### THE RISE AND FALL OF AHLUWALIA MISAL

#### A DISSERTATION

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#### **PREFACE**

There were twelve *misals* in the history of Punjab out of which the Ahluwalia misal holds an enormous position. This misal has a unique identity. The historical background of this *misal* is interlinked with the other *misals*. After the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur in 1716, the Mughals began inflicting crimes on the Sikhs. On the one side, the Sikhs did not have any influential leader to guide them through this period. The Governors of Lahore (Punjab) during that period Abdus Samad Khan (1713-1726), Zakariya Khan (1726-1745) did not leave any stone unturned in killing the Sikhs upon the order of the Delhi Government. To survive from these tortures, the Sikhs hid themselves in the jungles, mountains and deserts and escaped. The Sikhs then formed groups (jathas) and started looting the treasures of the Mughals. Upon this Governor Zakariya Khan negotiated with the Sikhs and agreed to give them a jagir and a position of a Nawab in exchange for the Sikhs to stop looting them. Due to this jagir, the Sikhs got the opportunity togather peacefully and strengthen them. Later in 1734, Jathedar Nawab Kapur Singh divided the Sarbat Khalsa into two parts one of which was Budha Dal and the other was Taruna Dal or Jawan Dal. Zakariya Khan died in 1745. After the death of Zakariya Khan, the Sikhs made twenty five or thirty jathas so as to unite the ever increasing number of the Sikhs into a union. This was aimed at cementing and strengthening the Sikh community. However, the number of the jathas of the Sikh community increased to about sixty five or sixty six in the beginning of 1748 when the Badshah (emperor) of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali joined the fight between the Mughals and the Sikhs. In order, to face the attacks of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Nawab Kapur Singh formed a strong union named the 'Dal Khalsa' with a unanimous vote from Khalsa Panth on the 29th March, 1748 on during the occasion of Vaisakhi. So, it was decided to rearrange the sixty five or sixty six jathas of the Sikh into the eleven jathas. These jathas were known as the eleven misals. During this time, the Twelfth misal, Phulkian was not a part of the Dal Khalsa. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was appointed as the commander (Pardhan Senapati) of the Dal Khalsa. But, the real establishment of Ahluwalia Misal has from Kalal or Ahluwalia and the royal family of the Ahluwalia misal of Kapurthala believe their ancestors to be from the Bhatti rulers of Jaisalmer. It is believed that some of the Rajputs from Jaisalmer came to Punjab and mixed with the Jatts community of this area. Out of these Rajputs, Bhai Sena and his son, Bhai Wadhava joined the Sikh *Panth*. They also went on to take part in the missions of the Sikh Panth. The son of Bhai Wadhava, Bhai Ganda Singh was just as brave as his father. He is known to have helped the subedar of Lahore, Dilawar Khan in one of his battles. He showcased his bravery during this battle. In return for his service, Dilawar Khan rewarded Ganda Singh as the zamidara of Ahlu, Sadho, Tur and Chak. He also gave him the Bakshna (Boom) of the Ahlu village. However, this did not last for long as Ganda Singh died shortly after this. After the death of his father, Sadhu or Sadhava Singh began living in Ahlu. Later, the family of Sadhu Singh became famous and known as the Ahluwaliye. The daughter and sons of Sadhu Singh were married to the Kalal family. It is due to this reason that they are known as the 'Ahluwaliye Kalal.' the name of the son of Sadhu Singh was Gopal Singh who later had a son named Deva Singh. Deva Singh also had a son named Badar Singh. Badar Singh had a son named Jassa Singh one of the greatest warriors of the eighteenth century. He later became the leader of the Ahluwalia misal. Sardar Jassa Singh got his education from Mata Sundari (wife of Guru Gobind Singh) in his childhood and later from Nawab Kapur Singh. It was due to these teachings that Jassa Singh was later known to be a successful leader. After he leaving Mata Sundari, he stayed in the Jatha of Nawab Kapur Singh for some time. He later formed his own Jatha in 1745. But, when eleven jathas (misals) were formed to replace the different *jathas* in the Sikh community on the 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1748, a separate misal from these jathas (misals) became 'Ahluwalia misal' was made which was named after Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia's village Ahlu. Later, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his compatriot Sikh Sardars successfully protected and united the Sikh community (1739-1783) by fighting with the Mughals and the Afghans in the eighteenth century. These activities of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia led to the progress of the Ahluwalia misal. He also went on to conquer various areas in Punjab as the commander (Pardhan Senapati) and jathedar of the Khalsa Panth by defeating the Mughals and the Afghans. These areas included Fatehabad, Jalandhar, Lahore,

Sirhind etc. After conquering Lahore in 1761, he also became the 'Raja' (King) of Lahore. He was also given the honour of 'Sultan-Ul-Qoum' during that time. The areas won by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia some of them were in Jalandhar-Doab while other were in the outskirts of Doab. The capturing of Kapurthala is considered to be the most important of all other victories. The later generations of this misal ruled over this area. Other than this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also engaged in religious works and other works for the betterment of the Sikh community. It was due to these activities that this misal progressed. The Ahluwalia misal continued after the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 1783 under various rulers in Kapurthala state until its end in 1948. After the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, his cousin or nephew Sardar Bhag Singh (1783-1801) was appointed the ruler of this misal and the kingdom of Kapurthala. However, he had already undertaken the responsibility of administration of the misal and the kingdom of Kapurthala during the later years of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia's life. 1783 in after the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, he properly administered the kingdom due to his prior experience. He also conquered many areas for the progress and expansion of this misal. He also helped the other Sikh Sardars during their time of need. After his death, his son, Sardar Fateh Singh (1801-1837) became the successor to the throne and he friend became to Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Sukarchakia misal. He played his part in the expansion of the Sikh rule by accompanying Maharaja Ranjit Singh in his battles. Other than this, he also played a huge role in the development of his kingdom, Kapurthala. So in this way, both Sardar Fateh Singh and Maharaja Ranjit Singh led to the progress of not only the Sikh community but also their respective misals. After the death of Sardar Fateh Singh, his elder son, Nihal Singh (1837-1852) became the ruler of this throne. Maharaja Ranjit Singh also appointed him as the 'Raja' (King) of Kapurthala. Later, after the death of Raja Nihal Singh, his elder son, Randhir Singh (1852-1870) became his successor. Both of these leaders were considered excellent leaders because of the works that they undertook for their kingdom of Kapurthala. But, however they were both loyal to the British government. So by helping the British in their battles, they led to the downfall of the Sikh rule and the Ahluwalia misal. So after the death of Raja Randhir Singh, his elder son, Kharak Singh (1870-1877)

took upon the responsibilities of the throne. Although, Raja Kharak Singh's reign was short, he was considered a good leader because of his works. Unfortunately, Raja Kharak Singh caught a mental illness due to which the administration of this misal and Kapurthala was shifted to his son, Jagatjit Singh. But, as Jagatjit Singh was very young at that time these responsibilities were given to the British Government. This is considered to be the one of the weakest periods of this misal and the kingdom of Kapaurthala. After the death of Raja Kharak Singh his only son, Jagatjit Singh (1877-1948) became his successor. He is also known as the last leader of the Ahluwalia misal and its heritage Kapurthala. Due to him being a child at the time of the death of his father, the administration of Kapurthala stayed in the hands of the British until 1890. But on reaching adulthood in 1890, the British gave back these responsibilities to Jagatjit Singh. He undertook various actions for the development of his kingdom, Kapurthala upon becoming the King. He was considered as a good leader. But as his predecessors, he too was also a loyal of the British, so most of his actions took place under the permission of the British. So in this way, which also led to the downfall of his *misal*. India got its independence from the British on 15th August, 1947. So, on the 5th May, 1948, Maharaja Jagatiit Singh ended the rule of the Ahluwalia misal by merging it in PEPSU (Patiala East Punjab Status Union).

So, the above information describes the rise and fall of the *Ahluwalia* misal. Nevertheless, this misal ruled over various parts of Punjab for about two hundred years spanning from 1748 to 1948.

#### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE:**

- 1. Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Sikh Twarikh-II (1708-1849), Sikh University Press, 2015: This book elaborates the attacks and tortures inflicted by the Mughals on the Sikhs after the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur in 1716. It also contains information of the attacks by the Afghans. It is also about the Ahluwalia misal and jathas (groups) formed by the Sikhs.
- 2. Sukhdial Singh, Shiromani Sikh Itihas-II (1708-1799), Sangam Publications, Samana, 2010: This book describes the jathas formed

- by the Sikhs i.e. the period of the formation of various *jathas* (groups) and how their names were derived. It also contains information on the number of the *jathas*. This book also tells about the eleven *jathas* (*misals*) formed in March, 1748 under the command of the *Dal Khalsa*.
- 3. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, Sikh Itihas (1469-1765),(Translated-Bhagat **Publication** Singh), Bureau. Punjabi University, Patiala, 2013: This book elaborates on the tortures inflicted by the Mughals and the attacks by the Afghans on the Sikhs after the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. This book also contains the information about how Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars faced these attacks by the Mughals and the Afghans.
- 4. Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2011: This book provides very important information about the Ahluwalia family. It also contains the information of the relation of this family to the throne of Kapurthala. Other than this, it also describes the birth and childhood of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. It elaborates on the missions of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars against the Mughals and the Afghans. It has provide information about the various areas that these Sikh Sardars conquered. It contains comprehensive details of the attacks on Lahore and Kapurthala by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars. This book also tells about the bravery shown by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in the 'Chotta' and "Wadda Ghallughara".
- 5. Sumant Dhamija, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1718-1783), Esha Beteille, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2012: This book contains information on the historical background and life of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. It contains comprehensive details of the protection programme of the Sikhs and the attacks on Punjab by Ahmad Shah Abdali. It also shares information of the destruction caused by the Afghans to the religious places. Other than this, it also contains the

- information about the relation between Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the Rohillas, Mughals and the Jatts Communities.
- 6. Surject Singh Gandhi, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Language Department, Punjab, 1988: This book contains detailed information from the birth to the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Other than this, it also contains information about the religious and other works undertaken by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia towards the end of his life.
- 7. Sohan Singh Seetal, Sikh Mislan Te Sardar Gharane, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2006: This book throws light on the jathas and the misals formed by the Sikhs. Other than this, it also contains the information about the various leaders of the Ahluwalia misal in Kapurthala and the downfall of this misal.
- 8. **Bhagat Singh,** A History of the Sikh Misals, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2009: This book reveals about the reigns of various leaders from the Ahluwalia misal in Kapurthala from 1783 to 1948. Other than this, it also elaborates on the works done by Fateh Singh and his relation with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It also elaborates the works done by Maharaja Jagatjit Singh in Kapurthala.
- 9. Gian Singh Giani, Twarikh-Guru-Khalsa-II, Language Department, Punjab, 1987: This book contains detailed information about the various rulers of the Ahluwalia misal in Kapurthala i.e. Raja Nihal Singh, Raja Randhir Singh and Raja Kharak Singh. It also shares knowledge about the relations between these rulers. The British Government and the works that they did for the kingdom of Kapurthala and Sikh community.
- 10. **Thakur Deshraj**, *Sikh Itihas*, **Gramosthan Vidyapith**, **Sangriya**, **2000**: This book contains detailed information of the works of the various rulers of the *Ahluwalia misal* that they ruled on the kingdom of Kapurthala i.e. Sardar Bhag Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh's efforts for the development of the Sikh community and Kapurthala.

#### **SCOPE:**

Ahluwalia was one of the most important misal. In the above paragraphs, we have discussed about the journey from the beginning to the end of the Ahluwalia misal. After the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur in 1716, the Sikhs formed various jathebandian in 1734, after 1745 and 1748. They faced their enemies like the Mughals and the Afghans. But, as this was not enough, the Sikhs decided to bring together different jathas to form eleven jathas in March, 1748. These jathas were called the eleven misals. In this way, the Ahluwalia misal and ten other misals were established. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was made the commander of this misal. He resided in the Ahlu village. He later went on to become a famous leader of the Sikh Panth, because of his qualities and education efficiency. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia fought many battles for the Sikh community against the Mughals and the Afghans throughout the eighteenth century as the commander of the Dal Khalsa and the Jathedar of the Khalsa Panth. He also started providing the protection programme (Rakhi System) in the areas that the Sikhs managed to conquer. Through this protection programme, he gave the Sikhs the opportunity to rule over areas. He himself administered the areas of Jalandhar-Doab and the outskirts of Doab. However after his death, his successors ruled over Kapurthala until the end of this misal. There were many different rulers throughout the period of the rule of the Ahluwalia misal in Kapurthala. All these rulers undertook various works for the development of their kingdom during their reigns but, however some rulers led to the downfall of this misal. Nevertheless, this misal has an enormous history because this misal ruled for about two hundred years ranging from 1748 to 1948. In this time, misal hold a position of great importance in the history of Punjab.

#### **NEED FOR STUDY:**

The present work is also focus on the conditions which were responsible for the rise and fall of *Ahluwalia misal*. Furthermore, the *Kalal* or *Ahluwalia* families have been discussed to understand the historical background of this *misal* i.e. how Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, who belonged to this family, joins this *misal* and the Sikh *Panth* and that after joining the

misal, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia spent his life towards the service and protection of the Sikh community by opposing the Mughals and the Afghans and in doing so, he laid the foundation of the rule of this misal. Other than, the management of the religious places of the Sikhs has also been described. All these actions were responsible for the rise and progress of this misal. Other than this, this study also showers light on the reign of the successors of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in Kapurthala and the works that they did for the development of this misal. These successors also maintained the status of the Sikh community. This study also discusses about the actions of some of these rulers that led to the downfall of the Sikh rule and the misal. So in this way, this study discuss the information on the various aspects of the Ahluwalia misal.

#### **OBJECTIVES:**

- 1. To discuss the condition of the Sikhs in the Punjab after 1716.
- 2. To elaborate the Sikh *jathebandian* formed during the 1734-1748 period. The establishment of the *Ahluwalia misal* from these *jathebandian*.
- 3. To provide information about the *Kalal* or *Ahluwalia* family of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and make affort to research on the life of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.
- 4. To throw some light on the rise of the *Ahluwalia misal* and on the contribution of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia to the Sikh community against the Mughals and the Afghans during the 1739-1783 period.
- To discuss the reign and works of the successors of the Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia for the Ahluwalia misal during the period of 1783-1948
- 6. To understand the conditions responsible for the downfall of this *misal*.

#### PLAN OF WORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

This study is mainly based on the facts derived from the primary and secondary sources. These sources have been obtained from the libraries of different Universities and Colleges for example Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha

Library, Punjabi University Patiala, Dr. Ganda Singh Punjabi Reference Library, Punjabi University Patiala, Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Joshi Library, Punjab University, Chandigarh, Khalsa College Library, Amritsar, D.A.V College Library, Bathinda and some other libraries which include Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, Central Library, Patiala and Public Library, Bathinda etc. The proceedings and statements of various leaders, newspapers handwritings, scholars and writers of many Universities have been included in this study.

#### **CHAPTERIZATION:**

#### Chapter-I:

#### Historical Background and Establishment of Ahluwalia Misal:

First of all the meaning of the word 'misal' has been explained in this chapter. The meaning of this word has been derived from various words like kabila (tribe), jatha etc. After this, the historical background of the Ahluwalia misal has been discussed. After the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur in 1716, there was no influential leader who could guide the Sikh community. Due to this, the Sikhs formed different jathas to face the attacks by the Mughals and the Afghans during the period from 1734 to 1748, but in order to further strengthen themselves, the Sikhs rearranged these jathas into eleven jathas on the 29th March, 1748 under the command of the Dal Khalsa. These jathas were the eleven misals. The Ahluwalia misal was one of the eleven misals that had been formed. But, the real establishment of Ahluawalia Misal has from Kalal or Ahluawalia Family. In this Family was the pioneers of the Ahluwalia misal Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia who was highly influenced by the Sikh Panth. In the beginning he worked in the jatha of Nawab Kapur Singh for some time. Later, he formed his own jatha in 1745. So, during the time of the formation of eleven jathas (misals) in March 1748, amongst these jathas (misals), a separate misal made under his command which was named the 'Ahluwalia misal'. The name of this misal was derived from the name of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia's village Ahlu.

#### Chapter-II:

# Contribution of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1739-1783) to Sikh Community and Ahluwalia Misal :

The second chapter describes that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was not only the commander of the Ahluwalia misal but also one of the greatest leaders of the eighteenth century. It was Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia who bravely led the Sikhs against the attacks of the Mughals and the Afghans as the commander of the Dal Khalsa and the jathedar of the Khalsa Panth, after the demise of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. He also conquered on various lands during his period along with the other Sikh Sardars. So, when the Sikhs later divided into these areas between themselves, some of the areas came under his administration. Later, he laid the foundation of the Khalsa rule by conquering Lahore. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also maintained the pride of the Sikh community by helping the other Sikh Sardars and rulers during their difficult times. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also did some religious works. The efforts and actions of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia led to the progress and develop of the Ahluwalia misal.

#### **Chapter-III:**

## The Role of Successors of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1783-1948) and Downfall of the Misal :

The third chapter describes the reign of the various leaders of this *misal* and Kapurthala states. After the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1783) to the end of this *misal* in 1948. Out of these successors, Sardar Bhag Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh did works that were beneficial for this *misal* and the people of the kingdom of Kaputhala. During their reigns, this *misal* underwent a lot of progress. On the other hand, Sardar Bhag Singh maintained the stature of the Sikh community, while Fateh Singh played a huge role in the expansion of the Sikh rule in Punjab by helping Maharaja Ranjit Singh. However, their successors i.e. Raja Nihal Singh, Raja Randhir Singh, Raja Kharak Singh and the last Maharaja Jagatjit Singh on one side, played an important role in the development of their kingdom of Kapurthala but on the other side, they led to the downfall

of this *misal* and the Sikh rule because of their loyalty to the British. So, this *misal* ended shortly after India got its independence from the British in 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947. When Maharaja Jagatjit Singh merged Kapurthala in PEPSU (Patiala East Punjab Status Union) on the 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1948. So in this way, Maharaja Jagatjit Singh ended this *misal*.

#### IV. Conclusion:

After the above mentioned chapterization, I summed up that Ahluwalia Misal was a very important Misal. This Misal has its own identity amongst all the twelve Misals in the history of Punjab and hence holds an important position. This misal ruled over various parts of Punjab for about two hundred years spanning from 1748 to 1948.

#### **CHAPTER - I**

# HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND ESTABLISHMENT OF AHLUWALIA MISAL

Throughout the history of Punjab the word *Misal* holds great importance. It has already been said that the entire territory of Punjab had been divided amongst twelve Sikh Jathedars. However, a Jatha had been described as a Misal. These Misals have played an important role in shaping the existence of Punjab and Punjabis. Misals had a vital role in shaping, recreating and enhancing the various aspects of the mighty land of Punjab. These Misals had played an important role in developing the history of Punjab. The twelve Misals had different names which were derived from the names or characteristics of their founders or the village from which these founders hailed. However, there were also some issues regarding these Misals. The main issues were that these Misals were neither established with a special plan or time. They were established during the adverse times and when not much was happening in the favor of Punjabis. The atmosphere and the environment was not favorable. In spite of all these hardships, the establishment of Misals took place by the mighty efforts of one and only, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. It was during the time of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur that Punjab saw a new ray of hope and end to the restlessness and anxiety. During this time, the power of the Sikh community rose in the region of Punjab. 1

The Sikhs were becoming mighty, undefeatable and the leaders were setting examples during that era (time). The *Jathas* came into existence during this period. These *Jathas* later on took the form of *Misals*. Hence, we can say that the initial form of *Misals* was nothing else but *Jathas*. Out of these *Misals*, if we lay stress on the historical background of the *Ahluwalia Misal*, then before knowing about their historical background, it is important to understand the meaning of the word *Misal*. The great word *Misal* that lead to the foundation of many great scenarios and epics later to come has been described in a very detailed way. The meaning of the word *Misal* is as following:

Surjeet Kaur Jolly, *Punjab Da Itihas Te Sikh Virsa*, Manpreet Parkashan, Delhi, 2008, p.132.

#### i. Meaning of the Word Misal:

Many different historians have given different definitions of the word *Misal*. Out of which some are as follows:

- According to Kahan Singh Nabha, *Misal* is a word driven from the Arabic language which means *darja*, *rutva*, *tulya*, *samaniya*. Other than this, *kagzan di nathi* (a file) is also called *Misal*.<sup>2</sup>
- According to Khushwant Singh, *Misal* is a word driven from the Arabic language which means *barabar* i.e. equal. The different groups within the Sikh community were treated equally even though the strength of their armies was not the same.<sup>3</sup>
- According to Satbir Singh, *Misal* is a file which held the records of the accounts of the treasures looted by the *Jathedars* of the *Jathas* and the *sepoys* of the Sikh forces.<sup>4</sup>
- According to Harbans Singh Virdi, the meaning of the word *Misal* is equal or the same, which means an equal or same group of people who gather together under one *sardar* (leader) for a common purpose.<sup>5</sup>
- According to some other historians, *Misal* means a group (*Jatha*) formed by the Sikhs with their own choice.

In other words, it can be said that *Misal* is a tribe (*kabila*) of people. Hence in this way, the definitions gives by different historians have more or less the same meaning.

#### ii. Historical Background of Ahluwalia Misal:

Ahluwalia *Misal* is considered to be one of the most important *Misal* amongst all the *Misals*. This *Misal* has a unique identity in history. The historical background of this *Misal* is not independent; it rather depends on the other *Misals*. The work will also focus on the history of this *Misal* which is as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kahan Singh Nabha, *Encyclopeadia of Sikh Literature-Mahan Kosh*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2011, p.969.

Khushwant Singh, Sikh Itihas-I (1469-1839), (Translated-Gurcharan Singh Aulakh), Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2006, p.134.

Satbir Singh, Sada Itihas-II, (Punjab Da Itihas-1708-1799), New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1970, p.204.

Harbans Singh Virdi, Warrior-Diploment-Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Writer's Foundation, Chandigarh, 1997, p.33.

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh, the Sikhs felt themselves as Guru rehat and aghu (leader) rehat. But, even before the death of Guru Gobind Singh, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur who had been appointed as a leader by Guru Gobind Singh at Nander came to Punjab. The arrival of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur imparted enthusiasm amongst the Sikh to fight against the Mughals. The Sikhs fought against the tortures of the Mughals with great valor from 1708 to 1716 under the command of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. The presence of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur imparted confidence amongst the Sikhs. It was due to this confidence that Baba Banda Singh Bahadur was able to establish the foundation of a sovereign Sikh rule in Punjab by victories, Unfortunately, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur died in 1716 and after him, the conditions changed quickly in Punjab and there came an overnight dramatic fluctuation in political aspects of the region. During this period, the Mughals had increased their torture on the Sikhs. Moreover, the Sikhs did not have any influential leader who could lead them through this dark period of tortures. 6 The loss and death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur proved to have adversely affected on the Sikhs. After this, the Mughals used every possible measure that they could implement which were aimed at not only ending the Sikh rule but also to finish the existence of the Sikh community.<sup>7</sup>

Farrukhsiayar (1713-1719) was the Mughal *Badshah* (*emperor*) during this era. He passed an order to kill every Sikh that would be captured by the Mughal forces if he refuses to convert to Islam. He also presented a reward price for every Sikh killed. The sense of torture in the minds of the Mughals was so much to the extent that the aim of killing all the Sikhs in Punjab started to seem realistic at a certain time.

Everyday hundreds of the Sikhs were killed in the hands of the Mughal soldiers. Thousands of Sikhs, who had earlier joined the Sikh community just to loot the village, shaved their hair and beards and rejoined the Hindu community. However, the Sikhs who were true towards their faith started hiding into the jungles and mountains. Some groups (*jathas*) formed and went

<sup>6.</sup> R.P. Sridhar and Ravinder Nagar, *Punjab Da Itihas*, S. Chand and Company Limited, New Delhi, 1979, p.265.

Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, Sikh Itihas (1469-1765), (Translated-Bhagat Singh), Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2013, p.107.

George Forster, A Journey from Bengal to England, Volume-I, R. Fauldar, London, 1798, p.271.

to hide in the deserts of Rajasthan. So in this way, the Sikhs were rarely getting by due to the torture at the hands of the Mughals. 9

However, after some time the attack on the Sikhs slowed down. This was due to the reason that time Governor of Lahore (Punjab), Abdus Samad Khan (1713-1726) was getting old. So, he could not pay as much attention towards the Sikhs as he used to before. So on seeing this, the Sikhs slowly started moving out of there hiding places and moved back into their houses. <sup>10</sup>

However, Abdus Samad Khan took different measures to stop the unification of the Sikhs even during his later age days. Despite his efforts, he was not much successful. Due to which, the Mughal Government decided to dethrone him and hence appointed his son Zakariya Khan (1726-1745) as the Governor of Lahore (Punjab). As soon as, Zakariya Khan became the Governor of Lahore, he restarted torturing the Sikhs. He appointed some groups from his army whose job was to search for the Sikhs, who were hidden in the jungles and mountains and to kill them.

This was a period of great struggle and torture for the Sikhs. A lot of Sikhs were arrested by the Mughals. The captured Sikhs were brought to Lahore, where they had to taken to Delhi *Darvaja at Nakhas (a market of horses)*. After bringing them, here the Sikhs would be tortured and then killed. Today this place is known as *Shaheed Ganj*. During that time, a lot of Sikhs formed group (*jatha*) and went to hide in the jungle and the mountains. The Sikh those were hidden in the above places survived by eating the fruits and other vegetables that were available in those jungles. <sup>11</sup>

During this period, the Sikhs formed their different groups (*jathas*). Hence, these formed groups (*jathas*) later went on to be known as *Misals*.

An important event took place in 1726 which was the sacrifice of Bhai Tara Singh. Bhai Tara Singh was a resident of the Amritsar region. Bhai Tara Singh was provided food and water to the Sikhs that were hidden in the jungles. However, unfortunately he sacrificed his life while fighting with the Mughal forces alongside his compatriots. This encouraged the Sikhs that were hidden in

Gurcharan Singh and S.S Gandhi, *History of the Punjab* (1469-1858A.D.), (Forward-Ganda Singh), Gurdas Kapur and Sons Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1979, p.85.

Satbir Singh, Sada Itihas-II, (Punjab Da Itihas-1708-1799), op.cit., p.72.

Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, Sikh Itihas (1469-1765), op.cit., p.108.

the jungles. These Sikhs then became warriors and started looting the treasures of the Mughals. However, this were remain continued for many years. 12

These battles between the Sikhs and the Mughals caused loss to both sides and this badly affected the economic conditions of the Mughals too. This caused distress to Zakariya Khan. So, he started to devise a new way to fight with the Sikhs. It was due to this, that the *foujdar* of Lahore, Aslam Khan advised him to negotiate with the Sikhs. <sup>13</sup>

Zakariya Khan sent a *thekedar*, Subheg Singh to negotiate with the Sikhs during the celebrations of *Vaisakhi* in 1733 at *Shri Akal Takht Sahib*, Amritsar. Zakariya Khan had proposed to give the Sikhs "*Nawabi*" and "*Jagir*" in these negotiations. The *Jagir* included that the villages of *Dipalpur*, *Kanganwal* and *Jhubal*. After some discussion, the Sikhs accepted this offer presented by Zakariya Khan. Hence, Kapur Singh of Faizallapur (*faizalpur*) was appointed as the *Nawab* and the *Jagirdar*. <sup>14</sup>

With this Kapur Singh became Nawab Kapur Singh. However, with this negotiation with the Sikhs were a little relieved. This was an opportunity for the Sikhs to reunite and strengthen themselves.<sup>15</sup>

In this way, Bhai Kahan Singh and Bhai Binod Singh advised Nawab Kapur Singh that it was important to arrange the different *Jathas* of the Sikhs in a better way. In this way, Nawab Kapur Singh became the *Jathedar* of the *Sikh Panth* after the death of Diwan Darbara Singh (1716-1734). So, Nawab Kapur Singh took the advice of those Sikhs and divided the *Sikh Khalsa Panth* into two parts in 1734. Of these two parts the name of one was *Budha dal* and the other one was named as *Taruna* which was also known as *Jawan dal*. Both have been described in detail below:

1. **Budha Dal:** This group consisted of the Sikhs who were the age of forty years or above. The duty of this group was to maintain the *Gurudwaras*.

Roop Singh, *Parmukh Sikh Shakhsiyata*, Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, 2010, p.109.

Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Sikh Twarikh-II (1708-1849), Sikh University Press, 2015, pp.147-148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14.</sup> Khushwant Singh, Sikh Itihas-I (1469–1839), op.cit., p.124.

Surject Kaur Jolly, Punjab Da Itihas Te Sikh Virsa, op.cit., p.129.

2. Taruna Dal or Jawan Dal: This group consisted of those Sikhs who were below the age of forty years. The job of this dal (group) was to provide protection to the Gurudwaras.

Nawab Kapur Singh was responsible for commanding both of these two dals. 16 The main centers of both of these groups (dals) were made at Amritsar. Some of the main leaders of Budha dal were Shyam Singh Nagokia, Gurbakhsh Singh Rorawala, Bhag Singh Hallowal, and Gurdial Singh Dallewal, Kuwar Singh Nikkai, Bohmah Singh and Sukha Singh etc. The number of Sikhs in the Jawan dal were increasing slowly with the time. So, because of the increased number, it had become difficult to keep them at one place. So, Nawab Kapur Singh further divided Jawan or Taruna dal into five more groups (jathas). These five Jathas were as follows:

- 1. Shaheedi Jatha, led by Deep Singh and Karam Singh.
- 2. Shehri Khatria da Jatha, led by the Kathri brothers, Karam Singh and Dharam Singh.
- 3. Bhalea da Jatha, led by Binod Singh and Kahan Singh.
- 4. Jatta da Jatha, led by Dasondha Singh Gill.
- 5. Ravidasia and Majhbi Singha da Jatha (Ranghretya da Jatha), led by Jiwan Singh and Bir Singh.<sup>17</sup>

Different centers were made for these five Jathas. All the five Jathas were given their own Kesri Nishan (symbols) and nagare. The centre of these five jathas was located in Ramsar, Bibeksar, Koolsar, Lashmansar and Santokhsar areas of Amritsar. Each Jatha included about one thousand, three hundred to two thousand Sikhs. However, the number kept on fluctuating with time. The Sikhs were taking full advantage of the jagir which the Sikhs were receiving. They were engaged in strengthening their Jathas. Alongside this, they were also collecting weapons with this jagir.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16.</sup> R.P. Sridhar and Ravinder Nagar, *Punjab Da Itihas*, op.cit., p.270

Sukhdial Singh, Shiromani Sikh Itihas-II (1708-1799), Sangam Publications, Samana, 2010, p.56.

Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, Sikh Itihas (1469-1765), op.cit., p.119.

On seeing the increasing powers of the Sikhs, Zakariya Khan too backed this jagir from the Sikhs in 1735. So with this, he and his diwan Lakhpat Rai became the enemies of the Sikhs. Hence, Zakariya Khan gave the orders of killing the Sikhs. So with this, a new era of torture started upon the Sikhs. Rewards were given to those who either killed a Sikh or told where they were hidden.<sup>19</sup> During this time, a lot of Sikhs sacrificed their lives. Out of which the first was Bhai Mani Singh, who was the leader in Shri Harimandar Sahib and was killed by cutting his body into pieces.

Along with this, when the Badshah (emperor) of Afghanistan Nadir Shah Durrani came to loot in India, Zakariya Khan increased the torture on the Sikhs and hence many Sikhs were sacrificed. Some of which were Bhai Mehtab Singh, Bhai Bota Singh, Bhai Taru Singh and Hakikat Rai.<sup>20</sup> They all sacrificed their lives because of either helping their fellow Sikhs or due to their unbreakable faith towards the Sikh religion.

This struggle between the Sikhs and Mughals continued. The number of the Sikhs kept on increasing despite of the efforts of the Mughals to suppress the Sikhs.

Zakariya Khan died in 1745. With this, a war took place between the two sons of Zakariya Khan, Yahiya Khan and Shah Niwaz Khan, to become the Governor of Lahore (Punjab). This war, between the Mughals, gave an opportunity to the Sikhs to strengthen their position.<sup>21</sup> Nawab Kapur Singh called for the gathering of the whole Panth at Shri Amritsar during the occasion of *Diwali*. It was there that on the 14<sup>th</sup> October, 1745 the first gurmata was passed in which it was decided to make twenty five Jathas in order to united the increasing number of Sikhs. Every Jatha had about one hundred to one thousand Sikhs. It was made mandatory for every Sikh in the Jatha to have a horse, sword (talwar) and a gun.

Tirlochan Singh Gill, Sikh Itihas, Wellwish Publishers, P.P. 5, Morya Enclave, Delhi, 1998, pp.25-26.

R.P. Sridhar and Ravinder Nagar, *Punjab Da Itihas*, op.cit., p.273. Sangat Singh, *Itihas Ch Sikh*, 2002, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2003, p.107.

The Jathedars of these twenty five Jathas were as following:

- 1. Sham Singh, Naroke
- 2. Gurbakhsh Singh, Kalsia
- 3. Karam Singh, Panjgarg
- 4. Nodh Singh, Sukarchakia
- 5. Karora Singh, Barki
- 6. Gurdial Singh, Dallewal
- 7. Jhanda Singh, Sukarchakia
- 8. Kala Singh, Kang
- 9. Khiala Singh, Kang
- 10. Dharam Singh, Narli
- 11. Jassa Singh, Ahlu
- 12. Hari Singh, Panjwar
- 13. Deep Singh (shaheed), Pohuwind
- 14. Jai Singh, Kanha
- 15. Sada Singh, Nikkai
- 16. Hira Singh, Nikkai
- 17. Agar Singh
- 18. Sukha Singh, Mari Cambo
- 19. Madan Singh, Majhbi
- 20. Bhag Singh, Hallowal
- 21. Chajja Singh, Panjwar
- 22. Dher Singh, Majhbi
- 23. Karam Singh, Narli
- 24. Bhupa Singh
- 25. Nawab Kapur Singh, Faizallapur (faizalpur)<sup>22</sup>

There were thirty *Jathas* according to Harjinder Singh Dilgeer and Sohan Singh Seetal. So, five more *Jathas* were added to the twenty five *Jathas*. The *Jathedars* of these five *Jathas* were as follows:

- 26. Diyal Singh, Dallewal
- 27. Jassa Singh, Ichhogil (Ramgarhia)
- 28. Sudha Singh Shaheed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22.</sup> Satbir Singh, Atharvin Sadi Vich Vir Parampra Da Vikas, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1971, p.143.

- 29. Hakikat Singh
- 30. Jion Singh Majhbi

According to these historians, there were thirty *Jathas*. These *Jathas* were looted various too places under the leadership of their *Jathedars*. However, these *Jathas* were capable of looting independently.

Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani) became the *Badshah (emperor)* of Afghanistan, succeeding his predecessor Nadir Shah Durrani. Hence, Ahmad Shah Abdali started his attacks on Punjab in January, 1748. There was a new contender who had now joined the race to rule Punjab. So, with this it had become difficult for the Sikhs to achieve their goal.<sup>23</sup> During this time, the number of the *Jathas* of the Sikhs increased and reached up to sixty five.

