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of the Court as reported by Nugent was such that the precious stones which had been pirated by the plunderers had been replaced by mock.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

\begin{itemize}
  \item Bishop Heber, \textit{Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India}, 1844, Vol.I, pp.306-7. (Hereafter cited as \textit{Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper India}).
  \item Delhi Residency and Agency Records, Political and Miscellany case no.,J.16,letter of Agent 3rd May 1838 (Hereafter cited as D.R.R.).
  \item Percival Spear, \textit{Twilight of the Mughals}, reprint Delhi, 1991, p.61 (Hereafter cited as Spear).
\end{itemize}
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." Thus statement of Sir Syed refers to the salatin crying for help from the roof tops.1

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

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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\(^1\). 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 so show how the English officials had become oppressive and atrocious\(^2\). 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 ambitions 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.
\(^2\) Major Archer, Tours in Upper India, 1833, Vol.1, p. 383.
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-apparents, 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 Sleeman.

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. Lushingtong 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 ensing 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 caftan edged with fur, and a pair of common 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, Boozoo, 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 scrafs 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 buckshish".

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.

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 Diwan-

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 comeback 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 ustād (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 ustād. Elsewhere 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 ustād and came in close contact to Bahadur Shah Zafar\(^4\).

**Mirza Ghalib**

Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib also known as Mirza Nausha (1797-1869), was born at Agra\(^5\) in a respectable Mughal family. It is said that his grandfather came to India during the reign of Shah Alam II\(^6\). Ghalib claims that he was of Turkish origin\(^7\). He

\[^1\] *Aab-i-Hayat*, pp. 445-446.
\[^2\] Ibid. pp. 459-460.
\[^3\] *Gul-i-Rana*, p. 284.
\[^4\] Frykenberg, (ed) *Delhi Through the Ages*, New Delhi, 1986, p. 287 (Hereafter cited as Frykenberg).
\[^6\] *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. 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.

In 1854 Asadullah became the ustad of Bahadur Shah Zafar after the death of Zauq. 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. 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.

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.
4. Imdad Sabri, Delhi Ke Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris, Delhi, 1977, p.103 (Hereafter cited as Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris).
5. Askari, p. 344.
the ulema of Shah Waliullah’s family like Shah Abdul Aziz, Shah Rafiuddin, 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.\(^1\) Mufti Sadruddin Azurdah attained high proficiency in logic (\textit{mantiq}), etymology (\textit{sarf}), Syntax (\textit{nahv}), Philosophy (\textit{hikmat}), Mathematics (\textit{riyaziyat}), Literature (\textit{adab}), composition (\textit{Insha}), Fiqh, Hadith and Tafseer.\(^2\) Due to his learning and social position, he was appointed Sadr-us-Sudur by the East India Company.\(^3\) It was the highest post at that time for the Indians in the Judiciary.\(^4\) In addition to his judicial responsibility, the Mufti Sahib took keen interest in imparting education. He used to teach students at his house.\(^5\) The reconstruction of Madrasa \textit{Dar-ul-Baqa}\(^6\) was carried out by him.\(^7\) 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.\(^8\) 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
\begin{enumerate}
\item [1.] \textit{Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris}, p. 103.
\item [3.] \textit{Ghadar ke Chand Ulema}, p. 48.
\item [4.] \textit{Askari}, p. 344.
\item [5.] \textit{Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris}, p. 103.
\item [6.] \textit{This Madrasa} was established by Shah Jahan, See Mohammed Mian p. 240
\item [7.] \textit{Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris}, p. 103.
\item [8.] Imdad Sabri, \textit{Delhi Ki Yaadgar Hastiyan}, Delhi, 1972, p. 289 (Hereafter cited as \textit{yaadgar Hastiyan}).
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and poets at his residence. So his residence became one of the important centres of intellectual gatherings in Delhi.1

At the time of Revolt of 1857, he joined the Court of Bahadur Shah Zafar, leaving the job of the British.2 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.3 At the time when the famous fatwa4 (religious decree) of jihad was signed by the Ulema of Delhi, he was also one of the signatories.5 On this account, British Government after the suppression of the rebellion confiscated all his property and put him in jail.6

After some time he was released when he succeeded in proving his innocence.7 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.8 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.9 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 Bareli, 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. He achieved perfection in this science.

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.

