



---

## **Retribution of Muslims during Rebellion of 1857: A Case Study of Delhi and Awadh**

*Dr. Aijaz Ahmad<sup>1</sup> and Iram Aijaz<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Aijaz Ahmad is an Associate Professor in History, Yasin Meo Degree College, India

<sup>2</sup>Iram Aijaz is a Post Graduate Researcher in Modern Indian History, Yasin Meo Degree College, India

---

### **ABSTRACT:**

The East India Company's Government in India economically handicapped the Indian subjects through their trade and commerce. They also attacked upon their religion and social customs, which had tied them since long into uniformity. There was also the Sepoy unrest in the Indian army due to the new Enfield rifle introduced in 1853. Eventually, the rebellion broke out on 10th May 1857 by the Sepoys from Meerut military cantonment. The civilians and the Muslim theologians also followed the Sepoys against the British. However, due to some strategic failure of the revolutionaries and planned strategy and heavy armaments led to the failure of the first war of independence.

Keywords: Sepoys, British East India Company, Indian Uprising, Ulema, Mughal, etc.

---

### **Introduction:**

After the downfall of the Mughal Empire, the British East India Company with an army of some thirty to forty thousand Europeans permanently maintained an oppressive system of domination and monopoly over the vast Indian subcontinent. The Company's Government, which was uniformly oppressive, treacherous and unjust, economically handicapped the Indian subjects through their trade and commerce. They also attacked upon their religion and social customs, which had tied them since long into uniformity. The Christian Missionary activity further inflamed the sentiments of the Indian population. The oppressive British rule directly affected each and every section of the Indian community. The religious leaders were afraid of being converted to the fold of Christianity.

The Indian atmosphere was also filled with many exciting rumours that Persia will also help the Indians in establishing the Mughal rule and in this connection a proclamation was pasted at the gate of the Great Mosque of Delhi in March, 1857.<sup>1</sup> There was also a whispering among the Indian people about the old Indian prophecy which was made by a Punjab Fakir of the twelfth century. It had been foretold that after various dynasties of Muslims had ruled for some centuries, the Nazarenes, or Christians, should hold power in India for one hundred years; that the Nazarenes would then be expelled. The prophecy was clearly indicating the hundred year's gap, dating from 1757 to 1857.<sup>2</sup>

The Indian Uprising of 1857 occurred as the result of the various factors such as political, socio-religious, economic, administrative, military etc. But these were the Sepoys or native troops who finally sparked the revolt by refusing to use the greased cartridges. The Sepoy unrest was due to the new Enfield rifle introduced in the Indian army in 1853. The cartridges of the Enfield rifle were heavily greased with wax and tallow made of cow and swine fat.<sup>3</sup>

---

### **Causes and Events:**

After a hundred-year oppressive British rule, the rebellion broke out on 10th May 1857 by the Sepoys from Meerut military cantonment. It was undoubtedly a daring step by the Sepoys. Perhaps the Sepoys were in the superiority complex due to their numerical strength and their past achievements. According to Karl Marx, 200,000,000 natives being curbed by a native army of 200,000 men, officered by Englishmen, and that native army, in its turn, being kept in check by an English army numbering 40,000, only.<sup>4</sup>

The civilians also followed the Sepoys against the British and thus the uprising of 1857 mobilized all sections irrespective of race and religion and gradually converted the revolt into the war of independence. The Hindus and Muslims rose simultaneously to protect their '*Dharma*' and '*Din*' and to 'save their country'. Besides the Sepoys and civilians, there was another front of revolutionaries who were fighting against the British. This third front was of the Muslim fanatics, generally called by the British as *Ghazis* or *Jihadis* and *Mujahideen*, who were unpaid and bind with the religious ties rose in open rebellion following the Sepoys and civilians. They were led by Muslim Ulema. A number of sources prove that along with the '*Purbas*' (rebel Sepoys of Awadh Province) who entered Delhi after fleeing their cantonments, were followed by a large number of 'freelance' and 'untrained' Muslims or *Mujahideen*.