The names of the Jathedars of these Jathas are as following:

- 1. Nawab Kapur Singh, Faizallapur (faizalpur)
- 2. Jassa Singh, Ahlu
- 3. Hari Singh, Panjwar
- 4. Jhanda Singh, Panjwar
- 5. Ganda Singh Panjwar
- 6. Gulab Singh, Dallewal
- 7. Charhat Singh, Sukarchakia
- 8. Garja Singh
- 9. Nibahu Singh, Bhusriwal
- 10. Gujjar Singh
- 11. Lehna Singh, Mustafabad
- 12. Phul Singh, Rorawala
- 13. Mangal Singh, Randhawa
- 14. Gurbakhsh Singh, Doda
- 15. Dhana Singh, Kalalwala
- 16. Tara Singh, Chanpur
- 17. Punjab Singh, Sayad Mehmud
- 18. Hakikat Singh, Vandala Sandhua

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23.</sup> Sohan Singh Seetal, Sikh Mislan Te Sardar Gharane, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2006, p.7.

- 19. Jai Singh, Kanha
- 20. Jhanda Singh, Kanha
- 21. Manohar Singh, Kanha
- 22. Tara Singh, Kanha
- 23. Sobha Singh, Kanha
- 24. Bhema Singh, Kanha
- 25. Mehtab Singh, Vandala Sandhua
- 26. Amar Singh, Bagha
- 27. Sobha Singh, Bhikha
- 28. Diwan Singh
- 29. Baghel Singh, Jhubal
- 30. Mahtab Singh, Pakh
- 31. Hari Singh, Dallewal
- 32. Natha Singh
- 33. Nodh Singh, Sukarchakia
- 34. Gulab Singh, Majitha (father in law of Nodh Singh)
- 35. Mehtab Singh Julka
- 36. Karora Singh, Barki
- 37. Hara Singh
- 38. Lajha Singh
- 39. Nand Singh, Sanghaniya
- 40. Kapur Singh, Soriawala
- 41. Amar Singh, Jhingara
- 42. Ajit Singh, Siyalkotia (Sialkotia)
- 43. Deep Singh (shaheed), Pohuwind
- 44. Jiwan Singh, Siyalkotia
- 45. Manohar Singh, Raniah
- 46. Mohar Singh, Raniah
- 47. Mahan Singh, Raniah
- 48. Bhag Singh, Hallowal
- 49. Jhanda Singh, Sultano ka
- 50. Mirja Singh, Kahlo
- 51. Sham Singh Mann, Bulaki Chak
- 52. Malan Singh, Bulaki Chak

- 53. Buhal Singh, Shekhupura
- 54. Amer Singh, Shekhupura
- 55. Hira Singh, Nikkai
- 56. Ganga Singh
- 57. Lal Singh
- 58. Tara Singh Mann, Manawala
- 59. Mehtab Singh, Lalpura
- 60. Roop Singh
- 61. Anup Singh, Nikkai
- 62. Dasondha Singh, Mansurwal
- 63. Tara Singh Gehba
- 64. Dharam Singh, Narli
- 65. Sukha Singh, Mari Cambo<sup>24</sup>

According to Sohan Singh Seetal, the number of the *Jathas* were sixty six. According to him, there was one more *Jatha* amongst theses *Jathas* was that of Jassa Singh, Ichhogil (*Ramgarhia*).

On March 29, 1748, that was the day of the celebration of the occasion of Vaisakhi, all these Jathas gathered in Amritsar. On observing the increasing attacks by Ahmad Shah Abdali, Nawab Kapur Singh, put forth a proposal for establishing a strong common leadership for the Panth during this occasion. This proposal was unanimously accepted by everyone. Hence, it was decided to name the common Jathebandi of the Khalsa Panth as "Dal Khalsa". Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was unanimously elected as the commander (Pardhan Senapati) of Dal Khalsa. So, the sixty five or sixty six jathe of the Sikhs were now rearranged into only eleven jathe. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia created a new File or Misal for all the newly formed Jathas. In this way, this established the foundation for the eleven Misals. The Twelfth Misal Phulkian was a separate Misal from the above Eleventh Misals. The

1. *Misal Ahluwalia*: The Jathedar of this Misal was sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, from village of Ahlu.

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Sukhdial Singh, Shiromani Sikh Itihas-II (1708–1799,), op.cit., pp.117–118. see also Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Sikh Twarikh-II (1708–1849), op.cit., pp.178-179.

- 2. *Misal Faizallapuria (Faizalpuria) or Singhpuria :* The Jathedar of this Misal was Nawab Kapur Singh from village of Faizalla or Singhpur.
- 3. *Misal Sukarchakia*: The *Jathedar* of this Misal was Sardar Nodh Singh from village of Shukarchak
- 4. *Misal Nishanwalia*: The *Jathedar* of this Misal was Sardar Dasodha Singh from village of Mansurwal
- 5. *Misal Bhangi*: The *Jathedar* of this Misal was Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi from the village of Panjwar
- 6. *Misal Kanaihya*: The *Jathedar* of this Misal was Sardar Jai Singh Kanaihya from village of Kanha
- 7. *Misal Nikkai*: The *Jathedar* of this Misal was Sardar Hira Singh Nikkai from village of Behrwal (Nakka da Ilaka)
- 8. *Misal Dallewalia*: The *Jathedar* of this Misal was Sardar Gulab Singh from village of Dallewal
- 9. *Misal Shaheeda (Nahinga)*: The *Jathedar* of this Misal was Baba Deep Singh "Shaheed" from Village of Pohuwind.
- 10. Misal Karorsinghia: The Jathedar of this Misal was Sardar Karora Singh from village of Barki
- 11. *Misal Sanghaniya or Ramgarhia*: The *Jathedar* of this Misal was Sardar Nand Singh. However, later this *Misal* came to known as Ramgarhia *Misal* on witnessing the bravery shown by Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia<sup>25</sup>
- 12. Misal Phulkian: This Misal was formed by Baba Ala Singh
  Patiala

However, the *Misal Phulkian* was not a part of the *Dal Khalsa*, because this *Misal* sometimes worked against the ideologies of the Sikh community.<sup>26</sup> Hence, this *Misal* was different from these prior eleven *Misals*. However, the leaders of this *Misal* considered it has been the twelfth *Misal*. Hence in this way, this *Misal* can be known as the twelfth

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Piara Singh Padam, Sankhep Sikh Itihas (1469-1999), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2014, pp.88-89. see also Harwinder Singh Khalsa, Sultan-Ul-Qoum-Jathedar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (3 May 1718-20 October 1783), Bhai Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar, 2018, p.63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26.</sup> Sangat Singh, *Itihas Ch Sikh*, 2002, op.cit., p.109.

in Punjab. The names of these *Misals* were derived from the names of their *Jathedars or* from the names of their villages. However, some *Misals* got their names from the qualities of their *Jathedars*. Hence, they became part of the word *Misal*. These *Misals* were established on the day of *Vaisakhi* in March, 1748. This freedom was given to every Sikh and *sepoy* that he could join any *Misal* he wanted to join. It was also decided that every *Misal* would be independent to resolve its internal conflicts. However, it was also decided that the common issues of the *panth*, would be resolved by the Commander (*pardhan senapati*) of the *panth*. So in this way, the twelve *Misals* were formed and the *Jathedars* of these *Misals* has ruled over these *Misals*.

#### iii. Establishment of Ahluwalia Misal:

The Ahluwalia family or the Kalal were establishment responsible for starting the Ahluwalia Misal, which later became one of the Misals. Now we will further elaborate on this family which is as follows:

#### • Origin of Ahluwalia or Kalal families:

The ancestors of the Kalals used to live in the Shergarh village which was in the district of Anauh of Uttar Pradesh state of India. Hence, they were known as Shergarhiye, because they resided from the Shergarh village of Uttar Pradesh. During the time of the Mughal Badshah (emperor) Babar, some of the men from this family joined the Mughal army. They worked together with the Mughals till the time of Shah Jahan. After Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb became the Badshah (emperor) of the Mughals. He was very fanatic leader and he started torturing the non-Muslims and getting tired of the tortures of Aurangzeb, theses brave Kalals joined the army of Guru Gobind Singh. Hence, learning from the teaching and advice of Guru Gobind Singh, these Kalals started their efforts to free this nation from the hands of the Islamic leaders. They also considered it as their responsibility to protect

Nachhatar Singh, *Itihas "Sidhu Bansh" ate Sikh Mislan Da Sankhep Hall*, " Master Nachhatar Singh, Moga, 2013, p.240.

Raghunath Rai, *History and Culture of the Punjab-II*, Academic Publishing Company, Education Publishers, Jalandhar, 1998, p.107.

the Hindu community. Hence, these *Shergarhiye* became famous throughout Hindustan because of their bravery.<sup>29</sup>

A Khatri family has been mentioned in the history of Maha Bharat, whose name was Kalal. The original where about of this family was the backside of the mountain. The birth of Sundak took place in "Kulia Pal Jai he." This was a royal family and was very famous during that time. They were known for using a Kalal or a Kalwar, which was a machine used for making alcohol. However, the machine that they used to extract alcohol resembled the shape of the trunk of an elephant. Due to this reason, this royal family got the name as Sundak. That was an ordinary machine used in households. There was no need for carrying out tests on it. They were very cautious in their job while extracting alcohol. Through this machine this family became very rich. They were successful in satisfying this important need of the Hindu people. As this family used this machine to make their living, the people named these people as Kalal or Kalwar. So, later they came to be known as Kalals.

A lot of different families came under this Kalal tribe which included the castes Jaiswal, Batham, Shiv, Hare, Mahure, Chokes, Thiahut, Meth-bhandari, Bhatti, Goire, Gond, Ahluwalia, Rekhi, Kapur, Sandhh, Pal, Tulsi, Dahire, Mahasan, Shah, Tamik, Bhangar, Pental, Jaj, Bhagat, Bhribal, Bharvadhiye, Pahre, Mamak, Malik, Ratare, Bhand, Banar, Joshan, Bauntre, Mali, Jinvathiye, Shikand, Saraaf, Rosha and Ajudhya. Hence, if all the people from these castes would come together to form a union throughout the nation, then this has form a strong organization.<sup>30</sup>

Professor Max Muller believes that these were written about four to five thousand years before. It has also been seen that the word *Kalal* has also been used in the *Vedas*. Even in the *mantras* of the *Vedas* it has been noticed that the words *Kalal*, *Kelal*, *Kelaam*, *Kelale* have been used quite frequently. The meanings of all these words were more or less the same. The word *Kalwar* has also been driven from the word *Kalal*. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29.</sup> Gajinder Singh Prem, Sultan-Ul-Qoum Nawab-Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Prem Harpreet Parkashan, Jalandhar, 1979, p.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30.</sup> Ibid, pp.1-2.

meaning of the word Kalal is Aanras, Sudh (Pure), Somras and Amrit. Hence, they belong to the castes which undertake the professions of business as selling food grains, making gur (Jiggery) and shakar, selling it too. At that time, the names of the castes of the people were normally driven from their occupations. Hence, the occupation of the community was the main factor for determining of their caste for infance the people in the business of gold (sona) were known as saniare, the ones who worked with iron (loha) were known as lohar. In the same way, those who made utensils from soil were known as Ghumar. The carpenters were known as trakhan and the people who were in the business of planting sugarcanes and the ones who were in the business of manufacturing sugar became to be known as Kalal. The Brahmans, Khatris and the vaish were considered to be of higher castes. From all theses castes the ones who were in the business of extracting or selling alcohol were known as Kalals. 31

The people from the Ahluwalia caste are known from being from the Kalals. However, the royal family of Kapurthala believes his ancestors to be from the Bhattis from Jaisalmer. This family was one of the famous families of Rajasthan. They were known for their strength, bravery and pride. The Rajputs of Jaisalmer believe their ancestors to be linked with Yadhu Bansi Shri Krishan. It has been stated in their history that their family members got separated after the death of Shri Krishan. Hence, the two sons of Shri Krishan travelled towards the North and settled across the river Sind. It was here where one of the members from his family who was a Partapi king established a fort named after him in Gajni, to stop the attacks from a Romi and Khursani badshah (emperor). He was successful in defeating the Khursanis multiple times. However, when no one wanted to engage the larger army of the Romis and the Khursanis, he decided to send his son Salebahan along with the other members of his community towards Punjab, while he stayed in Gajni along with about two thousand others.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31.</sup> Ibid., p.2.

Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwwalia, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2011, p.1.

After reaching Punjab Salebahan started a new kingdom for himself and established a new city named Salebahanpur on 8th Padho samvat 372. Today, this city is famously known as Siyalkot. However, it is also believed that Siyalkot was inhabited by Raja Shal of the Pandhavs. Salebahan is also known to be from this family. Hence in this way, Salebahan named this new city as Salebahanpur and left the name of the old fort unaltered as Salkot. However, Salkot was famous even before this new city became to be known with various names driven from Salkot such as Salkot and Silkot (Siyalkot). Salebahan later became to be a great warrior in the history of Punjab. He defeated the Shaks in the area of Kahror which was about sixty miles from Multan. Hence, with this defeat, the Kahror did not have the courage to come back to Punjab. This victory made Salebahan quite famous. So, he made his name Shak+Veeri i.e "Shaka da Veeri" famous. Hence with this win, he also started his Samvat (Shak Samvat), which has now been accepted by the Government of India throughout India as a valid Samvat. This was started in the year 78.<sup>33</sup>

The grandson of Salebahan, Bhatti also a famous warrior. That's why, later this family became to be known as Yadhobhatti which, got the name from the name of grandson. Bhatti won various battles in his nearby areas, and expanded his rule. Many generations after him ruled over a large part of Punjab. However, when the Muslims started their attacks on Punjab, the Bhattis escaped to the Lakhi jungles while some escaped to the deserts of Bikaner. They managed to capture these new areas by fighting with the locals of these areas. They made Tanot as their capital city. It was a famous area towards the South of Kishangarh in Jaisalmer (Rajasthan). However, they couldn't stay in here for a long time. After moving from Tanot, Deoraj was the first from the Bhatti family to have added the honors of *Rawal* with his name. In *Samvat* 909, he constructed the *Deo-Rawal* (*Deo-Garh*) fort. Later, this name changed to Deo-Rawar which is currently through stretch's through the areas of Derajat to Bahawalpur.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33.</sup> Ibid., pp.1-2.

The capital city was changed from Deo Rawal to Lodhrava. However, even this place proved useless in stopping the enemies. In the end, Rawal Jaisal established a fort on the mountains of *Trikuti* on *Sawan Sudi 11-12 Samvat 1212* and named Jaisalmer. However, when Alahudin Khilji destroyed and looted the Jaisalmer city, some of the Bhattis escaped to Punjab while others hided out during in that tough situation. However, when they got an opportunity, they again conquered Jaisalmer.<sup>34</sup>

Rawal Jaisal had eight sons. Out of these eight sons Karan and Dham were very experienced. The family of Rawal Karan is still present in Jaisalmer. However, at that time some of the Rajputs started marrying their daughters to the Mughals. So, that time the Mughal *Badshah* (emperor) Akbar wanted to marry with one of the daughters from the Bhatti family. At that time, Raja Har Rai was the ruler of Jaisalmer. He did not have any daughter. So, he asked his brother Tulsi to marry his daughter with the Mughal *Badshah* (emperor) Akbar. However, Tulsi refused to do so and rather accept to abandon Jaisalmer. Tulsi and his family came into Punjab. They stayed at Bathinda for some time and later went towards Bir Ambrak (Lakhi jungle). They stayed there for some years. But, as they couldn't stay there for long and moved towards Gorakh Chak and settled near Tarn Tarn. They started farming here and they mixed up with the Jatts of this area. Hence after some generations, they had become a part of the Jatt community. 35

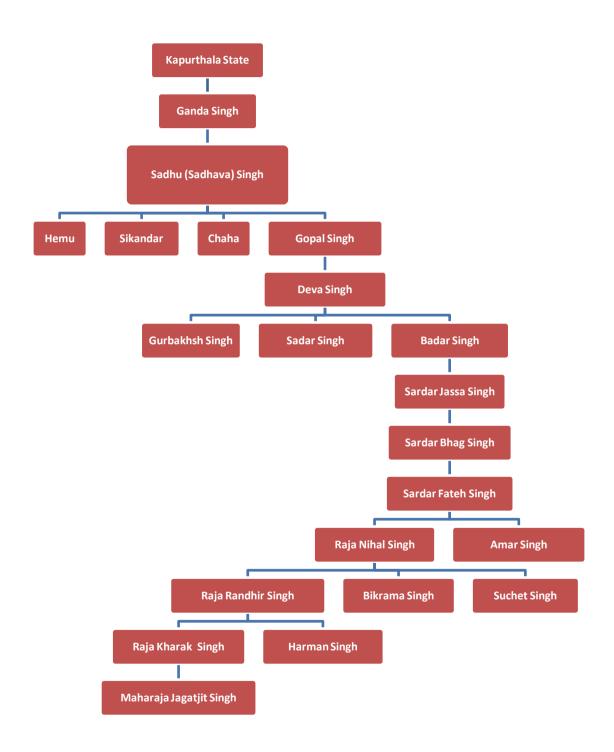
Their relation with the *Sikh Panth* starts from the sixth Guru Hargobind Sahib when Bhai Sena and his son Wadhava joined the army of Guru Hargobind Sahib. They used to live in the Gujar Chak village. Both the father and his son were very brave warriors. They had immense contributions in the battles between Guru Hargobind Sahib and the Mughals. It was due to this that Guru Hargobind Sahib was very impressed by them.

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<sup>34.</sup> Ibid., p.2.

Sumant Dhamija, *Jassa Singh Ahluwalia* (1718-1783), Esha Beteille, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2012, pp. 22-23.

# iv. Chart: THE GENERATIONS OF THE AHLUWALIA MISAL



The son of Bhai Wadhava, Bhai Ganda Singh was a great warrior just as his father. He was successful in win over the nearby villages under his rule at a very young age. He was also successful in looting the nearby villages. Later on, he also looted some villages of Lahore. Even with great efforts of the Mughals, they could not catch him. At that time, the Subedar of Lahore was Dilawar Khan. On seeing that Ganda Singh was not being controlled by any means, Dilawar Khan sent his clever and influential men to convince him to join the Mughal army. He was successful in his plan as Ganda Singh agreed to join his army. Without any delay, Dilawar Khan sent him to solve the issue of Multan. In this battle, Lahore emerged victorious on the grounds of the heroics fight of Ganda Singh. This bravery shown by Ganda Singh highly impressed Dilawar Khan and he gave the zamidara lands of Ahlu, Hallo, Sadho, Tur and Chak as a gift to him.36 So, Dilwar Khan had also given him the Bakshna (Boom) of the village Ahlu. However, this did not last for long as Ganda Singh died shortly after this. After his death, his son, Sadhu (Sadhava) Singh started living in the Ahlu village. Hence, because of being the residents of the Ahlu village, the upcoming generations of Sadhu Singh later came to be known as the *Ahluwaliye*.

This family then later became to be known as the *Kalals*. The son of Ganda Singh, Sadhu Singh used to live in his mother's village in his early ages. It is here that he was brought up and used to play with his neighbor friends who belonged to the *Kalals*. It was here that he fell in love with one of the daughters of the *Kalals*, which later on kept increasing with age. On settling in the Ahlu village, he proposed to marry this girl. Both the parents of the girl knew about the love of these two. They were also aware of the influence and increasing power and success of this family. Hence, the parents of the girl accepted his proposal. They also requested for the later generations of these two families can be married to the Kalals. Sadhu Singh accepted their requested and hence these two got married. Later on, they had four sons who were named Gopal Singh, Hemu, Sikandar and Chaha. They also had one daughter. Later, all their children

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Surjeet Singh Gandhi, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Langauage Department, Punjab, 1988, p.1.

were also married in the Kalals families. Hence, this family became to be known as the *Ahluwaliye Kalal*. The Ahluwalia family of Kapurthala started from Gopal Singh and his son Deva Singh. There is very less information available in history about them. Gopal Singh worked as a disciple of Guru Gobind Singh for some time.<sup>37</sup>

Deva Singh Ahluwalia had three sons Gurbakhsh Singh, Sadar Singh and Badar Singh. Badar Singh was a brave and courageous person. He had visited Guru Gobind Singh in multiple times with his father, Deva Singh Ahluwalia. He had also become devoted Sikh of the Guru Gobind Singh by taking amrit. He was highly devoted for his religion. Badar Singh later married the sister of the Jathedar of Hallowal, Sardar Bhag Singh. Though, the name of his wife is not famous in history but, according to Sumant Dhamija her name was Jiwan Kaur. She was a very religious personality and had great knowledge of the religious books. She also memorized a large portion of the gurbani. One day, when Badar Singh came home, he was quite shocked to found his wife sad as he had never seen her as such sad before. His wife always remained busy in her household works or would be praying and hence she always appeared to be happy. When he asked her why she was sad, she answered that many years had passed since they had been married but they did not have any children. So, both of them went to visit Guru Gobind Singh. When they told this to Guru Gobind Singh, he told them to remain patient and blessed them by saying:

"Waheguru Akal Purakh di aradhna karo, sadh sangat di seva karo, Guru ang sang he, tuhade ghar lal pedha hovega"<sup>38</sup>

So after some time, on Samvat 1775, Basakh Sudi, 15<sup>th</sup> Puranmashi, 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1718, they were blessed with a son Jassa Singh (Jas Khatan wala). <sup>39</sup> Jassa Singh had to struggle a lot in his early age because during this time the Mughals attacked the Sikhs. So, a lot of Sikhs were giving sacrificed fighting with the Mughals. The Sikhs who were hiding at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37.</sup> A Kapurthala State: Past and Present by an Official, Jagatjit Electrical Press, Kapurthala, 1928, p.1.

Rajinder Kaur, *Panj Yodhe*, Punjabi Ratires Co-Operative Industrial Society Limited, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 23-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39.</sup> Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.6.

different places. They were all praying to the *Waheguru* to encourage them through this tough time.

The mother of Jassa Singh taught about Sikhism to Jassa Singh in his childhood. He was quite intelligent since his childhood. Both his parents were very proud of him. They had a lot of dreams for their son. However, unfortunately on the *Samvat* 1779 Bikarmi, year 1722, Jassa Singh's father was died. At that time, Jassa Singh was only five years old.<sup>40</sup>

According to Gurbachan Singh, at that time no one could say that such a child (Jassa Singh) would grow up to be the leader of the *Khalsa Panth* and would be a King (*Raja*) in the future.

After the death of Badar Singh, it was very difficult time for Jassa Singh's mother. However, she passed this test of time with great courage. Hence, during this tough time, Jassa Singh's mother along with her son joined a *Jatha* (group) of the Sikhs that was going to visit Mata Sundari (wife of Guru Gobind Singh). Mata Sundari was staying in Delhi at that time. Mata Sundari started living in Delhi after the death of Guru Gobind Singh. On reaching Delhi, Jassa Singh and his mother visited Mata Sundari. The residence of Mata Sundari was an asylum for the Sikh widows. So, Jassa Singh and his mother started living there. Thus, Jassa Singh came in the contact with Mata Sundari from his early age. Mata Sundari helped a lot in the up bringing of this child. 42

While living here both Jassa Singh and his mother often did the kirtan and read gurbani and also did sewa. Mata Sundari was very impressed with both of them. Mata Sundari had a lot of love for Jassa Singh. While living here, Jassa Singh read various books on the history and religion of the Sikhs and also learnt to write Persian. He also learnt the Hindustani languages. At that time, very few Sikhs were educated because the Sikhs were always under the pressure and fear of the Mughals. The Sikhs saved their lives by hiding in the jungles and the mountains. To stay alive during those conditions, they realized it was necessary to have

<sup>40.</sup> Chonviya Sakhiya-6, Sikh Missionary College, Ludhiana, 2011, p.14.

Harbans Singh Virdi, Warrior-Diploment-Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, op.cit., p.40.

Sukhdial Singh, Shiromani Sikh Itihas-II (1708-1799), op.cit., p.296.

knowledge of two things, one of how to use the sword (talwar) and second horse riding. 43

Bhag Singh Hallowalia also had no children. Due to this, he had a lot of love for his nephew Jassa Singh and Bhag Singh Hallowalia went to visit his sister (mother of Jassa Singh) in Delhi to persuade them to come and live with them in Punjab. But on the other hand, Mata Sundari had a lot of love for them and hence swayed them to stay in Delhi. In the *Samvat* 1786 Bikarmi, year 1729. Bhag Singh Hallowalia went to Delhi again to respectfully ask for permission from Mata Sundari to take his sister along with her son to Punjab. However, Mata Sundari this time also did not want to part with them. But on the requests of Bhag Singh Hallowalia, Mata Sundari allowed them to go to Punjab. 44

Before departing to Punjab, Mata Sundari took Jassa Singh in her arms and blessed him. She also gave him a golden (Sunehri) pushak (Dress) to wear. Mata Sundari blessed Jassa Singh by saying that he would grow and receive great honors. The whole Khalsa Panth would be proudful on him and would look up to him. She also added on saying that servants or sewadar (ashia wale) would travel alongside with him and his children. She said that this child would serve his country, community and religion. She gave Jassa Singh "a chandi da danda, dhal, talwar, tira da Bhatha and kaligidhar (Guru Gobind Singh) pita da Gurj". 45

Along with her blessings she also gave this order to Nawab Kapur Singh to consider Jassa Singh as her own child and so to make him proficient in all the aspects. So, complying with the request of Mata Sundari, Nawab Kapur Singh had taught this child about the morals and various ideologies of Sikhism. 46

After parting with Mata Sundari, Jassa Singh came to Punjab along with his mother and with his maternal uncle Bhag Singh Hallowalia. In those days, Nawab Kapur Singh and the *Khalsa Dal* had set up camps in Juh of Kartarpur. Nawab Kapur Singh was one of the leaders of the *Khalsa* 

Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43.</sup> Rajinder Kaur, *Panj Yodhe*, op.cit., p.26.

Gajinder Singh Prem, Sultan-Ul-Qoum Nawab-Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.8.

Baba Prem Singh Hoti, *Nawab Kapur Singh*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2017, p.38.

Panth. He was very respected amongst the Sikhs, because of his Sikhism based ideologies. He was also a very brave warrior and considered his duty to serve the sangat. After the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, the command of the Sikh community was on the shoulders of Nawab Kapur Singh. The maternal uncle of Jassa Singh frequently visited Nawab Kapur Singh. So, this time when he went to visit Nawab Kapur Singh, he took his sister and nephew along with himself. There Jassa Singh and his mother performed the kirtan of Asa Di Var in the morning. On seeing this, Nawab Kapur Singh was very surprised and impressed. He said to Jassa Singh:

"me tenu dharam da putar bunada han". 48

Bhag Singh Hallowalia took the permission from his sister before holding over the responsibility of Jassa Singh to Nawab Kapur Singh. Nawab Kapur Singh then himself joined the *panj pyare* and hence gave him *khande da amrit* (baptising him). So, the mother of Jassa Singh left her son with Nawab Kapur Singh and went with her brother to his village at Hallowal. Leaving here, Jassa Singh learnt horse riding, sword fighting and gained knowledge from various masters. Jassa Singh was given the responsibility of serving fodder to the horses.<sup>49</sup>

Jassa Singh had stayed in Delhi in his childhood due to which he had learnt about *Hindustani* languages. While talking, Jassa Singh often used the phrases like *humko*, *tumko* or aata hai and jaata hai. So, the Sikhs started calling Jassa Singh humko tumko. So, one day Jassa Singh told Nawab Kapur Singh that the Sikhs mock his language 50 and hence said that he doesn't want to work with them, while serving fodder to the horses. On hearing, this Nawab Kapur Singh encouraged Jassa Singh by saying that "son don't get disheartened", he said that he wanted Jassa Singh too continue serving fodder to the horses. Nawab Kapur Singh also told Jassa

Rajinder Kaur, Panj Yodhe, op.cit., p.27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48.</sup> Ali Rajpura, *Wadda Ghallughara-1762 Shaheedi Saka*, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2014, p.48.

Gurcharan Singh Aulakh, Mahan Jodhe-Sikh Guru Sahiban Te Jarnail, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2007, pp.178-179.

Sukhdial Singh, Shirmoni Sikh Itihas-II (1708-1799), op.cit., pp.296-297.

Singh that the *Khalsa Panth* had given him the honor of being a *Nawab*. He continued by saying that the same *Khalsa Panth* will give you the honor of *Badshahi*. So, after that day all the Sikhs started calling Jassa Singh as *Badshah*. <sup>51</sup>

So, after talking to Nawab Kapur Singh, Jassa Singh rejoined his service of providing fodder to the horses. He continued gaining strength and respect amongst the Sikhs. He stayed with the *Jatha* of Nawab Kapur Singh for some years continuing his service of providing food to the horses.<sup>52</sup>

During his stay with the *Jatha* of Nawab Kapur Singh, one day a memorable event took place that heavy rain was falling one night. So, Nawab Kapur Singh woke up about three or four time throughout the night to ask who was on duty for guarding. Every time Jassa Singh was the one who answered. This highly impressed Nawab Kapur Singh and said that he was a very obedient boy and that he would be highly successful one day. After this event, the respect for Jassa Singh grew highly in the mind of Nawab Kapur Singh. With this, his respect in the *Jatha* increased. Nawab Kapur Singh took him alongside himself as a leader. So in this way, Jassa Singh was getting ready for serving the *Khalsa Panth*.

Nawab Kapur Singh had a lot of respect amongst the *Khalsa Panth*, everyone gave him respect highly. Just as Nawab Kapur Singh, Jassa Singh also gained a lot of trust and respect from the *Khalsa Panth*. Jassa Singh possessed the talent to become a *Jathedar* and a *Sardar* of the *Khalsa Panth* at young age.<sup>54</sup>

Gajinder Singh Prem, Sultan-Ul-Qoum Nawab-Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.10.

Sohan Singh Seetal, Rise of the Sikh Power and Ranjit Singh, Dhanpat Rai and Sons, Jullundar, 1971, p.179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh-Guru-Khalsa-II*, Langauage Department Punjab, 1987, p.723.

Visakha Singh (Sant Sepoy Janetpura) and Pardhan Gurmat-Parcharak Singh (Sabha Ilaka Tihara), *Malwa Sikh Itihas-II*, Bhai Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar, 1998, p.98.

Jassa Singh stayed in Nawab Kapur Singh's *Jatha* for quite some time and later he made his own *Jatha* in 1745. On the occasion of Vaisakhi on the 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1748, *Dal Khalsa* gathered in Amritsar. In this gathering, it was decided to unite various *Jathas* and so as to form only eleven *Jathas*. These *Jathas* were given the name of *Misal*. Amongst these *Misals*, one new *Misal*, the *Ahluwalia Misal* was formed. <sup>55</sup> Jassa Singh was made the *jathedar* of this *Misal*. This *Misal* was named after the village of Jassa Singh that was Ahlu. Thus, it was named the *Ahluwalia Misal*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55.</sup> Ali Rajpura, Wadda Ghallughara-1762 Shaheedi Saka, p.48.

#### **CHAPTER - II**

# CONTRIBTUION OF SARDAR JASSA SINGH AHLUWALIA (1739-1783) TO SIKH COMMUNITY AND AHLUWALIA MISAL

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia holds a great position in the *Sikh* history of the eighteenth century. He was the original pioneer of this *Ahluwalia Misal* and he was highly respected amongst the Sikhs. He contributed the most in establishing the Sikh rule in Punjab. He had become one of the most powerful leaders in Punjab because of his political abilities and religious enthusiasm. He was a famous leader of the Sikh community before Maharaja Ranjit Singh and after Nawab Kapur Singh. Hence, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had played an important role for the success of the Sikh community. <sup>1</sup>

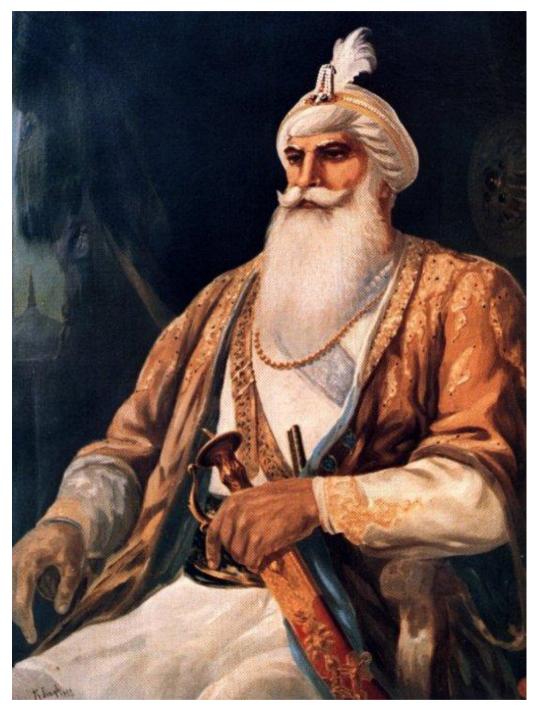
After the sacrifice of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, the Mughals did everything possible to end the Sikh community. For achieving this, Mughal badshah (emperor) Farrukhsiayar (1713-1719), had passed orders to killed the Sikhs. He had also given rewards for killing Sikhs. So in this way, the Sikhs were caught and where bring to the Nakhas market (mandi) of Lahore, where they were killed. During this tough time, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia united and hence saved the Sikhs community with the help of some other Sikh Sardars.<sup>2</sup> All these activities describe the greatness of the Ahluwalia Misal.

Now we will discuss about the contributions made by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia for the Sikh community (1739-1783). Hence, we will discuss about the progress of this *Misal*:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1.</sup> Gurcharan Singh Aulakh, *Mahan Jodhe-Sikh Guru Sahiban Te Jarnail*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2007, p.177.

Mahinder Kaur Gill, Sura So Pehchaniye, Silalekh, Delhi, 2012, p.124.

### $\underline{Illustration-i}$



SARDAR JASSA SINGH AHLUWALIA (1739-1783)

Source: https://www.sikhiwiki.org.google.com

### i. The Beginning of the rule of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his Achievements as the Chief Commander of the Dal Khalsa:

The beginning of the political influence of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had already started during his stayed at the *Jatha* of Nawab Kapur Singh (*Kartarpur di juh*). Nawab Kapur Singh had made Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia expert in various aspects under his guidance. In the beginning, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had participate in every small mission. After that he had started taking part in the struggles of the *Panth*. His major achievements started at the time when the Governor of Lahore (Punjab) was Zakariya Khan (1726-1745). The *badshah* (*emperor*) of Afghanistan, Nadir Shah Durrani attacked on India (Punjab) in 1739. During this, he destroyed and looted the villages of Punjab. Later, the command of the *Khalsa Panth* came under Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and during his time he faced the attack of Nadir Shah Durrani.<sup>3</sup>

Nadir Shah Durrani reached Lahore in January, 1739 with the aim of under taking an attack on India. At Lahore, he fought with Zakariya Khan. After that he immediately moved towards Delhi. Nadir Shah Durrani looted the treasures of in Delhi. After looting Delhi, he took the treasure and the sisters and wives of the people with himself in Afghanistan. After this loot, the Sikhs that had been hiding in the jungle, mountains and deserts to survive from the attacks of the Mughals were came out. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia under the leadership of Nawab Kapur Singh took some Sikhs with him and loot back the treasures looted by Nadir Shah Durrani and his soldiers.