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. 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. It seems that there

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

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worried for employment. He was perhaps satisfied with whatever he received in pension.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 *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.² He was invited by the King to participate in the Court's *mushairas* and discourses. In that way he had become one of the court intellectuals without being on the payroll of the King.³

². *Mutalai Momin*, p. 89.
³. Ibid. p. 93.
Mustafa Khan Shefta

Nawab Mustafa Khan Shefta (1806-1869) was born at Delhi¹. His grandfather Walidad Khan came to Delhi from Kohat.² His father, Nawab Murtuza Khan, was a rich man of Jahangirabad district, Delhi³. 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 Bangash⁴, 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.⁵ Murtuza Khan joined the service of Jaswant Rao Holkar. He was appointed chief of Holkar's army.⁶ 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.⁷ 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.⁸

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 assignment 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

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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

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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 Kashmir¹. He died there. His grave still attracts a large number of people².

We find that the father of Ahsanullah, Azizullah, came from Kashmir to Delhi and made it his home.³ Here Azizullah rose into fame and prominence as a tabib (Physician).⁴ Interestingly, the tibb was not the ancestral profession of Azizullah. He chose this for himself.⁵ Ahsanullah began his study in tibb under the supervision and guidance of his father.⁶ 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 Mewat⁷, 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.⁸ He was received with honour and rewards.⁹

Ahsanullah Khan also acquired the knowledge of this science

². Ibid.
³. Memoirs, (Introduction) p. IV.
⁶. Memoirs, (Introduction) p. IV.
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 and conferred the title of Umdat-ul-Mulk Haziq-i-Zaman and attached him to his personal service. After the death of Akbar Shah II, Bahadur Shah Zafar retained him in his position after conferring the titles and giving rewards. Bahadur Shah Zafar conferred upon him the title of Ehtram-al-Daulah Thabit Jang. Gradually, Hakim Ahsanullah Khan gained access to the king and enjoyed great influence on his affairs. 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.

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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1 Memoirs, (Introduction) p IV
2 Basheer, vol II, p 200
3 Asar-us-sanadeed, vol II, p 49
4 Memoirs, (Introduction) p IV
5 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, 1857 Ka Tarikh Roznamcha, Delhi, 1958, p 175 (Hereafter cited as Nizami), Memoirs (Introduction), p IV
6 Basheer, vol II, p 199
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)
in Delhi after the revolt, though he was a government pensioner. 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 future.

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 1873.

**Ghulam Najaf Khan**

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

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

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1 Memoirs, (Introduction) p.V.
2 Dastanbo, p. 13.
4 Yadgar Hastiyan, 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 along with 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.

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.

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1 Khotoot-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\(^1\). 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 \textit{Madrasa Rahimiya} of Delhi in the memory of his father\(^2\). Shah Abdul Aziz was the eldest son of Shah Waliullah. He was only 17 years old\(^3\) when Shah Waliullah died in 1762\(^4\).

Shah Abdul Aziz receive instruction from his father in the various branches sciences in the \textit{Madrasa} which later on came to be known as \textit{Madrasa Rahimiya}\(^5\). He was acknowledge as an accomplished scholar at an early age.

Shah Abdul Aziz started teaching at the \textit{Madrasa} while his father was still alive. After the death of his father, the responsibility of the \textit{Madrasa} fell entirely on his shoulders\(^6\).

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

\begin{itemize}
\item [1.] Rahman Ali, p. 302.
\item [2.] \textit{Qadeem Madaris Aur Mudarris}, p.113.
\item [3.] Rahman Ali, p. 302 f.n.
\item [4] Ibid, p. 543.
\item [6.] Rahman Ali, p. 302.
\end{itemize}

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.
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
2 Md Mian, Vol II, p 198
3 Ibid Vol IV, p 60
4 Ibid Vol II, p 202
Shah Rafiuddin

Maulana Shah Rafiuddin was born in 1749\(^1\). He was the second son of Shah Waliullah of Delhi\(^2\). Shah Rafiuddin was younger than his brother Shah Abdul Aziz and elder than Shah Abdul Qadir and Shah Abdul Ghani\(^3\). Shah Rafiuddin acquired education from his father Shah Waliullah\(^4\). He acquired particular command over *Hadith* and *Tafseer*\(^5\). 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*\(^6\). 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\(^7\).

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\(^8\). Shah Rafiuddin was deeply involved in his profession and did not get much time for other pursuits\(^9\).

\(^1\) Rahman Ali, p. 196.


\(^3\) Raheem Baksh, *Hayat-i-Wali*, p. 344, (Here after cited as Raheem Baksh).


\(^5\) Raheem Baksh, p. 344.


\(^7\) Ibid.