The Sepoys, civilians and Muslim *Mujahideen* gathered in Delhi under Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. They unsuccessfully fought against the British army surrounding the city but could not defend for long. The overcrowding also made the position of the city bad to worse. No food was coming in, so prices rose dramatically, and starvation soon set in. By the time the British finally assaulted the city on 14th September, the number of Sepoy

defenders had sunk from a peak of 100,000 down to 25,000. In addition to the Sepoys there were over 25000 *Mujahideen* in Delhi at that time. Most of the Sepoys left for their home because of hunger. The national administration was failed to provide them either food or pay or munitions.<sup>5</sup>

### Retribution of Muslims:

The Gurkha and Sikh Sepoys under the British were much helpful in regaining the British control over Delhi. The sympathy of the Sikhs was particularly in favour of the British. They didn't want to see the Mughals, their ancestral enemy, on the Delhi throne. According to Frederick Cooper, The Sikhs generally were most eager to aid in the capture of Delhi, from the existence of a most remarkable prophecy, — that they, in conjunction with “*topi wallahs*” (hat wearers, or the British), who should come over the sea, would reconquer Delhi, and place the head of the King's son on the very spot where the head of Guru Teg Bahadur had been exposed, one hundred and eighty years before, by order of Aurangzeb, the Great Mughal.<sup>6</sup>

The British also had much hate against the Indian natives and that hate was due to the infidelity of the Indian subjects, and cruelties committed to their women and children during the revolt. But it was not so as was described by the British. According to Karl Marx, who has commented in *New York Daily Tribune*, 15th April 1858, that after the rebellion was suppressed, despite the English assiduously trying to find evidence against the rebels for molesting English women nothing by way of evidence could be found. However, the cry that “the Natives have dishonoured our women,” was a very important piece of hate propaganda spread in England against the mutineers and used to justify all barbarities perpetrated.<sup>7</sup>

Act No. XIV. 1857 was passed on the 6th of June 1857, to legalise all types of retributions. In this Act, the provision was made for the punishment of persons convicted of exciting mutiny or sedition in the army, the offender was rendered liable to the punishment of death and the forfeiture of all his property; and persons guilty of harbouring such offenders were made liable to heavy punishment.<sup>8</sup>

Atrocities reached a climax on 14th of September 1857 and after, when British forces attacked and besieged the Delhi city. They proceeded to massacre not only the rebel Sepoys and *Jihadis*, but also the ordinary citizens of the Mughal capital. In one neighbourhood alone, Kucha Chelan, over 1400 unarmed citizens were cut down. Delhi, a sophisticated city of half a million souls, was left an empty ruin. John William Kaye states about the Delhi massacre, “Many who had never struck a blow against us, who had follow their peaceful pursuits and who had been plundered and buffeted by their own armed countrymen, were pierced by our bayonets, or cloven by our sabres, or brained by our muskets or rifles.....all else were, in our eyes, the enemies and persecutors of our race..... during the first days of our occupation of Delhi, many innocent men were shot down or otherwise massacred.” He continues, “I know only one instance of slaughter on a large scale, which was made the talk of the Camp. Major James Brind, Brind of the Batteries, was sent into the city on the most ungrateful duty of burying the rotting carcasses which were polluting the atmosphere of certain parts of Delhi..... Among the traitors were ‘Syeds and various classes of debauchees.’ Many of the enemy were slain on the spot, and others, ‘against whom blood-proofs, as also relics of our murdered countrywomen, children, and other Christian residents’ were to be found on their persons or in their houses, were reserved for more humiliating punishments. Following the example set by Neill at Cawnpore, he kept these men ‘to labour in cleansing our polluted lines before their final punishment.’ The number slain by Brind’s detachment ranged from a hundred and fifty to two hundred men. As a pleasant set-off to this, Brind had the satisfaction of reporting that he had ‘sent out of the city many hundreds of women, children, and helpless male inhabitants — blind and decrepit.’ It is not clear whether the men thus ‘slain’ were our revolted Sepoys or civil inhabitants of Delhi.....”<sup>9</sup>

The atrocities committed in Delhi after its siege was a blot on the name of any civilized community in the world. About the atrocities committed by the British after the siege of Delhi, a 19-year-old British officer Edward Vibart recorded, “The orders went out to shoot every soul. It was literally murder ..... The women were all spared but their screams, on seeing their husbands and sons butchered, were most painful.....I feel no pity, but when some old grey bearded man is brought and shot before your very eyes, hard must be that man’s heart I think who can look on with indifference...”<sup>10</sup>