So, due to these attacks by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Nadir Shah Durrani told Zakariya Khan that the time it is not far away that these Sikhs would become the leaders of this nation. The bravery and intellect of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia that he had shown during the attacks had increased his influence in the *Sikh Panth*. 4

<sup>4.</sup> Harwinder Singh Khalsa, Sultan-Ul-Qoum-Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (Article), Ajit Newspaper (Dharam te Virsa), Bathinda, 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2018, p.2.

<sup>3.</sup> Simarjit Singh and Satwinder Singh Phulpur, Gurmat Parkash-Sultan-Ul-Qoum, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, 2018, p.35.

After Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his fellow Sikhs looted the treasures of Nadir Shah Durrani and the Sikhs became rich. So, in 1743 Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia established the fort of Dallewal along the Ravi river. It is believed that the treasures that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the Sikhs looted were kept in this fort. The events that took place during this period had a great influence in the way of thinking of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Hence, they impacted his actions in the events that followed.

After the death of Zakariya Khan his son, Yahiya Khan (1746) became the Governor of Lahore (Punjab). During this time, the rule of both these father and son, there was a huge influence of two Hindu councilors in their nobility (cabinet). The names of these two brothers were Diwan Lakhpat Rai and Diwan Jaspat Rai. Diwan Lakhpat Rai was a Wazir (minister) in the province of Lahore and also had the responsibility of monitoring the agricultural revenue. He was also responsible for collecting lagan (taxes). On the other hand, Diwan Jaspat Rai was the military commander of the area of Ahmnabad. Both of them were the enemies of the Sikhs and had a huge role in the killing of the Sikhs.

#### • Chotta Ghallughara or Mini Holo-Caust :

Sardar Sukha Singh Mari Cambo and Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia headed of a *Jatha* of Sikhs that went to the Gurudwara Rorhi Sahib that was in Ahmnabad 1746. They reached the Gurudwara, one day before the occasion of Vaisakhi. The Sikhs had decided that they would leave the next day. However, when Diwan Jaspat Rai came to know of this and he immediately ordered them to leave. The Sikhs did not agree to this, On hearing, this he got angry and abused the Sikhs that were present there and ordered them to leave immediately. However, the Sikhs kept on saying that they would only leave the next day of Vaisakhi. This enraged Diwan Jaspat Rai and hence he continued forcing the Sikhs to leave. The Sikhs also got

Harbans Singh Chawla, Sikh Itihas Vichon, M.P. Parkashan, Delhi, 2009, p.182.

Swarandeep Singh Noor, Sultan-Ul-Qoum-Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (Article), Pehredar Newspaper, Ludhiana, 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2018, p.4.

angry and in the end one Sikh fired at him. The bullet hit the chest of Diwan Jaspat Rai and killed him.<sup>7</sup>

The news of the death of his brother made Diwan Lakhpat Rai made him anger. He swore to take the revenge of the death of his brother from the Sikhs. So, he ordered to arrest and kills all the Sikhs that were living in Lahore. So, both Diwan Lakhpat Rai and Yahiya Khan sent a huge army to against the Sikhs. On getting this news, the Sikhs went to hide in the swamps of Kahnuwan. However, the Mughals came to know of their whereabouts. They surrounded that area and started cutting down the forest. So in this way, the Sikhs got trapped in this forest. On one side, there was the Ravi river and they had a mountain in front of them and the Mughal army behind them. Some Sikhs tried to survive from the Mughals by crossing the Ravi river. However, this proved fatal as the flow of the river were so fast that it just swept them with itself. So, in the end the Sikhs tried to hide themself between the mountains of Basholi which were between Jammu and Pathankot. However, they were not safe as the Mughals attacked them with stones and also fired upon them. Some Sikhs managed to escape from their attack and moved towards Kulu and Mandi. They reached Kirtpur Sahib after travelling for six months. However, a large number of Sikhs were still surrounded by the Mughals and their condition was very delicate. They had run out for food and water. They had also run out for spears and their weapons. They had become blunt due to the continuous fighting. So, at this time the Sikhs thought that it would be better to directly engage the enemy. So under the leadership of Nawab Kapur Singh, Sardar Sukha Singh Mari Cambo, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia formed groups (jathas) and directly attacked the army of Diwan Lakhpat Rai. So in this way, the Sikhs continued fighting and managed to escape the Mughal forces. However, in this battle about seven thousand Sikhs sacrificed their lives and about three thousand Sikhs were imprisoned. The Sikhs that had been arrested were later taken to the Nakhas market in Lahore where they were killed. This battle that took place between the Sikhs and the Mughals was given the name Chotta

Giani Amar Singh, Chotte Ghallughare De Sikh Shaheed, Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar, 2016, pp. 38-39.

Ghallughara or Mini Holo-Caust. This event is also known as the *pehla* (first) Ghallughara. This event took place on the 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1746.

After about six months of the *chotta ghallughara*, the Sikhs managed to regroup in their native places. Governor of Lahore Yahiya Khan and Diwan Lakhpat Rai sent an army under the command of the Diwan of Sirhind who was Lakshmi Nariyan to engage the Sikhs when he got the news of the increasing power of the Sikhs. So in this way, a battle took place between Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia who was with his fellow Sikh Sardars and the *shahi* army of Lakshmi Nariyan along the river Ravi in the area of Raipur Gujarwal. The warriors from both sides showed great bravery. But, in the end Diwan Lakshmi Nariyan had defeated and had to retreat.<sup>9</sup>

Even though, Diwan Lakhpat Rai did everything possible to destroy the Sikh community, the Sikhs said the following words:

Ja ko rakhe har rakhan hara

Tah ko koi nah shaksh mara II maru mahala 5 II

After this, situations arosed that the powers of Lakhpat Rai and the rule of Zakariya Khan both ended.

The governance and the power of Yahiya Khan both ended in March, 1747. This happened when the Governor of Multan, Shah Niwaz Khan dethroned his younger brother. After the domestic war that lasted for about five months, Shah Niwaz Khan arrested both his younger brother, Yahiya Khan and his Diwan Lakhpat Rai. He made his Diwan to Kaura Mal who was a Sikh. With this, Shah Niwaz Khan became the Governor of Lahore. During this time, though the tortures on the Sikhs continued but the intensity had decreased with the change in the governance. On the other hand, during this time Yahiya Khan and his in laws in Delhi i.e. the *Wazir Kawar-Ud-Din* wanted to dethrone Shah Niwaz Khan from the post of the Governor due to his actions. This scared Shah Niwaz Khan, so he asked for help from the *Badshah (emperor)* of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani). He also invited him to attack on India. When the *Wazir Kawar-*

Giani Harbans Singh, Atharivan Sadi Da Mahan Sikh Yodha-Singh Sahib Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Hand Written, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1957, p.7.

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Lal Singh Giani, *Punjab Di Veer Prampara (Adh Kaal Toh Adhunik Kaal Tak)*, Voint Vikas Vibhag (Punjabi), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1971, pp.118-119.

Ud-Din in Delhi came to know of this, he got scared and hence improved the Shah Niwaz Khan's position as the Governor of Lahore. So, Shah Niwaz Khan changed sides and sent back the soldiers that had been sent by Ahmad Shah Abdali. However, even though Shah Niwaz Khan had changed his mind, Ahmad Shah Abdali carried on his plans for the attack. He reached Lahore on the 12<sup>th</sup> January, 1748. This was the first attack by Ahmad Shah Abdali on India. At this time, Shah Niwaz Khan escaped to Delhi and hence Ahmad Shah Abdali had taken over Lahore. However, this rule by Ahmad Shah Abdali in Lahore didn't last long, this was because the Mughals had managed to defeat him in a battle between the two that took place in the month of March in 1748 near Sirhind. This was the battle took place in Manupur. After this victory, the Mughals appointed Mir Mannu who was the son of the Wazir of Delhi, Kawar-Ud-Din as the governor of Lahore and Multan. 10

After conquering Lahore, Ahmad Shah Abdali started his journey from Lahore to Delhi on 19<sup>th</sup> February 1748. During this time, Nawab Kapur Singh and Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars, Sardar Charhat Singh, Karora Singh, Meet Singh Dallewalia were at Tarn Tarn. These Sikhs were making arrangements for their profits. In the mean while, Ahmad Shah Abdali had reached there. He stopped at Noor-Ud-Din's sarai on the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> February. When the Sikhs came to know of this, they attacked on him. The Sikhs looted them and then went on to hide. In the same way, the Sikhs again looted Ahmad Shah Abdali while he was on the route of Verowal. At this time, Ahmad Shah Abdali did not confront the Sikhs and hence crossed the river Satluj and moved on. So after these loots, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Nawab Kapur Singh went back to Doaba. The other Sikh Sardars, Sukha Singh Mari Cambo, Charhat Singh Sukarchakia crossed Beas and went on to Kalanaur. A battle took place between some Sikhs and Afghans here at Kalanaur. After this battle some Sikh Sardars, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, Jai Singh Kanaihya, Hari Singh Bhangi went towards the north to Pathankot and reached Nurpur. The Raja (King) of Nurpur welcomed the Sikhs.

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Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, Sikh Itihas (1469-1765), (Translated-Bhagat Singh), Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2013, p.130.

However, the Sikhs had to face the *foujdar* of Nurpur *Raja* Gurdit Mal. This was because Diwan Lakhpat Rai (who had been reappointed as the Diwan of Lahore by Ahmad Shah Abdali) had ordered *Raja* Gurdit Mal to attack on the Sikhs. The Sikhs managed to defeat *Raja* Gurdit Mal and also looted him. This event placed during the second week of the March month in 1748. This was when Ahmad Shah Abdali had to face defeat in the battle of Manupur and was on his way back to Afghanistan.<sup>11</sup>

At this time in Amritsar, the Rajput of the village of Tharuh Salabat Khan was a part of the army since 1747. Salabat Khan had set up groups to keep a look at the Police station in Amritsar. Hence, any Sikh who would come to bathe in the sarovar would be killed. So, the Sikhs decided to free Amritsar from the influence of Salabat Khan. 12 So, they started there preparation to attack the enemy. Nawab Kapur Singh had appointed Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia for this mission (attack). So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his other Sikh Sardars started their attack in Amritsar. On the other side, Salabat Khan also came out to engage the Sikhs. Both the sides engaged each other directly. During this battle, when Salabat Khan attacked on Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia broke his sword into two parts with his Khanda. After this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia attacked on Salabat Khan and killed him. The nephew (Nizawat Khan) of Salabat Khan attacked on Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia but was killed by Nawab Kapur Singh. So after this victory, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikhs conquered Amritsar. 13 Now the Sikhs started moving in Amritsar without any restriction.

On the occasion of Vaisakhi, 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1748 the *Sarbat Khalsa* gathered in Amritsar. During this gathering the various Sikhs *Jaths* were brought together and the *Dal Khalsa* was established. Hence, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was made the commander of the *Dal Khalsa*. <sup>14</sup> This *Dal Khalsa* further had eleven *mukhis*. So in this way, Sardar Jassa Singh

Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2011, pp. 45-46, 50.

Gurbax Singh, Khalsa Generals, Sikh Missionary College, Ludhiana, 1927, p.35.

Baba Prem Singh Hoti, *Nawab Kapur Singh*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2017, pp.96-98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14.</sup> Simarjit Singh and Satwinder Singh Phulpur, Gurmat Parkash-Sultan-Ul-Qoum, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.83.

Ahluwalia was made the commander (*pardhan senapati*) of all the activities of the *Dal Khalsa*. At this time, the first Gurmata was passed by the *Sarbat Khalsa* in Shri *Akal Takht Sahib* which was as follows:

"Punjab nah Mughal samrajh da hisa rehn dena he atte nahi Afghan samrajh da banan dena he"

It was further decided that:

"Jo hun Sikha nu sataye us nu sajha devo har hamle da muh todh utar den lai tyar ho jao"<sup>15</sup>

Garden has rightly written that appointing Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as the Commander of the *Dal Khalsa* in front of the whole gathering was a great move by the Sikhs. So in this way, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia undertook many activities as the commander of the *Dal Khalsa*.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia addressed the Sikhs that come to celebrate the occasion of Vaisakhi by saying that up to when the Sikhs would continue to hide in the jungles and the mountains. He also added on saying that they should instead form a castle and settle permanently at a place. So in this way, it was decided that the construction of the fort of *Rauni* would be started immediately in April, 1748. A very strong and thick wall is known as *rauni*. So, the name of the fort was named after Guru Ram Das as "*Ram Rauni*". It was not a very big fort and could accommodate only about five thousand Sikhs. <sup>16</sup> Due to these decisions taken by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, he became even more famous and respectable amongst the members of the Sikhs community.

At the time, when the Sikhs were constructing the *Ram Rauni* fort, Mir Mannu (Muin-Ul-Mulk) reached after being had appointed the Governor by Ahmad Shah Abdali. He was later appointed the Governor of Punjab on the 11<sup>th</sup> April, 1748. On becoming the Governor of Punjab, he appointed Adina Beg Khan, the *hakam* of Jalandhar-Doab. He also appointed Kaura Mal who was a Sikh as a Diwan in his nobility (*cabinet*).

Satbir Singh, *Puratan Itihasik Jiwanian*, New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1989, p.216.

Ganda Singh, Maharaja Kaura Mal Bahadur, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2000, pp.24-26. see also Harwinder Singh Khalsa, Sultan-Ul-Qoum-Jathedar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (3 May 1718 – 20 October 1783), Bhai Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar, 2018, pp. 44-45.

After becoming the Governor, Mir Mannu started his torture on the Sikhs. He ordered the newly appointed hakam of Jalandhar-Doab, Adina Beg Khan and General Sadik Beg Khan to kill the Sikhs and to attack on the Ram Rauni fort. Later, he Adina Beg sent a message to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia through his men to come and meet him at Delhi and to have a dialogue. Adina Beg asked Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia to join hands with them. He also proposed to let Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia to rule the nation. Adina Beg was willing for his proposals. However, it was a well known fact that Adina Beg was a very clever and selfish person and hence no one trusted him. He could also arrest Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and hand him over to Mir Mannu to make him happy. So after much thought, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia sent this message to Adina Beg that his meeting with the Sikhs would take place in the battle field. He said that the Sikhs weren't interested in ruling the nation together with the Mughals. The Sikhs believed that the Waheguru was with them and they were capable of winning the nation on their own. So, they didn't have to beg from another person. Adina Beg send the same proposals two or three times more. But each time the answered by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was:

> "Raj karega Khalsa aaki rahe nah koi Khawar hoe sab milenge bache sharan jo hoe"<sup>17</sup>

This answer by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia showed the confidence and self belief of the Sikhs. So in this way, Adina Beg secretly sent the message to other *Sardars*. Some *Sardars* agreed to his proposal. Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and his three brothers, Jai Singh, Khushal Singh, Mali Singh and some other Sikhs joined Adina Beg. The fifth younger brother (Tara Singh) of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia did not accept this offer of leaving the *Khalsa Dal*.

When Adina Beg realized that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was not going to accept his proposal, he began the preparations of attacking the *Ram Rauni* fort. Accepting the orders of Mir Mannu, Diwan Kaura Mal, Mirza Aziz Khan Bakhshi (General), Nasir Ali Khan Jalandhariye and the pahari raje (*hill chiefs*) attacked on this fort. According to Khushwant Rai in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17.</sup> Harwinder Singh Khalsa, Sultan-Ul-Qoum-Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (Article), Ajit Newspaper (Dharam te Virsa), Bathinda, 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2018, p. 2.

Tarikh-Eh-Sikha, the fort of Ram Rauni remained surrounded for four months between October, 1748 to January, 1749 and during this period a normal battle took place every day. During these battles about two hundred Sikhs lost their lives. The Sikhs that survived wrote a letter to Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia stating he was becoming the reason for their loss by taking the side of the Mughals. They warned him that if he didn't help them then he would never be a part of the *Sikh Panth* again. After reading this letter, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia immediately left Adina Beg and joined his fellow Sikhs in the fort. This encouraged the Sikhs, as he reached the fort, he immediately took the command of the army in the inside of the fort. Hence, he continued the fight to end this struggle. He also send messages to Diwan Kaura Mal to advice Mir Mannu told to end the attack on the fort. So, Diwan Kaura Mal too did all he could to help the Sikhs. <sup>18</sup>

During the attack on *Ram Rauni*, Mir Mannu not only got the news of the attack by Abdali, but also the news of the boycott by Shah Niwaz Khan. This was very beneficial for the Sikhs. During such conditions, Mir Mannu accepted the advice of Diwan Kaura Mal. Diwan Kaura Mal also advised Mir Mannu to give a *jagir* to the Sikhs, so that he could buy their support, so he hoped that the Sikhs would help him. The Sikhs got one fourth of the ownership of the lands of *patti pargane* and also got twelve villages in *Guru ka Chak*. Mir Mannu decided to withdraw his forces and instead began preparing for the war against the Afghans (Ahmad Shah Abdali). So in this way, towards the end of November, 1748 Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani) reached Punjab. Upon this, Mir Mannu asked for help from Delhi. However, the *Wazir* of Delhi Safdar Jang refused to help him. Hence, in the end Mir Mannu had to give Ahmad Shah Abdali the *lagan* (taxes) of four provinces those being Siyalkot, Ahmnabad, Pashrur and Aurangabad. With this, Ahmad Shah Abdali went back to Afghanistan. <sup>19</sup>

Immediately, after the retreat of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Mir Mannu ordered Diwan Kaura Mal to attack on Shah Niwaz Khan of Multan. For

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18.</sup> Prithipal Singh Kapoor, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia (1723-1803), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2010, pp. 41-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19.</sup> Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Kaura Mal Bahadur*, op.cit., p. 38.

this battle, Diwan Kaura Mal asked for the help from the Sikhs. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia accepted this request of Diwan Kaura Mal. For this mission, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia asked for fifteen rupees a soldier and thirty rupees to a Jathedars per month. Diwan Kaura Mal accepted this proposal and gave the wages of two months in advance. So in this way, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Sukha Singh Mari Cambo took an army of about ten thousand Sikhs to join the mission of Diwan Kaura Mal and hence reached Ravi Chiniot. On the other side, Shah Niwaz Khan too was fully prepared to engage in battle. Both the sided collided in the villages of Dorana and Langana and commenced a fierce battle. When Shah Niwaz Khan got the better in his position Diwan Kaura Mal, the Sikhs attacked on Shah Niwaz Khan. When Shah Niwaz Khan was retreating, he was hit by a bullet and then fell from his horse. Even before, Shah Niwaz Khan could get up a Sikh named Bheem Singh beheaded him. Diwan Kaura Mal after this victory went back to Multan along with the body of Shah Niwaz Khan. Mir Mannu was impressed with this victory and so hailed Diwan Kaura Mal. So, Mir Mannu honored him by giving him the name Maharaja Bahadur and was appointed the Governor of Multan.<sup>20</sup>

Due to Diwan Kaura Mal, the Sikhs gained a lot of wealth. After this victory, Diwan Kaura Mal donated eleven thousand rupees for the construction of the *sarovar* of *Shri Darbar Sahib* (Amritsar). During the era (time) of Yahiya Khan, Diwan Lakhpat Rai had ordered to fill the *sarovar* with soil. So, this money was used to remove the soil and clean the *sarovar*. To express his gratitude towards the help provided by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his Sikh army, Diwan Kaura Mal constructed a Gurudwara in *Shri Nankana Sahib (Guru Nanak Sahib da Bal Lila da Gurudwara)* and one pond under the cost of three Lakh rupees.<sup>21</sup>

During the absence of Mir Mannu from Lahore, the Sikhs set the outskirts of the city on fire. Nawab Kapur Singh and Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia entered the city and took control over Kotwali. <sup>22</sup> So in this way,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20.</sup> Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Sikh Twarikh-II (1708-1849), Sikh University Press, 2015, pp.183-184.

Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Kaura Mal Bahadur*, op.cit., pp.49, 51.

B.R. Grover, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, (Translated -Narinder Singh Kapoor), Punjabi Academy, New Delhi, 1991, p.77.

the Sikhs destroyed the whole city of Lahore. Tarikhdan Maskin has written this about this destruction:

"Ik var da chhadya teer te beet gya vakht, kade vaps nhi murda"

The city had been destroyed by the Sikhs. This event took place towards the end of 1749 or the starting of 1750. So after seeing this attack by the Sikhs, Mir Mannu began torturing the Sikhs. The rumours of another attack by the Afghans (Abdali) started spreading in 1751 in Punjab. This was because Mir Mannu did not stand to the promise that he had made to Ahmad Shah Abdali of sending the *lagan* (taxes) of four provinces those being that of Siyalkot, Ahmnabad, Pashrur and Aurangabad. Ahmad Shah Abdali reached Lahore where the forces collided. In this battle, Diwan Kaura Mal was killed and Adina Beg managed to escape. Hence, Ahmad Shah Abdali won the battle. In the end, Ahmad Shah Abdali appointed Mir Mannu as the Governor of Lahore and Multan. Because of the absence of Adina Beg during this attack by Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia looted the treasures from Doaba to Karnal.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, as soon as Mir Mannu became the Governor, he started the era of torture on the Sikhs. So, the Sikhs once again went to hide in the jungles, mountains and deserts. At that time, some *Pahari raje* (hill chiefs) Sikhs sympathized for the Sikhs and some didn't. In August 1752, Mir Mannu sent some of his officials to coolest the mamla (tax) from the pahari raje. The amount of mamla on them was so high that they were finding it difficult to pay it. At this time, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and some other Sikhs were on their way to Anandpur Sahib. The messengers of the rulers of Katoch, Haripur and Mandi came to visit Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. They told to this grievance Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia their grievances and requested for help. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia began the preparations of the attack and Nadaun immediately. The result of the battle did not come the first day. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the *Pahari raje* called out the forces of Kardar (who was collect to tax). This time a fierce battle took place. In this battle, Kardar was killed by a bullet.

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Piara Singh Padam, Sankhep Sikh Itihas (1469-1999), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2014, P.92.

Hence in this way, the Khalsa emerged victorious. So after receiving *Shukranas* and *najranas* from the *pahari raje*, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia set his journey on foot back to Anandpur Sahib. <sup>24</sup>

The news of the death of Kardar enraged Mir Mannu, so he wrote a letter to the *hakam* Adina Beg of the Jalandhar -Doab region and order him to take action against the Sikhs. The occasion of *Hola Mohalla* was to be celebrated in February 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> in 1753. Adina Beg knew that during this occasion the Sikhs used to gather in Anandpur Sahib. The Sikhs did not know that Adina Beg was planning to attack on them at that time. So in this way, Adina Beg secretly surrounded Anandpur Sahib. On getting the news of this attack the Sikhs that had gathered to celebrate this occasion began looking place to hide. Sardar Charhat Singh Sukarchakia along with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and some other Sikh Sardars went on to engage the Mughal forces. But, Adina Beg had brought a huge army in comparison to that of the Sikhs. In resulted Mughal attack many Sikh women and children and they lost their lives. Sardar Charhat Singh Sukarchakia too got injured in this battle.<sup>25</sup>

This mission proved successful for Adina Beg. He also received a reward from Mir Mannu for his victory. However, he had a feeling that the Sikhs would definitely take revenge on him. This was why, Adina Beg sent a message to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia through his General Sadik Beg urging him to forget the past and proposed a truce. On the other side, after seeing the attacks by Mir Mannu, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia accepted this proposal. After this agreement, some Sikhs started living Anandpur, some in the villages of Doaba and the others went to Malwa. This event was an example of the understanding of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

The end of the story of the torture of Mir Mannu with the coincides of his death on 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1753. After getting the news of the death of Mir Mannu, the Sikhs went to Lahore and managed to release the imprisoned women and children. At this time, both the rules in Punjab and Delhi had weaken. The widow of Mir Mannu (*Mughlani Begam*) wanted to rule the kingdom herself. However, the *hakam* of Jalandhar -Doab, Adina

Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., pp. 67-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25.</sup> John Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, John Murray, London, 1812, p.92.

Beg did not accept this. In this way, nine different Governors were tried in Lahore from November, 1753 to October, 1756. During this period, the Sikhs flourished.<sup>26</sup>

The Sikhs managed to outlay various events by taking advantage of the instability in the politics of the Mughals after the death of Mir Mannu. The first opportunity arose after the time of the Diwali celebration of 1753. At this time, the Hindus from Lahore came to Amritsar and pleaded for the Sikhs to do something about the killing of cows in their city. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia decided to teach the Government of Lahore an unforgettable lesson. For this, the Sikhs began their journey to Lahore. The Sikhs carried out their attacked before daylight in the meat market of Kasaipure in Lahore. They attacked and killed the butchers in that area. After this attack, the Sikhs went towards the river Beas. At that time, there was a flood in that area. However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia crossed this river with the help of his friend Sher Khan. So in this way, the Sikhs crossed the Beas river and continued their journey. They also crossed the river Satluj and reached the dera of Mata Jeeto in the village Daroli.<sup>27</sup> Taking advantage of the situation, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia won the forts of Goindwal which were on the right of the river Beas, Khuaspur towards the North and that of Fatehabad so that the Sikhs would not have to face any restriction while crossing the Beas river in the future. Upon getting the news of the attack on Khuaspur, Jai Singh Lohara, Gurbakhsh Singh Mundewala, Desa Singh went to the fort alongside some other Sikhs. The Pathans fought bravely in this battle, but they had to face defeat. After this victory, the Sikhs moved towards Fatehabad. The Sikhs didn't have to go through much resistance in conquering this village. The Sikhs got hold on a lot of treasure from this area. However, Sardar Phule Khan from this fort, became an enemy of the Sikhs and he asked for help from Adina Beg of Lahore. Due to this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia ordered his General Sardar Natha Singh that it was important to stop Phule Khan. So, General Sardar Natha Singh entered the fort. In the end, as Phule Khan found no

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26.</sup> Piara Singh Padam, Sankhep Sikh Itihas (1469-1999), op.cit., p.93.

Sumant Dhamija, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1718-1783), Esha Beteille, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2012, pp.181-182.

way of escape, he agreed to meet Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. So, General Natha Singh brought him to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. With this, Phule Khan agreed to work for the Sikhs. He agreed to give the Sikhs *mamla* (tax). Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia then gave back his fort to him. <sup>28</sup> These events proved that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was a successful General.

## ii. The Appointment of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as the Jathedar of the Khalsa Panth and his other victories:

Due to an old bullet wound, Nawab Kapur Singh died in Amritsar on the 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1753. But, before he died, he called Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia who was also in Amritsar and gave him the sword of Guru Gobind Singh and asked him to promise to serve the *Khalsa Panth*. Nawab Kapur Singh was considered a great political and religious leader of the *Khalsa Panth* after Bhai Mani Singh. However after his death, this position was given to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. This was further solidified when Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was made the Nawab of the *Sikh Panth* in the *diwan* of Vaisakhi which was in front of *Shri Akal Takht Sahib* in Amritsar on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1754. So in this way, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia became the political and religious *Jathedar* of the *Khalsa*. This fulfilled the dreams that both Mata Sundari and Nawab Kapur Singh had for the Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia fulfilled this responsibility with his full dedication.<sup>29</sup>

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia proved to be an able leader as the *Panth Jathedar* of the Sikhs. He had not only participated in all the mission and attacks carried out by the *Khalsa Panth* previously but had also led some of them. The Sikhs had gathered before the *Shri Akal Takht Sahib* in Amritsar on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1754. At that time, the *Mughlani Begam* had sent an army headed by General Aziz Beg and General Bakhsinda Beg from Lahore to engage the Sikhs in Amritsar. She was aware of the growing power of the Sikhs and hence feared that the Sikhs were becoming capable of dethroning

Surjeet Singh Gandhi, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Language Department, Punjab, 1988, pp.46-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28.</sup> Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., pp.74-75.

her. The Sikhs faced the attack by the Mughals under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. They managed to emerge victorious in this battle killing both these Generals and the thousands of Mughal soldiers. This victory increased the confidence of the Sikhs. So, the Sikhs went on to attack on Tarn Tarn again under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. They emerged victorious here too. After this battle, the forces of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Adina Beg collided in Khadur Sahib. This was a fast and fierce battle and in this battle, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia showed great bravery and injured the Generals of Adina Beg, Sayad Khan and Qutab Khan. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia won this battle. He went on to conquer Fatehabad in 1754, which stayed as his permanent residence till his death.

These victories by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia surprised the Lahore darbar and they decided that it was necessary to take some measures to stop this. So, they sent a large army which was commanded by General Aziz Khan to fight with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The battle between these two forces took place in Rao Jagraon towards the end of 1754. The soldiers from both sides fought with great bravery. But, in the end the attack by the forces of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was so fierce that the enemy got scared and deserted the battle. So, the Sikhs looted the belongings of the army of General Aziz Khan. They also looted the villages of Rao Jagraon and Raikot. At that time, the mamla (tax) that had been collected from the pahari raje (hill Chiefs) was being taken to Lahore. This news was given to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia by the Suhiya. On getting this news, the Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia went towards Nadaun. They surrounded the treasurer, looted the treasures and escaped. 30

Historians also believe that the *hakams* (Governors) of Lahore had sent a large army to fight against the Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia under the command of General Umed Khan. As confidence of the Sikhs had grown because of their recent victories, the Sikhs too advanced for the battle. In this battle, General Umed Khan was killed by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The rulers of Delhi were engaged in there domestic war in 1755.

<sup>30.</sup> Giani Harbans Singh, Atharivan Sadi Da Mahan Sikh Yodha-Singh Sahib Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.27.

However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was closely monitoring the proceedings of this war. Ahmad Shah Abdali could have solved the matter by coming to Delhi but he was busy fighting the enemies in his own country. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia felt that it wasn't the right time to increase their rule, this was because Ahmad Shah Abdali had the resources to gain it back from the Sikhs. This was why, he ended the prospects of increasing the Sikh rule and shifted his focus to gain the support of the villages. The people just wanted peace and freedom from the Mughals and Afghan soldiers. With this, the influence of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had increased in some provinces. He started a system of providing security (Rakhi Parbandh) to the common people which was similar to that the Chauth system started by the Marathas. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia provided protection of the goods of the people from thieves, robbers, dakus, officials and people from other regions. In return, the people who undertook this service gave Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia a fifth part of their harvest every season.<sup>31</sup> For this service, the Dal Khalsa had been divided into different groups for different areas for example, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and Jai Singh Kanaihya provided protection in the Northern areas of Amritsar. The protection of the urban areas of Amritsar was done by Dallewalia and Nishanwalia Sardars. The Southern area of Lahore (Nakka) was under the Nikkai Sardars. The area of Rachna Doab was under the command of Hari Singh Bhangi and Charhat Singh Sukarchakia for the protection. Deep Singh and Karora Singh were responsible for the protection of Singhpuriye and Ahluwaliye Sardars. They also provided protection in the Southern areas across the river Satluj. This protection service acted as a source of experience for these Sardars of the Dal Khalsa about the Governance of Punjab. So in this way, the Dal Khalsa relieved the small farmers from the shackles of the landlords and money lenders. This also acted as a source of income for the Sikh Sardars and hence they stopped looting the households of their enemies.<sup>32</sup>

Kahan Singh Nabha, Encylopeadia of Sikh Literature-Mahan Kosh, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2011, p.1027.

Gurnam Singh Rai, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2012, p.36.

About this protection service Ganda Singh writes -"Punjab will always be thankful for the great activities that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his other fellow Sardars did in the eighteenth century."

During the month of June in 1755, under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia the Sikhs attacked and looted *Narnaul, Karnal and Jaipur*. In November of the same year, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his *Misal* announced to make Fatehabad the centre of their kingdom. The Sikhs then attacked Lahore in April, 1756. After about a month of this attack the Sikhs attacked Kalanaur, Batala and the neighboring areas of Amritsar. So in this way, in 1756, a major part of Punjab came under the rule of the Sikhs.

Ahmad Shah Abdali came to attack on India again on the request of the Mughlani Begam and reached Lahore on 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1756. During the time, in between 1753 to 1756, there was also a domestic war with in the Mughals for the post of the governor. After reaching Lahore, Ahmad Shah Abdali reached Delhi on the 28<sup>th</sup> January, 1757. He looted Delhi and its neighboring areas. So after the attacks, he went back to Afghanistan. While retreating, Ahmad Shah Abdali was with his son Taimur Shah and General Jahan Khan. The Sikh soldiers looted Ahmad Shah Abdali while he was on his way back. This enraged Taimur Shah. So, to take revenge from the Sikhs he destroyed the city of Kartarpur when he reached the Jalandhar-Doaba region. This was a holy place that had been established in the memory of Shri Guru Arjan Dev. At this place a Gurudwara was also constructed and the holy book of the Sikhs Shri Guru Granth Sahib was kept there. However, due to the absence of the leader of Kartarpur, Sodhi Wadhbagh Singh, the Afghans managed to set the Gurudwara on fire. This was a historical Gurudwara for the Sikhs and was called Tham Sahib. The Afghans not only burnt this Gurudwara down, they also spread the blood of dead cows in this holy place. The Afghans also killed the Sikhs that were caught at that place. Then they left after looting the City.<sup>33</sup>

These actions of the Afghans made the Sikhs very angry and hence they wanted to take their revenge from the Afghans. When Ahmad Shah

W.E. Purser, Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, p.29.

Abdali crossed Goindwal and was heading towards Lahore through Fatehabad, some Sikhs started following him. These Sikhs were under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. They looted Ahmad Shah Abdali on various occasions but Ahmad Shah Abdali could not do anything.<sup>34</sup>

On reaching Lahore, Ahmad Shah Abdali appointed his son Taimur Shah as the Governor of Lahore. He also appointed General Jahan Khan as his *naebh* (*naib*). He gave Ranjit Dev of Jammu the lands of Zafarwal, Sakhrta, and Aurangabad as to maintain friendly relations with him. Although in this way, Ahmad Shah Abdali had managed to cover the whole of Punjab under the Afghan rule but his orders were only met in Lahore and its nearby areas and in the rest of the area of Punjab only the orders of the Sikhs were followed. This was due to the fact that the Sikhs were providing their protection services under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in various areas of Punjab.

Hence, with his previous attacks and loots on Ahmad Shah Abdali, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia showed him that the people of Hindustan (Punjab) were brave enough to fight with him.<sup>36</sup>

After some time of being the Governor of Lahore, Taimur Shah decided to punish the Sikhs for looting the treasures of the Afghans. So, Taimur Shah attacked Amritsar in May, 1757 and fired his cannons on the Shri Darbar Sahib. He also filled the *sarovar* at Shri Darbar Sahib with soil. He wanted to finish the existence of the Sikh community. He also demolished the *Ram Rauni fort*. The However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia recovered this loss by helping Adina Beg in the battle of Mahilpur i.e. in Hoshiarpur. Taimur Shah appointed Adina Beg the *foujdar* of the Jalandhar-Doaba region. Taimur Shah told him that he would not have to come to Lahore if he deposited the *lagan* (taxes) on a timely basis to Lahore. But as time progressed, Taimur Shah started disturbing Adina Beg. Taimur Shah

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34.</sup> B.R. Grover, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.230.