\(^8\) Raheem Baksh, p. 345.

\(^9\) 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.

8. Tarajim, Vol.1, p.64.
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
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.\(^1\)

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.\(^2\) After completing education, Shah Mohammad Ishaq was involved as a teacher in the Madrasa-i-Rahimiya along with his grandfather\(^3\). 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.\(^4\)

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.\(^5\)

Like his grandfather Shah Abdul Aziz, he also used to deliver

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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 up bringing 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 alongwith Shah Abdul Aziz. After returning from pilgrimage, he started, giving sermons on religion at Delhi.

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\(^1\) of the Muslim and Hindu population.

Maulvi Mohammad Ismail had written a pamphlet, ‘*Tanveer-ul-Ainain Fi Isbat Rafa-i-yadain*\(^2\), 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*\(^3\). 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\(^4\) along with Syed Ahmad Barelvi.

**Qazi Mohammad Sanaullah**

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

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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 *Hujjat-ullah-il-Baligha* at the feet of its author, Shah Waliullah. Qazi Mohammad Sanaullah of Panipat after having completed his education at the *madrasa-i-Rahimya*, 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
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-Janan. 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, huquq-ul-Islam, Risala Dar Hurmat Wa ibahat-i-Sarood, 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
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.

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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.1

*Dar-ul-Ma\-ra\-rīf* is the collection of sayings (*Malfuzat*) of Shah Ghulam Ali.2

**Rasheeduddin Khan**

Maulvi Rasheeduddin Khan, son of Aminuddin3 belonged to Kashmir. He was related to Mufti Sadruddin Azurdah4. Maulvi Rasheeduddin acquired his early education from Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Abdul Qadir5. After that he went to Shah Rafiuddin, another great scholar of Delhi, and received higher education from him6. Maulvi Rasheeduddin is said to have mastered most of the sciences of the time but he attained a special knowledge of Mathematics and Astronomy7.

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 engagements8.

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 *Tarikh Maqalat*, p. 216.
2 Rahman Ali, p. 364
4 Ibid.
5 *Yadgar Hastiyan*, p. 244.
6 Asar-us-Sanadide, Vol. II p. 79.
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\(^1\), on a monthly salary of rupees 100/- per month\(^2\) 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*\(^3\). Maulvi Rasheeduddin Khan wrote *As-Saulatul* a book which refers to the problems of *Muta*\(^4\). (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*\(^5\).

The sectarian conflicts among the Indian Muslims were not

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2. Yadgar Hastiyan, p. 244.
3. Asor-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. 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) Ilyantul MuM'ahiddin (4) Ihanatul Mulhidin-a book written to refute Ram Mohans' treatise, probably Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin.

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.

Fazle Haq

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

1 Yadgar Hastiyan, p.245.
2 Ibid pp. 246-47.
3 Ibid p.247.
figure in the society of Delhi specially as a teacher. Fazle Haq acquired early education from his father. He received instruction in Hadith from Maulana Shah Abdul Qadir, a prominent person of the age. He also learned the Quran by heart a short time of four months and a few days. 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, during the reign of Akbar Shah II. The heir-apparent, Mirza Sirajuddin Abu Zafar, had become very friendly with Fazle Haq and this relationship led Fazle Haq to visit the Red Fort frequently.

The larger part of Fazle Haq's life, from the childhood to the old age, was spent in Delhi. 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.

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

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 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.

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 gain fully 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 Madrasa¹. Later in the same building Delhi College was established in 1825². Taylor was appointed its Superintendent and Secretary³ at a salary of rupees one hundred and seventy five per month which was increased to rupees three hundred per month later⁴. In 1836 he was appointed the Principal of Delhi College⁵. 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 College⁶. In his place Flex Boutros was appointed Principal in 1841⁷. 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 disgrace and long services with desertions⁸." The petition did not been any favourable response

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\(^1\). In April 1841, Taylor was appointed at the Local Committee, Dacca College\(^2\). 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 acting Principal of the college\(^3\). In 1850 a new principal Kargill was appointed\(^4\). On Kargill's departure in 1854, Taylor was appointed Principal of the Delhi College for the third time\(^5\).