About Delhi massacre after its siege by the British, Charles Raikes writes, “In the evening I went out with General Penny on his elephant, to see the side streets of the city. For miles not a creature saved a half-starved cat, and here and there an old hag groping about amidst the bones, old papers, and rags with which this once wealthy and populous place is strewn. It is as a city of the dead.”<sup>11</sup>

Gorkha and Sikh regiments were most active in the massacre of the innocents of Delhi. The Sikhs got a chance of revenge of the execution of their Guru. As there was a cherished prophecy among the Sikhs that God was to grant them revenge for the death of their martyred Guru; and that the time would come, when they would storm and sack Delhi. Even for a long period after the capture of Delhi executions by hanging were of common occurrence in the city. 60th Rifle and some Gorkhas formed a firing party and massacred the innocents as much as they could. According to the Griffiths, the disguised Sepoys and inhabitants taken with arms in their possession had short shrift, and were at once consigned to the gallows, a batch of ten one day suffering death opposite the Kotwali.<sup>12</sup>

After fully cleansing the population of Delhi by the British, there naturally emerged a lot of mosquitoes and insects and definitely the British and their forces were under their attack. It was the height of their shamelessness that they ridiculed over flow of the mosquitoes and insects that these wasps probably were the ghosts of the Sepoys who had been killed, their bodies, by the transmigration of souls, having taken the shape of these malignant insects in order to wreak vengeance on their destroyers.<sup>13</sup>

Besides Delhi, there were many other revolutionary centres such as Banaras, Kanpur, Lucknow, Fatehpur, Amritsar, Peshawar, etc. faced the uncivilized cruelties, where not only the Muslims but revolutionary Hindus also met the heavy torture of the British Government. The height of retribution starts from June 1857, when Col. James Neill committed a horrible bout of atrocities during his expeditions. At Banaras the villages were burnt and both the revolutionaries and innocents were killed *en masse*. About the retribution at Banaras, Kaye & Malleon writes:<sup>14</sup>

“Already our military officers were hunting down criminals of all kinds, and hanging them up with as little compunction as though they had been pariah-dogs, or jackals, or vermin of a baser kind. One contemporary writer has recorded that, on the morning after the disarming parade, the first thing he saw from the Mint was a ‘row of gallowses.’ A few days’ afterwards military courts or commissions were sitting daily, and sentencing old and young to be hanged with indiscriminate ferocity. .... On one occasion, some young boys, who, perhaps, in mere sport had flaunted rebel colours and gone about beating tom-toms, were tried and sentenced to death. .... as all brave men are, towards the weak and helpless, went with tears in his eyes to the commanding officer, imploring him to remit the sentence passed against these juvenile offenders, but with little effect on the side of mercy. And what was done with some show of formality, either of military or of criminal law, was as nothing, I fear, weighed against what was done without any

formality at all. Volunteer hanging parties went out into the districts, and amateur executioners were not wanting to the occasion. One gentleman boasted of the numbers he had finished off quite 'in an artistic manner,' with mango-trees for gibbets and elephants for drops, the victims of this wild justice being strung up, as though for pastime, in 'the form of a figure of eight'."

After Banaras, Allahabad fell under cruel clutches of Col. James Neill. John William Kaye writes about British retribution at Allahabad that Martial Law was proclaimed; those terrible Acts passed by the Legislative Council in May and June were in full operation; and soldiers and civilians alike were holding Bloody Assize, or slaying Natives without any assize at all, regardless of sex or age. Afterwards, the thirst for blood grew stronger still. In papers sent home by the Governor General of India in Council, that "the aged, women, and children, are sacrificed, as well as those guilty of rebellion." They were not deliberately hanged, but burnt to death in their villages. Englishmen did not hesitate to boast, or to record their boastings in writing that they had spared no one, "peppering away at niggers" was very pleasant pastime, "enjoyed amazingly." And it has been stated, in a book patronised by high official authorities, that "for three months eight dead-carts daily went their rounds from sunrise to sunset to take down the corpses which hung at the cross-roads and market-places," and that "six thousand beings" had been thus "summarily disposed of and launched into eternity."<sup>15</sup>