<sup>35.</sup> Silkot District Gazetteer, (1894-1895), p.16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36.</sup> Avtar Kaur Jawanda, *Nirbhe Yodha -Baba Jassa Singh Ahluwalia*, Lok Sahit Parkashan, Amritsar, 1989, p.21.

Piara Singh Data, Sikh Itihas De Khooni Patre, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2000, p.79.

later appointed Sarfaraz Khan as the foujdar of the Doaba region removing Adina Beg from his position. With this, Taimur Shah also sent a large army commanded by General Murad Khan and General Buland Khan to defeat Adina Beg. So, at this time Adina Beg asked for help from Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia agreed to help him. So in this way, a battle took place between the two sides in the area of Mahilpur in Hoshiarpur. This battle went on for about four hours in which General Buland Khan was killed and General Murad Khan deserted the field. With this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Adina Beg emerged victorious in this battle. On his way back from Mahilpur, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia attacked on Jalandhar and hakam Suadat Khan Afridi could not face Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and hence he run away. So, the Sikhs began looting the area and in this loot the people from the Dhogri village also joined the Sikhs. In order to save the city from being looted Adina Beg proposed to give the Sikhs one lakh and fifteen thousand rupees. 38 As the Sikhs had won Jalandhar, Taimur Shah sent an army of about twenty five thousand horse men to engage Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his Sikhs under the command of Khwaja Ubdullah Khan. However, Khwaja Ubdullah Khan had to face defeat and hence retreated to Lahore. After this victory, the Sikhs crossed Beas and conquered Batala and Kalanaur. The victories in Jalandhar and across various provinces increased Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia's respect amongst the Sikhs.

During this time, Adina Beg thought that though the Sikhs were helping him at the moment but he knew that when Ahmad Shah Abdali would attack him, they would not last for long. He also had a thought in his mind that up to when he would have to rely on the Sikhs to fight his battles. He had this fear, because the Sikhs too were strong contenders for the rule. He knew that the Sikhs were waiting for the opportunity to establish their rule as:

"Raj karega Khalsa aaki rahe nah koe."

Adina Beg was aware that the Sikhs had managed to conquer a large part of area and that their power was increasing day by day. So, he secretly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38.</sup> Roshan Lal Ahuja, *Maharaja Jassa Singh Ahluwalia*, Warish Shah Foundation, Amritsar, 2001, p.51.

feared from the Sikhs and this was why, Adina Beg sent his messenger to meet the Maratha Sardar Raghunath Rao. He came to an agreement with the Marathas in which he agreed to give one lakh rupees for the day of the battle and five thousand rupees as the staying expenses. So, Raghunath Rao immediately began his journey from Delhi to Lahore. He reached Sirhind on the 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1758. Adina Beg and his compatriots had also arrived at this place. The Sikhs demanded Adina Beg that the first battle would be with Sirhind and then with the others. This was because previously the *foujdar* of Sirhind, Wazir Khan had sacrificed the younger sons of tenth Guru Gobind Singh (Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh). At that time, the foujdar of Sirhind was Abdu-Samad Khan Muhammadjai who had been appointed by Ahmad Shah Abdali. He had turned the whole city into a fort. However, this protection did not last for long. Hence, on 21st March, 1758, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia with his Sikh army attacked and looted the city. The next day, the Marathas carried out unleashed havoc and also looted. As the Sikhs had looted the city before the Marathas, this caused some friction between the two. But under Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, they immediately came to a conclusion that they would attack on Lahore together.<sup>39</sup>

According to this agreement, the Sikhs worked together with the Marathas and Adina Beg and attacked Lahore on the 20<sup>th</sup> April, 1758. They emerged victorious in this battle. Various Sikh Sardars played their part in this win (triumph). There name as Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, Tara Singh Gehba, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh. They followed the Afghans and managed to arrest about two hundred soldiers. They brought these Afghan prisoners to Amritsar and used them to clean the sarovar, which had earlier been filled with soil by them the previous year. After the victory in Lahore, the Marathas did not want to stay in Punjab for long. There were mainly two reasons for this the first being that the weather was not suitable for them i.e. the summers and winters were too intense for them and the second being that they feared of the growing power of the Sikhs. After helping Adina Beg in becoming the Governor of Lahore they moved back to Delhi.

Tahmas Khan, Tahmas Nama (1782), (Translated-P.Setu Madhava Rao), Popular Parkashan, Bombay, 1967, p.64.

Adina Beg agreed to give them seventy five lakh rupees each year. After becoming the Governor, Adina Beg began his tortures on the Sikhs so that the Sikhs could not become any more powerful. This move by Adina Beg surprised Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and he said "he had become the governor of Lahore with their help and now he wants to kill us." So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia went to meet Adina Beg along with some other Jathedars of the Khalsa Dal. However, Adina Beg sent his Diwan Hira Mal and Akil Das Jandiala (a fanatical enemy of Sikhs) to attack the Sikhs. Both the forces collided at Kadiya which is in Gurdaspur. In this battle, Diwan Hira Mal was killed and Akil Das Jandiala escaped. During the same days, the Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Jai Singh Kanaihya also managed to kill one of the Generals of Naebh (Naib) Khwaja Mirza Khan (appointed by Adina Beg) of Lahore, Gulesar Khan. 40

The era of the torture on the Sikhs by Adina Beg only lasted for some weeks. Adina Beg died in 15th September, 1758. Upon the death of Adina Beg, the Naebh (Naib) of Lahore, Khwaja Mirza Khan appointed himself as the Governor of Lahore. He also appointed his brother Khwaja Muhammad Sayad the foujdar of Lahore. However, Khwaja Mirza Khan improved the relations with the Sikhs so as to bring a little stability in the political structure in Lahore. When Ahmad Shah Abdali came to know of the condition in Lahore, he sent an army commanded by General Nur-Din-Bamejai towards Punjab. However, Khwaja Mirza Khan was able to defeat Nur-Din-Bamejai with the help of the Sikhs. Hence, Nur-Din-Bamejai retreated. This event took place in between October and November of 1758. Khwaja Muhammad Sayad took charge of the proceedings in the absence of his brother Khwaja Mirza Khan. However, Khwaja Muhammad Sayad ordered for killing the Sikhs. So, Khwaja Muhammad Sayad began his preparations for battle. But, in the end Khwaja Muhammad Sayad had to face defeat and so he went back to hide. The Sikhs and the leaders of the Khalsa Dal had gathered in Anandpur Sahib during the occasion of the Hola Mohalla March, 1759 when the foujdar of Sirhind, Sadik Beg attacked on them. This was because the Sikhs had looted him of the goods of maliya

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<sup>40.</sup> Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Sikh Twarikh-II (1708-1849), op.cit., pp.210-212.

(tax) on their way to Anandpur Sahib. The Sikhs looted him because, he did not pay the rent to the Sikhs on a timely basis. So in this way, by attacking the Sikhs he caused them great loss. A lot of Sikhs got injured in this attack. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia himself also got injured due to which he went Daroli and stopped to get medicine. However, later Sadik Beg apologized to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and also sent his dues. After this event, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia told the *foujdar* to be aware of every event.<sup>41</sup>

Although, Adina Beg had died but his commanders continued working in Lahore and Sirhind. At this the Sikhs had managed to win some areas in the Malwa and Doaba regions of Punjab. However, the Khalsa had not got complete independence. First of all, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia suppressed the Pathans of Miani (an area in Jalandhar-Doab) because they did not follow his orders. He then also had to fight with the Diwan of Doaba, Bishambar Das Lasaria because he and his allies Ghamand Chand Khatri of Batala and the King (Raja) of Nahan, Bhup Chand had setup a camp towards the East of Urmur (Umrar), near the bridge at Yahiyapur. Diwan Bishambar Das Lasaria commanded his army in the battle against Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. He fought bravely but, unfortunately he was killed by an arrow shot by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. After the death of Diwan Bishambar Das Lasaria, Raja Bhup Chand attacked on Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia cut the arm with which he was using sword and hence killed him too. After the death of their leader, Raja Bhup Chand his army deserted the battle field. After this victory, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia went on to conquer the areas of Sirhind, Phagwara and Batala. 42 These wins had proved that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was not only a great warrior but also a great leader.

According to Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also emerged victorious in the battle with the *Kadiya*. However, after winning this area he gave it his friend Jai Singh Kanaihya.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Sikh Missionary College, Ludhiana, 1995,

Sumant Dhamija, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1718-1783), op.cit., pp.198-199.

The power of the Sikh community was increasing continuously and on the other side, the Marathas had also spread around a large part of Hindustan. It was due to these reasons that Ahmad Shah Abdali carried out another attack on Hindustan. So, he reached Punjab towards the end of October in 1759. The Sikhs got the news of this attack by Ahmad Shah Abdali when he reached Lahore. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Jai Singh Kanaihya, Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, Gujjar Singh Bhangi and Lehna Singh Bhangi went to battle the army of Ahmad Shah Abdali. In this battle, about two thousand Afghani (Durrani) soldiers got killed. Abdali's General Jahan Khan also got injured. However, both the battle ended soon as because Ahmad Shah Abdali was in a hurry to reach Delhi so that he could take his revenge on the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Abdali then headed towards Delhi. So, a battle commenced between the Afghans (Durranis) and the Marathas on the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1761 in the field of Panipat. In this battle, the Marathas lost and Ahmad Shah Abdali emerged victorious.

At the time, when Ahmad Shah Abdali was in Delhi, the Sikhs gathered in Amritsar during the occasion of Diwali in 1760. In this gathering a *gurmata* was passed in which it was decided to conquer Lahore. So, the Sikhs commanded by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Jai Singh Kanaihya, Hari Singh Bhangi, Gujjar Singh Bhangi and Lehna Singh Bhangi attacked on Lahore. The Sikhs surrounded Lahore for about eleven days. At the time, the Governor (*hakam*) of Lahore was Sarbuland Khan, who had been appointed by Ahmad Shah Abdali. He stayed silent on this matter. So, *Naebh* (*Naib*) Mir Muhammad Khan gave the Sikhs thirty thousand rupees and hence saved the city from being destroye. <sup>43</sup> This was an important victory for Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

It is believed that during this time the Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia looted Sirhind and Dipalpur and also went on to conquer Dogar of Ferozepur and the villages of Nepal.<sup>44</sup>

Ahmad Shah Abdali began his journey back from Delhi on 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1761. At that time, Ahmad Shah Abdali had about two thousand and

Swaran Singh, Abdali, Sikh Te Wadda Ghallughara, Singh Brothers, Amitsar, 2016, p. 49.

Gokal Chand Narang, Sikh Mat Da Parivartan, (Translated-Gurcharan Singh), Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2009, p.139.

two hundred unmarried and beautiful Hindu women in his camp. No one stood up to help these women. So, the leader of the Hindus came to Amritsar on the 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1761 during the occasion of Vaisakhi, to plead to the Khalsa to do something on this matter. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia accepted this plead by the Hindus and hence took some selected Sikhs with him to Goindwal. These Sikhs attacked Ahmad Shah Abdali when his army was crossing Goindwal. These Sikhs looted Ahmad Shah Abdali's treasures. They also managed to free the Hindu women that Abdali had brought from Delhi. After freeing these women, the Sikhs safely took them to their homes. It was due to this reason that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was given the honour of being called as "bandi chhor."

Ahmad Shah Abdali reached Lahore on 26<sup>th</sup> April, 1761. Here he appointed Khwaja Ubed Khan as the governor (hakam) in place of Sarbuland Khan, he also appointed Ghamand Chand Katochiye as the foujdar of Doaba-Jalandhar and Khwaja Mirza Jaan as the foujdar of Char Mahal. He headed to Afghanistan. Ahmad Shah Abdali had still not crossed Kandhar that he got the news that the Sikhs had destroyed the army of Khwaja Mirza Jaan. This news enraged Abdali, he then sent a large army commanded by General Nur-Din-Bamejai to end the existence of the Sikhs. This was the same Nur-Din-Bamejai who had killed and burnt the houses of the residents of Bhera, Miani and Chak Shanu in 1759. 46 The battle between the Sikhs and General Nur-Din-Bamejai took place at the shores of Jhana near Wazirabad. General Nur-Din-Bamejai lost this battle. After losing the battle, General Nur-Din-Bamejai first went to the fort of Siyalkot before crossing Kandhar. The dominance of the Sikhs had been reinstated in Punjab after this victory. On the news of General Nur-Din-Bamejai, the Governor of Lahore, Khwaja Ubed Khan attacked Sardar Charhat Singh Sukarchakia. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his other Sikh sardars including Jai Singh Kanaihya, Hari Singh Bhangi, Lehna Singh Bhangi, Sobha Singh Kanaihya, Gujjar Singh Bhangi and some others reached Gujranwala to help Sardar Charhat Singh Sukarchakia in September, 1761.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45.</sup> James Browne, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs-II*, (India Tracts), The East India Company Logegraphic Press, London, 1788, p.22.

<sup>46.</sup> Ausli and Davis Sahib, Shahpur District Revised Settlement Report, 1886, p.36.

Immediately on reaching Gujranwala the Sikhs carried out a heavy attack on Khwaja Ubed Khan. This attack scared Khwaja Ubed Khan that he left the battle leaving behind his cannons, ammunition, horses, camels and his other belongings. The Sikhs followed Khwaja Ubed Khan up to Lahore. Khwaja Ubed Khan reached Lahore and hid in his fort. However, the Sikhs conquered the city.<sup>47</sup>

This was the first political victory of the *Khalsa* (Sikhs). So in this way, the whole area of Punjab from Sind to Satluj came under the rule of the *Khalsa*. This was all under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The *Khalsa Panth* announced Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as the King of Lahore (*Lahore Da Raja*) and honoured him with the great position of *Sultan-Ul-Qoum*. He also started a new coin under his name for the Khalsa which had the following lines:

"Sikka zad dar jaha bafazl akal mulk Ahmad grift Jassa Kalal"

However, some historians think that this coin had been named after Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Gobind Singh which had been taken from the stamp (*mohar*) of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur fifty one years ago. It had the inscriptions in Persian and they were as follows:

"Degh Tegh Fateh Nusrat Bedirang Yaft az Guru Nanak Guru Gobind Singh"<sup>48</sup>

Harjinder Singh Dilgeer writes that after conquering Lahore Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia defeated the Afghan *foujdars* in Jalandhar-Doab region, Suadat Khan and Sadik Beg. After seeing the defeats of these Afghan *Foujdars*, the King (*Raja*) of the *Kangra* Ghamand Chand secretly escaped to the mountains without fighting.

### • Wadda Ghallughara or Great Holo-Caust:

The *Khalsa* gathered together on the 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1761 on the occasion of Diwali. In this gathering a *gurmata* was passed in which it was decided to get hold of all the areas of all the allies of Ahmad Shah Abdali as they were a resistance to the freedom of the nation. The nearest such ally

Tahmas Khan, Tahmas Nama (1782), op.cit., p.104.

<sup>48.</sup> Gurcharan Singh Aulakh, Mahan Jodhe-Sikh Guru Sahiban Te Jarnail, op.cit., p.184.

was that in Jandiala which was under Akil Das who was the leader of the Naranjaniye. Akil Das was known for always helping the enemies of the Sikhs. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia made sure that Akil Das knew of this decision of the Khalsa Panth so that he agreed to the orders of the Sikhs. However, instead of coming to an agreement with the Sikhs, he immediately wrote a letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali asking for his help. 49 Upon receiving this letter, Ahmad Shah Abdali came to attack Punjab again in 1762. He started from Lahore on the 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 1762 and reached a village named Kup in Malerkotla on 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1762. Here he surrounded the Sikhs. Amongst these Sikhs there were some children, women and older people as well. However, unfortunately all weapons, guns, ammunition etc of the Sikhs were in the Garma village which was about four kilo meters away from their current position. So in this way, the Sikhs were trapped in the enemy's hands.<sup>50</sup> The Sikhs thought that they would rather die fighting. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Sham Singh Karorsinghia and Charhat Singh Sukarchakia were commanding their respective armies. The Sikhs kept on advancing forward fighting. They were hoping to reach Barnala where they were in the hope of receiving help from Baba Ala Singh. However, even before the Sikhs could reach Barnala, the Afghans managed to penetrate the border that the Sikhs had made to protect the children, women and elder. So in this way, the Afghans began killing the Sikhs. In this fight an estimate of about ten thousand people lost their lives. This fierce massacre that took place on 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1762 is known as the Wadda Ghallughara or Great Holo-Caust. The first took place in 1746.<sup>51</sup>

It is believed that during this battle the horse of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had stopped moving because of being tired. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia tried a lot to make the horse move but it didn't. So on seeing this, Sikh Sardar Gurmukh Singh who was standing along Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia picked up a *chabak* to kill the horse. However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia stopped him saying that if someone would see him doing

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<sup>49.</sup> Gazetteer of Amritsar District-1883, p.175.

Sahib Singh Arshi, *Atharvin Sadi Da Sikh Itihas*, Arora Publishers, Chandigarh, 1987, pp.72-73.

John Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, op.cit., p.98.

so they would think that the leader of the Sikhs, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had deserted the battle field. In this battle, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia endured twenty two wounds. There was hardly any Sikh who got less than five or six wounds. At this, Rattan Singh Bhangu writes that:

Jakhm bahut Jassa Singh khae

tir goli aur tegh ghae aae

aap pare au un ko jhele

sohe mathe rakh Ghore maile |/82|/

Jassa Singh khae bai ghae

tau pee Singh ji larte jae |/90|/

The bravery shown by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was eminent in this *Ghallughara*. After this *Ghallughara*, Ahmad Shah Abdali began his journey to Sirhind. After this *Ghallughara*, Ahmad Shah Abdali headed towards Sirhind. After reaching here, he tried to come to an agreement with the *Dal Khalsa* through Baba Ala Singh of Patiala. He asked him to act as a mediator between him and the *Dal Khalsa*. He did not want the *Khalsa* to cause any trouble to him and was willing to give them in written of the land that was under their control. Baba Ala Singh sent this messenger to the *Khalsa* (Sikhs) through his lawyer, Nanu Singh. However, the leader of the *Khalsa*, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia replied that the *Khalsa* did not want to beg in order to rule. He further said that how can there be a union between enemy of the country and the freedom fighter, Sikhs. He said that the *Waheguru* had given them the rule and they didn't need anyone's approval for it. 52

As the Sikhs did not agree with Ahmad Shah Abdali's proposal, he went to Lahore. After reaching Lahore, he brought a large army with himself on the 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1762 to Amritsar. He destroyed the holy place of the Sikhs Shri Harimandar Sahib with his cannons and filled the *sarovar* with dead bodies. He filled the *sarovar* with the carcass of dead cows, the remains of the fallen buildings and then formed a *minar* with the bodies of the dead Sikhs.<sup>53</sup> When the news of the disgrace of the Shri Harimandar

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<sup>52.</sup> Chonviya Sakhiya-6, Sikh Missionary College, Ludhiana, 2011, p.24.

Patwant Singh, *The Sikhs*, (Translated-Gurcharan Singh Aulakh), Bhai Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar, 2009, p.90.

Sahib reached the ears of the Sikhs that were recovering from the wounds of the *Wadda Ghallughara* in the Malwa region of Punjab, they got very angry. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia gathered the Sikh sardars and ordered for the attack on Sirhind. So in this way, the Sikhs suddenly attacked on Sirhind in May, 1762. Zain Khan who was the *hakam* of Sirhind at that time was surprised with this sudden attack. He tried to negotiate with the Sikhs by giving them fifty thousand rupees. He had thought that he would attack and loot the money from the Sikhs when they would be on the way back. The Sikh forces had just gone a little further that Diwan Lakshmi Nariyan attacked on them. So, a fierce battle took place in Harnulgarh which was won by the Sikhs. So in this way, the Sikhs got their hands on more treasures after this loss of Zain Khan.<sup>54</sup>

On the August, 1762 when Ahmad Shah Abdali was stuck due to rain in Kalanaur, the Sikhs attacked and looted the Jalandhar-Doaba region under the *Jathedari* of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The Sikhs were gathering in Amritsar to celebrate Diwali on the 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1762. At that time, Ahmad Shah Abdali was in Lahore and was scared of the Sikhs. He sent the *envoys* (*rajdut*) to Amritsar to negotiate with the Sikhs. However, the Sikhs looted them of their belongings and sent them back. This made Ahmad Shah Abdali very angry. He brought his army to attack on the Sikhs on the eve of Diwali. The battle place was in Pipli Sahib at Amritsar. This battle continued for the whole day. In the end, Abdali lost and escaped to Lahore during the night. This was considered to be one of the most important victories by the Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

After this loss, Ahmad Shah Abdali went back to Afghanistan on 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1762 from Lahore. He appointed Governors (hakams) in different places in Punjab before leaving. Kabuli Mal was appointed in Lahore, Zain Khan was appointed in Sirhind, Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch Kangria in Satluj, Beas and Pahari (hills), Suadat Khan was appointed as the hakam in Jaladhar-Doab, Khwaja Ubed Khan was appointed in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54.</sup> Surjeet Singh Gandhi, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.88.

<sup>55.</sup> Sohan Singh Seetal, Sikh Raj Kive Banya?, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2006, pp.183-184.

Kalanaur, Murad Khan in Bari Doab, Jahan Khan in Rachna and Lehnda Sind Sagar while Nur-Din-Bamejai was appointed the Governor (hakam) of Kashmir etc.<sup>56</sup>

Although, Abdali had left these Governors in Punjab but when the Sikhs went to their respective areas they took the whole of Punjab under their control just as before. In 1763, under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia the Sikhs reached Jalandhar-Doab. This area was under the protection of these Sardars. However, the *hakam* of this region, Suadat Khan did not come out to engage the Sikhs and rather decided to stay in Jalandhar. He instead sent his Diwan Bishambar Nath who ended up losing his life while fighting the Sikhs. In this way, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia conquered this region too. After this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was in Anandpur Sahib on the occasion of Vaisakhi in April, 1763. At that time, the *sangats* had come to the *Gurudwara* told Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia that Gole Khan of Kathgarh and the Rangar of Garshankar loot and abuse the *sangats* on their way. So, to solve this matter Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia conquered both these areas and in doing cleared the way. <sup>57</sup>

Ahmad Shah Abdali sent his General Jahan Khan to Punjab in November, 1763 against the Sikhs. This was because Abdali was getting the news of the actions of the Sikhs. He went to Siyalkot to get the help of the King (Raja) in Jammu. Here Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Sardar Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi and Jhanda Singh Bhangi attacked him. In this battle, General Jahan Khan deserted the battle leaving all the weapons in the hands of the Sikhs. At this time, the Sikhs also got their hands on the jewelleries of the women. Amongst these women, one was the wife of General Jahan Khan. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia said that no should touch the belongings of these women. He also respectfully asked the Begam where she should be taken to. On this, she requested the Sikhs to take her to the queen of Jammu who was her sister. <sup>58</sup> So in this way, the

Hari Ram Gupta, Cis-Satluj Sikhs, History of the Sikhs, Volume-II, Minerva, Lahore, 1944, p.194. see also Ganda Singh, Ahmad Shah Durrani, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1959, p.288.

<sup>57.</sup> Swaran Singh, Abdali, Sikh Te Wadda Ghallughara, op.cit., pp.134-136.

Satbir Singh, Gurmat Parkash-Sultan-Ul-Qoum, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1983, p.39.

Sikhs took the family of General Jahan Khan along with their belongings to Jammu. This shows that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia respected women.

Now the Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia shifted their focus towards Malerkotla. This was as to take the revenge on Bikhan Khan who was the *hakam* of Malerkotla because of his participation against the Sikhs in the Wadda Ghallughara. So, a battle took place between Bikhan Khan and the Sikhs in which Bikhan Khan was killed.<sup>59</sup> After this victory, this group of the Sikhs set on foot in the North West direction and reached Morinda through Sirhind. The Sikhs then attacked Morinda because the residents of this area Jani Khan and Mani Khan caught the younger sons (Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh) of Guru Gobind Singh and handed them over to the Nawab of Sirhind in 1704. So, the Sikhs killed the sons and grandsons of these two. 60 After conquering Morinda, the Sikh forces attacked Kurali. At that time, the houses of the hakam of Sirhind Zain Khan and his Diwan Lakshmi Nariyan were at this place. The Sikhs looted all the treasures from the houses of these two. After the attack of Kurali, the Sikhs headed towards Sirhind. So, the Sikhs under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia attacked Sirhind on 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1764. In this battle, Zain Khan was hit by a bullet and hence died. The Sikhs then looted this place. They also destroyed the houses in this area. After the attack on Sirhind this area was divided. In which Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia took five villages just as a symbol. The rest of the villages were divided amongst other Sikh Sardars. The five villages taken by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia were-Naraingarh, Bhirog, Barwalia, Jagraon and Fatehgarh.<sup>61</sup>

After the victory and loot of Sirhind the Sikh Sardars had profited a lot. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had got about nine lakh rupees. However, he did not want to keep this money. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia upon reaching Amritsar called a meeting for the Sarbat Khalsa. Before the start of this meeting, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia laid down a Chaddar (a piece of cloth). In this meeting, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia proposed to

James Browne, History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs-II, op.cit., p.24.

Rattan Singh Bhangu, Prachin Panth Parkash (1841), Wajir Hind Press, Amritsar, 1939, pp. 369-370.

Sohan Singh Seetal, Sikh Raj Kive Banya?, op.cit., p.194.

reconstruct the building of *Shri Harimandar Sahib*. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia donated the whole of the nine lakh rupees he had got placing it on the *Chaddar*. The other Sikhs also contributed making the total amount of donation to reach somewhat above twenty lakh rupees. The whole amount of this donation was given to Desh Raj Bidhichandia of Sur Singh because he was known for his honesty. <sup>62</sup>

So in this way, that piece of cloth was called as *Guru ki Chaddar*. This famous event shows that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had no greed. This great historical event revealed the sacrificing nature of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. He was much devoted towards his good deeds and his focus was on achieving the pre determined goal rather achieving any personal favor or self achievement. This was the greatness of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

# iii. Other Important actions by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, his relations with the Jatts, Rohillas, Marathas and the Mughals. Helping the Raja (King) of Patiala, Raja Amar Singh and the events done towards the end of his life:

Raja (King) Jawahar Singh Bharatpuriya sent his messenger to the darbar of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in February, 1764. He sent this message through this messenger that Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla who was an Afghani was causing havoc in his area. The Afghans were also responsible for the death of his father. So, he wanted to take his revenge from the Afghans and so he wanted the Sikhs to help him. So in this way, he gave the five horses and eleven thousand rupees to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia which had been given by Raja Jawahar Singh Bharatpuriya. Nevertheless, the Sikhs agreed to help him because they did not want the Afghans to come in their nation. So in order to remove the army of Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla from Bharatpur, the Sikhs decided to attack on the area of Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla which was in the Ganga-Doab region. In this way, the Sikhs crossed the Jamuna river from Burhia and reached the Doab area of

Simarjit Singh and Satwinder Singh Phulpur, Gurmat Parkash-Sultan-Ul-Qoum, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., pp.123-124.

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Ajeet Singh Aulakh, Sri Harimandar Sahib Ji Da Itihas, (Translated-Tajinder Kaur, Delhi), Bhai Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar, 2009, p.20.

Ganga. So, this was how the Sikhs got some victories in the Ganga-Doab region.<sup>64</sup> Then around fourty thousand Sikhs under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia went on to attack Saharanpur on 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1764. On hearing this news, Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla immediately went to his home. The Sikh insulted him. Whenever he would go to save one area, the Sikhs would attack on the other. So in this way, the Sikhs managed to loot the areas of Shamli, Kandhla, Ambli, Merapur, Deoband, Mujafarnagar, Juwalapur, Kankhal, Ladhhora, Najibabad etc. In the end, Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla agreed with the Sikhs and saved his life by giving eleven thousand rupees to them. In this way, the Sikhs completed their motive and Raja Jawahar Singh Bharatpuriya emerged victorious. After this victory, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and his fellow Sikhs returned to Punjab towards the end of Feburary. 65 However, Raja Jawahar Singh was not satisfied with this victory. He still wanted to take the revenge of the death of his father from Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla. So for this purpose, he joined hands with the Maratha Sardar Malhar Rao Holkar and had also asked for help from the Sikhs. During this time, Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla was Mir Bakhshi, under the Mughal badshah (emperor) Shah Alam-II of Delhi, who had been appointed by Ahmad Shah Abdali. So, Raja Jawahar Singh attacked on Delhi. At that time, Sardar Malhar Rao Holkar did not come to his help. However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with his fifty thousand Sikhs of the Dal Khalsa reached Delhi to help Raja Jawahar Singh towards the end of the month of December, 1764 or the 1st January, 1765. The Sikhs came to a decision with Raja Jawahar Singh and according to the taken decision, the Sikhs attacked the Sabji Mandi or vegetables market city from the Northern direction. This attacked surprised Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla. A battle took place between the Sikhs and Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla on the 4<sup>th</sup> February, 1765 at Sabji Mandi or vegetables market and Nakhas. The Rohilla faced defeat in this battle and were forced to retreat. 66 The rumours of another attack to be soon carried out by Ahmad Shah

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64.</sup> James Browne, History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs-II, op.cit., p.24.

<sup>65.</sup> Ganda Singh, Ahmad Shah Durrani, op.cit., p.293.

<sup>66.</sup> K.R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, M.C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1925, p.176.

Abdali began spreading at that time. It was due to this, the Sikhs came back to Punjab.

At the time, when Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and some other Sikh Sardars went to attack on Bharatpur in February, 1764, the other Sikh Sardars, those including Sardar Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi and some others captured the Jalandhar-Doab region, when the hakam (Suadat Khan) of that region escaped, per the orders of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. They then headed towards Lahore. The Governor of Lahore at that time was Kabuli Mal who was known as the slayer of cows. Upon getting the news of an attack by the Sikhs, he saved his life by paying the Sikhs some rewards. So in this way, the orders of the Sikhs began to be followed in Lahore. After this victory, this army was divided into different parts. One group was under the leadership of Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi which went towards the South West. The other part was under the command of Sardar Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, this group progressed towards the North West. Whereas the sons of Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh along with the Nikkai leader Hira Singh progressed towards Nakka which was also known as Lamha. The Nikkai got hold of this area. They then went towards Multan. The Bhangis captured this region. After Multan, these Sikhs went towards the area of the derajat after crossing Sind. The Sikhs conquered this area also. The son of Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh occupied the areas of Jhang, Khushab, Chiniot. 67 On the other side, during this period Charhat Singh Sukarchakia conquered the areas of Rohtas, Dhani, Pothohar and the village Dadan Khan. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia played a huge role in the Sikh's achieving these victories.

On seeing the increasing powers of the Sikhs in the Punjab region and their actions on his appointed Governors, Ahmad Shah Abdali decided to carry out another attack on the Sikhs. He came to Punjab for this purpose on the 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1764. Nur Muhammad Qazi writes in his *Jang Nama* that this was the seventh attack by Ahmad Shah Abdali. This time, Ahmad Shah Abdali came with the army of Mir Nasir Khan of Baloch and two other forces. These forces collided with the Sikhs under the command of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67.</sup> Nur Muhammad Qazi, *Jang Nama* (1765), (Translated and edited-Ganda Singh), Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1939, pp.38, 40-41.

Charhat Singh Sukarchakia in Lahore. In this battle, Ahmad Shah Abdali lost a lot of his equipment. When Abdali came to know that the Sikhs had gone to Amritsar, he ordered his armies to follow and kill the Sikhs. He also ordered them to destroy the city of Amritsar to ashes. Ahmad Shah Abdali had done so before too, however the Sikhs had managed to revive and take their respective places. So, their Abdali began his journey to Amritsar. He took four days to complete the journey from Lahore to Amritsar which was of thirty two miles. He reached Amritsar on the 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1764. However, on reaching Amritsar he saw there where only about thirty Sikhs who were under the duty of managing and maintaining the *Shri Akal Takht Sahib*. These Sikhs had no fear from Ahmad Shah Abdali and were ready to sacrifice their lives for their Guru. 68

However, Ahmad Shah Abdali killed these thirty Sikhs. After this, Abdali went towards Delhi. However, the Sikhs troubled his forces while they were crossing Satluj. So, he ordered his forces to go back to Afghanistan. At that time, the Sikhs who had gone to Delhi with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia came back. They decided to take revenge from Abdali because of what he had done. So, they blocked his way when he reached Doaba. Amongst these Sikhs were Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Sardar Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Sardar Jhanda Singh Bhangi, Lehna Singh Bhangi, Jai Singh Kanaihya, Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi, Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi, Sardar Gulab Singh etc. On the other side, Abdali's experienced Generals Shahwali Khan, Jahan Khan, Anjla Khan, Shah Pasand Khan were also ready for battle. This battle continued for seven days and doing so Abdali had crossed Beas. After crossing Beas, he travelled along Ravi, Chenab and returned to Afghanistan after crossing the river Jelum. Mir Nasir Khan too went back to his country, Balochistan.<sup>69</sup> The bravery of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the Sikhs has been depicted in the Jang Nama of Nur Muhammad Qazi. After Ahmad Shah Abdali had retreated to Afghanistan, the Sikhs gathered in Amritsar to celebrate Vaisakhi on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1765. During this celebration, a gurmata

<sup>68.</sup> Ibid., p.100.

<sup>69.</sup> Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Sikh Missionery College, Ludhiana, 1995, op.cit., pp.39-40.

was passed that the Sikhs should conquer Lahore. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and some other Sikh Sardars were present during this *gurmata*. The Sikhs decided to get hold of Lahore permanently. At this time, the *hakam* (Governor) of Lahore was Kabuli Mal. However, he had gone to Jammu for recruiting the *Dogras*. The Bhangi Sardars, Sardar Lehna Singh and Sardar Gujjar Singh reached Lahore with their army of two thousand Sikhs. They managed to enter inside the fort through an opening in the night of 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1765.

Tara Singh Majhang arrested the nephew of Kabuli Mal, the *bakhshi* of Lahore Ameer Singh and his son-in-law Jagnath in the morning. In this way, the whole Lahore city came under the Khalsa rule. The Khalsa believed this victory to be a blessing of the Guru. Hence to celebrate this win, the Khalsa started a new coin which had the same inscriptions on the front side as that of on the coins of Banda Singh Bahadur and Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia:

"Degh Tegh Fateh Nusrat Bedirang
Yaft Az Guru Nanak Guru Gobind Singh"
This coin had the following inscriptions on its back side:
"Sikka marya rajdhani Lahore samvat 1822"

Lahore then became to be the capital city of the Khalsa. After this, it took about three months for the Sikhs to solidify their rule in the respective region they had won. However, *guru ki nagri*, Amritsar was kept common. As a lot of Sikhs had step up their *deras* and their *bungas* (a place for keeping money and other valuables) there, for their businesses during the occasions of Diwali and Vaisakhi. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had also set up his *bunga* and a *bazaar katra*-Ahluwalia here, which was famous for that name up to then. Normally, the areas of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia were in the Jalandhar-Doab region. However, some were in the outskirts of Doab in the Amritsar district for example Jandiala, Sathiala, Butala, Bandala, Mehab Kot, and towards the southern centre of Amritsar-Jalalbad, Verowal, Fatehabad and the region of Kot Mohammad Khan in Tarn Tarn.

<sup>70.</sup> Kahan Singh Nabha, Encyclopeadia of Sikh Literature-Mahan Kosh, op.cit., p.880.

