Nabipur, Saraura, Misripur, Rosur, Azizganj, Ullarpur, Schramau, Dhanipur, Shahbaznagar, Bijiapur, Nawada, Endapur, Oldopura, Karee, Makrandpur and Chounderia. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, pp. 155, 156-57 and 296.
 17. *Mutiny Narratives*, NWP, Agra, Shahjahanpur District, pp. 1-6.
 18. He was a direct descendant of Bahadur Khan Ruhela the founder of Shahjahanpur. He was a disciple of Sa'dat Ali Miyan, the grandson of Shah Ghulam Ali Shah Banswi. Sabihuddin, pp. 129-30.
 19. According to Money (Collector and Magistrate of Shahjahanpur) Ghulam Qadir Khan was accompanied by many eminent persons of Shahjahanpur like Abdul Rauf Khan (Deputy Inspector of Education), Naqshband Khan, Fyzab Khan, Wilayat Ali Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan, Nasir-Khan, Nizam Ali Khan (of Shahbaznagar) Nizami Ali Khan Kotwal, Sital Singh, Dulat Rai, Zahoor Khan, Muhammad Husain Khan, Fazi Khan, Hakim Mazhar Ali Khan and Wajid Ali Khan and they met Khan Bahadur Khan to appoint him as Nazim of district Shahjahanpur. *Mutiny Narratives*, NWP, Agra, Shahjahanpur, pp. 1-6.
 20. Sabihuddin, pp. 129-30; Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 153.
 21. *Mutiny Narratives*, NWP, Agra, Shahjahanpur District, pp. 1-6.
 22. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 153.
 23. Rizvi, v, p. 299; Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 154.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. *Mutiny Narratives*, NWP, Agra, Shahjahanpur District, p. 6; p. 6; Fisher, IX, Pt. I, pp. 155-56.
 26. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, pp. 155-56.
 27. *Ibid.*, also Sabihuddin, p. 140
 28. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, pp. 155-56.
 29. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 156, gives their names: Bhika Singh, Bhura Singh, Harku Singh, Sheo Ghulam, son of Bhura Singh, Ganga Ram Misra and Chandan Prasad.
 30. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 156.
 31. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 156.
 32. Pawayan bounded on the n.e. and e. by Kheri district of Awadh, on the n. and n.w. by *pargana* Puranpur of Pilibhit, on the w. by *pargana* Bisalpur of Bareilly and the s.w. & s. by *pargana* Nigohi and Shahjahanpur. In 1801 the Raja of Pawayan held 537 villages in *zamindari*. It was reduced to 247 villages in 1825 due to harsh revenue rules. By 1857, Raja Jagannath held only 126 villages. See Fisher, IX, I, p. 185.
 33. *Ibid.* p. 157.
 34. Sabihuddin, p. 140; Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 157.
 35. Stood northern most in tahsil Pawayan. It was held by the Raja of Khutar - a Rajput in entirety, in 1801. He lost possession by 1846 and was given a pension of 500 rupees by the British Government.
 36. Sabihuddin, p. 140, identifies him as Lakhna Shah.
 37. *Mutiny Narratives*, NWP, Agra, Shahjahanpur District, pp. 1-6.
 38. *Ibid.*
 39. Fisher IX, Pt. I, p. 154.
 40. See for details *PIHC* 1969, pp. 173-81.
 41. Khan Bahadur Khan was appointed ruler of Katihar with full authority in all revenue and police matters. On 9 July 1857 he was directed by Bahadur Shah through a *farman* "to rejuvenate the countryside and to improve cultivation and to enable the *zamindars* and *malguzars* ... to exert

- themselves in improving agriculture and arranging for the payment of the dues of the Government." Rizvi, v, pp. 283-84.
42. Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 158; Sabihuddin, p. 140; Forrest, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. III, pp. 333-36.
 43. G.B. Malleon, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, pp. 510-44 (Hereafter cited as Malleon).
 44. Also see Sen, *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, pp. 353-54.
 45. Bakht Khan, Prince Firuz Shah, Ismail Khan, N...a Rao, Ashraf Ali and Baba Bhat are mentioned. See Rizvi, V, pp. 511-13; Fisher, IX, Pt. I, pp. 157-58.
 46. Taib, p. 105; Kamaluddin Haider, *Sawanih Salathin-i Awadh*, Vol. II, p. 347 (Hereafter cited as Kamaluddin Haider).
 47. *Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta*, Governor General's proclamation dated 28 May 1858, No. 580, *Foreign Department (Secret)*, Allahabad Archives.
 48. Foreign Department, NWP, 1858, Record Room, Collectorate, Lucknow; *Russel, Diary*, pp. 138-47.
 49. Taib, pp. 104-5; *Foreign Department*, NWP Narratives, 9 May 1858, Secretariat Record Room, Lucknow.
 50. Moinul Haq, *The Great Revolution of 1857*, Karachi, p. 545; Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 160.
 51. Telegram to Reade dated 21 May, 1858, Secretariat Record Room, Lucknow.
 52. Daily bulletins issued by E.A. Reade (March-July 1858), Secretariat Record Room, Lucknow.
 53. Telegram to Reade dated 21 May 1858, Secretariat Record Room, Lucknow.
 54. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, 27 August 1858, Np. 138, National Archives, New Delhi.
 55. M. Wylie, *The English Captives in Oudh*, 1858, pp. 1-3.
 56. Taib, pp. 114-17; Fazl-e Haq, *As-Sawat-al Hindiya*, p. 410.
 57. *As-Sawat-al Hindiya*, p. 410; Taib, pp. 114-17. Here Fisher's remarks are also worth consideration that the Shah went to Pawayan in Order to induce the Raja, Jagannath Singh, to join in a new league against the British'. See Fisher, IX, Pt. I, p. 161, also Malleon, II, pp. 543-44. Taib, pp. 114-17; Kamaluddin Haider, II, p. 347, Department XXIV, File No. 22, *Mutiny Records*, UP State Archives; *Foreign Secret Consultation*, 27 August 1858, No. 138.
 59. *Foreign Department*, NWP arrative, 1858, Narrative of Events for Ruhelkhand Division for the Week ending 9th October 1858, Secretariat Record Room, Lucknow.
 60. *Ibid.*, dated 16 October 1858.
 61. See the list of principal rebel leaders in Shahjahanpur vide Rizvi, V, pp. 308-11.
 62. Sabihuddin, P.139
 63. Fisher, IX, Pt.I, p.162.
 64. Lucknow collectorate Mutiny Basta, Sabihuddin.
 65. Sabihuddin, P.140.