Colonel Neill sent a detachment to Kanpur under Major Kenaud of the Madras Fusiliers, with the instructions of brutal retribution at Fatehpur town, "Attack and destroy all places en route close to the road occupied by the enemy, but touch no others; encourage the inhabitants to return, and instill confidence into all of the restoration of British authority." In his letter, certain guilty villages were marked out for destruction, and all the men inhabiting them were to be slaughtered. All Sepoys of mutinous regiments not giving a good account of themselves were to be hanged. The town of Fatehpur, which had revolted, was to be attacked, and the Pathan gunners destroyed, with all their inhabitants. Neill further instructed, "All heads of insurgents, particularly at Fatehpur, to be hanged. If the Deputy-Collector is taken, hang him, and have his head cut off and stuck up on one of the principal (Mohammadan) buildings of the town."<sup>16</sup>

Following the instructions of their Colonel, the British forces committed genocide in their way to Kanpur. They first settled the disturbances at Fatehpur and committed all the cruelties they could. John William Kaye has quoted the narration of Mr. Sherer:<sup>17</sup>

"Many of the villages, had been burnt by the wayside, and human beings there were none to be seen. . . . The swamps on either side of the road; the blackened ruins of huts, now further defaced by weather stains and mould; the utter absence of all sound that could indicate the presence of human life, or the employment of human industry, such sounds being usurped by the croaking of frogs, the shrill pipe of the cicada, and the under him of the thousand winged insects engendered by the damp and heat; the offensive smell of the neem-trees; the occasional taint in the air from suspended bodies, upon which, before our very eyes, the loathsome pig of the country was engaged in feasting; — all these things appealing to our different senses, combined to call up such images of desolation, and blackness, and woe, as few, I should think, who were present would ever forget."

Col. James Neill, when conquered the Kanpur, committed the same type of atrocities and torture. He forced the Hindus and Muslims to eat beef and pork, sewed them in the skins of the pigs, and forced them to lick the blood of the Europeans which were shed during the rebel occupation. John William Kaye quotes the words of General Neill:<sup>18</sup>

"The first culprit was a Subedar of the Sixth Native Infantry, a fat brute, a very high Brahmin. The sweeper's brush was put into his hands by a sweeper, and he was ordered to set to work. He had about half a square foot to clean; he made some objection, when down came the lash, and he yelled again; he wiped it all up clean, and was then hung, and his remains buried in the public road. Some days after, others were brought in; one a Mohammedan officer of our civil courts a great rascal, and one of the leading men, he rather objected, was flogged, made to lick part of the blood (at Bibighar) with his tongue. No doubt this is strange law, but it suits the occasion well, and I hope I shall not be interfered with until the room is thoroughly cleansed in this way. ..."

There are a lot of stories were in circulation in Anglo-Indian and continental journals, regarding the revengeful carnage. It was stated that ten thousand of the inhabitants had been killed in the city of Kanpur by the British forces. John William Kaye says that this was a tremendous assertion, representing rather what might have been than what was. Some wished that it was so, for vengeance' sake; others, that there might be a pretext for maligning the English.<sup>19</sup>

The mutinous Sepoys left Meerut after the murder and plunder. However, the British, in the reprisal of the 10th May episode, started retribution to the suspected Sepoys and civilians at Meerut. According to Munshi Jeewan Lal's report, more than 200 Sappers and Miners were shot dead by the Europeans. The remaining Sepoys fled towards Delhi and occupied the place at Salimgarh.<sup>20</sup>

In Lucknow, the barbarism and cruel retribution of the British were repeated after Delhi. The murder and destruction of the property were prevalent throughout the day and night. The objective of the cruelty was to strike terror among the people. The entire layout of the city was transformed. A large part of the densely populated area around Macchi Bhawan, the traditional centre of the city, was demolished. Nearly two-fifths of the entire city was destroyed, and the residents uprooted. The socio-religious and cultural life of the city was severely affected by the British policy of retribution. The military occupation of the Jama Masjid robbed the area of its life and vitality. The city was never the same again.<sup>21</sup>

A British officer Julius George narrates a story of the terrible fighting at Lucknow, which was fought three months before in November. He says, "I rode off, and found my way to the Sikander Bagh, where a working party of Sappers, under two of our officers, had already proceeded. This place, rendered memorable by the terrible fight that occurred here on the Chief's first advance to Lucknow, was, as its name denotes, a Native garden, with an enclosure wall and various buildings, and summer houses inside. The breach by which the Chief had entered nearly three months before was still unrepaired..... see the courtyard in which 1,800 Sepoys were killed, having shut themselves up with no outlet of escape..... Volley after volley from the Enfield was poured in through the doors and windows by our men, until at length a writhing mass of half dead men and corpses, piled five and six deep, showed that the massacre at Cawnpore was at last partially avenged. We found quantities of human hair and bones still lying about, and the smell, even now, was intolerable."<sup>22</sup>