About thirty to forty villages were to the South of the river Satluj near Isharu.

The Sikhs were disappointed with Baba Ala Singh of Patiala for agreeing with Ahmad Shah Abdali and joining hands with Ahmad Shah Abdali. So, then the Sikhs went towards Patiala and an ordinary battle took place in the villages of Lang and Chalaila. However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia came and told the Sikhs not to fight with each other. Baba Ala Singh too apologized for his mistake. After his apology, he was reappointed. This event is a good example showing the understanding of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

The Sikh after managing their respective areas, the Sikhs went to complete their unfinished business with Najib-Ud-Doullah in September, 1765. The Sikhs decided to attack on the area of Najib-Ud-Doullah from two directions at the same time. After reaching Sirhind, some Sikhs went to Burhiaghat, Saharanpur and the others under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia went towards the mountains from Delhi to loot the *jagir* of Najib-Ud-Doullah. At that time, Najib-Ud-Doullah was at Rohtak. On getting the news of the loot, Najib-Ud-Doullah arrived with his army. However, the Sikhs had already left after looting before he arrived. So after the loot, the Sikhs went back to Amritsar to celebrate the occasion of Diwali on the 14<sup>th</sup> October, 1765. After celebrating Diwali, the Sikhs again went to the area of Najib-Ud-Doullah in December, 1765. Najib-Ud-Doullah was also prepared for their attack. So, a battle took place between the two in Shamli. This battle continued for some days. The battle ended at night. The Sikhs crossed Yamuna and entered the area of Bharatpur in January, 1766. Raja Jawahar Singh sent seven lakh rupees to the Sikhs through his messenger so with the message asking for the Sikhs not to loot his area. He also asked the Sikhs to help him against the Marathas. So, the Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia decided to loot Raja (King) Madho Singh of Jaipur who was a friend of the Marathas. The Sikhs first looted the city of Riwari which was on the border of Jaipur. 71 After this loot, the Sikhs progressed towards Jaipur. However, Raja Madho

<sup>71.</sup> Sohan Singh Seetal, Sikh Raj Kive Banya?, op.cit., pp.210-211.

Singh was not ready to engage the Sikhs, so he asked from help for the Maratha Sardars. He agreed to give them five thousand rupees per day. At that time, one army of the Maratha Sardar Mahaji Sindhia was looting the areas nearby Kishangarh under the command of Achiut Rao Ganesh. This army immediate came to help Raja Madho Singh Jaipuriya. After the entry of the Maratha's Raja Jawahar Singh began doubting the chances of his success. So, he came to an agreement with Raja Madho Singh through Nawal Singh. 72 So, Raja Jawahar Singh had managed to come to an agreement with the Raja Madho Singh. But, then he wanted the help of the Sikhs for the Raja (King) of Gohad, Rana as the Marathas were looting the area of his. Raja Jawahar Singh felt the need of help because Rana was a Jatt raja and Raja Jawahar Singh wanted to help him as he was like his Jat brother. On the other hand, the brother of Raja Jawahar Singh, Nahar Singh who was a contender in ruling Bharatpur had joined hands with the Marathas. It was upon his advise that the Maratha Sardar, Malhar Rao Holkar had sent about fifteen thousand Maratha soldiers under the commands of Sultanji Lambate, Makaji Lambate and Shantji Bable to the area of Gohad. This army looted the areas from Dholpur to Dhing and Agra. So, the army of Raja Jawahar Singh and about seven thousand Sikhs came to help the Raja of Gohad, Rana. A battle took place near Dholpur between the Marathas and Raja Jawahar Singh who was being helped by the Sikhs in 13th-14th March, 1766. The Marathas lost this battle and escaped to hide in Dholpur. The Maratha Sardar Sultanji Lambate got injured while fighting and hence was caught. Later, the other Marathas who were hiding in Dholpur were also caught and imprisoned. As the occasion of Vaisakhi was near, the Sikhs were eager to go back to Punjab. They wanted to go back to Amritsar. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Sardar Sham Singh Karorsinghia, Sardar Tara Singh Dallewalia along with the other members of the Dal Khalsa (Sikhs) came back to Punjab. They then celebrated the festival of Vaisakhi on reaching Punjab. 73

The Sikhs celebrated Vaisakhi on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1766 in Amritsar. After celebrating Vaisakhi, the Sikhs went back to their respective areas and

<sup>72.</sup> Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p.169.

<sup>73.</sup> Swaran Singh, Abdali, Sikh Te Wadda Ghallughara, op.cit., pp. 324-326.

shifted their focus to the political matter in their areas. It is also believed that the Sikhs under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia attacked on Delhi in April, 1766. They entered through Okhla Ghat and passed through Ganj Sahib and finally set up a dera in Mansuri. Some Sikhs entered the area of Shekh Muhammad and looted the camels, horses etc present in this area.<sup>74</sup> Other than this, the Sikhs also looted many other places. After feeling that his hold in India was weakening, Ahmad Shah Abdali came to attack on Punjab in December, 1766. However, this time instead of going to Lahore, he went to Siyalkot (Sialkot). The Sikhs were aware of Abdali's plans and they wanted to cause him a heavy loss. But, this time Abdali wanted to lure the Sikhs so he wrote them a letter asking them to come and meet him. He also proposed to make Sardar Lehna Singh Bhangi the Subedar of Lahore as a gift. However, Lehna Singh Bhangi rejected his offer. In the same way, on 15th January 1767, Ahmad Shah Abdali sent his messengers to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Sardar Jhanda Singh Bhangi and Khushal Singh to ask them to work together with him. However, all of them refused Abdali's offer. 75 So upon seeing this, Ahamd Shah Abdali sent General Jahan Khan to take care of the Sikhs in Amritsar. So, General Jahan Khan with his army of fifteen thousand Afghans (Durranis) started looting the villages of Amritsar on 17<sup>th</sup> January, 1767. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars, Sardar Hira Singh Nikkai, Sardar Lehna Singh Bhangi and Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi reached there. They suddenly attacked the Afghan army killing about five or six thousand of them and injuring the others. With this, General Jahan Khan lost the battle and began to retreat. Upon getting the news of General Jahan Khan's loss, Ahmad Shah Abdali himself came to his help. At Abdali's arrival the Sikhs had already left Amritsar. So, Abdali ordered his forces to destroy Amritsar and to kill any Sikh that was caught. At that time, the Sikhs came to know that Ahmad Shah Abdali had left his belongings in Jalalbad (Amritsar), they decided to attack Jalalbad. To prove his worth to Ahmad Shah Abdali, Mir Nasir Khan Baloch fought bravely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74.</sup> Delhi Chronicle, 17<sup>th</sup> April, 1766, (Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Translated from Persian into English).

<sup>75.</sup> Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., pp.173-175.

with these Sikhs. However, in this battle both sides had incurred huge losses. Ahmad Shah Abdali reached Delhi after crossing Satluj in the starting of March, 1767. He returned to Afghanistan after meeting Najib-Ud-Doullah Rohilla near Shahbad in Ismaelabad on the 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1767.

It is also believed that on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1767 Ahmad Shah Abdali went to Ambala then to Sirhind where he appointed the grandson of Baba Ala Singh, Amar Singh as the *Subedar* of Sirhind. He also gave him the honour of "Raja-eh-rajgan", so as to cause a rift between the Sikhs. But, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was an intellectual leader and hence he did not let these plans of Abdali prevail.

After Sirhind, Abdali went to Kandhar which is in Afghanistan through Pakpatan and Multan. After Abdali had retreated to Afghanistan, the Sikhs again took control of all the regions. Some Sikh Sardar were angry with *Raja* (King) Amar Singh of Patiala. Sardar Baghel Singh Karorsinghia gave the advice of capturing Patiala in 1767. However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia resolved this matter. So, as a gift *Raja* Amar Singh gave Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia the area of Isharu.

Now Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia went to help *Raja* Jawahar Singh Bharatpuriya in 1768. This was because *Raja* Madho Singh Jaipuriya had attacked on Maonda which was about twenty three miles to the South of Narnaul on 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1767 so as to take his previous revenge. This attack caused a lot of loss to *Raja* Jawahar Singh and he barely survived. Not very long after this attack *Raja* Madho Singh Jaipuriya attacked on the area of the Jatts in February, 1768. He had also defeated the Jatts in the battle of Kama in 29<sup>th</sup> February, 1768. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with his army of twenty thousand Sikhs came to help *Raja* Jawahar Singh. Upon seeing this army of *Raja* Madho Singh retreated back to their places. So upon this, *Raja* Jawahar Singh gave to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the Sikh army seven lakh rupees a month as *najrana*. 77

After the Diwali of 1767, the Sikhs had gone to the area of Panipat in the winters where Najib-Ud-Doullah had brought his army to fight them. However, Najib-Ud-Doullah felt that he could not stop this Khalsa army

K.R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, op.cit., pp. 213-215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76.</sup> Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Sikh Twarikh-II (1708-1849), op.cit., pp.249-250.

because the Khalsa had already captured the whole of Punjab and so he felt that, if the Khalsa were to attack on Delhi, they would conquer it too. At that time, Najib-Ud-Doullah sent his resignation to the Mughal Badshah (emperor) Shah Alam-II (who was sitting under the protection of the British) in Allahabad and Raj Mata Janat Mahal who was the wife of Mughal Badshah (emperor) Shah Alam-II. He gave the responsibilities of his position of Mir Bakhshi to his son Zabita Khan. Zabita Khan had come to a negotiation with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the Sikh Sardars in Luhari and Jalalbad, so that he would be safe from the Sikhs. On the other hand, at this time the Mughal Badshah (emperor) Shah Alam-II wanted to come to Delhi. However, in January 1768, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia wrote a letter to the Mughal Badshah (emperor) Shah Alam-II telling him to come to Delhi to take care of his kingdom. At this, the Mughal Badshah (emperor) Shah Alam-II told Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia that if the Sikhs would join hands with him they would together conquer the whole nation. Both the sides kept on exchanging letters for some time. Najib-Ud-Doullah died in 1770. The death of Najib-Ud-Doullah was an opportunity for the Mughal Badshah (emperor) Shah Alam-II to come to Delhi. At that time (1761-1769), the Sikh Sardars were busy in their own internal matters in Punjab. The Mughal Badshah (emperor) Shah Alam-II reached Delhi on the 6<sup>th</sup> January, 1772.

The Mughal *Badshah* (*emperor*) Shah Alam-II gave the position of Mir Bakhshi to the son of Najib-Ud-Doullah, Zabita Khan and also gave him the honour of Amirul-Umrah. Later, he was also appointed the *foujdari* of Saharanpur. But, a time during the Mughal *Badshah* (*emperor*) Shah Alam-II also attacked on Zabita Khan, he arrested his whole family. So in this way, Zabita Khan had no place to go to. He then went to stay with the *Raja* (King) of Jind, Gajpat Singh. He later converted to Sikhism while his stay there. In 1778, Zabita Khan attempted to win back his region. However, he was not successful in his attempt. Nevertheless, *Raja* Gajpat Singh negotiated with the ruler of Delhi and hence got him back some of his area.<sup>78</sup> However, all these activities were done under the orders of Sardar Jassa

<sup>78.</sup> Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., pp.185-188.

Singh Ahluwalia. These events also show the power and respect the Sikhs had at that time.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia attacked the areas in the South of Satluj in the winters of 1768. He looted the neighbouring areas of Delhi which included Patparganj, Sabji Mandi (Vegetables Market), Paharganj, Mangolpuri etc. He also managed to conquer Mehtab Kot on his way back. After these victories, he headed his forces to Jalandhar-Doab in 1769. Khushal Singh and the son of Murshid Kapur Singh helped him in conquering Jalandhar. Later, this area was given to Khushal Singh. At this time, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also helped Raja Amar Singh of Patiala because his step brother, Himat Singh had conflicts with Raja Amar Singh and so he had taken forcefully taken the throne of Patiala. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, and some other Sikh Sardars came to help the two brothers to come to a solution. With the help of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia the two brothers negotiated. This event is an example of the intelligence of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

Although, the 8<sup>th</sup> attack of Ahmad Shah Abdali was his last one on India (Punjab) but some historians believe that he had carried out eleven attacks in order to fight the Sikhs. However, he was not successful as he would return back while on the way. Ahmad Shah Abdali attacked India for the ninth time in December 1768, however he returned back to Afghanistan from the Jelum river. He then attacked India for the tenth time in December 1769, so as to solve the economic crisis in his country by looting India. However, on seeing the increasing power of the Sikhs, he returned back in the last week of the month of January of 1770 from Peshawar and went to Kabul. He then came to attack India for the eleventh time in June, 1770. But again returned on reaching Peshwar. He then made the plans to carry out his 12<sup>th</sup> attack on India in August 1771, but at that time, he had grown old and hence died on the 14<sup>th</sup> April 1772. In this way, the Sikhs did not have to care about Abdali and then with his death, the Sikhs had complete power in Punjab. It was Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia who was responsible for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79.</sup> Sumant Dhamija, *Jassa Singh Ahluwalia* (1718-1783), op.cit., pp.283-284, 297.

attacks and victories against Ahmad Shah Abdali and the progress of the Sikhs in Punjab.

Some historians also write that Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia won the area of Raikot from the Pathans and the Rajputs in 1771.

After the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Sikh Sardars began fighting with each other. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia had carried out every mission of the Dal Khalsa together. But, the battle between the Bhangis and the Kanaihyas made these two the enemies of each other. The areas of both these two sardars had a common boundary and they also had some previous area based disputes.<sup>81</sup> However, the Bhangi and Kanaihya battle acted as a source of adding fuel to fire in this situation. So in order to restore his status amongst the Sikhs, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia began making conspiracies against Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also waited for the right opportunity to take his revenge for these conspiracies. A small fight took place between these two in 1775 in the Zahura village on the banks of river Beas. In this battle, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia got injured with a bullet shot by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. So as a result of this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia got hold of this area from Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia.<sup>82</sup>

Then Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia wanted to take his revenge from Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia for taking his land. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was hunting in the jungles near the Nangal village in 1776. The brother of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Mali Singh suddenly attacked on Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia got injured during this attack. Mali Singh then arrested him and took him to Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia at Hargobindpur. 83

However, some historians believe that in 1776, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia went to take a bathe in Achal Sahib which is about two miles from Batala. On seeing this opportunity, the brothers of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Mali Singh, Tara Singh and Khushal Singh attacked on Sardar

Prithipal Singh Kapoor, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia (1723-1803), op.cit., p.73.

Gurnam Singh Rai, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, op.cit., pp.84-85.

Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and injured him. They then took him to Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia in Hargobindpur.

Although, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia welcomed Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia with due respect and sent him to his city Fatehabad but this event further deteriorated the relations between the two. To take his revenge, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with Jai Singh Kanaihya, Hakikat Singh Kanaihya, Gurbakhsh Singh Kanaihya, Raja Sansar Chand Katoch and Mahan Singh Sukarchakia attacked on Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia in 1776. So, a fierce battle took place in Hargobindpur, Batala and Kalanaur. 84 After this battle, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia escaped to Hisar.

J.S. Grewal wrote that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Sikh Sardars began fighting with one another for political reasons. They also formed alliances with non-Sikhs to fight one another. They were also independent from each other in ruling their respective areas.<sup>85</sup>

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia once again helped *Raja* Amar Singh of Patiala in 1779. This was when Abdul Aahad Khan Kashmiri who acted as an advisor to the Mughal *Badshah* (*emperor*) Shah Alam-II attacked on *Raja* Amar Singh to take the revenge for the death of his brother Abdul Qasim Khan. The brother of Abdul Aahad Khan, Mir Bakhshi Zabita Khan was killed by the Sikhs in a battle. Abdul Aahad Khan was a clever and opportunist person. He began causing a rift between the Sikhs to take the revenge of his brother's death.

Sardar Baghel Singh Karorsinghia and the other Sikh Sardars joined hands with him because they wanted to take their revenge from Abdul Aahad Khan. Together they attacked on Malwa. On the other side, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars knew of these events. In 1779, these Sikh Sardars went to help *Raja* Amar Singh. Even the Sikh Sardars who were with Abdul Aahad Khan changed sides and rejoined with their other Sikh Sardars. So, these Mughals had to face defeat and so they retreated back to Delhi.

<sup>84.</sup> Sohan Singh Seetal, Rise of the Sikh Power and Ranjit Singh, Dhanpat Rai and Sons, Jullundar, 1971, p.425.

<sup>85.</sup> J. S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.94.

Although, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had won many battles throughout his life but the victory in Kapurthala is considered to be one of the most important one. Some historians believe that he had conquered Kapurthala in 1780. While others believe that he had done so in 1777. According to Jassa Singh Binod, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had won Kapurthala and its neighboring area in 1759. However, the Muslim hakam of Kapurthala, Bhatti Rajput Rai Ibrahim had negotiated to give Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia najrana and mamla (tax) in exchange of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia letting him keep his position. When Rai Ibrahim did not send the najrana and mamla (tax) on time, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia attacked Kapurthala again in 1773, so as to bring it directly under his rule. After this, Rai Ibrahim was left to keep the area of Kapurthala and twenty seven villages and his position was no greater than that of a Zamindar. The other areas were controlled from Fatehabad. However, he did not send the mamla (tax) again on time. So, in the end Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia again attacked on Kapurthala in 1780. This time, the twenty seven villages on the outskirts of Kapurthala were also brought under the rule of Fatehabad. However, Rai Ibrahim was given pension to survive. 86 Later, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia gave this region to his cousin or nephew, Bhag Singh who later became the vice Commander of this Misal. So, this area was later ruled by him. Kapurthala later also became the riyasat (heritage) of the Ahluwalia Misal.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia continued his works even towards the end of his life. He inducted Sodhi Gulab Singh of Kartarpur into the *Khalsa Panth* after baptising him. Before this, Sodhi Wadhbagh Singh, the *Gaddi Nashin* of Kartarpur, was also made a part of the Khalsa after being baptised. Sodhi Gulab Singh also realised that he could not part from the Khalsa. So in this way, he talked to Sardar Bhag Singh who later talked to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sardars went to Kartarpur and baptised Sodhi Gulab Singh. Other than them, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had also baptised Baba Ala Singh of Patiala and *Raja* Amar Singh. Later, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also baptised the son of *Raja* Amar Singh, *Maharaja* Sahib Singh before his marriage and hence made him

<sup>86.</sup> B.R. Grover, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., pp.160-161.

a part of the *Khalsa Panth*. This was considered to be a religious victory for Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.<sup>87</sup>

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia spent his last four to five years of life in the service of Shri Darbar Sahib (Amritsar). Although, even before he used to take care of the Shri Darbar Sahib but then he had forfeited all the other things and had completely dedicated himself in the service of Shri Darbar Sahib, establishment of *Bungas*, improvement of the city etc. He only went out to help someone in the most extreme cases. Although, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had stopped going on missions, but he still helped the Sikhs during the attacks from Delhi in 1783. Taking advantage of the weakened Delhi *darbar* he along with the other Sikh sardars attacked on Delhi. The Sikhs had set up a camp in Barari and went on to loot the rich of Malakganj and *Sabji Mandi* (Vegetables Market). The Sikhs also burnt their houses down. After this, the Sikhs went to Mughalpura. 89

By the evening time, they had managed to surround the Red Fort of Delhi. On the 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1783 they destroyed the wall of the fort with their cannons. After which, they entered the fort and they raised the flag of the *Khalsa* (*Nishan Sahib*) on the fort.

After the victory in Delhi, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia began his journey back to Amritsar to celebrate the festival of Diwali. He stopped at the Bandala village where he left after eating a water melon. He felt stomach ache on his way back. So, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia died while he was on his way back to Amritsar on 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1783 that was five days before Diwali. He was later cremated in Amritsar. His memorial is still present in the *Baba Atal Gurudwara*. In order to keep the memory of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia alive, a stamp was made in his name.<sup>90</sup>

So, the achievements of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as the leader of the *Dal Khalsa* and as a Jathedar of the *Khalsa Panth* are considered to be of immense importance. His achievements were remarkable. He had united the

<sup>87.</sup> Surjeet Singh Gandhi, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., pp.130-132.

<sup>88.</sup> Ganda Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, op.cit., p. 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89.</sup> Delhi Chronicle 8<sup>th</sup> March, 1783, (Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Translated from Persian into English).

Swarandeep Singh Noor, Sultan-Ul-Quom-Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (Article), op.cit., p.4.

Sikhs. He was successful in defeating the Mughals and keeping the Afghans away. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also conquered a lot of places.

Other than this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was also religious leader in his time. He not only provided his service to Shri darbar Sahib (Harimandar Sahib) but also provided financial assistance to *thakur diwars*, mosques and *khangaha*. Amongst those who asked for political advice from Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia were *sheks*, *Sayeds*, *brahmans*, *fakirs* and *beragis*. 91

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was a very brave warrior and religious leader. His legacy will live forever because of his achievements. This was due to the efforts of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia that this *Misal* developed.

F. Yeats Brown presents the Sikh community as a brave one. He says:

"These are very unique people,

These Sikhs ......These people

Who have made history and will again make it"

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Foreign Political Consulations, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1858, No.-1053.

#### **CHAPTER - III**

## THE ROLE OF SUCCESSORS OF SARDAR JASSA SINGH AHLUWALIA (1783-1948) AND DOWNFALL OF THE MISAL

The Ahluwalia Misal got a lot progressed during the era (time) of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. After the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 1783, the command of the Ahluwalia Misal had become the responsibility of the leaders of Kapurthala. There were six Sikh leaders who controlled this Misal from 1783 to 1948. The name of these six leaders are as mention following:

- i. Sardar Bhag Singh (1783-1801)
- ii. Sardar Fateh Singh (1801-1837)
- iii. Raja Nihal Singh (1837-1852)
- iv. Raja Randhir Singh (1852-1870)
- v. Raja Kharak Singh (1870-1877)
- vi. Maharaja Jagatjit Singh (1877-1948)

All the activities both positive and negative that these leaders had done for the Sikh community and the heritage of Kapurthala will be discussed separately in detail below:

#### i. Sardar Bhag Singh (1783-1801):

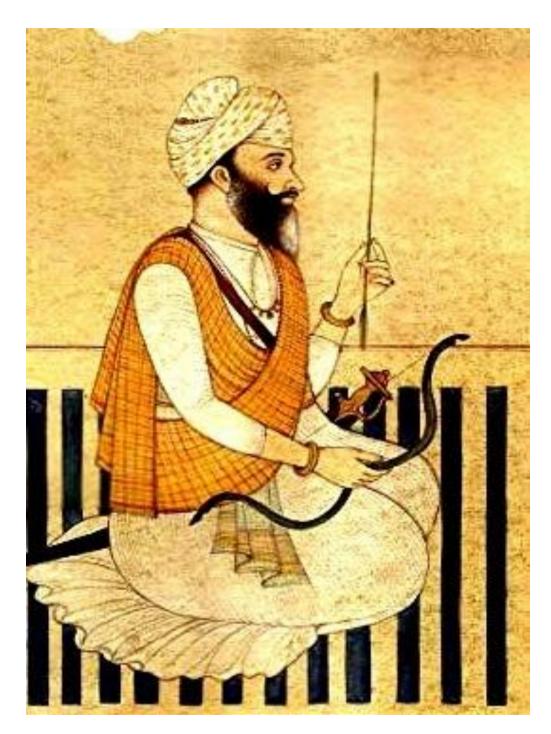
Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia did not have a son. He had two daugthers. After his death in 1783, Sardar Bhag Singh (previously the Vice Commander) who was the cousin of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia became the leader of this *Misal*. He was the son of Bhai Ladha Singh. However, some historians believe that Sardar Bhag Singh was the nephew of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

One of the daughters of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was married to Mohan Singh of Fatehabad and the other was married to Amar Singh of Tung.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1.</sup> Jodh Singh, *Sikh Dharam Vishav Kosh*, *Duji Senchi (H-Chh)*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2013, p.115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Thakur Deshraj, Sikh - Itihas, Gramosthan Vidyapith, Sangriya, 2000, p.295.

### <u>Illustration - i</u>



SARDAR BHAG SINGH AHLUWALIA (1783-1801)

Source: https://www.sikhiwiki.org.google.com

The wife of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia Raj Kaur had advised him while, he was still alive to appoint either of the son in laws or her brother as his successor. However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia did not agree to this because none of them had the qualities of being the leader of this *Misal*. So due to this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia gave the responsibilities of commanding the *Misal* and the heritage of Kapurthala to his cousin or nephew Sardar Bhag Singh. This was because Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia considered Sardar Bhag Singh to be a able person and was capable stepping into the shoes of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Sardar Jassa Singh also felt that he was able to fulfil all the responsibilities.

Towards the end of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia's life, his close relatives Diwan Burha Mal and Bhag Singh were the ones who managed most of the administrative actions. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia however, believed that Diwan Burha Mal was not an honest person as he had cheated in the grants on multiple occasions. However, at that time Diwan Burha Mal was an important person so Bhag Singh could not do anything against him.<sup>3</sup>

After the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 1783, both his son in laws considered themselves to be rightful as the heirs of his empire. When all the Sikhs gathered together during the cremation of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in Kapurthala, it was decided that the elder son in law of Sardar Jassa Singh, Mohan Singh should be his successor. But, due to the interference of Jai Singh Kanaihya who was a friend of Bhag Singh, this matter was settled in favour of Bhag Singh. So, Bhag Singh sat on the throne of Kapurthala. There is no knowledge about the birth of Bhag Singh. The age of Bhag Singh upon sitting on the throne was 38 years. At this time, Bhag Singh had to face a lot of resistance from Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia's son in laws. On the other hand, the Diwan Burha Mal was not in favour of the views of Bhag Singh. However, Bhag Singh did not want to start his rule with a controversial decision.

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<sup>3.</sup> Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2009, p.72.

Sumant Dhamija, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1718 - 1783), Esha Beteille, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2012, p.334.

Kahan Singh Nabha, Encyclopeadia of Sikh Literature-Mahan Kosh, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2011, p. 296.

Bhag Singh appointed Diwan Burha Mal and Sher-Karim-Din for his administrative works. He himself came out of Kapurthala and travelled throughout Doaba. He got najranas from the Jagirdars of Phagwara and Nurmahal.<sup>6</sup> Bhag Singh started his first mission with the help of Jai Singh Kanaihya (founder of Kanaihya Misal). This mission was against the leaders (mukhia) of Nakka which was an area between Lahore and Gogera, Wazir Singh and Bhagwan Singh. A year later, Bhag Singh returned the favour by helping him. This was when Mahan Singh Sukarchakia, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and the Raja (King) of the Kangra, Sansar Chand came to attack on Jai Singh Kanaihya. So, Bhag Singh sent a part of his army to help Jai Singh Kanaihya and also because of the fact that Jassa Singh Ramgarhia was an enemy for their family. However, the help sent by Bhag Singh proved useless as Jai Singh Kanaihya lost in the battle which took place near Batala. Bhag Singh removed Gurbakhsh Singh from his position upon the advice of the people of Salan in 1784. Then Bhag Singh also managed to win back the area of Sharakpur from the Nikkai Sardars. He also attacked on Kasur with the help of some other Sikh Sardars. He emerged victorious in this venture. It was during this mission that Bhag Singh got the news of his son's birth. So, he named him Fateh Singh because of his victory (fateh) in Kasur.8

Immediately after this, Bhag Singh befriended the *Raja* of Kangra, Sansar Chand. The sons of these two Fateh Singh and Anrodh Chand exchanged turbans in the Fort of Kangra as a symbol of brotherhood. Other than this, two *Raja* Sansar Chand and Bhag Singh also exchanged turbans.

It is also said that Bhag Singh considered the defeat of Jai Singh Kanaihya in Batala against Jassa Singh Ramgarhia as his own defeat. This had hurt the respect and power of Bhag Singh. So in order to regain his respect, he fought with Jassa Singh Ramgarhia in the Sikaar Ramgarh village near Phagwara. Bhag Singh emerged victorious in this battle. Even after this battle, some small battles continued between these two till 1787.

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<sup>7.</sup> Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, Part-1, April, 1935, p.65.

<sup>6.</sup> Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Central Press Limited, Calcutta, 1891, p.317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh-Guru- Khalsa-II*, Language Department, Punjab, 1987, p.735. see also Sir Lepel Griffin, The *Rajas of the Punjab*, Punjab Printing Press, Lahore, 1870, p.473.

Prithipal Singh Kapoor, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia (1723-1803), Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2010, p.93.

Bhag Singh removed Diwan Burha Mal from his position in 1787 because of his damaged image. Diwan Burha Mal was also criticized for drinking hukah in the darbar. However a part from this, Diwan Burha Mal captured Begowal and he became a contender against the other rulers. Due to this, he was arrested but was released later on. However, there was no improvement in the behaviour of Diwan Burha Mal. He again rioted in 1789 and hence captured Chakoki. Gaining confidence from Diwan Burha Mal's actions, Diwan Sher-Karim-Din also rioted and captured Sultanpur. On the basis of all these actions Diwan Burha Mal was arrested from Chakoki and was later sentence to be executed by hanging. However, he was pardoned after the interference of Sayad Chirag Shah of Sultanpur. After this, some army personnel were also sent against Diwan Sher-Karim-Din. However, he somehow managed to escape from Sultanpur. But, he was later attacked on and killed by some robbers (dakus) near the Mianwind. 10

Bhag Singh appointed Diwan Singh as the *diwan* in place of Burha Mal. He also changed some administrative rules. Hamir Singh was appointed the *prabandhak* of Sultanpur. Later, Bhag Singh then collided with Gulab Singh Bhangi who at that time was the Commander of Amritsar and its neighboring areas. His people had also killed an Ahluwalia agent in Jhubal. Due to this, Bhag Singh conquered the areas of Jandiala and Tarn Tarn. However without managing this area, Bhag Singh went back to Kapurthala satisfied with his victories. This event took place in 1793. 12

Bhag Singh also helped the *Bedis*. The *Bedis* were chased away from their area, Chamkaur by Hari Singh Dallewalia. So, Bhag Singh travelled across the Beas river and helped the *Bedis* regain their land. Other than this, Bhag Singh also helped Budh Singh Singhapuria. Budh Singh had took control of the fort of Kholar which belonged to Ram Singh Hindoria. The *Raja* of Kangra, Sansar Chand helped Ram Singh by attacking on Budh Singh. So, Bhag Singh immediately went to help Budh Singh. After the battle, the two sides came to a negotiation.

<sup>10.</sup> Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, op.cit., p.73.

Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh-Guru-Khalsa-II*, op.cit., p.735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12.</sup> Sir Lepel Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab*, op.cit., p.473.

Bhag Singh also helped Rani Sada Kaur (Mother-in-law of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) in her attack on the fort of Miani, district in Jalandhar against Jassa Singh Ramgarhia in 1796. They kept the fort surrounded for some months. A sudden flood in the Beas river caused the conclusion of this matter. At this time, both the forces parted. On their way back, they had incurred a lot of loss of their equipments.<sup>13</sup>

Bhag Singh went to *Shri Akal Takht Sahib* in Amritsar in 1801 along with his son Fateh Singh for the naming ceremony (*naamkarn*) of his son from Sadhu Singh Akal Bungia. After this, Bhag Singh travelled the areas across Satluj with his son, Fateh Singh. During this journey, he took the *najranas* from the rulers of areas like Raikot. After this, Bhag Singh and his son Fateh Singh crossed the Satluj river. They headed towards the South of Satluj to the areas of Sahor, Khanpur, Hasanpur, Majheli, Alipur, Roorki, Sarharli, Khojapuri etc. He conquered and looted these areas. <sup>14</sup>

Jassa Singh Ramgarhia attacked on Bhag Singh in 1801 with the help of the *Raja* of Kangra, Sansar Chand. So, Bhag Singh sent Hamir Singh to engage with them. In this battle, Hamir Singh got severely injured and ended up losing. When Bhag Singh got this news, he headed towards Phagwara with his army to help Hamir Singh. <sup>15</sup> During this battle, Bhag Singh got an injury in his foot which kept on getting worse. So due to this, he went back to Kapurthala where he later died on the 10<sup>th</sup> July, 1801.

Bhag Singh was a kind person. He had started the *jagirdari* system during his era. During this time, the *jagirs* were classified in to various types for example the *Sewa Jagir*, *Inam Jagir*, *Gujara Jagir*, *Misaldari Jagir* etc.

These *jagir* applied to the poorest of poor to the richest of rich. Not all the *jagirs* were inherited. However, the *Jagirdars* had independence on matters regarding their *jagirs* and internal matters. So, they were free to use their power. These *jagirdars* were loyal to Bhag Singh and also supported him in his battles. <sup>16</sup>

11 Trakur Desnraj, Sikh-Itinas, op. cit., p. 296.

Gurnam Singh Rai, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2012,

<sup>13.</sup> Prithipal Singh Kapoor, Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia (1723-1803), op.cit., pp.97-98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14.</sup> Thakur Deshraj, *Sikh-Itihas*, op.cit., p. 296.

pp.122-123.

Punjab History Conference, 44<sup>th</sup> Session, 9-11 February, 2012, Punjabi University, Patiala, pp. 626, 631.

Bhag Singh was a very religious and charitable person. He used to pray. He had donated a lot to the *Brahmans*. Bhag Singh had also ordered for the excavation of a *devi* tank in Kapurthala. He had also helped in the repair of the wall of *devi*. He provided clothes to the preachers (*pujarias*). He had given a warm welcome to all the *Sadhus* that came to Kapurthala. He had spent his early days taking care of the *fakirs*. At this time, he had developed sympathy for the poor. So, he donated a lot to the poor. <sup>17</sup> Bhag Singh had an interest in the architecture of *Bhavans*. He had ordered for the construction of many buildings. He ordered for the construction of the third floor of the *Akal Bunga* in Amritsar which was later plated with gold. Other than this, various forts were constructed under him which had very beautiful and unique designs. Bhag Singh also had an interest for gardening. So, he also ordered for planting various gardens that had various designs. <sup>18</sup>

However, Bhag Singh sometimes acted as an obstruction for proper governance. According to Sir Lepel Griffin, Bhag Singh was a person of limited powers who had never shown off of his political power and wealth due to which some *misaldars* and *zamindars* got out of his control. Some regions such as Begowal and Miani got out of his hands. So, the taxes of some places like that of Jagraon went to the local *zamindars* and *officials*.

Bhag Singh had a severe rivalry with Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. He had lost from Jassa Singh Ramgarhia many times and had also came up victorious on various occasions. He had also tried to befriend the *Raja* of Kangra Sansar Chand. But, these two had mostly been on opposite sides in the battle field. The important battles of this area were that of Nagoke, Miani, Begowal and Garhdiwal etc. The help that Bhag Singh got from Kanaihya and Sukarchakia and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia had helped to form a political pattern in this area of Punjab. <sup>19</sup> This political pattern depicted the internal conflicts within the Sikhs.