When the rebellion of 1857 broke out, Taylor was the Principal of the Delhi College\(^6\). On 11th May 1857 the rebellion started, Taylor received a letter from the Commandant of Magazine to come immediately to the Magazine\(^7\). Taylor along with his other English companions went there\(^8\). The rebels came to the magazine and when the English hiding inside the magazine lost hope, they set the magazine on fire\(^9\). Thousands of Indians along with a few English died\(^10\). Taylor and one of his friends succeeded in coming out\(^11\). Taylor's cook took him to the home of Maulvi Mohammad Baqar, the father of Maulvi Mohammad Husain Azad, a student of Delhi College\(^12\). Taylor had learnt Urdu and Persian from Maulvi Baqar and had full trust in

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1 *Delhi College Magazine*, 1953, p. 106.
2 Ibid
3 *Marhoon Delhi College*, p 158
4 Ibid
5 *Delhi College Magazine*, 1953, p 106
6 *Marhoon Delhi College*, p 159
7 *Delhi College Magazine*, 1953, p 27.
8 Ibid
9 *Marhoon 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\(^1\). But some people came to know about Taylor's being protected by Baqar\(^2\). The rebels surrounded the house of Moulvi Baqar and threatened to destroy the house if the Maulvi did not surrender Taylor\(^3\). 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\(^4\). After the suppression of rebellion Maulvi Baqar was charged for the killing of Taylor. He was sentenced to death\(^5\).

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\(^6\).

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 spiritually impressed by Taylor\(^7\). 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

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1. *Marhoom Delhi College*, p. 156.
2. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
7. Malik Ram, 165.
of the proposed society.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{2}. Boutros gave moral support in the promotion of the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{4}. Other than translations, Boutros himself wrote three books which are actually the collections of his lectures\textsuperscript{5}. These books were \textit{Usool-i-Sazi, Maliyat and Huqooq-i-Shakhsi}\textsuperscript{6}.

Boutros introduced many reforms in the Delhi College\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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 section were...

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Marhoom Delhi College}, p 136
\textsuperscript{2} Malik Ram, p 43-44
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Marhoom Delhi College}, p 157.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Delhi College Magazine}, 1953 p 104.
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Ibid} 1953, p 104
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Ibid}
\textsuperscript{7} Malik Ram, p. 48
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{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 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 Varnacular 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\(^2\). Dr. Springer arrived at Lucknow on 3rd March 1848.\(^3\) He spent about 21 months there for the purpose\(^4\). Springer returned to Delhi in January 1850\(^5\). From there he went to Simla due to illness and in May 1850\(^6\) he was transferred to Calcutta as the Principal of Calcutta Madrasa\(^7\). 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\(^8\).

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\(^9\).

In 1857 Dr. Springer attained supraannuation. He returned to Europe in 1857 where he died in 1893 at the age of 80 years\(^10\).

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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. He included many new books of Arabic and Persian in the syllabus. Dr. Spinger brought some books which were published in Europe and even got some of them translated into Urdu. Dr. Springer inspired Sir Syed to write his famous book *Asar-us-Sanadeed*. Dr. Springer was the founder member of the *Risalah Fawaid-un-Nazirin*, which was being edited by Professor Ram Chandra. 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.

**Imam Baksh Sahbai**

Maulana Imam Baksh was a teacher at Delhi College. His poetic name was Sahbai. The genealogical line of Maulana Imam Bakhsh Sahbai traces his descent to the second Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Umar Farooq. 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.
7. Marhoom Delhi College, p. 162.
Imam Bakhsh's father, Mohammad Baksh, migrated to Delhi and settled at Koocha-i-Chelan (the area near the Red Fort). It seems that at the time of migration, Imam Baksh was a minor. Here he began his early education from Abdullah Khan Alvi. Imam also acquired education in tibb which was then considered to be a noble profession among the middle class Muslim families. He, however, never used his knowledge of tibb as a professional physician.

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 (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.

In 1842 Thomason came to Delhi College as an examiner. He asked Mufti Sadruddin Azurdah, the Sadr-us-Sudur of Delhi to suggest a teacher of Persian for Delhi College. Azurdah suggested

5. Ibid, pp. 6-7.
6. 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, Delhi College Magazine, 1953 p.41.
7. Marhoom Delhi College, p 162.
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 month.

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

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 esteem. After the College hours, Sahbai used to pass his time in the company of these people. 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 discussions.

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 Khulasai-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

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5. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
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, according 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

1 Delhi College Magazine, 1953, p 61
2 Ibid
3 Marhoom Delhi College, p 170.
4 Ibid
5 Yadagar Hastiyan, 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.

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 purchased⁴.

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

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⁴ 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
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 published.

4. Ibid.
5. *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, 18th July, 1852.
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 along with 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. *Yadgar Hastiyen* 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 Patiya. 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 jagir.

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

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 Education. 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°.

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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