An army officer from Peshawar gave a description of the disarming of the 10th irregular cavalry for not charging the 55th Native infantry when ordered to do so. The defaulters were not only disarmed, but stripped of their coats and boots and there embarked in boats and sent down the Indus to be drowned in the rapids. Another officer narrated that some inhabitants of Peshawar having caused a night alarm by exploding little mines of gunpowder in honor of a wedding. In the next morning, the persons concerned were tied up and received such a flogging as they would not easily forget. Another tells from Allahabad, "Not a day passes but we string up from ten to fifteen of them." From Banaras there was the information, "Thirty zamindars were

hanged on the mere suspicion of sympathizing with their own countrymen, and whole villages were burned down on the same plea." An officer from Banaras, whose letter is printed in *The London Times*, says: "The European troops have become friends when opposed to Natives."<sup>23</sup>

Frederick Cooper, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, states in his account, "About 150 having been thus executed, one of the executioners swooned away (he was the oldest of the firing-party), and a little respite was allowed. Then proceeding, the number had arrived at two hundred and thirty-seven; when the district officer was informed that the remainder refused to come out of the bastion, where they had been imprisoned temporarily a few hours before. Expecting a rush and resistance, preparations were made against escape; but little expectation was entertained of the real and awful fate which had fallen on the remainder of the mutineers: they had anticipated, by a few short hours, their doom. The doors were opened, and, behold! they were nearly all dead! Unconsciously, the tragedy of Holwell's Black Hole had been re-enacted."<sup>24</sup>

Hodson's merciless execution to the two sons of Bahadur Shah Zafar, Mirza Mughal, Mirza Khizr Sultan, with the grandson, the son of Mirza Mughal, by name Mirza Abu Bakr, was globally condemned by the history scholars. For several weeks after its recapture, Delhi resounded to the sounds of gunfire as the British looted and wreaked revenge with a series of horrific executions of mutinous Sepoys, hundreds of whom were shot or hanged each day on a gallows especially constructed in Chandni Chowk or occasionally blown from the mouths of cannons. The destruction within the city, which reduced the buildings of the Red Fort alone to one-fifth of their former area, brought to a complete end not only a dynasty but the dominance of Muslim, Urdu culture in North India.

Europeans charge Nana Sahib for the Kanpur massacre, but even before they could have possibly known of the Kanpur massacre that took place later, the English had begun committing atrocities on Indian men, women, and children. Such atrocities undertaken by the English from the beginning of the Uprising enflamed the revolutionaries and hardened their hearts.

Irfan Habib quotes Engels that the English violated all laws of war in killing the prisoners of war; and they did so by ever imaginable, fiendish means, like hanging after binding their victims in contorted forms or blowing the captives from mouths of their guns. Every subsequent success of the British was marked by a general massacre and plunder of civil populations.<sup>25</sup>

The atrocities and cruelties committed by the Europeans, the so-called most civilized community in the world, had no parallel at least in the history of Indian subcontinent. The British practice of executing rebel soldiers and officers by tying them to the mouths of cannons, so that the crowds of onlookers would be spattered with blood and the corpses dispersed over a wide area, was intended to shock. It was furthermore, a deliberate offence, because blasting the body to pieces in this manner prevented either cremation or a proper burial. The British also carried out hundreds of arbitrary hangings in Northern India as the fighting progressed almost hand to hand through the villages, until they were finally retaken. It is said that cutting of noses, breasts, etc., in one word, the horrid mutilations committed by the Sepoys, were of course more revolting to European feelings.<sup>26</sup>

Harper's Weekly gives the account of the terrible retribution at Ferozpur in Punjab. The morning of 13th of June, at Ferozepore was fixed upon for the execution. A gallows was erected on the plain to the North side of the fort, facing the Native bazaars, and at a distance of some 300 yards. On this two Sepoys were to be hanged, and at the same time their comrades in mutiny were to be blown away from guns. It is said that when they were about to be blown from canon some of them cried, "Do not sacrifice the innocent for the guilty!" Two of them rejoined, "Hold your sniveling: die men and not cowards — you defended your religion, why then do you crave your lives? Sahibs! They are not Sahibs; they are dogs!" Finally, they were blown. Harper's Weekly further quotes the account of an eye witness, "The scene and stench were overpowering.....the consequence was that they were greatly bespattered with blood, and one man, in particular, received a stunning blow from a shivered arm!"<sup>27</sup>