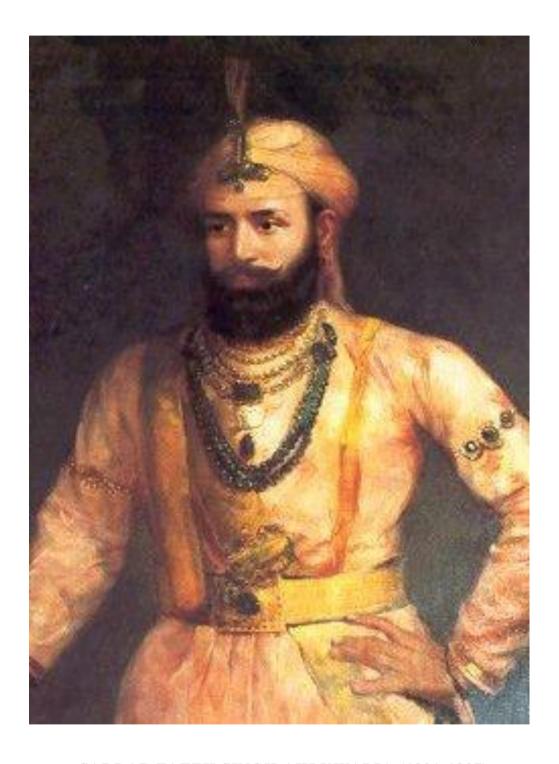
Nevertheless, Bhag Singh during his era was a great leader because on the one hand, he had managed to maintain the status of the Sikh society and on the other hand, his own *Misal* and heritage progressed during this time.

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid., p.4.

<sup>17.</sup> Bhagat Singh, *History of the Sikh Misals*, op.cit., pp. 75 - 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18.</sup> Joginder Kaur, Ram Sukh Rao's Sri Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar, Patiala, 1980, p. 68.

## <u>Illustration - ii</u>



SARDAR FATEH SINGH AHLUWALIA (1801-1837)

Source: https://www.sikhiwiki.org.google.com

#### ii. Sardar Fateh Singh (1801-1837):

Sardar Bhag Singh had one son, Fateh Singh. After Bhag Singh's death in 1801, his only son, Sardar Fateh Singh became his successor to his throne in Kapurthala and hence the leader of the *Ahluwalia Misal*. Fateh Singh was born in 1784.<sup>20</sup> At the time of his father's death, he was seventeen years old.

Fatch Singh had the ability to undertake the responsibilities as a leader because he had participated in various missions with his father during his rule. He had also travelled with his father to collect *najranas* from the rules of various provinces. Fatch Singh also took care of the people who were responsible for causing chaos and destruction in his areas along the Beas river.<sup>21</sup>

At the time, when Fateh Singh sat on the throne in Kapurthala, the *Jagirdars* of Sathiala and Botala revolted on the influence of the Ramgarhia Sardars. However, Fateh Singh did not sit quietly, he took his army and reached there. He fought with the Ramgarhia Sardar and removed him from that area. He captured the area and imposed a fine on the *zamindars*. <sup>22</sup>

During the early days of his rule, Fateh Singh that Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the *Sukarchakia Misal* had won Lahore and hence had established the Sikh rule. So, on this Fateh Singh thought that:

"je Sikh raj de iss nave janame podhe di dil jan nal palna kiti jave tah ajeha raj ik vishal raj vich vadh sakda he"

meaning that if properly managed, the newly established Sikh rule could expand to a much larger dynasty which would be the pride of the Sikh community. However, this would require a lot of sacrifices dedication. Fateh Singh had both these qualities. So, Fateh Singh went to visit Ranjit Singh in Lahore immediately. He offered for his services for the formation of a strong Sikh rule. Ranjit Singh was influenced by Fateh Singh's confidence and enthusiasm for the progress of the Sikh community. So in this way, these two became friends.<sup>23</sup>

Gian Singh Giani, Twarikh-Guru-Khalsa-II, op.cit., pp. 736 - 737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20.</sup> G. S. Chhabra, *The Advanced History of the Panjab*, *Volume-II*, Ram Prakash Tandon, Ludhiana, 1962, p. 190.

Thakur Deshraj, *Sikh - Itihas*, op.cit., pp. 383-384.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23.</sup> Kuldeep Singh Dhir, *Sikh Raj De Vir Naik*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1984, pp. 128-129.

After the victory of Bhasin in 1800, Ranjit Singh became established as the leader of Punjab. His respect amongst the people increased and properly administered the areas that he had won. He had appointed close friends and advisors for this purpose. Amongst these people, Fateh Singh was appointed as the advisor on military matters.<sup>24</sup>

Ranjit Singh wanted to cement his friendship with Fateh Singh. This was why, Ranjit Singh came to Fatehabad in 1802 after adding the areas of Gujrat, Akalgarh into his empire. On reaching there, he called Fateh Singh to come and meet him. So in this way, both these Sardars met in Fatehabad. In this meeting, Ranjit Singh gave Fateh Singh two horses and some expensive clothes as gifts. In the same way, Fateh Singh also gave Ranjit Singh some horses and expensive clothes. Both promised to be friends in the presence of Guru Granth Sahib. An agreement was also signed that had the following clauses:

- The friends of one would be the friends of the other and in the same way the enemy of the first would be the same for the other.
- Whenever Ranjit Singh would come to the area of Fateh Singh, Ranjit Singh would not have to expend on *najrana*.
- Fateh Singh would get a worthy share of the area that he would win for Ranjit Singh. 25

Both these Sardars also exchanged turbans in this meeting as a symbol of brotherhood. They also swore to stay together.

So in this way, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had not only removed a huge obstacle from his way but had also managed to find a way to use the army of the *Ahluwalia Misal* for his purposes.<sup>26</sup>

About this friendship, Patwant Singh writes that:

"Sukarchakia atte Ahluwalia di mitarta upar adharit har bandan ik ajehi pohri banya jis rahi Ranjit Singh ne rajsi sarab uchta te shresthata vi prapat kiti"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24.</sup> Khushwant Singh, *Sikh Itihas-1 (1469-1839)*, (Translated-Gurcharan Singh Aulakh), Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2006, p.192.

Sukhdial Singh, Panj Dariavan Da Sher-Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sangam Publications, Patiala, 2015, p. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26.</sup> Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi, 1953, p. 56.

means that each step of this friendship between the Sukarchakia and the Ahluwalias helped Ranjit Singh in attaining new political heights.

This friendship was also beneficial for Fateh Singh, as he got an opportunity to increase his rule.

Ranjit Singh won the area of Phagwara from Churmal in 1802 which he later gave to Fateh Singh, as a token of their friendship. <sup>27</sup> So in this way, the power and respect of Fateh Singh also increased.

Fateh Singh attacked on the son in law of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Mohan Singh and some other *misaldars* such as Thakur Singh, Brar Singh and some others who had gained power during the reign of Bhag Singh and so had become independent. So after attacking in their areas, Fateh Singh removed them from their positions.<sup>28</sup>

It is also said that the *zamindars* of Cheema and Sarhali had also revolted due to the influence of the Ramgarhia Sardars. On hearing this news, Fateh Singh went there and suppressed these *zamindars*. It was during this time that Fateh Singh went to went the battle on Jamke when he was called up by Ranjit Singh. These two the battle of Jamke and later also in Nashera.<sup>29</sup>

Fateh Singh also helped Ranjit Singh in Chiniot. At this time, Fateh Singh had managed to conquer the village Bhattiya and the areas of the Dhanis across the river Jhelum.<sup>30</sup> These areas were later given to him as a gift by Ranjit Singh.<sup>31</sup>

Other than this, Fateh Singh was with Ranjit Singh during his attack on Kasur. At that time, the *hakam* of Kasur was Nijam-Ud-Din. He had previously accepted to be under the rule of Ranjit Singh but he had revolted during Ranjit Singh's attack on Chiniot. So due to this, both the forces of Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh attacked on Kasur. In the end, Nijam-Ud-Din again accepted to work under Ranjit Singh. He also accepted to pay the

<sup>29.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh-Guru-Khalsa-II*, op.cit., p.737.

Kirpal Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh-Jiwan ate Ghalana*, Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, 2013, p. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28.</sup> Bhagat Singh, A History of the Sikh Misals, op.cit., p.76.

Narinder Krishan Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, (Translated-Surjit Kaur), Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2002, p.8.

Piara Singh Data, Sikh Itihas De Khooni Patre, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2000, p.126.

yearly taxes. He also promised to stay faithful.<sup>32</sup> This attack is believed to have taken place in 1802.

Ranjit Singh together with Fateh Singh attacked on Jhang in 1803 because the *hakam*, Ahmad Khan of that area had refused to work under Ranjit Singh. Ahmad Khan fought for some time but later accepted his defeat.<sup>33</sup>

At this time, Fateh Singh took care of his area, Doaba. He conquered Panjlasa and Naraingarh where he established his centre. Later, the ruler of Kangra, Sansar Chand partnered with Jodh Singh Ramgarhia to carry out an attack near Bajwara. So, Fateh Singh reached there and hence defeated them.<sup>34</sup>

Fateh Singh helped Ranjit Singh in conquering the Amritsar. Later this, Amritsar was under the control of the widow of Gulab Singh Bhangi, Mai Sukhan and his young son, Gurdit Singh. Ranjit Singh did not want a holy city such as Amritsar which is considered to be the religious centre of the Sikhs to be in the hands of another Sikh Sardar. Due to this, Ranjit Singh asked Mai Sukhan to give him the *Jamjama Topp* which is also known as *Bhangia di topp*. However, Mai Sukhan did not accept this request of Ranjit Singh. Due to Ranjit Singh attacked on Amritsar with the help of Fateh Singh. He emerged victorious and so got hold of Amritsar. However, Ranjit Singh gave Mai Sukhan and his son some *jagir* for their survival. So in this way, Ranjit Singh also got hold of the *jamjama topp* of the Bhangi sardars. This attack took place in 1805.

In 1805, the *hakam* of Indore, Maratha Jaswant Rai Holkar faced defeat from the hands of the British. After this defeat, he came to visit Ranjit Singh. He asked for help from Ranjit Singh against the British. This was a delicate matter for Ranjit Singh because, on one hand he considered it important to respect the person who had come to meet him and on the other hand, Ranjit Singh did not want to collide with a strong force like that of the British. So, Ranjit Singh asked for Fateh Singh's advice regarding this dilemma. Fateh Singh advised Ranjit Singh to help Holkar to come to a

Mahinder Kaur Gill, Sura So Pehchaniye, Silalekh, Delhi, 2012, p.265.

<sup>32.</sup> Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2016, p.21.

<sup>33.</sup> Kirpal Singh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh – Jiwan ate Ghalana, op.cit., p.37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh-Guru-Khalsa -II*, op.cit., p.737.

negotiation with the British. Ranjit Singh gave this job (work) to Fateh Singh. So, Fateh Singh negotiated with the British on behalf of Holkar and so managed to get Holkar back his areas.<sup>36</sup> This was a good example of the political understanding of Fateh Singh.

Fateh Singh also accompanied Ranjit Singh in his journey across the Satluj river in the Malwa region in 1806. During this time, Ranjit Singh gave Fateh Singh the area of Jagraon that he had previously won.<sup>37</sup>

In 1807, Fatch Singh again helped Ranjit Singh in the battle of Jhang. After this battle, they both went on to attack the areas of Siyalkot (Sialkot), Akhnur, and Shekhupura.<sup>38</sup> It is also said that Fatch Singh helped Ranjit Singh for the second time in his mission across the Satluj river in 1807.

Later, Fatch Singh asked for Ranjit Singh to help him get back his area of Naraingarh form the *thakur* of Nahan, Kishan Singh because *thakur* Kishan Singh was exploiting and causing problems for the people of that area. So, Ranjit Singh attacked on this area with his army. In the end, Kishan Singh escaped, saving his life. Hence, they won back that area. Ranjit Singh then gave this area to Fatch Singh as a *jagir*. <sup>39</sup>

During the same year, Fateh Singh accompanied Ranjit Singh in Kasur. The *hakam* of Kasur at that time was Qutb-Din-Khan who was not accepting to work under Ranjit Singh and instead was conspiring against him. So, Ranjit Singh sent a huge army in the command of Fateh Singh against Qutb-Din-Khan. It did not take long before Qutb-Din-Khan accepted his defeat. So, they ordered Qutb-Din-Khan to leave that fort. Ranjit Singh told him to go to the fort in Mamdot across Satluj and spent the rest of his life there. So in this way, Kasur was added to the Lahore rule. Ranjit Singh also gave *jagirs* of Kasur to the personnel who had shown bravery in that battle. 40

<sup>37.</sup> Sukhdial Singh, *Panj Dariavan Da Sher-Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, op.cit., p.122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36.</sup> Kuldeep Singh Dhir, Sikh Raj De Veer Naik, op.cit., p.130.

Fakir Syad Wahi-Ud-Din, *Ranjit Singh: Asali roop*, (Translated-Tanjeet Singh and Foja Singh), Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1984, p.102

Baba Prem Singh Hoti, *Shere Punjab-Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1959, p.66.

Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-Ut-Twarikh-II*, (Translated-Amarwant Singh), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985, pp.74-75.

In this way, Fateh Singh was a part of every mission of Ranjit Singh and helped him increase his dynasty.

Mr. Metcalfe, a British officer came to visit Ranjit Singh in the village Khemkarn that was near Kasur in 1809. So, Ranjit Singh sent Fateh Singh and Diwan Mohkam Chand along two thousand personnel to welcome Metcalfe. <sup>41</sup> They escorted Metcalfe to his camp. After this, Ranjit Singh had a meeting with Metcalfe. So, an agreement was passed between the British and the Sikh in the presence of Fateh Singh on the 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1809 which is known as the "Amritsar di sandhi" (Treaty of Amritsar). So with this agreement, Fateh Singh played an important role in establishing the powerful Sikh rule.

Ranjit Singh also sent Fateh Singh for the mission in Kangra in 1809. That was when the *Gurkhas* under the command of Amar Singh Thapa had attacked on Kangra. They had surrounded *Raja* Sansar Chand in his own fort. After losing all hope *Raja* Sansar Chand sent his brother to Ranjit Singh for help. So in this way, Fateh Singh attacked on Kangra. On this attack, the Gurkhas deserted the battle field and Fateh Singh emerged victorious. 42

Ranjit Singh attacked on Multan in 1810. At that time, he had handed over the responsibilities of Lahore and Amritsar to Fateh Singh. In 1811, Fateh Singh accompanied Ranjit Singh to meet the *Badshah (emperor)* of Afghanistan Shah Mahmud (1800-1803).<sup>43</sup>

After this, Ranjit Singh decided to attack on the *hakam* of Jalandhar-Doab, Budh Singh because he wasn't following his orders. So, Ranjit Singh ordered Diwan Mohkam Chand and Fateh Singh to attack on Jalandhar and dethrone Budh Singh. The two forces then together attacked on the area of Budh Singh, Jalandhar. Budh Singh escaped to the area of the British across the Satluj river. With this, the whole Jalandhar-Doab came under the control of the Lahore *darbar*. 44

Fateh Singh also helped Ranjit Singh in the battle in Hazro in 1813 in which the *Wazir* of Afghanistan, Fateh Khan had to face defeat. Then Fateh Singh also went on to attack the areas of Bhimbar, Rajauri, Bahawalpur.

42. Kuldeep Singh Dhir, Sikh Raj De Veer Naik, op.cit., p.131.

<sup>43.</sup> Fakir Syad Wahi-Ud-Din, *Ranjit Singh: Asali roop*, op.cit., p.103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41.</sup> Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, op.cit., p. 88.

Sukhdial Singh, *Panj Dariavan Da Sher -Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, op.cit., p.182.

After the death of Jodh Singh Ramgarhia in 1816, the command of the *Ramgarhia Misal* came in the hands of Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh handed over the areas of the Ramgarhias i.e. Tanda and Vahiyapur to Fateh Singh. <sup>45</sup>

Fateh Singh also participated in the attack on Multan in 1818. After the victory in Multan, Ranjit Singh managed the administration of Multan and the forts in its neighby areas. Ranjit Singh also handed over the responsibility of *talamba* to Fateh Singh. 46

In 1819, when Ranjit Singh went to Kashmir, he again handed over the responsibility of the administration of Lahore to Fateh Singh. On the other side, Fateh Singh also performed this responsibility in an honest manner. He sent help to the forces that had gone to Kashmir on a timely basis. When Ranjit Singh came back from this mission, he applauded Fateh Singh in front of the:-

"mere veer tere hundya menu piche di chinta nhi hundi" 47

Other than this, Fatch Singh helped the Lahore *darbar* in demolishing the fort of Mankera in 1821. Once again in 1823, Ranjit Singh handed over the responsibility of Lahore to Fatch Singh when he went to Khushab.

Other than these responsibilities, Fateh Singh had to solve some administrative problems too. There were about a hundred villages in Bhidock or Bhirog. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had given this area to his friend Mirza Singh during his period, whose son had died while fighting for Jawahar Singh Ahluwalia. The British Government tried to impose their orders on Mahan Singh (son of Jawahar Singh) 1810 and 1814. On this, Mahan Singh announced himself as the *Vassal* of Fateh Singh. Due to this behaviour of Mahan Singh, Colonel Sir David Ochterlony called Fateh Singh to take control over his area in 1817. Immediately, Fateh Singh captured the whole area. Colonel Sir David Ochterlony gave this area to Fateh Singh as Mahan Singh was thirteen years. He also told Fateh Singh to develop this area. Nevertheless, Fateh Singh obeyed the orders of Colonel Sir David Ochterlony unwillingly. Later in 1825, upon maturing, Mahan Singh revolted the dominance of Fateh Singh. He also did not care of the orders of the

Kuldeep Singh Dhir, Sikh Raj De Veer Naik, op.cit., p.132.

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<sup>45.</sup> Bhagat Singh, A History of the Sikh Misals, op.cit., p. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46.</sup> Kirpal Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh-Jiwan ate Ghalana*, op.cit., pp. 66, 69.

British agent. So, the British decided to conquer some or all of his areas if he continued to disobey there orders. However, Mahan Singh still did not follow the orders of Fateh Singh. The British Government gave Fateh Singh the authority to use any action to bring Mahan Singh in line with him. However, the British Government had not given the permission to the armies of Kapurthala and Lahore to cross the Satluj. 48

Other than this, another issue also rose that being of Kotla. The small fort of Kotla was present in the centre of Fateh Singh's areas neighbouring Satluj. The Pathan family had control of this fort. The owner of this fort was Nihang Khan, the oldest in the family. However, Fateh Singh was determined to establish his rule there. Due to this, he forced took over the fort of Kotla in the summers of 1822. He kept his rule over this fort even after the continuous opposition of the British officer of Ambala. On the other hand, the younger brother of Nihang Khan was Balwant Khan. However, these two brothers did not get along. Balwant Khan had friendly relations with Fateh Singh. So, Balwant Khan encouraged Fateh Singh to continue ruling the fort of Kotla. In the end, the British Government sent a warning to Fateh Singh for interfering in the matters of Kotla. In this way, Nihang Khan regained control of the area of Kotla. In addition, the British Government also gave the share of Balwant Khan to Nihang Khan. <sup>49</sup>

After resolving his internal matters, Fateh Singh helped Ranjit Singh in his third mission in Peshawar in 1823 in the battle of Nashera or Tibi-Tehri. The Sikh forces emerged victorious in this battle.<sup>50</sup>

It is also said that Fateh Singh's Wazir, Qadir Bakhsh had gained a lot of power till then. Qadir Bakhsh seldom visited Ranjit Singh as the rajdut (envoy) of Fateh Singh. He sent Ranjit Singh a false message to the Lahore darbar saying that Fateh Singh was conspiring to revolt against the Lahore darbar. So on getting this news, Ranjit Singh sent two battalions of his army to Jalandhar-Doab. On the other side, Qadir Bakhsh incited Fateh Singh by

Sir Lepel Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab*, op.cit., pp.485-486. see also Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh - Guru- Khalsa -II*, op.cit., p.742.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48.</sup> Sir Lepel Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab*, op.cit., pp.482-485. see also Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh-Guru -Khalsa-II*, op.cit., pp.739 -741.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50.</sup> Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, op.cit., pp. 44-45. see also Kartar Singh, *Sikh Itihas-II*, Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, 2008, pp. 125-129.

saying that Ranjit Singh had sent an army to conquer his land and to imprison him. 51

This news startled Fateh Singh. He decided to leave Kapurthala. So, he went to his area in Jagraon across the Satluj on the 27<sup>th</sup> December, 1825 with his family. So, Ranjit Singh captured the areas of Fateh Singh that were on the other side of the Satluj river. He appointed Faqir Aziz-Ud-Din to administer these regions. <sup>52</sup>

Fateh Singh asked the British Government across the Satluj river to provide him protection. However, the British Government could not interfere in the matters across the Satluj because of the agreement between the Sikhs and themselves in Amritsar in 1809 i.e. "Amritsar di sandhi" (Treaty of Amritsar). At this moment, the British officer, Charles Matcalfe advised that Fateh Singh should be allowed to stay in those areas which he had inherited from his ancestors or had won over. However, he said that he could not live in those areas which were given to him by Ranjit Singh. 53 At that time, there were four hundred and fifty four villages in the area across the Satluj, out of which two hundred and ninety one were under Fateh Singh and one hundred and sixty three villages were in the hands of the Jagirdars. Other than these, forty six villages were in Naraingarh, while there were sixty six villages in Jagraon which had been given to Fateh Singh by Ranjit Singh as najranas. However, the British Government understood that the rights of these villages belonged to the Lahore darbar. 54

Ranjit Singh did not want to be the enemy of Fateh Singh and hence wanted him to come back to Kapurthala. On the other side, as Fateh Singh did not receive any help from the British Government. So, he decided to ask for forgiveness from Ranjit Singh for his behaviour and conspiring against him. So, Fateh Singh then sent his lawyer Diwan Sher Ali Khan to meet Ranjit Singh. So, Ranjit Singh accepted Fateh Singh's apology. 55

<sup>51.</sup> W. L. M' Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs, Volume-1*, James Madden, London, 1846, p.148.

J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, S. Chand and Co., Delhi, 1955, p. 164. see also Henry, T. Princep, Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an account of the Present Condition, Religion, Law and Customs of the Sikhs, Military Orphan Press, Calcutta, 1834, p.114.

<sup>53.</sup> Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, op.cit., p.60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh -Guru- Khalsa - II*, op.cit., p.743.

Bhagat Singh, A History of the Sikh Misals, op.cit., p.81.

Ranjit Singh sent his seven year old grandson, Naunihal Singh, Raja Dhian Singh, Desa Singh Majithia, Shiv Dyal and Jawahar Singh Bastini to Jagraon so as to check the honesty of Fateh Singh towards him and to bring him to himself with utmost respect. Fateh Singh came back to Kapurthala in 1827 and went to meet Ranjit Singh at Lahore. The area of Fateh Singh for example those of Kapurthala and Sultanpur were given back to him. However, Ranjit Singh kept some of his areas with himself irrespective of the fact that Fateh Singh promised to be loyal. <sup>56</sup> So, the areas across the Satluj for example those of Jagraon, Isharu and Naraingarh stayed in the hands of Ranjit Singh.

According to Gian Singh Giani, Ranjit Singh kept thirty nine areas that were previously under the control of Fateh Singh. These areas included:

- 1. Aurangabad
- 2. Boh
- 3. Balachor
- 4. Bohdesal
- 5. Bondasa
- 6. Behga
- 7. Pindori
- 8. Pati
- 9. Taska
- 10. Tanda-aram
- 11. Talwandi Sayada
- 12. Mehti (Kohstan)
- 13. Jalalbad
- 14. Jandiala Dar Tohdri
- 15. Chhda
- 16. Changi Gohlwarwali
- 17. Sandlkch
- 18. Chorchak
- 19. Dhhuhala

J. D Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, op.cit., pp.164-165. see also Henry, T. Princep, Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an account of the Present Condition, Religion, Law and Customs of the Sikhs, op.cit., p.114.

- 20. Dhhuhla
- 21. Dharmkot
- 22. Raikot
- 23. Sarala
- 24. Sarhali
- 25. Sariyat Met Malka
- 26. Fatorabad
- 27. Fatehkot
- 28. Amritsar Katra Ahluwalia
- 29. Fatehgarh
- 30. Kot Babal Khan
- 31. Kaletha
- 32. Khorpal
- 33. Ladiya
- 34. Sarhali Maksudpur
- 35. Hebatpur
- 36. Nurmahal
- 37. Verowal
- 38. Verka
- 39. Sarokar

Towards the end of his life Fateh Singh lived in Kapurthala in an ordinary position. He died on the 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1837 due to Malaria. <sup>57</sup>

According to Ram Sukh Rao, Fateh Singh was a powerful and intellectual leader. Other than this, he was a good administrator, brave General and a courageous warrior.

Fatch Singh was a fearless General and a brave warrior. He befriended Ranjit Singh and accompanied him in most of his missions. Hence, Fatch Singh played his role in establishing and development of the Sikh dynasty. Other than this, Fatch Singh fought with loyalty and bravely in the battle of Ranjit Singh. Ram Sukh Rao, depicts the bravery of Fatch Singh in the battles of Kasur, Kangra, Hazro, Multan annd Peshawar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57.</sup> Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, op.cit., p.318.

A part from this, Fatch Singh was a good friend of Ranjit Singh. He was a trustworthy person. Fatch Singh and Ranjit Singh had various meetings in which they discussed their normal responsibilities as well as other matters. Other than, just meeting they also sent each other expensive gifts.

It is said that Ranjit Singh talked with Fateh Singh with due respect, calling him "Bhai Sahib". Ranjit Singh would also ask for Fateh Singh's advice on various important matters. 58

Fatch Singh was a soft spoken and kind hearted person. He considered it evil to seize the property of the poor and needy. He never allowed other to be happy of the adverse conditions of another. Some parents began selling their children as slaves during the time of the attack on Multan. However, Fatch Singh refused his people to buy such children and instead he financially helped those parents.

Fatch Singh was a religious and charitable person who even used to pray (nitnem) during the time of war. He also went to the holy places of the Sikhs and Hindus and also gave them jagirs. He also helped the Muslims.

Fateh Singh wanted to improve the financial condition of Kapurtahala. So for this, he attracted the businessmen and the money lenders of Jagraon, Ludhiana, Phagwara and Sultanpur. He then made them permanent residents of Kapurthala. He even gave these businessmen a lot of financial help to encourage the prospects of business in Kapurthala. <sup>59</sup>

Fateh Singh also had an interest for architecture and construction of buildings. He ordered for the construction of a lot of buildings during his time. The gates of these buildings were of European styles while the structure of these buildings was kept as that of the native ones. *Baradari* is a unique building that is made of high quality stones and wood. Other than this, Fateh Singh ordered for the construction of many forts. These forts were constructed in various places. Some of these places were Jandiala, Sarhali, Phagwara, Tanda, Jagraon and Isharu. These forts had a unique and beautiful design.

<sup>59.</sup> Ibid., pp.83-84.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58.</sup> Bhagat Singh, A History of the Sikh Misals, op.cit., pp.82-83.

# Illustration - iii



RAJA NIHAL SINGH AHLUWALIA (1837-1852)

Source: https://www.sikhiwiki.org.google.com

Fateh Singh also had an interest of gardens. He had also ordered to plant gardens in Kapurthala, Phagwara, Sultanpur, Jalandhar and some other places in his area. He had imported a variety of flowers and fruits from England, Europe and Afghanistan. <sup>60</sup>

However, Fateh Singh also had one bad habit to drinking too much alcohol and was also lazy in collecting revenue.

Nevertheless, Fatch Singh was a good leader during his reign because on one side, he helped Ranjit Singh in establishing and development of the Sikh rule and on the other side, his *Misal* and heritage also progressed a lot during his era.

## iii. Raja Nihal Singh (1837-1852):

Sardar Fateh Singh had two sons, Sardar Nihal Singh and Amar Singh. Fateh Singh died in 1837. After the death of Fateh Singh, his son Nihal Singh became his successor in Kapurthala and also the leader of *Ahluwalia Misal*. Nihal Singh was born on 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1817.<sup>61</sup> At this time, he was twenty years old. It is also said that Ranjit Singh appointed Nihal Singh the King (*Raja*) of Kapurthala. Nihal Singh also swore to stay loyal to Ranjit Singh gave hence forwarded the *najrana*.<sup>62</sup>

Nihal Singh was an able person and hence was capable of handling the responsibilities of the throne because he had previously attended the meetings between his father (Fateh Singh) and Ranjit Singh. He had also given to Ranjit Singh *najranas* as gifts. On the other hand, he also accompanied Ranjit Singh in his missions. He helped Ranjit Singh in the battle in Peshawar.<sup>63</sup>

At the time, Nihal Singh sat on the throne in Kapurthala, his younger brother, Amar Singh wanted to become the king too. So due to this, Amar Singh started conspiring to kill his brother. He then sent his men one day to attack on Nihal Singh. However, he did not get success. Upon getting this news, Ranjit Singh called both the brothers to his *darbar*. Ranjit Singh gave a lot of respect to Nihal Singh and punishment to his younger brother by

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60.</sup> Joginder Kaur, Ram Sukh Rao's Sri Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar, op.cit., p.68.

<sup>61.</sup> Bhagat Singh, A History of the Sikh Misals, op.cit., p.84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62.</sup> Ali Rajpura, Wadda Ghallughara-1762 Shaheed Saka, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2014, p.54.

Thakur Deshraj, *Sikh-Itihas*, op.cit., pp.389-390.

reducing his *jagir*. He also gave severe punishments to those who had attacked Nihal Singh.<sup>64</sup>

In January, 1841 Ranjit Singh's son, Sher Singh became the Maharaja of the Lahore darbar. So, Amar Singh came to Lahore to congratulate him. He requested either to be made the king (Raja) of Kapurthala in place of Nihal Singh or at least be given half of the kingdom of his brother. Sher Singh did not take any decision on this matter at that time. Not long after an event unfolded which took place on 28<sup>th</sup> March, 1841. Sher Singh organized a royal lunch on the banks of the Ravi river. To add entertainment to this occasion, fights of wrestlers, horses and camels were arranged. Other than this, a boat rowing competition was also held. Sher Singh was rowing his boat. In this boat, Amar Singh Ahluwalia, Zamadar Khushal Singh and Bhai Gurmukh Singh Giani accompanied him. In an attempt to increase the speed of the boat it overturned. Sher Singh, Zamadar Khushal Singh. Bhai Gurmukh Singh Giani managed to survive from this accident. However after a lot of search, Amar Singh could not be found. So in this way, Amar Singh drowned in the river. 65

The conflict of the throne had ended with the death of Amar Singh. So, this gave peace to Nihal Singh. With this, Nihal Singh also took over the areas of Amar Singh. He then brought the wife and child of Amar Singh to Kapurthala and gave them a *jagir* for their survival.

It is also said that Sher Singh became at odds with Nihal Singh on a particular matter and so sent Lehna Singh Majithia and captured villages of Kapurthala. So, the Lahore darbar brought the villages Guma Wala, Makki Wala, Jaimal Wala of Kapurthala under its rule. This enraged Nihal Singh, so he went to his area across the Satluj, Pakhowal. He preferred to be under the British government rather than the Lahore *darbar*.

Nihal Singh also gave the proof of his loyalty on some occasions. One of which was that he provided food and water to the army of Lord Aukland, the Governor General of India in 1838. At the time, when Lord Aukland was retreating, Nihal Singh ordered to construct a bridge on the Satluj at Hari Ke Patan. Nihal Singh also went to meet Lord Aukland at Muko. Other than this,

Baba Prem Singh Hoti, *Maharaja Sher Singh*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2013, pp.97-98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64.</sup> Sohan Singh Seetal, Sikh Mislan Te Sardar Gharane, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2006, p.91.

Nihal Singh also sent his army under the command of Hedar Ali Khan to help the British army when they attacked on Kabul in 1842.<sup>66</sup>

The British Government then got the inside information of the Lahore darbar very cleverly from Nihal Singh. Chaos broke in the Lahore darbar on the 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1843. Sher Singh was killed and Dalip Singh was appointed his successor and was made the Maharaja of the Lahore darbar. The British took advantage of that condition in the Lahore darbar and hence began preparations for ending the Sikh rule. <sup>67</sup> At this time, Nihal Singh took permission from the British Government and came back to Kapurthala.

The British took advantage of the differences in the Lahore darbar. So, the first Anglo-Sikh (British-Sikh) war or the Satluj war took place in December, 1845. Nihal Singh at that time was secretly helping the British. However, his Sikh army (forces) was with the Lahore darbar. When his Sikh forces got the hint that their Wazir Moulvi Gulam Muhammad was going to order them to join the British, Then they killed their Wazir Moulvi Gulam Muhammad and joined the Sikh forces of the Lahore darbar. 68 However due to the betrayal of the Sikh Senapatis, Lal Singh and Teja Singh, the Sikhs defeated in this war. After this battle, the British government took control of the areas of the Lahore darbar and also those of Nihal Singh of the Ahluwalias at a yearly rate of five lakhs and sixty five thousand rupees. These areas where towards the left (towards the South) of the Satluj river. An agreement to place between the Lahore darbar and the British Government on the 9th March, 1846 which is also known as Lahore di sandhi (Treaty of Lahore) in this agreement the Lahore darbar agreed to give the whole of Doaba-Biast-Jalandhar to the British. So in this way, the rule of Kapurthala also went in the hands of the British. Nihal Singh would give the Lahore darbar four hundred horsemen and five hundred ground army. However, the British Government captured an additional area of about one lakh, twelve thousand and eight hundred rupees per year for the expenses of this army.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh-Guru-Khalsa-II*, op.cit., pp.746 -747.

<sup>67.</sup> Thakur Deshraj, *Sikh-Itihas*, op.cit., p.391.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68.</sup> Nachhatar Singh, Itihas "Sidhu Bansh" ate "Sikh Mislan Da Sankhep Hall", Master Nachhatar Singh, Moga, 2013, p.26.

The British then left the area with annual revenue of four lakh, sixty four thousand, nine hundred and sixty rupees with Nihal Singh. 69

According to Gian Singh Giani, the British Government seized fourteen villages of Nihal Singh. They were as follows:

- 1. Isharu
- 2. Basian
- 3. Bhodri
- 4. Bhidock or Bhirog
- 5. Isa-khan
- 6. Jagraon
- 7. Alampur
- 8. Fatehgarh
- 9. Balan-wala
- 10. Makhu
- 11. Naraingarh
- 12. Valipur
- 13. Satluj uss par da ilaka
- 14. Futkal ilaka

The British Government blamed Nihal Singh for not helping them in the first Anglo-Sikh war in December 1845. However, Nihal Singh was not guilty. His own Sikhs army revolted against him due to which he could not help the British. However due to this, the British Government forcefully seized some areas of Nihal Singh.

It is also said that the administrative and military departments of the areas that Nihal Singh had, were still under the British control.

The second Anglo-Sikh (British-Sikh) war took place in November, 1848. In this war, Nihal Singh completely helped the British Government. He also proposed to himself fight in the war. However, the British Generals did not allow him to go to the battle field. So due to the help by Nihal Singh, the British Government awarded him the honour of "*Raja Nihal Singh Bahadur*". However, Nihal Singh died on the 13<sup>th</sup> September, 1852.<sup>70</sup>

Nohan Singh Seetal, Sikh Mislan Te Sardar Gharane, op.cit., p. 92.

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<sup>69.</sup> Ali Rajpura, Wadda Ghallughara-1762 Shaheedi Saka, op.cit., p.54.