There were pursuits, trials, and executions. Confiscations of lands and properties followed. Not only individual rebels, but whole families, whose members were suspected of having been involved in any way in the Uprising were deprived of their lands. The confiscated lands were given to British families, and to such 'Natives' as could claim to have rendered service against their own compatriots.<sup>28</sup>

It was published in the press in England that for every Christian church destroyed, fifty mosques should be destroyed, beginning with the Jama Masjid at Delhi; and for every Christian man, woman, and child murdered, a thousand rebels should bleed.<sup>29</sup>

After the suppression of the Uprising, the Viceroy Lord Canning requested his ministers and counselors to submit a report on how to entrench British rule in India. Abdul Hamid Ishaq in his *Ulema of Deoband* quotes Sir William Muir, the in charge of the intelligence department, stated in his report.<sup>30</sup>

"Of the entire population of India, the Muslims are the most spirited and vigilant. The Battle of Independence was fought by Muslims. As long as Muslims cherish in them the spirit of Jihad we shall not be able to vanquish them. It is therefore, imperative to first and foremost snuff out this spirit by eliminating the 'Ulema and the Quran."

Giving expression to this advice, the Government in 1861 launched a campaign to destroy copies of the Quran. 300,000 copies of the Quran were set alight by the Government. The heavy hand of the British was fallen upon the Ulema who were considered responsible for waging Holy War against the British.

About the policy of eradicating Ulema from 1864-1867, Abdul Hamid Ishaq in his *Ulema of Deoband* quotes an English historian Thompson, as follows:<sup>31</sup>

"From 1864 to 1867 heart-rending acts of brutality and torture were perpetrated against the Ulema. The British executed 14,000 Ulema by hanging them on trees. From Chandi Chowk of Delhi up to Khaibar, not a single tree was spared the neck of the Ulema. Ulema were wrapped in pig skin and hurled alive into blazing furnaces. Their bodies were branded with hot copper rods. They used to be made to stand on the back of the elephant and tied to high trees. The elephant would then be driven away and they would be left hanging by their necks. A make shift gallows was set up in the courtyard of the Shahi Masjid of Lahore and each day up to 80 Ulema were executed by hanging." "Sometimes Ulema were wrapped in sacks and dumped into the river Ravi of Lahore after which a hail of bullets were pumped into the sacks".

Abdul Hamid Ishaq further quotes Thompson, "As I got into my camp at Delhi, I perceived a stench of putrefied flesh. As I stepped out and went behind camp I saw a blazing fire of live coals. I saw a group of 40 naked Ulema being led to the fire. As I was witnessing this scene, another group of 40 Ulema were brought onto the field. Right before my eyes their clothes were taken off their bodies. An English commander addressed them thus: O Maulvis! You will be roasted in this fire just as these Ulema are being roasted. To save yourselves, just one of you should say that you were not part of the 1857 Uprising. The moment I hear this proclamation, I shall release you all." Thompson continues: "By the Lord who has created me! Not a single one of the Ulema said anything of the sort. All of them were roasted on the fire. Then another group of forty was brought and roasted over the blazing

fire. But not a single Alim surrendered to the demands of the British".<sup>32</sup>

An Urdu poet has rightly said:

"*Naujawanon Ko Huein Phaansian Be Jurm-Wa-Qusur,  
Maardi Goliyaan Paya Jise Kuchh Zor Awar*"

(Young people were hanged without having committed any crime; whosoever was found powerful was gunned down).

#### References:

1. The proclamation pasted on the wall of great mosque at Delhi, which purported to be a manifesto from the Shah of Persia addressed to the people. "All the Faithful in India! The infidels had brought troops to the soil of a power of Islam. They desired to destroy the religions of Islam in Persia in like manner as the religion of the Muslims of India. It was incumbent on the Faithful to rise against them everywhere. Let them unite all differences, and remember that they had but one Quran and one *Qiblah*, and extend the hand of brotherhood, remembering the words of the Prophet, 'Verily all true believers are brothers.' Let them all take part in the Jihad, or Holy War. Let the Faithful in Hindustan unite with him (the Shah) against this tribe of wanderers from the path of righteousness, and have no friendship with a tribe of whom the Prophet said, 'Verily they do not love you, and neither do you love them. Let all the Faithful in Hindustan consider it incumbent upon them to follow the precept, 'Slay, in the name of God, those who wish to slay you'; and let the old and the young, the small and the great, the wise and the ignorant, the *Raiyot* (peasants) and the Sepoy, all without exception arise in the defence of the orthodox faith of the Prophet, and, having girt up the waist of valour, adorn their persons with arms and weapons. And for the purpose of settling the quarrel, it is necessary that not only a small number of true believers should stand forth in defence of the faith, but that the whole should answer our call. And the victory should be with them, to make manifest the decree of God, 'Verily the Almighty will weigh the wicked in different scales from the pure.'" Forrest, Robert Edward (ND). *Eight Days: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*, London, pp. 34-35.
2. Kofoid, Charles Alwood (1898). *The Story of the Indian Mutiny, 1857-58*, Edinburgh, p. 20.
3. The story of greased cartridges goes back in January 1857, when a *Khallasi* or workman of a low caste attached in the Arsenal at Damdam (Artillery Station near Calcutta, where the school for musketry practice with the new Enfield rifle was then established), asked a Brahmin Sepoy of the 3rd Native Infantry (on some accounts 2nd Bengal Granadier) for a drink of water from his "*lotah*" or water-vessel. The Sepoy refused, saying, "You will defile my lotah by your touch." The classic answered, "You think much of your caste! Wait a little; the *Sahib-logue* will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat! And where will your caste be then?" The Brahmin was alarmed and spread the report. (Argyl, Campbell & Duke of George Douglas (1865). *India Under Dalhousie and Canning*, London, p. 77; see also Surridge, Victor (1909). *Romance of Empire, India*, London, pp. 249-50.)
4. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 15, 1857.
5. *Biblio*, Vol, XII, No. 3&4, March-April 2007, p. 9.
6. Cooper, Frederic (1858). *The Crisis in the Punjab, The 10th of May until the Fall of Delhi*, London, p. 32.
7. *New York Daily Tribune*, April 15, 1858.
8. Kaye, John William (1910). *Kay's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58*, Vol. II, London, p. 208.
9. Kaye, John William (1876). *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58*, Vol. III, London, pp. 636-37.
10. *New Statesman*, October, 16, 2006.
11. Raikes, Charles (1858). *Notes on the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces of India*, London, p. 82.
12. Adam and Charles Black (1861). *History of the Siege of Delhi*, Edinburgh, p. 7; see also Griffiths, Charles John (1910). *A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi with an Account of the Mutiny at Ferozpur in 1857*, London, pp. 213-214.
13. Griffiths, *op. cit.* p. 216.
14. Kaye, John William, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p. 177.
15. *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* 269-70; see also Kaye, John William, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p. 203.
16. Kaye, John William, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p. 207.
17. *Ibid*, p. 277.
18. *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* pp. 399-400.
19. Kaye, John William, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p. 291.
20. Metcalfe, Charles Theophilus (1898). *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, (Eng. Trans. of Roznamcha Mainudin Hasan Khan and Munshi Jeewan Lal), London, p. 96.
21. *Peoples Democracy*, (Lucknow in 1857-58: The Epic Siege- Amar Faruqui) Vol. XXXI, No. 41, October 14, 2007.
22. Medley, Julius George (1858). *A Years Campaigning in India from March 1857 to March 1858*, London, pp. 171-172.
23. *New York Daily Tribune*, September 16, 1857.
24. Cooper, Frederic (1858). *The Crisis in the Punjab: The 10th of May until the Fall of Delhi*, London, p. 162.
25. *Peoples Democracy*, (Remembering 1857- Irfan Habib) Vol. XXXI, No. 4, January 28, 2007.
26. *New York Daily Tribune*, September 16, 1857.
27. *Harper's Weekly*, New York, February 15, 1862.
28. *Peoples Democracy*, (Remembering 1857- Irfan Habib) Vol. XXXI, No. 4, January 28, 2007.
29. Martin, R. Montgomery (1858). *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, London, p. 22.
30. Ishaq, Abdul Hamid (2011). *Ulema of Deoband*, Madarsa Arabia Islamia, Azaadville, South Africa, p. 10.
31. *Ibid*, pp. 10-12.
32. *Ibid*.