# **Illustration - iv**



RAJA RANDHIR SINGH AHLUWALIA (1852-1870)

Source: https://www.sikhiwiki.org.google.com

Nihal Singh was a very famous and a kind person. His people liked him and he too supported his people. He took care of every activity for the benefit of his community.

Nihal Singh just as his ancestors had an interest in architecture. He ordered for the construction of a lot of beautiful buildings in Kapurthala. <sup>71</sup> These buildings had beautiful designs

However, Nihal Singh was a weak leader. His children got indulged in bad habits. <sup>72</sup> He also acted just as his ministers (*darbaria*).

Other than this, Nihal Singh did not have much understanding because he had helped the British government betraying his own community. These actions of Nihal Singh led to the downfall of the Sikh dynasty and also to the fall of his *Misal* and heritage.

### iv. Raja Randhir Singh (1852-1870):

Raja Nihal Singh had three sons -Randhir Singh, Bikrama Singh and Suchet Singh. Nihal Singh died in 1852. After the death of Nihal Singh, his elder son, Randhir Singh became the successor to the Ahluwalia Misal and the throne of Kapurthala. Randhir Singh was born in March, 1831.<sup>73</sup> At that time, he was twenty one years old. It is said that before dying Nihal Singh wrote a will which he had sent to the board of administration. In this will, he had written that to avoid any conflict between his sons after his death, Bikrama Singh and Suchet Singh should be given a jagir of one lakh rupees each and Randhir Singh to be appointed as his successor. Randhir Singh noticed that the annual revenue generated from Kapurthala was five lakh, seventy thousand, seven hundred and sixty three rupees and that after paying taxes and other expenses to the British Government, he was left with about twenty to twenty two thousand rupees. So, Randhir Singh very cleverly suggested his brothers not to divide their inheritance and to stay along with him. So, his brothers accepted his proposal. With this, Randhir Singh became the ruler of Kapurthala. However, later his brothers sent requests to the

Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopeadia of Sikhism, Volume-III (M-R)*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1997, p.477.

<sup>71.</sup> Simarjit Singh and Satwinder Singh Phulpur, *Gurmat Parkash-Sultan-Ul-Qoum, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia*, Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, 2018, p.29.

Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Sikh Twarikh-II (1708-1849), Sikh University Press, 2015, p.264.

Harbans Singh The Encyclopeadia of Sikhism Volume-III (M-R) Punjabi University Press, 2015, p.264.

British Government for separation from their brother. The British government too was in favour of the division. So, in the end Randhir Singh appealed for a decision from the British Government of England. The decision was taken in the interest of Randhir Singh because Randhir Singh had accepted to help the British in the revolt of 1857. So in this way, the heritage of Kapurthala was not divided. 74 So, Randhir Singh stayed the owner of this heritage.

Then Randhir Singh supported the British in the revolt of 1857. His forces provided security to the treasures in civil station and the jail in Jalandhar. They also maintained peace in Jalandhar. So in this way, Randhir Singh suppressed the revolt. On the other side, he maintained the respect of the British in the Jalandhar-Doab region. 75 Hence, Randhir Singh helped the British government along with his brother Bikrama Singh in Jalandhar-Doab and its neighby areas. In return for this service, the British Government reduced the taxes that they had to pay from one lakh and twenty three thousand rupees to twenty five thousand rupees. They also honored Randhir Singh with the title of "Farzand Dilband" and his brother was given the title of "Bahadur".

After this, in 1858 the British Government ordered Randhir Singh to take his army to Avadh and some other areas with unrest to maintain peace in those areas. At that time, Randhir Singh's brother Bikrama Singh was also with him. Both of them stayed in Avadh for about ten months where they fought six battles with the enemies. They showed great bravery in these battles. The British government gifted the jagirs of the areas of "Boundi and Bitholi" of the Behraich and Barabanki districts of Avadh to Randhir Singh for his service.<sup>77</sup> The annual revenue generated from these areas was four lakh and thirty two thousand rupees. Other than this, the British government gave his brother, Bikrama Singh was given the area of Malka Ikona of the Behraich district that had annual revenue of forty five thousand rupees. However, later Randhir Singh took the area of Malka Ikona from Bikrama

Thakur Deshraj, Sikh - Itihas, op.cit., pp.393-394.

Sudarshan Singh, Punjab Da Itihas (1849 -1947), Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala,

Syed Muhammad Latif, History of the Punjab, op.cit., p.320.

Shamsul Islam, 1857 De Baghi Sikh, (Translated-Paramjit Singh Dingra), Deepak Publishers, Jalandhar, 2011, p.28.

Singh after following the guidelines stipulated by Sir Henry David (Chief Commissioner of Avadh) and in returned he bought an area worth five lakhs rupees for Bikrama Singh in the Lakhimpur district. However, the annual worth of Malka Ikona was about three lakh rupees out of which one lakh and thirty two thousand rupees was given to the British government as tax.

The British government gave back the garden worth one thousand and three hundred rupees in the Ambala district to Randhir Singh that they had seized from him after the first Anglo-Sikh war because of his services to the British during the revolt of 1857. Secondly, the British government had granted the permission to adopt a son if a king did not have one. Randhir Singh also requested the British to give him back his native area the village Ahlu which they had previously seized in September, 1852. According to Colonel John Lawrence the net economical output of this area was sixty six thousand and three hundred rupees in 1850. Eighteen villages of this area were in the Lahore district while twenty one villages were in the Amritsar district and one garden was in Multan. However, the British government only agreed to give the *jagir* of this place to Randhir Singh while they themselves kept the control of the administration and military of this areas. Randhir Singh requested to have the military and administrative authorities of this area too but the British government did not agree to this.<sup>78</sup>

Randhir Singh was bestrewed with the highest honour of the Lahore darbar "stara-eh-hind" (star of India) on the 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1864. At this time, various rulers were present in the Lahore darbar. They included the rulers of Kashmir, Patiala, Jind, Faridkot etc.<sup>79</sup>

Randhir Singh had longed to go to England for quite some time. So, he gave all the administrative responsibilities to his son, Kharak Singh and he himself started his journey from Kapurthala to Bombay on the 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1870. However, the friends of Randhir Singh advised not to go as he had a bad liver. Randhir Singh did not agree to his friends advice and so began his journey. Randhir Singh's health severely deteriorated when the ship reached Adan. Hence in this way, he died on the 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1870. His men brought

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78.</sup> Thakur Deshraj, *Sikh - Itihas*, op.cit., p.395. see also Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh -Guru-Khalsa-II*, op.cit., pp.761 - 762.

Sir Lepel Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab*, op.cit., p.535.

back his body to Bombay and handed it over to his son Kharak Singh which he took to Nasik. So in this way, Randhir Singh was cremated at Nasik. 80

Randhir was a good leader during his reign. He had great knowledge of the English language. He showed great interest in spreading the importance of education in his area, Kapurthala. He established a school in Kapurthala in 1856 named Randhir School. This provided traditional (oriental) teachings from Sanskrit language to combat. The admission process was started in this school in 1864 by the American mission. Other than this, the Government also gave grants to the school for its proper maintenance. Proper arrangements were made to teach Urdu, Persian, Sanskrit, English and some other subjects in this school. This school maintained a high position in the seminars of Punjab. This school also attracted the students of the neighbouring British colonies who were interested in higher studies. 82

But, Randhir Singh was a person of little understanding because he had helped the British Government betraying his own community by helping them in the revolts. So, these actions of Randhir Singh not only led to the downfall of the Sikh dynasty but also to the fall of his own *Misal* and heritage.

#### v. Raja Kharak Singh (1870-1877):

Raja Randhir Singh had three sons -Kharak Singh, Harman Singh and there is no available knowledge of the name of his third son. Randhir Singh died on 1870. After Randhir Singh's death his elder son, Kharak Singh became the leader of this *Ahluwalia Misal* and heritage. Kharak Singh was born in August, 1850.<sup>83</sup> At the time of death Randhir Singh was twenty year old.

When Randhir Singh had the wish to go to England, he gave up all the responsibilities of the throne to his son Kharak Singh. It is said that upon the death of his father (Randhir Singh), Kharak Singh asked British Government

82. Report on the Administration of Kapurthala State, 1886-87, p.43.

<sup>80.</sup> Punjab History Conference, 42<sup>nd</sup> Session, March-19-21, 2010, Punjabi University, Patiala, p.187.

<sup>81.</sup> District Gazetteer Kapurthala- 1984, p.257.

<sup>83.</sup> Bhagat Singh, A History of the Sikh Misals, op.cit., p.87.

to grant him the permission to be the ruler of Kapurthala. The British government gave him this permission.

Kharak Singh sat on the throne after a huge celebration. At this time, a programme was held in which some British officers, other rulers of Punjab and rich people of Punjab were invited. First of all, Colonel Kakas of the British government gave gifts to Kharak Singh. After which the other rulers and rich did the same. After some customs of *gaddi nasini*, the *parja* and *elkars* of Kapurthala presented a *parsansa partar* and an amount of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees to Kharak Singh to make this occasion memorable. Kharak Singh accepted this amount and added one lakh rupees from his own to establish the Randhir College and Randhir Hospital on his father name.

Kharak Singh was an intelligent and kind person. An example of this is that Kharak Singh gave twenty five thousand rupees to the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Sir Donald Mekled to form a worthy monument of Punjab. However, the Governor advised that the interest of this amount should be given to writers who write good and educative books every year in the native language.<sup>84</sup>

Kharak Singh was a good ruler as he thought many ways for the benefit of his people. He was interested in the welfare of the society. While on his way, from Kangra to Hoshiarpur in 1874 he got a mental disease. So, he was brought to Kapurthala. Various doctors then tried to treat him but none got any success. In order to save the administrative structure of this kingdom from worsening the British Government decided to handle over these duties to a council. Diwan Ramjas, Diwan Bejnath, Gulam Jilani were made the members of this council. This council handled these responsibilities for three years. 85

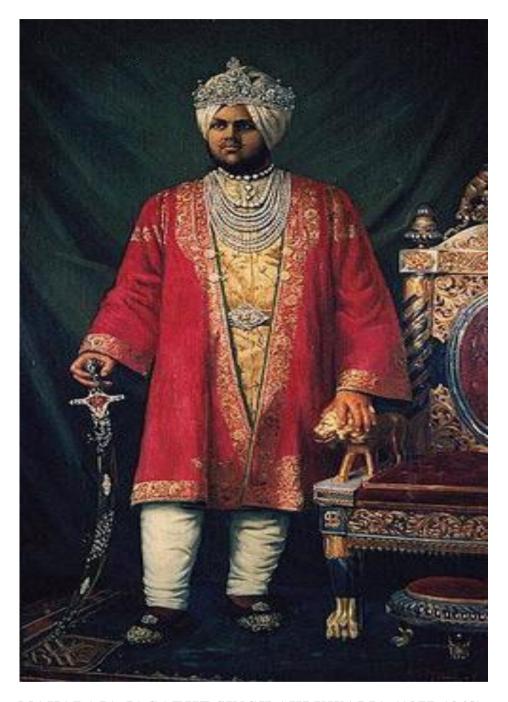
The British also felt that it was necessary to hand over the responsibilities of this kingdom to an able British officer. So in this way, Sir Lepel Griffin was made the superintendent of Kapurthala. He was made the in charge of the council on the 18<sup>th</sup> April, 1875.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, Twarikh -Guru-Khalsa -II, op.cit., pp.764 - 765.

<sup>85.</sup> Thakur Deshraj, Sikh -Itihas, op.cit., p.396.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, Twarikh -Guru-Khalsa -II, op.cit., p.766.

# <u>Illustration - v</u>



MAHARAJA JAGATJIT SINGH AHLUWALIA (1877-1948)

Source: https://www.sikhiwiki.org.google.com

Kharak Singh continued suffering from the mental disease for three years. In the end, he died in Dharmshala near Bhagsu (Kangra) on the 5<sup>th</sup> September, 1877.<sup>87</sup> Then his body was brought to Kapurthala where he was cremated. Although, Kharak Singh had ruled for a comparatively short time, but he was known to be a good ruler because of the works he did during his reign.

As the son (Jagatjit Singh) of Kharak Singh was quite young at the time of his father's death, the responsibilities of the administration in Kapurthala was handled by the British for some time. This was considered to be a weak period for this *Misal* and kingdom.

## vi. The Last Maharaja Jagatjit Singh (1877-1948):

Raja Kharak Singh had one son Jagatjit Singh. In 1877, after the death of Kharak Singh, his only son Jagatjit Singh became the leader of this *Misal* and Kapurthala. Jagatjit Singh was born on the 23<sup>rd</sup> November, 1872.<sup>88</sup> At the time of the death of his father he was five years old. However, Jagatjit Singh is considered to be the last leader of this *Ahluwalia Misal* and its heritage Kapurthala.

A gaddi nasini custom was held at the time Jagatjit Singh sat on the throne. The Lieutenant governor of Punjab, Ajatarn came to this ceremony. Other than him, some other kings and rich people were also present during this occasion. During this custom, first the Governor presented gifts to Jagatjit Singh and then the rest followed. However, as Jagatjit Singh was very young at that time the administration of Kapurthala went to the hands of different British Superintendents till 1890, i.e. till Jagatjit Singh became able to handle the responsibilities.<sup>89</sup>

Sir James Lyall, the Lieutenant General of Punjab himself came to Kapurthala to fulfil the custom of giving the rights of the administration of Kapurthala to Jagatjit Singh, when he had become able to handle the kingdom in 1890.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87.</sup> Report on the Administration of Kapurthala State, 1885-86, p.34.

Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopeadia of Sikhism, Volume-II (E-L)*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1996, p.316.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89.</sup> Gian Singh Giani, *Twarikh-Guru-Khalsa - II*, op.cit., pp.766-767.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90.</sup> Thakur Deshraj, *Sikh - Itihas*, op.cit., p.397.

So on sitting on the throne, Jagatjit Singh took all the administrative responsibilities in his hands. He then increased the salaries of his officers. Other than this, he increased his experience and knowledge by travelling to various big cities. Jagatjit Singh also did many other beneficial works for his kingdom which are as follows:

Jagatjit Singh first of all showed great interest in the improvement about the awareness of education in his area. He was one of the pioneer leaders who promoted free education for the minors. During his reign, he opened high schools for the education of both boys and girls.

In addition to this, with the views to encourage higher education in his province, Jagatjit Singh promoted Randhir School which was a high school till 1896 to a intermediate Arts college. The classes of Natural Sciences were also added in this college. A part from this, English, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Biology, History, Philosophy, Economics, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, French, Hindu, Urdu and Punjabi were taught in college. 91

Jagatjit Singh also promoted girl child education. He established three girls schools which were at Kapurthala, Phagwara and Sultanpur. The girls school at Kapurthala and Phagwara were divided into three parts at the primary level those being Tarak, Gurmukhi and Sanskrit. However, only Sanskrit was taught in the school at Sultanpur. Other than this, various skills were also taught in this school for example sewing, stitching etc. Later, he established another school for girls near Kapurthala at Sheikhupura. Up to 1913-14 the number of girls' schools had exceeded four. So later, even more school were opened for girls. It is also said that Jagatjit Singh participated in the works of the Sikhs whole heartedly. He donated one lakh rupees during the opening of the Khalsa College.

He ordered for the construction of canals for the development of agriculture in his region. In addition to this, he also established banks that gave cheaper loans to the *Zamindars*. The Government societies also under took various works for the benefit of the people. Animal hospitals were

District Gazetteer Kapurthala -1904, p.41. see also Report on the Administration of Kapurthala State, 1913-14, p.72.

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Punjab History Conference, 47<sup>th</sup> Session, February 27-28, March-1, 2015, Punjabi University, Patiala, pp.313-314.

opened at various places. To improve the economy of his province, he started various businesses which flourished during that time.

Jagatjit Singh had an interest in architecture. He had ordered for the construction of various buildings and castles to beautify his city, Kapurthala. He also constructed *Gurudwaras* for the Sikhs and *Mandirs* for the Hindus. Other than this, he ordered to make a *Mosque* for the Muslims. The design of this *mosque* was made by an architect from France. This mosque is very beautiful. Even today it stands amongst one of the unique buildings of India. This building is of Muslim architecture. Six lakhs rupees were spent in the construction of this building. Its holy ceremony was done in the presence of the *hakam* of Bahawalpur and some other prominent Indian Muslim leaders. So in this way, Kapurthala is not only a city of beautiful buildings but is also a city of holy places of every caste and religion.

On the other hand, Jagatjit Singh had the powers of life and death in Kapurthala. At that time, the law system of the courts was the same as that of the British. It was Jagatjit Singh who would sanction a death penalty or life sentence. However, he had never sentenced any person to death in any case. <sup>93</sup> He also gave the people of his province the right to participate in the administrative works.

Jagatjit was also bestowed with various awards from the British Government for his understanding and for the works he had carried out:

In 1911, the British government gave him the honour of "*Maharaja*". Other than this, he was given the honours of J.C.S.I, G.C.I.E and G.B.E. 95

India got independence from the British on the 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1947. Kapurthala became a part of PEPSU (Patiala East Punjab Status Union) on the 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1948. In this way, the *Ahluwalia Misal* ended as Kapurthala came under PEPSU. Jagatjit Singh was made the Deputy Governor of this union for his whole life. <sup>96</sup> Other than this, the Government of India approved the yearly allowance of two lakhs and seventy thousand rupees to Jagatjit Singh. Other than this, his rights on his properties remained the same. <sup>97</sup>

<sup>93.</sup> Bhagat Singh, A History of the Sikh Misals, op.cit., p.88.

<sup>94.</sup> Nachhatar Singh, *Itihas "Sidhu Bansh" ate "Sikh Mislan Da Sankhep Hall"*, op.cit., p.270.

<sup>95.</sup> Thakur Deshrai, Sikh - Itihas, op.cit., p.398.

<sup>96.</sup> Sohan Singh Seetal, Sikh Mislan Te Sardar Gharane, op.cit., p.93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97.</sup> White Paper on Indian States-1950, pp. 270, 272, 391.

However, unfortunately Jagatjit Singh died on the 19<sup>th</sup> June, 1949.<sup>98</sup> He was then cremated at Kapurthala.

Jagatjit Singh is considered to be a kind, honest, intelligent ruler because of the works he did in Kapurthala. A part from this, he is considered to be the most intellectual leader of all the rulers of his time.

Jagatjit Singh was a friend of the British and he stayed loyal to them. So, most of the works in Kapurthala were under the British. So in this way, these actions led to the weakening of the *Ahluwalia Misal* and hence led to the downfall of this *Misal*. The British left India in 1947. Hence, the inclusion of Kapurthala in PEPSU by Jagatjit Singh in 1948 marks the end of this *Misal*.

In this way, this *Ahluwalia Misal* started in 1783 and ended in 1948. It had various leaders during this period in Kapurthala. Out of these leaders some did various works for the Sikh community, while others on one side had done things that were dangerous and were against for the Sikh community and on the side led to the downfall and end of the *Ahluwalia Misal*.

<sup>98.</sup> Harbans Singh, The Encyclopeadia of Sikhism, Volume-II (E-L), op.cit., p.316.

# IV. CONCLUSION

The conclusion of all the chapters of the topic "The rise and fall of the *Ahluwalia Misal*" is as follows:

Ahluwalia Misal was a very important Misal. This Misal has its own identity amongst all the twelve Misals in the history of Punjab and hence holds an important position. This Misal had various leaders during its two hundred year period i.e. from 1748 to 1948.

Normally, the meaning of the word *Misal* is derived from *kabila* (tribe), *jatha*, a group of people with the same status and a file (*kagzan di nathi*). The name *Ahluwalia* was driven from the village "*Ahlu*". So upon joining with *Misal*, it became the "*Ahulwalia Misal*". So in this way, the names of the other *Misals* too were driven from a person's or village's name.

The historical background of the Ahluwalia Misal coexists with the *Misals*. The Sikhs emerged as a strong power from 1708 to 1716 as they fought against the tortures of the Mughals under the command of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur who was nominated by Guru Gobind Singh. However, the situations changed with the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur in 1716.

Because during this period, the tortures by the Mughals had increased and on the other side, the Sikhs too did not have any powerful leader who could command them. After this, the Mughals used every possible measure that they could implement which were aimed at not only ending the Sikh rule but also to finish the existence of the Sikh community. Farrukhsiayar (1713-1719) was the Mughal *Badshah* (*emperor*) during this era (time). He passed an order to kill the Sikhs. So, hundreds of Sikhs were murdered every day. The Sikhs who had joined the Sikh community just to loot the village, shaved their hair and beards and rejoined the Hindu community. However, the Sikhs that were true to their religion formed groups (*jathas*) and went to hide in the jungles, mountains and deserts of Rajasthan. This was a very tough period for the Sikhs.

These tortures on the Sikhs were first of all started by the Governor of Lahore (Punjab), Abdus Samad Khan (1713-1726). The Governor Zakariya Khan (1726-1745) continued the same. However, due to these crimes by the

Mughals the Sikhs also formed *Jathas* (groups) and had started looting their treasures. The *Jathas* that had began during this time later went on to become the different *Misals*.

In order to control these Sikhs, Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore decided to give them the post of "Nawabi" and the "Jagir" of some villages in 1733. So in this way, Kapur Singh became the "Nawab" and "Jagirdar". This agreement gave peace to the Sikhs. It also gave them the opportunity to regroup and strengthen themselves. In this way, the Jathedar of the Sikh Panth Nawab Kapur Singh divided the Sarbat Khalsa into two parts in 1734. Of these two parts the name of one was Budha dal and the other one was named as Taruna dal which was also known as Jawan dal. The Sikhs were taking full advantage of the jagir they had received. However, Zakariya Khan took back this jagir in 1735 because of the increasing powers of the Sikhs. With this, he also restarted the crimes on the Sikhs. During this period, a lot of Sikhs sacrificed their lives and hence are famous in the history of the Sikhs.

Zakariya Khan died in 1745. Zakariya Khan had two sons Yahiya Khan and Shah Niwaz Khan. So, there was a battle between these two brothers for becoming the next Governor of Lahore. The Sikhs took advantage of this opportunity to increase their strength. Nawab Kapur Singh called for the gathering of the whole *Panth* in *Shri* Amritsar during the occasion of *Diwali*. It was there that on the 14<sup>th</sup> October, 1745 the first *gurmata* was passed in which it was decided to make twenty five or thirty *Jathas* in order to unite the increasing number of Sikhs. These *Jathas* were independent in looting various areas. However in 1748 a new person, the *Badshah* (*emperor*) of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali entered this battle between the Sikhs and the Mughals. So due to this, the Sikhs increased the number of their *Jathas* to sixty five or sixty six.

Upon the news of the upcoming attacks by Ahmad Shah Abdali, Nawab Kapur Singh formed a strong Sikh *Jathebandi* which was given the name "*Dal Khalsa*" on the 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1748 i.e. on the day of the occasion of Vaisakhi along with the other Sikhs. At this time, the number of the *Jathas* was reduced from sixty five or sixty six to eleven *mukh jathe*. They hence

were known as the eleven *Misals*. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was appointed the commander (pardhan senapati) of the Dal Khalsa.

The eleven Misals so formed were:

- 1. Misal Ahluwalia
- 2. Misal Faizallapuria (Singhpuria)
- 3. Misal Sukarchakia
- 4. Misal Nishanwalia
- 5. Misal Bhangi
- 6. Misal Kanaihya
- 7. Misal Nikkai
- 8. Misal Dallewalia
- 9. Misal Shaheeda (Nahinga)
- 10. Misal Karorsinghia
- 11. Misal Sanghaniya or Ramgarhia

The Twelfth Misal Phulkian was separate from them. These Misals were lead by different *Jathedars*.

The Ahluwalia family or the Kalal was the one responsible for establishment of the Ahluwalia Misal, which later on went on to be one of the Misals. On one side, Kalal were the people whose ancestors lived in the Shergarh village of Anauh district in Uttar Pradesh. They were called "Shergarhiye" because of their relation with this village. They were known for being very brave. Due to this, they started their efforts to save the people of the country especially the Hindu community from the crimes of the Muslims. For this, they had joined the army of Guru Gobind Singh. They had then became famous in the whole of Hindustan because they were courageous and brave. On the other hand, Khatri family has been mentioned in the history of Maha Bharat, whose name was Sundak. They were known for using a Kalal or a Kalwar, which was a machine used for making alcohol. However, the machine that they used to extract alcohol resembled the shape of the trunk of an elephant. Due to this reason, this royal family got the name as Sundak. So in this way, the name of this tribe was Kalwal or Kalwar which had been driven from the name of the machine. So, later they came to be known as the Kalals.

The Ahluwalias and some other families are included in the *Kalal*. The meaning of the word *Kalal* is *Aanras*, *Sudh* (Pure), *Somras and Amrit*. Hence, the *Kalals* belonged to the caste which undertook the professions of business of selling food grains, making *gur* (Jiggery) and *shakar*, hence selling it too. At that time, the name of the castes of the people was normally driven from the occupations that they did.

Although, the Ahluwalia family is known to be from the *Kalals* but the royal family of Kapurthala of this *Misal* believe their ancestors to be linked with the Bhatti rulers of Jaisalmer. This family (Bhatti) was one of the most influential families in Rajasthan.

The Rajputs of Jaisalmer believe their ancestors to be linked with Yadhu Bansi Shri Krishan. Out of his children, Bhatti went on to become a famous warrior. Bhatti had a son named Rawal Jaisal. From the children of Rawal Jaisal, some Rajputs came to Punjab from Jaisalmer. They had left Jaisalmer due to the tortures from the hands of the Muslims. As they started farming on these lands, they mixed up with the Jatts of this area. Hence after some generations, they had become a part of the Jatt community. Their relation with the Sikh Panth starts from the sixth Guru of the Sikhs Guru Hargobind Sahib. i.e. when Bhai Sena and his son Bhai Wadhava joined the army of Guru Hargobind Sahib. They participated in the wars of Guru Hargobind Sahib. It was due to this that Guru Hargobind Sahib was very surprised and impressed by them.

The son of Bhai Wadhava, Bhai Ganda Singh was a great warrior just as his father. Ganda Singh emerged victorious in one of the battle while fighting for Dilawar Khan, the Subedar of Lahore. This bravery shown by Ganda Singh impressed Dilawar Khan that he decided to give him the zamidara lands of Ahlu, Hallo, Sadho, Tur and Chak as a gift. Other than this, Dilwar Khan had also given him the Bakshna (Boom) of the village of Ahlu. However, this did not last for long as Ganda Singh died shortly after this. After his death, his son Sadhu (Sadhava) Singh started living in the Ahlu village. Hence, because of being the residents of the Ahlu village, the upcoming generations of Sadhu Singh later came to be known as the Ahluwaliye. Sadhu Singh later married a girl from the Kalals. They had four sons. The names of their four sons were Gopal

Singh, Hemu, Sikandar and Chaha. Other than, the four sons, they also had one daughter. Later, all their children were also married in the *Kalals*. Hence, this family became to be famously known as the *Ahluwaliye Kalal*.

The Ahluwalia family of Kapurthala started from Gopal Singh and his son Deva Singh. Deva Singh Ahluwalia had three sons Gurbakhsh Singh, Sadar Singh and Badar Singh. Out of these the son of Bhai Badar Singh was Jassa Singh who later went on to become one of the greatest Sikh warriors of the eighteenth century. After the death of his father, Jassa Singh spent most of his childhood under Mata Sundari with his mother in Delhi. He had proper education in Delhi and he later stayed with Nawab Kapur Singh where he was taught about sashtar vidhya. Nawab Kapur Singh had imparted various qualities in Jassa Singh. Jassa Singh continued to work in the Jatha of Nawab Kapur Singh for some time. Later, Jassa Singh formed his own Jatha in 1745. The jathas were then converged into eleven jathas in March 1748, but these eleven jathas took the form of the eleven misals. So, the eleven Misals were formed out of which one was the Ahluwalia Misal which was named after the village of Jassa Singh 'Ahlu'. Jassa Singh himself was the Jathedar of this Misal. After this, Misal gained fame for the works in had done for the Sikh community under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was one of the greatest leaders of the eighteenth century. He was also the leader of his *Misal* (*Ahluwalia Misal*). He continued the fight of the Sikhs with the Mughals after the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. Hence, he managed to save and unite the Sikh community (1739-1783). Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had great achievements as the commander of the *Dal Khasla* as well as the *Jathedar* of the *Khalsa Panth*. All these activities show the progress of the *Ahluwalia* Misal.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia began his political life under *Nawab* Kapur Singh. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia would go to every Sikh mission regardless of even them being small. He started participating in the missions of the *Panth* at the time of their attacks for looting the *Badshah* (*emperor*) of Afghanistan, Nadir Shah Durrani. The Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia looted the treasures of

Nadir Shah Durrani after he had looted Delhi and was on his way back. The influence of the understanding and bravery of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia on the Sikh community increased after this event. After this loot, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia ordered for the construction of the fort of Dallewal on the banks of river Ravi in 1743. He then kept the treasures of the loot in this fort.

After this Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and with his other Sikh sardars took part in the "Chotta Ghallughara" or "Mini Holo-Caust". He gave the proof of his bravery in this Ghallughara. This event was of 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1746.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and some other Sikh Sardars also defeated the Diwan of Sirhind, Lakshmi Nariyan who had been sent by Governor of Lahore, Yahiya Khan and Diwan Lakphat Rai. Other than this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with his other Sikh Sardars attacked on the *Badshah (emperor)* of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali who had come for his first attack on India at Noor-Ud-Din's Sarai which was at Verowal in 1748. These Sardars then also looted the *foujdar* of Nurpur, *Raja* Gurdit Mal. They also killed the Rajput of the Tharuh village, Salabat Khan who was also the ruler in Amritsar.

On the occasion of Vaisakhi, 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1748 the *Sarbat Khalsa* gathered in Amritsar. During this occasion, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was made the commander of the *Dal Khalsa*. He then went on to do a lot as the commander of the *Dal Khalsa*.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia decided that the Sikhs should form a castle and settle permanently at a place. So in this way, it was decided to construct the fort of *Ram Rauni* in Amritsar. Mir Mannu became the Governor of Punjab in April, 1748. Upon becoming the Governor, he ordered the *hakam* Adina Beg of Jalandhar-Doab and General Sadik Beg to attack on the fort of Ram Rauni. Diwan Kaura Mal who was a Sikh negotiated with Mir Mannu to take back his men who were surrounding the fort of Ram Rauni. Mir Mannu agreed for this because of the situations that arose. So this way, how this matter was solved. Then Sikhs were highly benefitted from this negotiation. Now Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia helped him upon the request by Diwan Kaura Mal during the

revolt of Shah Niwaz Khan who was the Governor before Mir Mannu. The Sikhs were rewarded for their help. Other than this, financial reward Diwan Kaura Mal also gave donation for the *sarovar* of Shri Darbar Sahib (Amritsar). He also donated some money for the construction of pond in the *Gurudwara Bal Lila in Nankana Sahib*. All these religious works were under the responsibility of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with his other Sikhs attacked and destroyed Lahore in the absence of Mir Mannu from Lahore. These Sardars then went to loot the areas from Doaba to Karnal. Then Mir Mannu was appointed as the governor of Lahore by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Mir Mannu sent his officials to collect mamla (tax) from the Pahari Raje (hill chiefs). However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia then helped the Pahari Raje against them. Later, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia helped the Sikh people who were attacked on during "Hola Mohalla" celebrations. He also stopped cow killing in Lahore. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia then won the forts of Khuaspur and Fatehabad.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia became the Jathedar of the Khalsa Panth upon the death of Nawab Kapur Singh in 1753. He then went on to do a lot of activities as a Jathedar for the benefit of the Sikh community. He along with some other Sikh Sardars, defeated the Mughal commanders (Generals) that had been sent by the Governors of Lahore in between 1754-1755. These commanders included Aziz Beg, Bakhsinda Beg, Sayad Khan, Qutab Khan, Aziz Khan and Umed Khan. The Sikhs started their security service, "Rakhi Parbandh" in various areas of Punjab under Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 1755, when the Delhi Government was engaged in their own domestic wars. During this period, the Sikh Sardars looted many places. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars looted Ahmad Shah Abdali, his son Taimur Shah and General Jahan Khan while they were on their way back from their attack on Punjab in 1756. Taimur Shah took his revenge by destroying Katarpur which was considered a holy place by the Sikhs. The Sikhs took their revenge by looting Ahmad Shah Abdali again under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Then Taimur Shah was appointed the Governor of Lahore by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Upon becoming the

Governor, he attacked on Amritsar and destroyed the *sarovar* of *Shri Darbar Sahib*. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia took the revenge of destroying this holy place by helping Adina Beg in the battle against the Afghans. Adina Beg also gave the Sikhs a lot of money in compensation for them not to loot Jalandhar. After this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with some other Sikh Sardars won some other areas in the outer Doab. The respect of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia amongst the Sikhs increased due to these wins.

Adina Beg was appointed the governor of Lahore in 1758. He immediately started crimes on the Sikhs upon becoming the governor. He sent his Generals to attack on Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, however they were unsuccessful. After the death of Adina Beg, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia attacked on his *foujdars* in Lahore and Sirhind.

At this time, the Sikhs had managed to win many areas of Malwa and Doaba. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia then also suppressed the Pathans of Miani who were not responding to him. He then went on to attack on the Diwan of Doaba, Bishambar Nath Lasaria. Other than this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia managed to win the areas of Sirhind, Phagwara and Batala.

Ahmad Shah Abdali then again came to attack on Punjab in 1759. He defeated the Marathas in the battle of Panipat in Delhi in 1761. He then took two thousand and two hundred Hindu women with him as his prisoners. However, later Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia managed to save these women. Hence, because of this bravery Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was given the honour of "Bandi Chhor".

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with his other Sikh Sardars defeated the *hakam* (Governor) of Lahore, Sarbuland Khan in 1760 who had been appointed by Ahmad Shah Abdali. He then also defeated Khwaja Ubed Khan in 1761, after which he conquered Lahore. This was the first political won of the *Khalsa* in Punjab. So with this win, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was announced as the King of Lahore (*Lahore Da Raja*). He was also given the honour of "*Sultan-Ul-Qoum*". He also started a new coin for the *Khalsa*.

Now Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia supported the other Sikh Sardars in the "Wadda Ghallughara" or "Great Holo-Caust". Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was the most wounded person in this battle. He got twenty two wounds. This is an event of 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1762.

After this event, Abdali tried to negotiate with the Sikhs but Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia refused his proposal. The Sikh Sardars had took over the whole of Punjab just as before when Abdali went back to Afghanistan in 1762. These Sardars attacked on many other regions in between 1763-1764. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia got some areas along with some money after the loot of Sirhind in 1764. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and some other Sikhs donated the money they had received after the loot of Sirhind for the reconstruction of *Shri Harimandar Sahib*.

Ahmad Shah Abdali came to attack on Punjab again in 1764. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with some other Sikh Sardars attacked on him so he retreated back to Afghanistan. After the Abdali had retreated back to Afghanistan, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars took a permanent hold of Lahore in 1765. Lahore was made the capital city of the *Khalsa*. The *Khalsa* announced a new coin on this occasion. After this, the Sikh Sardars strengthened their hold on their respective lands. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia established a *bunga* (a place where money and valuables were kept) and a *bazaar* named *Katra* Ahluwalia. His areas were normally in Jalandhar-Doab and some were also in the villages on the out skirts of Doab.

Abdali then again came to attack on Punjab in 1766. However, the Sikhs along with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia defeated him and sent him back to Afghanistan. This was Abdali's 8<sup>th</sup> and last attack on India. However, many historians believe that Abdali carried out three more attacks on India making the total number of attacks eleven. However, these attacks by him proved to be unsuccessful.

A part from this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia helped the Jatts against the Rohillas and the Marathas, upon their requests for help. He also helped the Rohillas against the Mughals. All these activities by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia increased the respect for the Sikh community.

Although, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had attacked on and won many areas of Punjab but, however the conquering of Kapurthala was the most important one which took place in 1777 or 1780. Kapurthala became to be the heritage of the *Ahluwalia Misal*. The later rulers of this *Misal* (*Ahluwalia Misal*) went on to rule over Kapurthala.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also carried out many religious works during his life time. He baptised many people by giving them *amrit* and hence added them to the *Khalsa Panth*. Other than this, he also helped the people of the other religions. He spent the later part of his life in the service of *Shri Darbar Sahib*.

Even though, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had stopped going to missions towards the end of his life, but he still helped the Sikh Sardars in the attack in Delhi in 1783. But after this attack, his health deteriorated and so he died on the 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1783.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia is considered to be a very brave and courageous warrior because of his achievements. On the other hand, he was also a religious leader. It was due to his actions that the *Ahluwalia Misal* progressed a lot during his time.

After the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, this Ahluwalia *Misal* and its residence Kapurthala continued to exist under different leaders till its end in 1948. Amongst these leaders the first was Sardar Bhag Singh (1783-1801) who was the cousin or nephew of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Bhag Singh was appointed as the next leader as Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia did not have any son. Bhag Singh was an able person who took care of most of the administrative work of this *Misal* and Kapurthala in the later years of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. So, he sat on the throne in Kapurthala after the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. He took good care of his area, Doab upon sitting on the throne. For the progress of his Misal and heritage, Bhag Singh along with his son, Fateh Singh conquered many areas which included Sharakpur, Kasur, and Jandiala, Tarn Tarn, the southern areas across the Satluj river and some other areas.

Bhag Singh helped many of his friends and some other people in their time of need but he was at odds with Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. However, Bhag Singh's relation with the King (Raja) of Kangra, Sansar

Chand was different as it kept on changing with time. At times they were friends, while on other occasions they were enemies.

Hence, on observing these and the other activities that Bhag Singh did for his people and officials, his religious works and the donations made by him to the poor it can be said that he was a religious, giving and kind person.

Bhag Singh had an interest in the architecture. Due to which, he ordered for the construction of many buildings in Kapurthala and some other areas. Bhag Singh also had an interest for gardening. So, he also ordered for planting various gardens that had various designs.

Bhag Singh during his era was a great leader because on one hand, he had managed to maintain the status of the Sikh society and on the other hand, his own *Misal* and heritage progressed during this time.

After Bhag Singh's death in 1801, his only son, Sardar Fateh Singh (1801-1837) became his successor to his throne in Kapurthala and hence the leader of the *Ahluwalia Misal*. Upon sitting on the throne Fateh Singh became friends with Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the *Sukarchakia Misal* who had established the Sikh rule. He did so in order to fulfil the dream of the formation of a large Sikh kingdom. Fateh Singh accompanied Ranjit Singh in all of his missions (attacks) for example in the battles of Chiniot, Kasur, Jhang, Amritsar, Multan, Peshawar and some other battles. Other than this, Ranjit Singh also gave Fateh Singh some of the areas they had won in the form of *najranas*. So in this way, Fateh Singh too got an opportunity to increase his kingdom.

Fatch Singh was an honest friend of Ranjit Singh and also advised him on various matters regarding the British. He would also undertake the responsibilities of the administration of Lahore and Amritsar in the absence of Ranjit Singh.

However, Qadar Bakhsh who was a envoy (rajdut) of Ranjit Singh incited these two against each other hence broke their friendship. However, later their relation improved. Nevertheless, this situation proved fatal for Fateh Singh and he incurred a lot of loss.

On the other side, Fateh Singh took care of his area in Doaba and also taught a lesson to those who attacked on him. He also had to settle issue of some areas.

On the basis of the activities that Fateh Singh had done for Ranjit Singh, it can be said that Fateh Singh was a fearless General, brave warrior, great administrator and a loyal friend. He helped the poor and gave *jagir* to the holy places of the Sikhs and the Hindus. He also had great respect for the Muslims. So, it can be said that he was a charitable, kind and religious person.

Fateh Singh had an interest in the architecture. Due to which, he ordered for the construction of many buildings in Kapurthala and some other areas. Fateh Singh also had an interest for gardening. So, he also ordered for planting various gardens that had various designs. He also developed Kapurthala in the economic aspects. However, Fateh Singh also had one bad habit to drinking too much alcohol and was also lazy in collecting revenue

Nevertheless, Fatch Singh was a good leader during his reign because on one side, he helped Ranjit Singh in establishing and development of the Sikh rule and on the other side, his *Misal* and heritage also progressed a lot during his era.

After the death of Fateh Singh, his son Nihal Singh (1837-1852) became his successor in Kapurthala and also leader of *Ahluwalia Misal*. At this time, Ranjit Singh appointed Nihal Singh the King (*Raja*) of Kapurthala. Nihal Singh also swore to stay loyal to Ranjit Singh gave hence forwarded the *najrana*.

However, Nihal Singh was known to be loyal to the British Government. He also wanted to help the British in the first Anglo-Sikh war in December 1845. However, he could not do so as his own army revolted against him. Due to this, the British seized some of the areas of Nihal Singh. But, as Nihal Singh completely helped the British in the second Anglo-Sikh war in November 1848, the British gave him the honour of being called "Raja Nihal Singh Bahadur".

Nihal Singh was a famous and a kind leader, because of the works he had done for the people of his kingdom during his reign. But being the friend of the British, Nihal Singh led to the downfall of the Sikh dynasty and also to the fall of his *Misal* and heritage.

After the death of Nihal Singh, his elder son, Randhir Singh (1852-1870) became the successor of the *Ahluwalia Misal* and the throne of

Kapurthala. He too was loyal to the British. Randhir Singh supported the British in the revolt of 1857. In return for this service, first of all, the British government reduced his taxes and secondly, they gave him the title of "Farzand Dilband". In 1858, Randhir Singh and his brother went to Avadh to maintain peace in those areas upon the orders the British. The British gave them lands in return for their service.

The British Government gave his provinces in return for his service in the revolt. Randhir Singh was bestrewed with the highest honour of the Lahore *darbar "stara-eh-hind"* (star of India) on the 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1864.

Randhir was a good leader during his reign because he established a school in Kapurthala in 1856 named Randhir School. But being the friend of the British, Nihal Singh led to the downfall of the Sikh dynasty and also to the fall of his *Misal* and heritage.

After Randhir Singh's death his elder son, Kharak Singh (1870-1877) became the leader of this *Ahluwalia Misal* and heritage Kapurthala. Although, Kharak Singh had ruled for a comparatively short time but he was known to be a good ruler because of the works he did during his reign as he laid the foundation of "Randhir College" and "Randhir Hospital" in the name of his father. He was known for showing an interest in doing beneficial works for his people. But, unfortunately he got a mental disease. So due to his condition, the responsibility of the administration of Kapurthala and his *Misal* went in the hands of his son Jagatjit Singh. But, as Jagatjit Singh was too young to rule, the British undertook this responsibility. So in this way, this was a weak period for this *Misal* and Kingdom.

After the death of Kharak Singh, his only son Jagatjit Singh (1877-1948) became the leader of this *Misal* and Kapurthala. He was the last leader of this *Misal* and its heritage Kapurthala. However, even though he had sat on the throne at Kapurthala, the administration of this city was in the hands of the British as he was too young for these responsibilities. However, when he became of an adult in 1890, the British Government handed over these responsibilities to him.

Upon becoming the leader of Kapurthala, Jagatjit Singh undertook various activities for the benefit of the people of Kapurthala for example opening of various schools and colleges, construction of canals for the development of agriculture, establishment of banks to give cheap loans to the zamindars, establishment of Government societies for the benefit of the people, hospitals for animals and started businesses for economic growth. Other than this, he undertook various religious and law based works in Kapurthala. He also constructed various buildings in his province, Kapurthala.

The British government gave him the title of "Maharaja" and some other honours for the works that he had done.

Jagatjit Singh is known to have been an honest, kind, intelligent and good leader because of the works he had done. But, because he was loyal to the British most of the activities were under the British which led to the weakening and fall of his *Misal*. India got independence from the British on the 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1947. Jagatjit Singh made Kapurthala a part of PEPSU (Patiala East Punjab Status Union) on the 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1948. In this way, the Ahluwalia *Misal* ended as Kapurthala came under PEPSU. But, Ahluwalia *Misal* has enormous history because this *Misal* ruled for about two hundred ranging from 1748 to 1948. In this time, *Misal* hold a position of great importance in the history of Punjab.

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### THE RISE AND FALL OF AHLUWALIA MISAL

#### A DISSERTATION

Submitted in fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of

# MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

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#### IV. CONCLUSION

The conclusion of all the chapters of the topic "The rise and fall of the *Ahluwalia Misal*" is as follows:

Ahluwalia Misal was a very important Misal. This Misal has its own identity amongst all the twelve Misals in the history of Punjab and hence holds an important position. This Misal had various leaders during its two hundred year period i.e. from 1748 to 1948.

Normally, the meaning of the word *Misal* is derived from *kabila* (tribe), *jatha*, a group of people with the same status and a file (*kagzan di nathi*). The name *Ahluwalia* was driven from the village "*Ahlu*". So upon joining with *Misal*, it became the "*Ahulwalia Misal*". So in this way, the names of the other *Misals* too were driven from a person's or village's name.

The historical background of the Ahluwalia Misal coexists with the *Misals*. The Sikhs emerged as a strong power from 1708 to 1716 as they fought against the tortures of the Mughals under the command of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur who was nominated by Guru Gobind Singh. However, the situations changed with the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur in 1716.

Because during this period, the tortures by the Mughals had increased and on the other side, the Sikhs too did not have any powerful leader who could command them. After this, the Mughals used every possible measure that they could implement which were aimed at not only ending the Sikh rule but also to finish the existence of the Sikh community. Farrukhsiayar (1713-1719) was the Mughal *Badshah (emperor)* during this era (time). He passed an order to kill the Sikhs. So, hundreds of Sikhs were murdered every day. The Sikhs who had joined the Sikh community just to loot the village, shaved their hair and beards and rejoined the Hindu community. However, the Sikhs that were true to their religion formed groups (*jathas*) and went to hide in the jungles, mountains and deserts of Rajasthan. This was a very tough period for the Sikhs.

These tortures on the Sikhs were first of all started by the Governor of Lahore (Punjab), Abdus Samad Khan (1713-1726). The Governor Zakariya Khan (1726-1745) continued the same. However, due to these crimes by the Mughals the Sikhs also formed *Jathas* (groups) and had started looting their treasures. The *Jathas* that had began during this time

later went on to become the different Misals.

In order to control these Sikhs, Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore decided to give them the post of "Nawabi" and the "Jagir" of some villages in 1733. So in this way, Kapur Singh became the "Nawab" and "Jagirdar". This agreement gave peace to the Sikhs. It also gave them the opportunity to regroup and strengthen themselves. In this way, the Jathedar of the Sikh Panth Nawab Kapur Singh divided the Sarbat Khalsa into two parts in 1734. Of these two parts the name of one was Budha dal and the other one was named as Taruna dal which was also known as Jawan dal. The Sikhs were taking full advantage of the jagir they had received. However, Zakariya Khan took back this jagir in 1735 because of the increasing powers of the Sikhs. With this, he also restarted the crimes on the Sikhs. During this period, a lot of Sikhs sacrificed their lives and hence are famous in the history of the Sikhs.

Zakariya Khan died in 1745. Zakariya Khan had two sons Yahiya Khan and Shah Niwaz Khan. So, there was a battle between these two brothers for becoming the next Governor of Lahore. The Sikhs took advantage of this opportunity to increase their strength. Nawab Kapur Singh called for the gathering of the whole *Panth* in *Shri* Amritsar during the occasion of *Diwali*. It was there that on the 14<sup>th</sup> October, 1745 the first *gurmata* was passed in which it was decided to make twenty five or thirty *Jathas* in order to unite the increasing number of Sikhs. These *Jathas* were independent in looting various areas. However in 1748 a new person, the *Badshah* (*emperor*) of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali entered this battle between the Sikhs and the Mughals. So due to this, the Sikhs increased the number of their *Jathas* to sixty five or sixty six.

Upon the news of the upcoming attacks by Ahmad Shah Abdali, Nawab Kapur Singh formed a strong Sikh *Jathebandi* which was given the name "*Dal Khalsa*" on the 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1748 i.e. on the day of the occasion of Vaisakhi along with the other Sikhs. At this time, the number of the *Jathas* was reduced from sixty five or sixty six to eleven *mukh jathe*. They hence were known as the eleven *Misals*. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was appointed the commander (*pardhan senapati*) of the *Dal Khalsa*.

The eleven Misals so formed were:

- 1. Misal Ahluwalia
- 2. Misal Faizallapuria (Singhpuria)
- 3. Misal Sukarchakia

- 4. Misal Nishanwalia
- 5. Misal Bhangi
- 6. Misal Kanaihya
- 7. Misal Nikkai
- 8. Misal Dallewalia
- 9. Misal Shaheeda (Nahinga)
- 10. Misal Karorsinghia
- 11. Misal Sanghaniya or Ramgarhia

The Twelfth Misal Phulkian was separate from them. These Misals were lead by different *Jathedars*.

The Ahluwalia family or the Kalal was the one responsible for establishment of the Ahluwalia Misal, which later on went on to be one of the *Misals*. On one side, Kalal were the people whose ancestors lived in the Shergarh village of Anauh district in Uttar Pradesh. They were called "Shergarhiye" because of their relation with this village. They were known for being very brave. Due to this, they started their efforts to save the people of the country especially the Hindu community from the crimes of the Muslims. For this, they had joined the army of Guru Gobind Singh. They had then became famous in the whole of Hindustan because they were courageous and brave. On the other hand, Khatri family has been mentioned in the history of Maha Bharat, whose name was Sundak. They were known for using a Kalal or a Kalwar, which was a machine used for making alcohol. However, the machine that they used to extract alcohol resembled the shape of the trunk of an elephant. Due to this reason, this royal family got the name as Sundak. So in this way, the name of this tribe was Kalwal or Kalwar which had been driven from the name of the machine. So, later they came to be known as the Kalals.

The Ahluwalias and some other families are included in the *Kalal*. The meaning of the word *Kalal* is *Aanras*, *Sudh* (Pure), *Somras and Amrit*. Hence, the *Kalals* belonged to the caste which undertook the professions of business of selling food grains, making *gur* (Jiggery) and *shakar*, hence selling it too. At that time, the name of the castes of the people was normally driven from the occupations that they did.

Although, the Ahluwalia family is known to be from the *Kalals* but the royal family of Kapurthala of this *Misal* believe their ancestors to be linked with the Bhatti rulers of Jaisalmer. This family (Bhatti) was one of the most influential families in Rajasthan.

The Rajputs of Jaisalmer believe their ancestors to be linked with Yadhu Bansi Shri Krishan. Out of his children, Bhatti went on to become a famous warrior. Bhatti had a son named Rawal Jaisal. From the children of Rawal Jaisal, some Rajputs came to Punjab from Jaisalmer. They had left Jaisalmer due to the tortures from the hands of the Muslims. As they started farming on these lands, they mixed up with the Jatts of this area. Hence after some generations, they had become a part of the Jatt community. Their relation with the Sikh Panth starts from the sixth Guru of the Sikhs Guru Hargobind Sahib. i.e. when Bhai Sena and his son Bhai Wadhava joined the army of Guru Hargobind Sahib. They participated in the wars of Guru Hargobind Sahib. It was due to this that Guru Hargobind Sahib was very surprised and impressed by them.

The son of Bhai Wadhava, Bhai Ganda Singh was a great warrior just as his father. Ganda Singh emerged victorious in one of the battle while fighting for Dilawar Khan, the Subedar of Lahore. This bravery shown by Ganda Singh impressed Dilawar Khan that he decided to give him the zamidara lands of Ahlu, Hallo, Sadho, Tur and Chak as a gift. Other than this, Dilwar Khan had also given him the Bakshna (Boom) of the village of Ahlu. However, this did not last for long as Ganda Singh died shortly after this. After his death, his son Sadhu (Sadhava) Singh started living in the Ahlu village. Hence, because of being the residents of the Ahlu village, the upcoming generations of Sadhu Singh later came to be known as the Ahluwaliye. Sadhu Singh later married a girl from the Kalals. They had four sons. The names of their four sons were Gopal Singh, Hemu, Sikandar and Chaha. Other than, the four sons, they also had one daughter. Later, all their children were also married in the Kalals. Hence, this family became to be famously known as the Ahluwaliye Kalal.

The Ahluwalia family of Kapurthala started from Gopal Singh and his son Deva Singh. Deva Singh Ahluwalia had three sons Gurbakhsh Singh, Sadar Singh and Badar Singh. Out of these the son of Bhai Badar Singh was Jassa Singh who later went on to become one of the greatest Sikh warriors of the eighteenth century. After the death of his father, Jassa Singh spent most of his childhood under Mata Sundari with his mother in Delhi. He had proper education in Delhi and he later stayed with Nawab Kapur Singh where he was taught about *sashtar vidhya*. Nawab Kapur Singh had imparted various qualities in Jassa Singh. Jassa

Singh continued to work in the *Jatha* of Nawab Kapur Singh for some time. Later, Jassa Singh formed his own *Jatha* in 1745. The *jathas* were then converged into eleven *jathas* in March 1748, but these eleven *jathas* took the form of the eleven *misals*. So, the eleven *Misals* were formed out of which one was the *Ahluwalia Misal* which was named after the village of Jassa Singh '*Ahlu*'. Jassa Singh himself was the *Jathedar* of this *Misal*. After this, *Misal* gained fame for the works in had done for the Sikh community under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was one of the greatest leaders of the eighteenth century. He was also the leader of his *Misal* (*Ahluwalia Misal*). He continued the fight of the Sikhs with the Mughals after the death of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. Hence, he managed to save and unite the Sikh community (1739-1783). Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had great achievements as the commander of the *Dal Khasla* as well as the *Jathedar* of the *Khalsa Panth*. All these activities show the progress of the *Ahluwalia* Misal.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia began his political life under *Nawab* Kapur Singh. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia would go to every Sikh mission regardless of even them being small. He started participating in the missions of the *Panth* at the time of their attacks for looting the *Badshah (emperor)* of Afghanistan, Nadir Shah Durrani. The Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia looted the treasures of Nadir Shah Durrani after he had looted Delhi and was on his way back. The influence of the understanding and bravery of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia on the Sikh community increased after this event. After this loot, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia ordered for the construction of the fort of Dallewal on the banks of river Ravi in 1743. He then kept the treasures of the loot in this fort.

After this Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and with his other Sikh sardars took part in the "*Chotta Ghallughara*" or "*Mini Holo-Caust*". He gave the proof of his bravery in this *Ghallughara*. This event was of 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1746.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and some other Sikh Sardars also defeated the Diwan of Sirhind, Lakshmi Nariyan who had been sent by Governor of Lahore, Yahiya Khan and Diwan Lakphat Rai. Other than this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with his other Sikh Sardars attacked on the *Badshah (emperor)* of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali

who had come for his first attack on India at Noor-Ud-Din's Sarai which was at Verowal in 1748. These Sardars then also looted the *foujdar* of Nurpur, *Raja* Gurdit Mal. They also killed the Rajput of the Tharuh village, Salabat Khan who was also the ruler in Amritsar.

On the occasion of Vaisakhi, 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1748 the *Sarbat Khalsa* gathered in Amritsar. During this occasion, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was made the commander of the *Dal Khalsa*. He then went on to do a lot as the commander of the *Dal Khalsa*.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia decided that the Sikhs should form a castle and settle permanently at a place. So in this way, it was decided to construct the fort of Ram Rauni in Amritsar. Mir Mannu became the Governor of Punjab in April, 1748. Upon becoming the Governor, he ordered the hakam Adina Beg of Jalandhar-Doab and General Sadik Beg to attack on the fort of Ram Rauni. Diwan Kaura Mal who was a Sikh negotiated with Mir Mannu to take back his men who were surrounding the fort of Ram Rauni. Mir Mannu agreed for this because of the situations that arose. So this way, how this matter was solved. Then Sikhs were highly benefitted from this negotiation. Now Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia helped him upon the request by Diwan Kaura Mal during the revolt of Shah Niwaz Khan who was the Governor before Mir Mannu. The Sikhs were rewarded for their help. Other than this, financial reward Diwan Kaura Mal also gave donation for the sarovar of Shri Darbar Sahib (Amritsar). He also donated some money for the construction of pond in the Gurudwara Bal Lila in Nankana Sahib. All these religious works were under the responsibility of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with his other Sikhs attacked and destroyed Lahore in the absence of Mir Mannu from Lahore. These Sardars then went to loot the areas from Doaba to Karnal. Then Mir Mannu was appointed as the governor of Lahore by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Mir Mannu sent his officials to collect mamla (tax) from the Pahari Raje (hill chiefs). However, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia then helped the Pahari Raje against them. Later, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia helped the Sikh people who were attacked on during "Hola Mohalla" celebrations. He also stopped cow killing in Lahore. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia then won the forts of Khuaspur and Fatehabad.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia became the Jathedar of the Khalsa

Panth upon the death of Nawab Kapur Singh in 1753. He then went on to do a lot of activities as a Jathedar for the benefit of the Sikh community. He along with some other Sikh Sardars, defeated the Mughal commanders (Generals) that had been sent by the Governors of Lahore between 1754-1755. These commanders included Aziz Beg, Bakhsinda Beg, Sayad Khan, Qutab Khan, Aziz Khan and Umed Khan. The Sikhs started their security service, "Rakhi Parbandh" in various areas of Punjab under Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 1755, when the Delhi Government was engaged in their own domestic wars. During this period, the Sikh Sardars looted many places. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars looted Ahmad Shah Abdali, his son Taimur Shah and General Jahan Khan while they were on their way back from their attack on Punjab in 1756. Taimur Shah took his revenge by destroying Katarpur which was considered a holy place by the Sikhs. The Sikhs took their revenge by looting Ahmad Shah Abdali again under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Then Taimur Shah was appointed the Governor of Lahore by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Upon becoming the Governor, he attacked on Amritsar and destroyed the sarovar of Shri Darbar Sahib. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia took the revenge of destroying this holy place by helping Adina Beg in the battle against the Afghans. Adina Beg also gave the Sikhs a lot of money in compensation for them not to loot Jalandhar. After this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with some other Sikh Sardars won some other areas in the outer Doab. The respect of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia amongst the Sikhs increased due to these wins.

Adina Beg was appointed the governor of Lahore in 1758. He immediately started crimes on the Sikhs upon becoming the governor. He sent his Generals to attack on Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, however they were unsuccessful. After the death of Adina Beg, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia attacked on his *foujdars* in Lahore and Sirhind.

At this time, the Sikhs had managed to win many areas of Malwa and Doaba. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia then also suppressed the Pathans of Miani who were not responding to him. He then went on to attack on the Diwan of Doaba, Bishambar Nath Lasaria. Other than this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia managed to win the areas of Sirhind, Phagwara and Batala.

Ahmad Shah Abdali then again came to attack on Punjab in 1759.

He defeated the Marathas in the battle of Panipat in Delhi in 1761. He then took two thousand and two hundred Hindu women with him as his prisoners. However, later Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia managed to save these women. Hence, because of this bravery Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was given the honour of "Bandi Chhor".

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with his other Sikh Sardars defeated the *hakam* (Governor) of Lahore, Sarbuland Khan in 1760 who had been appointed by Ahmad Shah Abdali. He then also defeated Khwaja Ubed Khan in 1761, after which he conquered Lahore. This was the first political won of the *Khalsa* in Punjab. So with this win, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was announced as the King of Lahore (*Lahore Da Raja*). He was also given the honour of "*Sultan-Ul-Qoum*". He also started a new coin for the *Khalsa*.

Now Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia supported the other Sikh Sardars in the "Wadda Ghallughara" or "Great Holo-Caust". Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was the most wounded person in this battle. He got twenty two wounds. This is an event of 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1762.

After this event, Abdali tried to negotiate with the Sikhs but Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia refused his proposal. The Sikh Sardars had took over the whole of Punjab just as before when Abdali went back to Afghanistan in 1762. These Sardars attacked on many other regions in between 1763-1764. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia got some areas along with some money after the loot of Sirhind in 1764. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and some other Sikhs donated the money they had received after the loot of Sirhind for the reconstruction of *Shri Harimandar Sahib*.

Ahmad Shah Abdali came to attack on Punjab again in 1764. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia along with some other Sikh Sardars attacked on him so he retreated back to Afghanistan. After the Abdali had retreated back to Afghanistan, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the other Sikh Sardars took a permanent hold of Lahore in 1765. Lahore was made the capital city of the *Khalsa*. The *Khalsa* announced a new coin on this occasion. After this, the Sikh Sardars strengthened their hold on their respective lands. Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia established a *bunga* (a place where money and valuables were kept) and a *bazaar* named *Katra* Ahluwalia. His areas were normally in Jalandhar-Doab and some were also in the villages on the out skirts of Doab.

Abdali then again came to attack on Punjab in 1766. However, the Sikhs along with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia defeated him and sent him back to Afghanistan. This was Abdali's 8<sup>th</sup> and last attack on India. However, many historians believe that Abdali carried out three more attacks on India making the total number of attacks eleven. However, these attacks by him proved to be unsuccessful.

A part from this, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia helped the Jatts against the Rohillas and the Marathas, upon their requests for help. He also helped the Rohillas against the Mughals. All these activities by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia increased the respect for the Sikh community.

Although, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had attacked on and won many areas of Punjab but, however the conquering of Kapurthala was the most important one which took place in 1777 or 1780. Kapurthala became to be the heritage of the *Ahluwalia Misal*. The later rulers of this *Misal* (*Ahluwalia Misal*) went on to rule over Kapurthala.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia also carried out many religious works during his life time. He baptised many people by giving them *amrit* and hence added them to the *Khalsa Panth*. Other than this, he also helped the people of the other religions. He spent the later part of his life in the service of *Shri Darbar Sahib*.

Even though, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had stopped going to missions towards the end of his life, but he still helped the Sikh Sardars in the attack in Delhi in 1783. But after this attack, his health deteriorated and so he died on the 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1783.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia is considered to be a very brave and courageous warrior because of his achievements. On the other hand, he was also a religious leader. It was due to his actions that the *Ahluwalia Misal* progressed a lot during his time.

After the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, this Ahluwalia *Misal* and its residence Kapurthala continued to exist under different leaders till its end in 1948. Amongst these leaders the first was Sardar Bhag Singh (1783-1801) who was the cousin or nephew of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Bhag Singh was appointed as the next leader as Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia did not have any son. Bhag Singh was an able person who took care of most of the administrative work of this *Misal* and Kapurthala in the later years of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. So, he sat on the throne in

Kapurthala after the death of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. He took good care of his area, Doab upon sitting on the throne. For the progress of his Misal and heritage, Bhag Singh along with his son, Fateh Singh conquered many areas which included Sharakpur, Kasur, and Jandiala, Tarn Tarn, the southern areas across the Satluj river and some other areas.

Bhag Singh helped many of his friends and some other people in their time of need but he was at odds with Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. However, Bhag Singh's relation with the King (Raja) of Kangra, Sansar Chand was different as it kept on changing with time. At times they were friends, while on other occasions they were enemies.

Hence, on observing these and the other activities that Bhag Singh did for his people and officials, his religious works and the donations made by him to the poor it can be said that he was a religious, giving and kind person.

Bhag Singh had an interest in the architecture. Due to which, he ordered for the construction of many buildings in Kapurthala and some other areas. Bhag Singh also had an interest for gardening. So, he also ordered for planting various gardens that had various designs.

Bhag Singh during his era was a great leader because on one hand, he had managed to maintain the status of the Sikh society and on the other hand, his own *Misal* and heritage progressed during this time.

After Bhag Singh's death in 1801, his only son, Sardar Fateh Singh (1801-1837) became his successor to his throne in Kapurthala and hence the leader of the *Ahluwalia Misal*. Upon sitting on the throne Fateh Singh became friends with Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the *Sukarchakia Misal* who had established the Sikh rule. He did so in order to fulfil the dream of the formation of a large Sikh kingdom. Fateh Singh accompanied Ranjit Singh in all of his missions (attacks) for example in the battles of Chiniot, Kasur, Jhang, Amritsar, Multan, Peshawar and some other battles. Other than this, Ranjit Singh also gave Fateh Singh some of the areas they had won in the form of *najranas*. So in this way, Fateh Singh too got an opportunity to increase his kingdom.

Fateh Singh was an honest friend of Ranjit Singh and also advised him on various matters regarding the British. He would also undertake the responsibilities of the administration of Lahore and Amritsar in the absence of Ranjit Singh.

However, Qadar Bakhsh who was a envoy (rajdut) of Ranjit Singh

incited these two against each other hence broke their friendship. However, later their relation improved. Nevertheless, this situation proved fatal for Fateh Singh and he incurred a lot of loss.

On the other side, Fateh Singh took care of his area in Doaba and also taught a lesson to those who attacked on him. He also had to settle issue of some areas.

On the basis of the activities that Fateh Singh had done for Ranjit Singh, it can be said that Fateh Singh was a fearless General, brave warrior, great administrator and a loyal friend. He helped the poor and gave *jagir* to the holy places of the Sikhs and the Hindus. He also had great respect for the Muslims. So, it can be said that he was a charitable, kind and religious person.

Fateh Singh had an interest in the architecture. Due to which, he ordered for the construction of many buildings in Kapurthala and some other areas. Fateh Singh also had an interest for gardening. So, he also ordered for planting various gardens that had various designs. He also developed Kapurthala in the economic aspects. However, Fateh Singh also had one bad habit to drinking too much alcohol and was also lazy in collecting revenue

Nevertheless, Fateh Singh was a good leader during his reign because on one side, he helped Ranjit Singh in establishing and development of the Sikh rule and on the other side, his *Misal* and heritage also progressed a lot during his era.

After the death of Fateh Singh, his son Nihal Singh (1837-1852) became his successor in Kapurthala and also leader of *Ahluwalia Misal*. At this time, Ranjit Singh appointed Nihal Singh the King (*Raja*) of Kapurthala. Nihal Singh also swore to stay loyal to Ranjit Singh gave hence forwarded the *najrana*.

However, Nihal Singh was known to be loyal to the British Government. He also wanted to help the British in the first Anglo-Sikh war in December 1845. However, he could not do so as his own army revolted against him. Due to this, the British seized some of the areas of Nihal Singh. But, as Nihal Singh completely helped the British in the second Anglo-Sikh war in November 1848, the British gave him the honour of being called "Raja Nihal Singh Bahadur".

Nihal Singh was a famous and a kind leader, because of the works he had done for the people of his kingdom during his reign. But being the

friend of the British, Nihal Singh led to the downfall of the Sikh dynasty and also to the fall of his *Misal* and heritage.

After the death of Nihal Singh, his elder son, Randhir Singh (1852-1870) became the successor of the *Ahluwalia Misal* and the throne of Kapurthala. He too was loyal to the British. Randhir Singh supported the British in the revolt of 1857. In return for this service, first of all, the British government reduced his taxes and secondly, they gave him the title of "Farzand Dilband". In 1858, Randhir Singh and his brother went to Avadh to maintain peace in those areas upon the orders the British. The British gave them lands in return for their service.

The British Government gave his provinces in return for his service in the revolt. Randhir Singh was bestrewed with the highest honour of the Lahore *darbar "stara-eh-hind"* (star of India) on the 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1864.

Randhir was a good leader during his reign because he established a school in Kapurthala in 1856 named Randhir School. But being the friend of the British, Nihal Singh led to the downfall of the Sikh dynasty and also to the fall of his *Misal* and heritage.

After Randhir Singh's death his elder son, Kharak Singh (1870-1877) became the leader of this *Ahluwalia Misal* and heritage Kapurthala. Although, Kharak Singh had ruled for a comparatively short time but he was known to be a good ruler because of the works he did during his reign as he laid the foundation of "Randhir College" and "Randhir Hospital" in the name of his father. He was known for showing an interest in doing beneficial works for his people. But, unfortunately he got a mental disease. So due to his condition, the responsibility of the administration of Kapurthala and his *Misal* went in the hands of his son Jagatjit Singh. But, as Jagatjit Singh was too young to rule, the British undertook this responsibility. So in this way, this was a weak period for this *Misal* and Kingdom.

After the death of Kharak Singh, his only son Jagatjit Singh (1877-1948) became the leader of this *Misal* and Kapurthala. He was the last leader of this *Misal* and its heritage Kapurthala. However, even though he had sat on the throne at Kapurthala, the administration of this city was in the hands of the British as he was too young for these responsibilities. However, when he became of an adult in 1890, the British Government handed over these responsibilities to him.

Upon becoming the leader of Kapurthala, Jagatjit Singh undertook

various activities for the benefit of the people of Kapurthala for example opening of various schools and colleges, construction of canals for the development of agriculture, establishment of banks to give cheap loans to the *zamindars*, establishment of Government societies for the benefit of the people, hospitals for animals and started businesses for economic growth. Other than this, he undertook various religious and law based works in Kapurthala. He also constructed various buildings in his province, Kapurthala.

The British government gave him the title of "Maharaja" and some other honours for the works that he had done.

Jagatjit Singh is known to have been an honest, kind, intelligent and good leader because of the works he had done. But, because he was loyal to the British most of the activities were under the British which led to the weakening and fall of his *Misal*. India got independence from the British on the 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1947. Jagatjit Singh made Kapurthala a part of PEPSU (Patiala East Punjab Status Union) on the 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1948. In this way, the Ahluwalia *Misal* ended as Kapurthala came under PEPSU. But, Ahluwalia *Misal* has enormous history because this *Misal* ruled for about two hundred ranging from 1748 to 1948. In this time, *Misal* hold a position of great importance in the history of Punjab.

## CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION



bereby declare that the work which is being presented in the dissertation entitled "THE RESE AND FALL OF AHLUWALIA MISAL" in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy History in Faculty of Arts, is an authentic record work. The work has been carried out during the period from 2016 to 2019 under the supervision of Dr. Hardeep Kaur.

The matter embodied in this dissertation has not been submitted by me for the award of my wher degree of this or any other University/Institute.

Rubali d Yalla | 28-12- 2020

University Roll No. 166191017

This is to certify that above a statement made by the candidate is correct to the best of my/our ledge.

Dr. Hardeep Kaur

Examiner)

(Supervisor)

The M.Phil. Viva-Voce examination of Ms. Rubaljot Kaur has been held on 15th October, (Online mode, with reference of UGC guidelines letter no. D.O. No. F.1-1/2020 (Secy.) an dated 29th April, 2020) and accepted for the award of M.Phil. Degree.

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Talwandi Sabo (Bathinda)